THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRE-

CIANS AND ROMAINS, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER Plutarch of Charonea:

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings prinie Counsel,
and great Almner of France: With the liues of HANNIBAL and SCIPIO
AFRICAN: translated out of Latine into French by CHARLES
del'ESCLUSE, and out of French into English,
By Sir Thomas North Knight.

Hereunto are also added the lines of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Sicilia, of Augustus Oxfar, of Plutarch, and of Scneea: with the lines of nine other excellent Chiefiaines of warre: collected out of Amylius Probus, by S.G.S. and Englished by the aforesaid Translator.



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THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE ELIZABETH,

THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND QVEENE, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.



A der hope of your Highnesse gracious and accustomed fauour, I have presumed to present here onto your Majestic, Plutarchs lives translated, as a booke sit to be protested by your Highnesse, and meete to be set forth in English. For who is sitter to give countenance to so many great states, then such an high and mighty Princesse? who is sitter to revive the dead memorie of

their fame, then she that beareth the lively image of their vertues? who is sitter to authorize a worke of so great learning and wisedome, then she whom all do honour as the Muse of the world? Therefore I humbly beseech your Majestie, to suffer the simplenesse of my translation, to be covered under the amplenesse of your Highnesse protestion. For, most gracious Soveraigne, though this booke be no booke for your Majesties selfe, who are meeter to be the chiefe storie, then a student therein, and can better understand it in Greeke, then any man can make it English:

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

yet I hope the common fort of your subjects shall not onely profit themselues hereby, but also he animated to the better service of your Majeslie. For among all the prophane bookes that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your Highneffe best knowes) that teacheth so much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and denotion to Princes, as these lines of Plutarch do. How many examples shall your subjects reade here, of seuerall persons and whole armies, of noble and base, of yong and old, that both by sea and land, at home and abroad, have strained their wits, not regarding their states, ventured their persons, yea cast away their lines, not onely for the honour and safety, but also for the pleasure of their Princes?

Then well may the Readers thinke, if they have done this for heathen Kings, what should we do for Christian Princes? If they have done this for glory, what should we do for religion? If they have done this without hope of heaven, what should we do, that looke for immortality? And so adding the encouragement of these examples, to the forwardnesse of their owne dispositions: what service is there in war, what honour in peace, which they will not be ready to doe, for their worthy Queene?

And therfore that your Highnesse may give grace to the Booke, and the Booke may do his service to your Majestie: I have translated it out of French, and do here most humbly present the same vnto your Highnesse; beseeching your Majestie with all humility, not to reiest the good meaning, but to pardon the errours of your most humble and obedient subiect and servant, who prayeth God long to multiply all graces and blessings vpon your Majestie. Written the sixteenth day of Januarie, 1579.

> Your Majesties most humble and obedient seruant,

> > THOMAS NORTH.



To the Reader.

೨ കേറ്റെද്ද HE profite of stories, and the praise of the Author, are sufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epistle to the Reader: so that I shall not need to make many words thereof. And indeed if you will supply the defects of this translation, with your owne diligence and good understanding: you shall not need to trust him, you may proue your schees, that there you shall not need to trutt him, you may proue you it mes, emediate is no prophane studie better then Pintarch. All other learning is prinate, fitter for Vniuersities then Cities, fuller of contemplation then experi-

ence, more commendable in ftudents themselues, then profitable vnto others. Whereas flories are fit for energy place, reach to all perfons, ferue for all times, teach the lining, renine the dead, so farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to see learning in Noblemens lines, then to reade it in Philosophers writings. Now for the Author, I will not denie but loue may deceiue me, for I must needs loue him with whom I have taken so much paine; but I beleeve I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitablest storic of all Authors. For all other were faine to take their matter, as the fortune of the countries whereof they wrote, fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath chosen the speciall acts of the best persons, of the famous of the world. But I will leaue the judgement to your felues. My onely purpose is to desire you to excuse the saults of my translation, with your owne gentlenesse, and with the opinion of my diligence and goodintent. And so I wish you all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The source and twentieth day of Ianuarie. 1579.

THOMAS MORTH.





Amiot to the Readers.



HE reading of bookes which bring but avaine and unprofitable pleasure to the Reader, is suftly missisked of wise and grave men. Againe, the reading of such as do but onely bring prosit, and make the Reader to be in love therewith, and do not ease the paine of the reading by some pleasantnesse in the Same : do seeine somewhat har sh to divers delicate wits, that cannot tarie. long upon them. But such bookes as yeeld pleasure and profit, and do both delight and teach, have all that a man can defire why they should be univer-(ally liked and allowed of all forts of men, according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

> That he which matcheth profit with delight, Doth winne the prize in every point aright.

Either of these yeeld his effect the better by reason the one runneth with the other profiting the more because of the delight, and delighting the more because of the prosit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to have pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wife arme in arme, hath more allowance then any other kind of writing or invention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably anowed, that men are more beholding to such good wits, as by their grave and wise writing have deserved the name of Historiographers then they are to any other kind of writers: because an history is an orderly register of notable things faid, done, or happened in times past, to maintaine the continuall remembrance of them, and to serne

for the instruction of them to come.

And like as memory is as a store-house of mens conceits and devices, without the which the actions of the other two parts (bould be unperfect, and well-neare unprofitable: so may it also be said, that an history is the very treasury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wonderfull aduentures and strange cases, (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserned from the death of forgetfulnesse. Hereupon itriseth that Plato the wife saith that the name of history was given to the recording of matters, to stay the fleeting of our memory, which otherwise would be some lost, and retaine little. And we may well perceive how greatly we be beholding unto it, if we do no more but consider in how horrible darknesse, and in how beastly and pestilent a quagmire of ignorance we should be plunged: if the remembrance of all the things that have bene done, and have happened before we were borne, were veterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will overpasse the excellencie and worthinesse of the thing it selfe, for a smuch as it is not onely of more antiquity then any other kind of writing that ever was in the world; but also was vsed among men, before there was any vee of letters at allibecause that men in those dayes delinered in their lifetimes the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songs, which they caused their children to learne by heart, from hand to hand, as is to be seene yet in our dayes, by the example of the barbarous people that inhabite the new-found land in the West, who without any records of writings, have had the knowledge of things past, wel neare eight hundred yeares afore, Likewise I leave to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leave of their doings in this world, to confecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither picture nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor pillar, nor sumptuous sepulcher, that can match the durablenesse of an eloquent history, furnished with the properties which it ought to have. Againe, I mind not to fland much vpon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in

that it alwaics profeseth to speake truth, and for that the proper ground therof is to treate of the greatest and highest things that are done in the world : insomuch that (to my seeming) the greatest profit thereof is as Horace faith, that it is commonly called the mother of troth and vprightnesse which commendeth it fo greatly, as it needeth not elfewhere to feeke any authority, or ornament of dignity, but of her very (elfe. For it is a certainerule and instruction; which by examples past, teacheth vs to sudge of things present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know what to like of, and what to follow: what to mislike and what to eschue. It is a picture which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eyes the things worthie of remembrance that have bene done inold time by mighty nations, noble Kings and Princes, wife Gouernours, valiant Captaines, and persons renowmed for some notable quality, reprefenting vato us the manners of strange nations, the lawes and customes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their consultations and enterprises, the meanes that they have vied to compasse them withall, and their demeaning of them selues when they were come to the highest, or throwne downe to the lowest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or warre, in publike or prinate affaires, but that the person which shall have diligently read; well conceived, and throughly remembred histories, shall find matter in them whereat to take delight, and counsell whereby to resolve himselfe to take a part, or to give advice unto others, how to choose in doubtfull and dangerous cases, that which may be for their most profit, and in time to find out to what point the matter will come if it be well handled: and how to moderate himselfe in prosperity, and how to cheare up and beare himselfe in aduersity. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacie, and speed, then the bookes of morall Philosophie do : for asmuch as examples are of more force to moue and instruct, then are the arguments and proofes of reason, or their precise precepts; because examples be the very formes of our deedes, and accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are generall and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into understanding: and examples tend to the shewing of them in practife and execution, because they do not onely declare what is to be done. but also worke a desire to do it, as well in respect of a certaine natural inclination which all menhaue to follow examples, as also for the beautie of vertue, which is of such power, that where some she is seene, she maketh her selfe to be loved and liked. Againe, it doth things with greater weight and granitie, then the inventions and devices of the Poets: because it helpeth not it selfe with any other thing then with the plaine truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly enrich things by commending them about the starres and their deferuing, because the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreover, it doth things with more grace and modestie then the civil lawes and ordinances do: because it is more grace for a man to teach and instruct, then to chastife or punish. And yet for all this, an history also bath his manner of punishing the wicked, by the reproch of enertasting infamie, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance; which is a great meane to withdraw them from vice, who otherwise would be leudly and wickedly disposed. Likewise on the contrary part, the immortall praise and glorie wherewith it rewardeth wel-doers, is a very linely and sharpe source for men of noble courage and gentleman-like nature, to cause them to adventure voon all manner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high courage and wisedome, who for desire to continue the remembrance of their name by the sure and certaine record of histories, have willingly yeelded their lives to the service of the common-weale, spent their goods, sustained infinite paines both of body and mind in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in stablishing of lawes and gonernements, and in the finding out of arts and sciences necessary for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull registring whereof, the thanke is due to histories. And although true vertue seeke no reward of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her selfe with the conscience of her well doing: yet not with standing I am of opinion, that it is good and meet to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honour of their wertuous deeds, seeing that honour doth naturally accompanie vertue, as the shadow doth the body. For mecommonly see, that not to feele the parkes of desire of honour, is an infallible signe of a base, wile, and clownife nature : and that such as count it an unnecessary needlesse, or unseemely thing to be praised, are likewise no doers of any things worthie of praise, but are commonly men of faint courage, whose thoughts extend no further then to their lines, whereof also they have no further remembrance, then is before their eyes. But if the counsell ofoldmen be to be greatly esteemed because they must needs have seene much by reason of their long life: and if they that have travelled long in Grange countries, and have had the managing of many affaires, and have gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for sage, and worthie to have the reynes of great governments put into their

bands: how greatly is the reading of histories to be esteemed, which is able to furnish vs with more examples in one day, then the whole course of the longest life of any man is able to do ? Insomuch that they which exercife them clues in reading as they ought to do although they be but your become fuch inrespect of understanding of the affaires of this world, as if they were old and gray headed, and of long experience. Yea though they never have removed out of their houles, yet are they adverted dinformed, and faturied of all things in the world, as well as they that have (hortned their lines by innumerable travels and infinite dangers, in running over the whole earth that is inhabited; whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the thines that were done er come to passe before they were born. continue still as children, though they be never to aged, and are but as strangers in their owne native countries. To be fort it may be truly faid, that the reading of histories is the schoole of wisdome, to falkion mens understanding by considering adulfedly the state of the world that is pair, and by marking diligently by what lawes, manners, and discipline, Empires, Kingdomes and dominions, have in old time bene stablished, and afterward maintained and increased: or contrariwise changed dimini-Shed, and overthrowne. Also wereade, that when some the right (age and vertuous Emperor of Rome, Alexander Scuerus, was to confult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned wars or gouernment: he alwaies called (uch to counsell as were reported to be well seem in histories. Netwith-"flanding I know there are that will fland against me in this point, and wphold that the reading of history ries can ferue to (mall purpose, or none at all towards the geiting of skill because skill consisted in action and is engendred by the very experience and prastife of things, when a man doth well make and throughly beare away the things that he hath feene with his eyes, and found some by proofe, according to the (aying of the ancient Poet Afranius:

My name is Skill, my Syre Experience hight,

And Memorie bred and brought me forth to light. Which thing was meant likewife by the Philosopher that faid, that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason whereof it commeth to passe (say they) that such as speake of musters of government and flate, but feetally of matters of warre by the booke, fleake but as booke knights, as the French proverbe termeth them, after the manner of the Grecians, who call him a booke Pelot, which bath not the fure and certaine knowledge of the things that he speakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the understanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that confist on the deed doing where the hand is to be fet to the worke: no more then the often hearing of mentalke and reason of painting, or the disputing upon colours, without taking of the pensill in hand, can stand a man in any fread at all to make him a good painter. But on the contrary part, many have proved wife men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Besides this, they alledge further, that in matters of warre, all things after from yeare to yeare: by meanes whereof the fleights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, will fire the turne no more then mines that are blowne wp. According whereums Cambyles telleth his some Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Musicke the new !! Jongs are commonly the bell liked of for once, because they were never heard of afore: So in the warres, those policies that never were practifed afore, are those that take best successe, and commonly have the best effect, because the enemies do least doubt of them. Neverthelesse I am not be that will maintaine, that a wife Gouernour of a common-weale, or a great Captaine, can be made of fuch a perfor as hath never travelled out of his studie, and from his bookes : how beit that which Cicco writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieutenant of the Romaines, to make warre against King Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the wars. and yet afterward he bestowed so great diligence in the reading of histories, and in conferring upon eserie point with the old Captaines and men of long experience whom he caried with him, that by the time of his comming into Asia, where he was indeed to put his matters in execution, hee was found to be a verie sufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: insomuch that by those wayes, cleane contrarie to the commonorder of warre, he discomfitted two of the most pullant and greatest Princes that were at that time in the East. For his understanding was fo quicke, his care fo vigilast, and his courage so great, that he needed no long training, nor groffe instruction by experience. And although I grant there have bene diverse Governours and Captaines, which by the encly force of nature (furthered by long continued experience) have done goodly and great exploites: get can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the gifts of nature with the knowledge of learning and the reading of histories, they might have done much greater things, and they might have become much more perfect. For like as in eueric other cunning and skill wherein a man in-

tendeth to excell: fo also to become a perfect and sufficient person to gouerne in peace and warre, there Three are threethings of necessitie required, namely, nature, art, and practise. Nature (in the case we treate cessary for of) must furnish vs with a good mother wit, with a body well disposed to endure all manner of travell, a Magiand with a good will to advance our selves: Art must give vs judgement and knowledge, gotten by the strate, or examples and wife discourses that we have read and double read in good histories: and Practise wil get vs readinesse, assurednesse, and the case how to put things in execution. For though Skillbe the ruler of doing the deed, yet it is a vertue of the mind which teacheth aman the meane point betweene the two faultie extremities of too much and too little, wherein the commendation of all doings confifteth. And whosocuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely trial of experience, and had rather learne it at his owne cost, then at another mans: he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this ancient Prouerb, which faith, Experience is the schoole-mistris of sooles: because mans life is so short, and experience is hard and dangerous; specially in matters of war, wherein (according to the saying of Tamachus she Athenian Captaine) a man cannot fault twice, because the faults are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the ouerthrow of the state, or losse of the lines of those that do them. Therefore we must not tarie for this wit that is wonne by experience, which costeth so deare, and is so long in coming, that a man is of: times dead in the seeking of it before he have attained it so as he had need of a second life to employ it in because of the over late coming by it. But we must makespeed by our diligent and continuall reading of histories both old and new, that we may enion this happine fe which the Poet speaketh of:

A happie wight is he that by mishaps Of others, doth beware of afterclaps.

By the way, as concerning those that say that paper will beare all things: if there be any that vnworthily take upon them the name of Historiographers, and do deface the dignity of the storie for hatred or fauour, by mingling any vntruth with it: that is not the fault of the historie, but of the men that are partiall, who do abuse that name unworthily, to couer and cloake their owne passions withall, which thing shall neuer come to passe, if the writer of the storie have the properties that are necessarily required in a storic-writer, as these: I hat he set aside all affection, be voide of enuic, hatred, and flatterie: that he be aman experienced in the affaires of the world, of good vtterance and indgement, to discerne what is to be said, and what to be left vnsaid; and what would do more harme to have it declared, then do good to have it represented or condemned: for asmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to serve the common-weale, and that he is but as a register to set downe the judgements and definitive sentences of Gods Court, whereof some are given according to the ordinaric course and capacity of our weaks naturall reason, and other some go according to Gods infinite power and incomprebensible wisedome, aboue and against all discourse of mans understanding, who being unable to reach the bottome of his judgements, and to finde out the first motions and grounds thereof, doc impute the cause of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought else but a fained denice of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of such brightnesse, and confounded at the gazing of so bottomelesse a deepe: howbeit, nothing commeth to passe nor is done without the leave of him that is the very right and truth it selfe, with whom nothing is past or to come, who knoweth and understandeth the verie originall causes of all necessitie. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble the excluse under his mightie hand, by acknowledging that there is one first cause which onerruleth nature, whereof it commeth, that neither hardinesse is alwaies happie, nor wisdome alwaies sure of good successe. These so notable commodities are enery where accompanied with singular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of dinerfity and noneltic, wherein our nature delighteth, and is greatly desirous of: because we having an carnest inclination towards our best prosperitie and advancement, it goeth on still seeking in it enerie thing which it taketh to be goodly or good in this world. But forasmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content it selfe under the cope of heaven, it is soone wearie of the things that it had earnestly desired before, and so goeth on wandering in the unskilfulnesse of her likings, whereof she never ceasseth to make a continual changing wrill she have fully satisfied her desires, by attaining to the last end, which is, to be knit to her chiefe felicitie, where is the full perfection of all goodlinesse and goodnesse. This liking of varietie cannot be better relieved, then by that which is the finder out and the preserver of time, the father of all noveltie, and messenger of antiquitie. For if we finde a certaine singular pleasure, in hearkning to such as be returned from some long voyage, and do report things which they have seene in strange countries, as the manners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lines, differing from ours : and if we be sometime so raperils that he hath ouer passed, Gas we perseive not how the time goeth away : how much more ought we to be ranished with delight and wondering, to behold the state of mankind, and the true successe of things, which antiquity hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world; as the fetting up of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the rifing and falling of Kingdomes, and all things else worthie admiration, and the same lively set forth in the faire, rich, and true table of Eloquence? And that foliuely, as in the very reading of them we fee our minds to be fo touched by them, not as though the things were already done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing. and we find our selves caried away with gladnes and griefe through feare or hope, well neare as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithstanding we be not in any paine or danger, but onely conceive in our minds the adversities that other folkes have endured, our selves sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to those verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease Vpon the land, and safely for to see How other folkes are toffed on the feas, That with the bluftring winds turmoiled be. Not that the fight of others miseries Doth any way the honest heart delight: But for because it liketh well our eyes.

To fee harmes free, that on our felues might light.

Alsoit is seene that the reading of histories doth so hold and allure good wits, that diners times it not onely maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serueth very fitly to turne away their griefes, and sometimes also to remedie their deseases. As for example, we find it written of Aphonfus King of Naples, that Prince fo greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wifedome and goodneffe, that being fore ficke in the city of Capua, when his Phisitions had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he faw that nothing prevailed : he determined with himfelfe to take no more medicines, but for his recreation caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deeds of Alexander the Great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke so wonderfull pleasure. that nature gathered strength by it, and ouercame the waywardnesse of his disease. Whereupon, hauing Coonereconcred his health, he discharged his Phisitions with such words as these: Feast mee no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, fith they can no skill to helpe me to reconer my health but well fare Quintus Curtius, that could fo good skill to helpe me to recover my health. Now if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I fay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, because they have to do with charges of greatest weight and difficultie, to be best stored with gifts and knowledge for the discharge of their duties : (eeing the ground of stories is, to treate of all manner of high matters of estate, as warres, battels, citics, countries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, then for any other kind of degrees of men: because they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons (us meete is for so great states to have) they take not To great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behooveth those to take which will learne the noble ancient languages, and the painefull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Againe, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wit more connenient for them, then the reading of histories in their owne tongue, which without paine is able to teach them even with great pleasure and ease, what sower the painefull workes of the Philosophers concerning the government of common-wealths can shew them, to make them skilfull in the well ruling and governing of the people and countries that God hath put under their subjection. But the worst is, that they ever (or for the most part) bave such manner of perfons about them, as feekenothing elfebut to pleafe them by all the wayes they can, and there are very few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrarie part, an historic flattereth them not but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as were like them in greatnesse of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerius (a man renowned aswell for his skill in the good government of a common-weale, as for his excellent knowledge otherwise) counselled Ptolomie, first king of Agypt after the death of Alexander the Great, that be should often and diligently

To the Readers:

reade the bookes that treated of the government of Kingdomes because (aid he) thou shalt find many things there, which thy fernants and familiar friends dare not tell thee: Moreover this is another thing, that such great personages cannot easily it auchl out of the bounds of their dominions, to go view strange countries, as private persons do : because the icalousie of their estate, and the regard of their dianstie, requires that they should never be in place where another man might command them. And oftentimes for want of having scene the countries, and knowne the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured upon attempts without good ground: to avoide the which. the instruction they may have by the reading of histories, is one of the case of and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, wherein are written the heroscall deedes of wife and valuant men, specially of Kings that have bene before them: the consideration whereof may caufe them to be delirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage: becanferbe feeles of Princely vertues that are bred with themfelues, do then quicken them vp with an emulation towards the fe that have bene or are equall in degree with them, is well inrespect of noblenesseefbloud as of greatnesse of state, so as they be loth to gine place to any person, and much lesse can find in their hearts to be out-gone in glorie of vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleadzed, if the thing were not so well knowne of it silfe, that it were much more against reasons of abs of it, then needfull to prooue it. Therefore aman may truely conclude, that an bistoric is the schoole mistris of Princes, at whose hand they may without paine, in way of pastime, and with fingular pleafare learne the most part of the things that belong to their office. Row according to the diversitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of writing that it wfeth, it hath fundry names given unto it; but yet among the rest, there are two chiefe kinds. The one, which fetteth downe mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an historic: the other which declareth their natures, sayings and manners, is properly named their lines. And although the ground of them both do close very neare inone, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceede from within the one the events, the other the confultations: betweene the which there is oftentimes great oddes, according to this answer of the Persian Stramnes, to such as maruelled how it came to passe, that his devices being so politicke, had so vnhappie successe: it is (quoth he) because my denices are wholly from mine owne invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of Fortune and the King. And firely among those that over have taken upon them to write the lines of samous men, the chiefe prerogatine, by the indgement of such as are clearest lighted, is instly ginen to the Greeke Philosopher Plutarke, borne in the citie of Cheronea in the countrey of Baotia, a noble man, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put menout of doubt, if they lift to reade them through, who all his life long, even to his old age, had to deale in affaires of the common-weale, as he himselfe witnesseth in divers places, specially in the treatise which he intituled, Whether an old man ought to meddle with the gonernment of a common-weale or not: and who had the hap and horour to be schoolemaster to the Emperour Traian, as is commonly believed, and as is exprelly pretended in a certaine Epistle fet before the Latine translation of his matters of state, which (to say the truth) seemeth inmy judgement to be somewhat suspitious, because I finde it not among his workes in Greeke: besides that it speaketh as though the booke were dedicated to Traian, which thing is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the booke, and by divers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, because me thinkes it is sagely and granely written, and well be seeming him, I have set it downe here in this place : Plutarke with Troian sendeth greeting. I know well, that the modestie of your nature was not desirous of Sonera gnetie, though you have alwayes endeuoured to deserve it by your honourable conversation : by reason whereof you have bene thought so much the worthier of it, as you have bene found the further off from all ambition. And therefore I do now reloyce in your vertue and my fortune, if it be fo great as to cause you to administer that thing with instice, which you have obtained by desert. For otherwise, I am sure you have put your selfe in hazard of great danger, and me in perill of slanderous tongues, because that Rome cannot away with a wicked Emperour, and the common voyce of the people is alwayes went to cast the faults of the schollers in the teeth of their schoole-masters: as for example, Seneca is railed uponby flanderous tonques, for the faults of his scholler Nero: the scapes of Quintilians yong schollers, are imputed to Quintilian himself: and Socrates is blamed for being too mild " to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall do all things well enough, so you keepe you as you

To the Readers.

are. If you first fet your felfe in order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, all things " Shall fall out according to your desire. I have set you downe the meanes in writing, which you must observe for the well governing of your common-weale, and have shewed unto you of how great force of your behausour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow those things, you have Plutarke ce for the directer and quider of your life: if not, I protest onto you by this Epistle, that your falling into danger, to the onerthrow of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epiftle witneffeth plainely, that he was the schoolemaster of Traian, which thing seemeth to be anowed by this writing of Suidas . Plutarke being borne in the citie of Cheroneain Becotia, was in the time of the Emperous Traian, and somewhat before. But Traian bonoured him with the dignitie of Consulfhip, and commanded the officers and magistrates that were throughout all the countrey of Illyria, that they should not do any thing without his counsell and authoritie. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Traian being so wise an Emperour, would never have done him so great honor, if he had not thought himselfe greatly beholding to him for some speciall cause. But the thing that maketh memost to beleene it true, is that the same goodnesse and instice appeared to be naturally imprinted in most of Traians sayings and doings, whereof the patterne and mould (as a man may terme it) is east and see downe in Plutarkes Morals, so as men may perceive expressy that the one could well skill to performe rightly that which the other had taught wifely: For Dion writeth, that among other honours which the Senate of Rome gaue by decree unto Traian, they gave him the title of the good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth, that even wnto his time, when a new Emperour came to be received of the Senate, among the cries of good handfell, and the wishes of good lucke that were made unto him, one was : Happier be thou then Augustus, and better then Traian. How socuer the case flood, it is verie certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes unto him. But when he had lined a long time in Rome, and was come home againe to his owne house, he fell to writing of this excellent worke of Lines, which he calleth Parallelon, as much to fay, as a coupling or matching together, because he matcheth a Grecian with a Romaine, setting downe their lines each after other, and comparing them together, as he found any likenesse of nature, conditions, or aduentures betwixt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worfer, greater or leffer then the other: which things he dosh with so goodly and grave discourse everywhere, taken out of the deepest and most hidden secrets of morall and naturall Philosophie, with so sage precepts and fruitfull instructions, with so effectuall commendation of vertue, and detestation of vice, with so many goodly allegations of other Authors, with so many fit comparisons, and with so many high inventions: that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treasurie of all rare and perfect learning, then by any other name. Also it is faid, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of fingular learning, & a Worthy of the ancient Grece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which faw him so carnelly give to his study that he forgot all other things) what Author he had leuerest choose, if he were at that point that he must needs choose some one to hold him to alone did answer, that he would choose Plutarke: because that if they were all put togéther, there was no one both so profitable, and so pleasant to reade, as he. Soisius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his worke, was a Senator of Rome, as witnesseth Dion, who writeth that the three perfons whom Traian most loued and honored, were Sossius, Parma, and Colfus, insomuch that he caused images, them to be set up. True it is that he wrote the lines of many other men, which the spirefulnesse of the time hath bereft vs of, among which he himselfe maketh mention of the lines of Scipio Africanus, and Metellus Numidicus. And I have read a little Epistle of a sonne of his whose name is not expressed copied out of an old copie in the Librarie of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, aregister of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the couples of lives, he setteth downe the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly the lives of Augustus Cæfar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having veed all the deligence that I could in fearthing the chiefe Libraries of Venice & Rome, I could neuer find them out. Onely I drew out certaine diner lities of readings, and many corrections, by conferring the old written copies with the printed bookes: which bane flood me in great flead to the vnderstanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I have restored by coniccture, by the indgement and helpe of such men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine some places vnamended, howbeit verie few, because some lines were wanting in the original copies, whereof (to my seeming) it was better for me to witnesse the want by marking it with some starre, then to guesse at it with all adventure, or to adde any thing to it. Now finally, if I have over shot my selfe in any thing, as it is veric casie to do in so hard and long

To the Readers.

aworke, specially to a man of so small ability as I am: I befeech the Readers to wouch safe for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the Poet Horacc giveth me, where he saith:

A man may well be ouerseene

In workes that long and tedious beene. Specially fith that of so many good men, and men of skill, as have heretofore set hand to the tranflating of it, there was never yet any one found, that went through with it in any language, at leastwife that I have seene or heard of: and that such as have enterprised to translate it, specially into Latine, have enidently witnessed the hardnesse thereof, as they may easily perceine which lift to conferre their translations with mine. Neuerthelese if it so fortune that men find not the speech of this translation (o flowing, as they have found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands : I befeech the Readers to consider, that the office of a sit Translator, consisteth not onely in the faithfull expressing of his Authors meaning, but also in a certaine resembling and shadowing out of the forme of his file, and the maner of his speaking : unlesse they will commit the errour of some painters, who baning taken upon them to draw a man lively, do paint him long where he should be short, and grosse where he should be stender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harsh or rude focuer my speech be, yet am I fure that my translation will be much easier to my countrimen. then the Greeke copic is, even to such as are best practised in the Greeke tongue, by reason of Plutarchs peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather sharpe, learned, and short, then plaine, polished, and easie. At the hardest, although I have not compassed my matters so happily as ye would have wished and defi-

red: yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it will hold the parties good will excused, which hath taken such paines in doing of it to prosit you. And if my labour be so happie as to content you, God be praised for it, which hath given me the grace to sinish it.



THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE

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of Charonea.

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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE

GREEKES AND ROMAINES, THE MOST OF THEM COMPARED TOGETHER by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiographer PLVTARCH of Charonca.



Theseus.



IKE as the historiographers which do set forth the description of the earth in figure (my friend softius Senecio) are wont to place in the low- softius se. ermost part of their mappes; the farre distant regions vnknowne vnto them, and to marke in the margent such like notes and reasons as these: Beyond these countries are nothing but deepe drie sands without water, full of sowle ill fauoured venemous beafts, or much mudde vnnauigable, or Scythia forfaken for cold, or else the sea frosen with Ice. Euen so in this my historie, I could speake of strange things, and more ancient, and surther off from mens memorie. But herein I have com-

pared the lines of some noble men, the one with the other, having followed all those times, whereof the monuments remaine yet fo whole, that men may speake of very great likelihood. or rather write a very troth. What hath bene written before, is but of strange faynings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and deuised by Poets, which are altogether vncertaine, and most vntrue. Howbeit hauing heretofore set forth the lines of Lyeurgus (which established the lawes of the LACED & MONIANS) and of king Numa Pompilius, me thought I might with reason also ascend vnto the time of Romulus, sithens I was come so neare vnto his time. Wherefore having long debated with my felfe what Afchilus the Poet said:

very like.

What champion may with such a man compare? Or who (thinke I) Shall be against him (et? Who is fo bold? or who is he that dare Defend his force in such encounter met?

In the end I resolved to compare him which did set vp the noble and samous citie of A-THENS, vnto him which founded the glorious and inuincible city of ROME. Wherein I would haue wished, that the fables of her antiquitie had bene set out so in our writings, that we might yet haue graced them with some apparance of historicall narration. But if by chance in some places they range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limites of true apparance, and haue no maner of conformity with any crediblenesse of matter: the readers in curtesse must needs hold me excused, accepting in good part that which may be written, and reported, of things so Thefan & extremely old and ancient. Now furely me thinkes, that Thefans in many things was much like vnto Romulus. For being both begotten by stealth and out of lawfull matrimony, they were both bruited to be borne of the feed of gods.

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.

Both were very wife, and firong befides of body. The one of them built Rome, and the other the citie of Athens, two of the most noble cities of the world. The one and the other were rauishers of women; and neither the one nor the other could avoid the mischief of quarell and contention with their friends, and to defile themselues with the bloud of their nearest kinsinen. Moreouer, they say that both the one and the other in the end, did get the hate and ill will of their citizens. At the least if we beleeve those things which are lest written, and carry The linage greatest shew of troth, Theseus of his fathers side, was desceded of the right linage of Erichtheus of the great, and of the first inhabitants which occupied the countrey of ATTICA, the which fince were called Avrocthones, as much to fay, as born of themselues. For there is no memory, or other mention made, that they came out of any other countrey then that. And of his mothers Polops king fide he came of Pelops, who was in his time the mightiest king of all the countrey of PELOPON-NE SV s, not so much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many innumber, he bestowed them on the greatest Lords of all the countrey: his fonnes also, which likewise were many, he dispersed into every city and free Pilbeus, the towne, finding meanes to make them gouernours and heads of the fame. Pilbeus grandfather to Theseus on the mother side, was one that founded the litle city of Troezen, and was reputed to be one of the best learned and wisest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisdome, which The wife- only caried estimation at that time, consisted altogether in graue sentences & morall sayings, as those are, which wan the Poet Hessodus such fame for his booke intituled, The works & dayes: in the which is read even at this present; this goodly sentence, which they father vpon Pitheus:

Thou halt performe thy promise and thy pay To bired men, and that without delay.

And this doth Arifforle the Philosopher himselfe testifie: and the Poet Euripides also, calling Hippolitus the scholler of the holy Pitheus, doth sufficiently declare of what estimation he was: AEgens the But Aegens defiring (as they fay) to know how he might haue children, went into the city of DELPHES to the Oracle of Apollo: where, by a Nunne of the temple, this notable prophecie was giuen him for an answer; the which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was returned againe to Athens. And because the words of this prophesic were somewhat darke and hard, he returned by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnto Pithems. The words of the prophecy were thefe:

O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace, Plucke not the tappe out of thy trufty tunne. Before thou do returne vnto thy place

In Athens towne, from whence thy race doth runne.

Pitheus vnderstanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some device deceiued him, in such fort, that he made him to lie with his daughter called Athra. Agens, after the daugh- he had accompanied with her, knowing that the was Pithens daughter with whom he had lien, ter of king and doubting that he had gotten her with child, left her a fword and a paire of shoes, the which Pilbeus, the hid vnder a great hollow stone, the hollownesse whereof served just to receive those things the mother which he laved under it and mode no living creature privile to it but her alone. Organizable of Thefeus, which he layed vnder it; and made no lining creature printe to it but her alone, straightly

charging her, that if she happened to have a sonne, when he were come to mans estate, and of ftrength to remoue the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he left there; that she should then fend him vnto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body else might know of it. For he did greatly feare the childre of one called Pallas, the which lay in wait The Pallander of Children of the Pallas of and spiall by all the meanes they could to kill him, onely of despite because he had no children, they being fifty brethren, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. Palles had And Athra within few moneths after was deliuered of a goodly foune, the which from that fifty somes. time was called Thefens: and as fome fay, so called, because of the tokens of knowledge his father had laved under the stone. Yet some others write that it was a farmaged as A and a stone farmaged. ther had layed under the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwards at ATHENS when called, his father knew him, and auoued him for his fonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie and childhood, he was brought up in the house of his grandfather Pitheus, under the gouernement and teaching of one called Connidas, his schoolemaister: in honour of whom the ATHE- connidas NIANS to this day do facrifice a weather, the day before the great feast of Theseus, having more Theseus reason to honour the memorie of this gouernour, then of a Silanion and of a Parrhasius, to seems they do honour also because they printed and and mould of the interest of the seems of the whom they do honour also, because they painted and cast moulds of the images of Theseus. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the young men after their infancie and growth to mans state, went into the citie of DELPHES, to offer part of their haires in the temple of Apollo. Thefeus also wentthither as other did: and some fav that the place where the ceremony of this offering was made, hath euer fince kept the old name (and yet continueth) Theseia. Howbeit he did not shaue his head but before onely, as Homer saith, like the tashion Theseia. of the ABANTES in oldrime: and this manner of shaving of haires, was called for his sake, Thefeur Theseida. And as concerning the ABANTES, in troth they were the very first that shaued them- finding. felues after this fashion: neuerthelesse they learned it not of the Arabians, as it was thought The Aban. of some, neither did they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS; but because they were warlike and valiant men, which did io yne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the worldwere skilfullest in fight hand to hand, and would keepe their ground: as the Poet Archilochus witnesseth in these verses:

They ve no slings in foughten fields to have, Nor bended bowes: but swords and trenchant blades. For when ficrce Mars beginneth for to rane Inbloudy field, then enery man inuades His fiercest foe and fighteth hand to band: Then do they deeds right cruell to recompt, For in this wife, the brane and warlike band

Do shew their force, which come from Negrepont. The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not have the vantage to take them by the haires of the head while they were fighting. And for this felfefame consideration, Alexander the great commanded his captaines to cause all the Mace Do-NIANS to shaue their beards: because it is the easiest hold (and readiest for the hand) a man can Magnus haue of his enemy in fighting, to hold him fast by the same. But to returne to Theseus. Athra his mother had euer vnto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true father. And Pitheus ans shave also had given it out abroad, that he was begotten of Neptune, because the Troezenians have their this god in great veneration, and do worship him as patron and protector of their city, making offerings to him of their first fruits: and they have for the marke and stampe of their mo- faid to bee ny, the three picked mace, which is the figue of Neptune, called his Trident. But after he was come to the prime and lustines of his youth, and that with the strength of his body he shewed a The Traze. great courage, joyned with a naturall wildome, and staicdnes of wit: then his mother brought nions coine him to the place where this great hollow stone lay, and telling him truly the order of his birth, with Nepand by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had times three hidden there, and gaue him counsell to go by sea to Athens vnto him. The seasily lift vp the ftone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: Howbeit he answered plainly, that he would Thefeus not go by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer way, and that his mother 200th. and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, because the way by land from Troezen to bing in Athens was very dangerous all the wayse being before by replaced and residence. The best bing in ATHENS was very dangerous, all the wayes being befet by robbers and murderers. For the Thefeus World at that time brought forth men, which for strongnesse in their armes, for swiftnesse of time.

of Shauing

thecues.

Hercules ferneth

Omphale.

The cus

followeth

Hercules.

Defire of

neare kint

and fought all about. But she had hidden her selfe in a groue full of certaine kinds of wild pric-

king rufhes called Stoebe, and wild Sperage, which she simply like a child intreated to hide her,

as if they had heard, and had fenfe to viderifund her: promiting them with an oath, that if they

faued her from being found, she would neuer cut them downe, nor burne them. But Thefeus

finding her, called her, and fware by his faith he would vie her gently, and do her no hurt, nor

displeasure stall. Vpon which promise she came out of the bush, and lay with him, by whom

otherwise named Phaa, that is to say, ouergrowne with age: she was not a beast to be made

deeds he did, were done by compulsion and of necessitie: adding thereto his opinion also, that

a valiant man should not onely fight with men, to defend himselfe from the wicked: but that

he should be the first, to assault and slay wild hurtfull beasts. Neuerthelesse others have wristen

that paffed by the place called CROMMYONIA, where she dwelt: and that she was surnamed

a Sow, for her beaftly brutish behauiour and wicked life, for the which in the end she was also

downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common report, and de-

firous (as Simonides faith) to ouerthrow it that had continued by prescription of time, did main-

taine that this Sciron was neuer any robber, nor wicked person, but rather a pursuer and punisher

of the wicked, and a friend & kinting n of the most honest and instest men of GRECE. For there

is no man but will confesse, that Racus was the most vertuous man among the Grecians in

his time, and that Cychreus the SALAMINIAN is honored and reuer enced as a God at ATHENS:

and there is no man also but knoweth that Peleus and Telamon were men of a fingular vertue.

faid sciron, and of his wife Charicio. Also it is not very likely, that so many good men would

have had affinity with fo naughty and wicked a man in taking of him, and giving him that which men loue best of all things in the world. And therefore the Historiographers say, that it was not

dayesafter, when he tooke the citie of ELEVSIN, which the MEGARIANS held at that time,

led Sinnis, furnamed Pityocamtes, that is to fay, a wreather or bower of pine-apple trees: whom pecames a he put to death in that felfe cruell manner that Sinnis had flaine many other trauellers before. there Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practife or exercise; but onely to shew, that cleane strength could do more then either Arte or exercise. This Sinnis had a goodly faire Perigouna daughter called Perigouna, which fled away when the faw her father flaine: whom he followed daughter.

the was conceived of a goodly boy, which was called Menalippus. Afterwards Thefeus married Thefeusbeher vnto one Deioneus, the sonne of Euritus the Oechalian. Of this Menalippus the sonne of The gat Mena-Cens, came lowus: the which with Ornytus brought men into the countrey of CARIA, where he Perioding. built the Citie of Ioxides. And hereof cometh that old ancient ceremonie, observed yet vnto Ioxii Methis day by those of Ioxides, neuerto burne the briers of wild Sperage, northe Steebe, but forme. they have them in some honour and reverence. Touching the wild sauage Sowe of Grommyon, Joxides:

light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. Thefens not with standing taried for her, wild som and killed her in his journey, to the end it should not appeare to the world, that all the valiant of Crommy-

that this Phea was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her body, which spoiled those Phea a more

flaine by Theseus. After her he killed sciron, entring into the territories of MEGARA, because scirona he robbed all trauellers by the way, as the common report goeth: or as others fay, for that of a notable robcruell, wicked, and fauage pleafure, he put foorth his feete to those that passed by the sea side, down the and compelled them to washthem. And then when they thought to stoupe to do it, he still spur- rocke by ned them with his feet, till he thrust them headlong into the fea: so Thefeus threw him headlong Thefeus.

Now it is certaine, that this Seiron was sonne in law to Cychreus father in law of Alacus, & grandfather to Peleus and Telamon, the which two were the children of Endeida, the daughter of the Cyreus.

the first time, when I before went vnto ATHENS, that he killed Sciron . but that it was many coreson the where he deceived the Governour of the citie; called Diocles, and there he flue Sciron. And thefe Thofeus by be the objection the Megarians alledged touching this matter. He flue also Cercyon the Ar- wrafting. CADIAN, in the city of Elevern, wrastling with him. And going a little further, he slue Da. Damastes or house of the process o mastes, otherwise surnamed Procrustes, in the citie of HERMIONIA: and that by stretching of a cruell him out, to make him euen with the length and measure of his beds, as he was wont to do vnto martherer, frangers that passed by. Theseus did that in imitation of Hercules, who punished tyrants with the sclee same paine and torment which they had made others suffer. For even so did Hercules sa-Hercules crifice Buffris. So he flifted Anthous in wraftling. So he put Cycrus to death, fighting with him Termerus manto man. So he brake Termerus head, from whom this prouerbe of Termerus euill came, wills

feete, and for a generall strength of the whole body, did far passe the common force of others. and were neuer weary for any labour or trauell they tooke in hand. But for all this, they neuer employed these gifts of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to hurt and wrong others: as if all the fruite and profite of their extraordinary strength had confifted in cruelty and violence onely and to be able to keepe others under and in fubicction. and to force, destroy, and spoyle all that came to their hands. Thinking that the more part of those which thinke it a shame to do ill, and commend instice, equity, and humanity, do it of faint cowardly hearts, because they dare not wrong others, for feare they should receive wrong themselues: and therefore that they which by might could have vantage over others, had nothing to do with fuch quiet qualities. Now Hercules, trauelling abroad in the world, draue away many of those wicked theeuish murderers, and some of them he slue and put to death; other as he passed through those places where they kept, did hide themselues for feare of him. and gaue place: informuch as Hercules perceiving they were well tamed and brought low. made no further reckoning to purfue them any more. But after that by fortune he had flaine Iphitus with his owne hands, and that he was passed ouer the seas into the countrey of Lydia. where he ferued Queene omphale a long time, condemning himfelfe vnto that voluntary paine for the murther he had committed, all the Realme of Lydia during his abode there, remained in great peace and fecuritie from fuch kind of people. Howbeit in GR ECE, and all thereabouts. there old mischiefes began againe to renew, growing hotter and violenter then before; because there was no man that punished them, nor that durft take you him to defroy them. By which occasion, the way to go from Peloponnesus to Athens by land-was very perillous. And therefore Pitheus declaring vnto Theseus, what maner of theeues they were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villanies they did to all trauellers and way faring men, fought the rather to perswade him thereby to take his voyage along the seas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the same and glory of Hercules noble deedes, had long before fecretly fet his heart on fire, fo that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and louingly hearkened ynto those which would feeme to describe him what maner of man he was, but chiefly vnto those which had seene him. and bene in his company, when he had faid or done any thing worthy of memory. For then he did manifestly open himselfe, and he selt the like passion in his heart, which Themistotles long time afterwards endured, when he faid: that the victorie and triumph of Milliades would not let him fleepe. For euen fo, the wonderfull admiration which Thefew had of Hercules courage made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble acts and doings, and in the day time, pricked forwards with emulation and enuie of his glory, he determined with himfelfe one day to do the like, and the rather, because they were neere kinsmen, being cosins removed by the mothers side. For Athra was the daughter of Pitheus, and Alemena (the mother of Hereules) was the daughter of Lyfidices, the which was halfe fifter to Pithem, both children of Pelons and of his wife Hippodamia. So he thought he should be vtterly shamed and difgraced, that Hercules travelling through the world in that fort, did feek out those wicked theeves to rid both sea and land of them: and that he, farre otherwife, should flye occasion that might be offered him. to fight with them that he should meete on his way. Moreouer, he was of opinion, he should greatly shame and dishonour him, whom fame and common bruit of people reported to be his father: if in flunning occasion to fight, he should convey himselfe by sea, and should carry to his true father also a paire of shooes, (to make him knowne of him) and a sword not yet bathed in bloud. Where he should rather seeke cause, by manifest tokens of his worthy deeds, to make knowne to the world of what noble bloud he came, and from whence he was descended. With this determination, Thefeus holdeth on his purposed journey with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himselfe, and to be reuenged of those which would take vpon them to assault him. The first therefore whom he slue within the teritories of the citie of Epidavrym, was a robber called Periphetes. This robber yied for his ordinarie weapon to carrie a clubbe, and for that at Thefens to make him fland: but Thefens fought fo luftily with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was fo glad, and chiefly for that he had won his clubbe, that ever after he caried it did witnesse the greatnesse of the beast which Hercules had slaine, even so Theseus went all about, flewing that this club which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne hands inuincible

Hercules a deftroyer of forward to Thomase cause he was commonly surnamed Correctes, that is to say, a clubbe carrier. So he first strake tes, as Her- himselfe about with him, as Hercules did the Lyons skinne. And like as this spoile of the Lyon

Cethifus,a siner of Prontie. The Phita first men their lou-This facticalleth Mi lichia.

fon Thefens

Agens acas for his

The Pallan tides take armesa. Ageus and Thefeus. Leos an Herald bewra; eth their treafon to The.

Pallantides.

which continueth yet vnto this day: for this Termerus did vse to put them to death in this fore whom he metato iolle his head against theirs. Thus proceeded Theseus after this selfe manner, punishing the wicked in like fort, inftly compelling them to abide the same paine and torments, which they before had vniustly made others abide. And so he held on his journy vntill he came to the river of CEPHISVS, where certaine persons of the house of the Phytalides were the first which went to meet him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him according to the ceremonies vied at that time and afterwards having made a facrifice of propitiation vnto their gods, they made him great cheare in their houses: and this was the first notable entertainement that feasted he found in all his journey. It is supposed he arrived in the city of ATHENS, the eight day of the Thefeus in moneth of Iune, which then they called Cronius. He found the common-wealth turmoiled with feditions, factions, and divisions, and particularly the house of Ageus in very ill termes also, because that Medea (being banished out of the Citic of Corinth) was come to dwell in A-THENS, and remained with Agens, whom she had promised of by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children. But when the heard tell that Thefeus was come, before that the good king Ageus (who was now become old, suspicious, and afraid of sedition, by reason of Medeaper, the great factions within the City at that time)knew what he was, she perswaded him to poyson swaded E. him at a feast which they wold make him as a stranger that passed by. Theseus failed not to go to this prepared feast whereunto he was bidden, but yet thought it not good to disclose himselfe. And the rather to give Agens occasion and meane to know him, when they brought the meate to the boord, he drew out his fword as though he would have cut withal, & the weth it vnto him. Ageus feeing it, knew it straight, & forthwith ouerthrew the cup with poison which was prepared for him and after he had enquired of him and asked things, he embraced him as his fonne. Afterwards in the common affembly of the inhabitants of the city, he declared, how he auowed him for his fonne. Then all the people received him with exceeding joy, for the renowne of his valiantnes and manhood. And fome fay, that when Ægeus ouerthrew the cup, the poifon which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this present a certaine compasse inclosed all about within the temple which is called Delphinium. For even there in that place, in old time, flood the house of Ageus in witnesse whereof, they call yet at this present time the image of Mercury (which is on the fide of the temple looking towards the rifing of the Sunne) the Mercury gate of Ageus. But the PALLANTIDES, which before stood alwayes in hope to recouer the Realme of ATHENS, at the least after Agons death, because he had no children: when they saw that Thefeus was known, and openly declared for his fon and heire, and fucceffor to the Realme, they were not able any longer to beare it, seeing that not onely Agens (who was but the adopted for of Pandion, and nothing at all of the bloud royall of the Eritheides) had viurped the kingdome ouer them, but that Thefeus also should enjoy it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and deuiding themselues into two parts, the one came openly in armes with their father, marching directly towards the city: the other lay close in ambuilt in the village Gargerrys, meaning to give charge upon the in two places at one instant. Now they brought with them an Herald borne in the towne of AGNVs, celled Lees, who bewrayed vnto Theseus the secret & device of all their enterprise. Theseus vpon this intelligence went forth, and fet on those that lay in ambush, and put them all to the sword. The other which were in Pallas company vnderstanding therof, did break and disperse themselves incontinently, and this is the These still cause (as some say) why those of Pallena do never make affinitic nor marriage with those of Agnys at this day: and that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer speake these words which are cried enery where elsthroughout the whole country of ATTICA, Acouste Leos, (which is as much to fay, as Harken ô people) they do so extremely hate this word Leos, for that it was the Heralds name that wrought them that treason. This done, Theseus who would not line idly at home and do nothing, but defirous therewithall to gratifie the people, went The bull of his way to fight with the bull of Marathon, the which did great mischiefes to the inhabitants of saken alue the country of Terraports. And having taken him alive, brought him through the citie of by Thefens. ATHENS, to be seene of all the inhabitants. Afterwards he did sacrifice him vnto Apollo Delphias. Now concerning Hecale, who was reported to have lodged him, and to have given him good entertainement, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the old time, those townes and villages thereabours did affemble together, and made a common facrifice which they called Hecalefton. in honour of Iupiter Hecalion, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminu-

tiue name, Hecalena: because that when she received Theseus into her house, being then but very yong, the made much of him, and called him by many pretie made names, as old folks are wont to call yong children. And for a fmuch as she had made a vow to Iupiter to make him a sotemne facrifice, if The few remained fafe from the enterprise he went about, and that she died before his returne: in recompence of the good cheare she made him, she had that honour done vnto her by Thefeus commandement, as Philochorus hath written of it. Shortly after this exploit, there came certaine of king Minos ambassadours out of CRETA, to aske a tribute, being now the third time that it was demanded; which the ATHENIANS payed for this cause. Androgens, The Albeita the eldest some of king Minos, was slaine by treason within the country of ATTICA: for which mans paged cause Minos pursuing the reuenge of his death, made very hote and sharpe warres vpon the A- tributeto THENIANS, and did them great hurt. But besides all this, the gods did sharply punish and scourge of creta, for all the countrey, as well with barrennesse and famine, as also with plague and other mischiefes, the death euen to the drying vp of their rivers. The Athenians perceiving these fore troubles and of Androplagues, ranto the oracle of Apollo, who answered them that they should appeale Minos, & when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrath of the gods would ceasse against them, and their troubles should have an end. Whereupon the Athenians sent immediatly vnto him, and intreated him for peace: which he granted them, with condition that they should be The manus bound to fend him yearly into CRETA, feuen yong boyes, and as many yong gyrles. Now thus of the tri: farre all the Historiographers do very well agree, but in the rest not. And they which seeme furthest off from the troth, do declare, that when these yong boyes were delivered in CRETA, they caused them to be denoured by the Minotaure within the Labrinth: or else that they were shut within this Labyrinth, wandring vp and downe, and could find uo place to get out, vntill fuch time as they died, euen famished for hunger. And this Minotaure, as Euripides the Poet saith, was

Acorps combin' d which monstrous might be deem'd: A Boy, a Bull, both man and beast it feem'd.

But Philochorus writeth, that the CRETANS do not confesse that, but say that this Labyrinth was a gaile or prison, in the which they had no other hart, saving that they which were kept rinth aprithere vnder locke and key, could not flie nor start away: and that Minos had in memorie of his for in crefonne Androgens, instituted games and playes of prife, where he gaue vnto them that wan the victorie, those yong children of ATHENS, the which in the meane time not withstanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the prison of the Labyrinth: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings Captaines called Taurus, who was in best credite with his maister, wan the prise. This Taurus was a churlish and naughty natured man of condition, and very hard of Mins and cruell to these children of ATHENS. And to verific the same, the Philosopher Aristotle him- Captaines. felfe, fpeaking of the commonwealth of the Bottleians, declareth very well, that he neuer of the Bot thought that Minos did at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, thought that Minos did at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, thought that Minos did at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, tiesans, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith the children of ATHENS to be put to death the children of ATHENS to be put to de that they poorely toyled in CRETA, even to crooked age, earning their living by true & painfull fernice. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to fatisfie an old vow of theirs, which they had made of ancient time) sent sometime the first borne of their children vnto Apollo in the citie of DELPHES: and that amongst them also they mingled those which were descended of the ancient prisoners of Athens, and they went with them. But because they could not live there, they directed their journey first into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of Pv GL 1A, and afterwards from thence went into the confines of THRAC1A, where they had this name of Bottleians. In memorie whereof the daughters of the Bottleians in a folenme facrifice they make, do vie to fing the foot of this fong: Let vs to Athens go. But thereby we may fee how perillous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmity with a city which can speak wel, & where learning & eloquence do florish. For ever fince that time Minos was alwaies blassed defined by and difgraced throughout all the Theaters of Athens. The testimonie of Hesiodus, who calleth the Poets in him the most worthy King, doth nothing at all helpe him, nor the praise of Homer, who nameth the these him Impiters familiar friend: because the tragicall Poets got the vpper hand in disgracing him, terrat notwithstanding all these, & vpon their stages where al the Tragedies were plaid, they stil gave forth many ill fauored words & foule speeches of him; as against a man that had bin most cruell & vnnaturall. Yet most men think, that Minos was the King that established the laws, & Radama. The third

taure what

thus the Judge and preserver of them, who caused the same also to be kept & observed. The time of pair now being come about for paiment of the third tribute, when they came to compell the fathers tribute,

The Ather nians are gricued to their children.

Thefeus offereth to go mith the children in-

I ats drawn that fhould

The Athe. nians fent their chil dren into ship with a black saile. Ægeus gi maister of white faile turne of Thefeus.

Cabernefiz games.

H cet ric offering Thefeus taketh (hip with the tribute th ldren the fixth of March, & faileth into Venus Epi-Ariedno

which had children not yet maried, to give them to be put forth to take their chance and lot: the citizens of ATHEN'S began to murmur against Agens, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this cuill, was only alone exempted from this grief. And that to bring the gouernement of the Realme to fall into the hands of a ftranger his baftard, he cared nor though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vinaturally compelled to leave and for fake them. These inst for rowes and complaints of the fathers whose children were taken from them, did pierce the heart of Thefens, who willing to yeeld to reason, and to run the selfe fame fortune as the citizens did, willingly offered himfelfe to be fent thither, without regard taking to his hap or aduenture. For which, the citizens greatly efteemed of his courage and honorable disposition, and dearely loued him for the good affection he seemed to beare vnto the communaltie. But Ageus having vied many reasons and persivations to cause him to turne and flay from his purpole, and perceiving in the end there was no remedie but he would go, he then drew lots for the children which should go with him. Hellanicus notwithstanding doth write, that they were not those of the citie which drew lots for the children they should send. but that Minos himselfe went thither in person, and did chuse them, as he chose Theseus the first, ypon condition agreed between them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS should furnishthem with a ship, and that the children should ship and imbark with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the Mindaure this tribute should ceasie. Now before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of fafetic of their children; therefore the ATHENIANS alwayes fent a ship to conucy their children, with a blacke saile, in token of affured loffe. Neuertheleffe Thefeus putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good courage, and promifing boldly that he would let upon this Minotaure, Agens gaue unto the maifter of the ship a white faile, commanding him that at his returne he should put out the white faile if his fonne had escaped; if not, that then he should set up the blacke faile, to shew him afarre off his valueky and vafortunate chance. simonides not with standing doth fay, that this faile which Agens gaue to the maister, was not white, but red, died in graine, and of the colour of Scarlet:and that he gaue it him to fignific afarre off their delinerie and fafetie. This maister was called Phereclus Amarsiadas, as Simonides faith. But Philocorus writeth, that Scirus the Salas MINIAN gaue to Thefens a maister called Nausitheus, and another marriner to tackle the sailes who was called Phaw: because the Athenians at that time were not greatly practised to the fea. And this did Seirus, for that one of the children on whom the lot fell was his nephew; and thus much the chappels do testifie, which Thefens built afterwards in honour of Naufitheus, and of Phaas, in the village of Phalerus, joyning to the temple of Scirus. And it is faid moreover, that the feast which they call cybernesia, that is to say, the feast of Patrons of the ships, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the lots were drawne, Thefeus taking with him the children allorted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called Delphinion, to offer vp to Apollo for him and for them, an offering of supplication, which they call Hicertria: which was an olive bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wool. After he had made his prayer, he went downe to the fea fide to imbarke, the fixth day of the moneth of March: on which day at this present time they do send their young girles to the same temple of Delphinion, there to make their prayers and peritions to the gods. But some fay, that the Oracle of Apollo in the citie of DELPHES had ar swered him, that he should take Venus for his guide, and that he should call vpon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he did sacrifice a goate vnto her vpon the feat fide, which was found fuddenly turned into a ramme, and that therefore they furnamed this goddesse Fpitragia, as one would say, the goddesse of the ramme. Furthermore, after he Thefera flue was arrived in CRETA, he flue there the Minetaure (as the most part of ancient Authours do write) by the meanes and helpe of Ariadne: who being fallen in fancie with him, did give him a clue of threed, by the helpe whereof the taught him, how he might eafily wind out of the turnings and cranckes of the Labyrinth. And they fay, that having killed this Minotaure he returking Minos ned backe againe the fame way he went, bringing with him those other young children of A-Thejeus re- THENS, whom with Ariadneallo he carried afterwards away. Pherecides faith moreouer, that turne out of he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the ships of CRETA, because they should not sodainly ict out after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the Captaine of Minos) was killed in fighr nercome of by Thefens, cuen in the very hauen mouth, as they were readie to shipaway, and hoise vp faile. Yet Philocherus reporteth, that king Mines having fet vp the games, as he was wont to do

vearely in the honour and memoric of his sonne, enery one began to enuy captaine Taurus. because they euer looked that he should carrie away the game and victorie, as he had done other yeares before; ouer and about that, his authority got him much ill will and enuic, because Taurus (uhe was proud and starely, and had in suspirion that he was great with Queene Pasiphaë. Where- fried fore when Thefens required that he might encounter with Taurus, Minos cafily granted it. phas, king And being a folemne custome in CRETA, that the women should be present, to see those o- Minutes peniports and fights, Ariadne being at these games, amongst the rest, fell further in loue with How drie Thefeus, feeing him fo goodly a person, fo strong, and invincible in wrestling, that he farre ex- adm fell in cceded all that wrestled there that day. King Ocinos was so glad that he had taken away the love with honour from captaine Taurus, that he fent him home franke and free into his countrey, rendring to him all the other prisoners of Athens: and for his fake clearely released and forgane debthisthe citie of ATHENS the tribute, which they should have payed him yearely. Howbeit, clide-us bome mus fearching out the beginning of these things to the vtmost, reciteth them very particularly, somers, and and after another fort. For he fayeth, about that time there was a generall restraint through all releases GRECE, restraining all maner of people to beare faile in any vessell or bottome, wherein there and of their were about flue perfons, except onely Ialon, who was chosen captaine of that great shippe tribute. Argus, and had commission to faile enery where, to chase and drine away roners and pirats, lim. and to scoure the seas throughout. About this time, Dedalus being fled from CRETA to A- Dedalus THENS in a little Barke, Minos contrarie to this restraint, would needes follow him with a Figure fleet of dinerfe veffels with owers, who being by force of weather drinen with the coaft of S1-CILIE, fortuned to die there. Afterwards his fon Deucalion, being maruelloufly offended with King Minos the Athenians, fent to fummon them to deliver Dedalus vnto him, or elie he would put died in Sithe children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hostages. But Theseus excused estimation himselfe, and said he could not for sake D. edalus, considering he was his neare kinsman, being his Ring Mi. cofingermaine; for he was the some of Merope, the daughter of Erichtheus. Howbeit by and by noes some he caused many vessels secretly to be made, part of them within ATTICA selfe in the village to Athens of Thymetades, farre from any high wayes: and part of them in the city of Troezen, by the Dedalis. fufferance of Pitheus his grandfather, to the end his purpose should be kept the secretier. Afterwards when all his shippes were readie, and rigged out, he tooke sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they saw them afarre off, they did take them for the barkes of their friends. Thefens landed without refistance, and tooke the hauen. Then ha- Thefens landed without refistance, ning Dedalus, and other banished CRETANS for guides, he entred the city selfe of GNOSVS, Creta, and where he flue Deucalion in a fight before the gates of the Labyrinih, with all his guard and offi- wan the cicers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of CRETA fell by inheritance into the hands of the fands his fifter Ariadne. The seus made league with her, and carried away the young children of A- Descalor, THENS which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amirie betweene the ATHE-NIANS and the CRETANS: who promifed, and fware, they would neuer make warres against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of Ariadne: but there is no troth nor certaintie in it. For some fay, that Ariadne hung her selfe for sorrow, Divers opiwhen the faw that Thefeus had caft her off. Other write, that the was transported by mariners wions of deinto the Ile of Naxos, where she was married vnto OEnarus the priest of Bacchus: and they riadne. thinke that Thefeus left her, because he was in loue with another, as by these verses should appearc:

Ægles the Nymph was lou'd of Thefens, Who was the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the Magarian faith, that these two verses in old time were among the verses of the Poet Hestodus, howbeit Pisistratus tooke them away: as he did in like manner adde these other here in the description of the helles in Homer, to gratiste the Athe-MIANS.

Bold Thefens, and Perithons fout, Descended both from gods immortall race, Triumphing fill, this weary world about In feates of armes, and many a comely grace.

Other hold opinion, that Ariadne had two children by Thefeus: the one of them was named o Enepion, and the other Staphylus. Thus amongstothers the Poet Ion writeth it, who was former.

Thefeus

riadne in

Ariadne

dicth with

shild in Cy.

The cere-

facrifice

mony of the

done to A-

Venus 1-

riadne in

CYDYUS.

riadne.

riadnes

Two Mi-

noes & two

Ariadnes.

Corcyua A-

brus.

Сурчиз.

borne in the Ile of Chio, and speaking of this citie, he faith thus:

OEnopion which was the sonne of worthy Theseus,

Did cause menbuild this stately towne which now triumpheth thus.

Now what things are found feemely in Poets fables, there is none but doth in manner fing them. But one Pagnon borne in the citie of AMATHYNTA, reciteth this cleane after another fort. and contrary to all other: faying, that Thefeus by tempest was driven with the Ile of Cyprvs having with him Ariadne, which was great with child, and fo fore fea ficke, that she was not able to abide it. In fo much as he was forced to put her aland, and himselfe afterwards returning aboord hoping to faue his ship against the storm, was compelled forthwith to loose into the sea. The women of the country did courteoufly receive & intreat Ariadne: & to comfort her again. (for the was maruelloufly out of hart, to fee the was thus for faken) they counterfeited letters as if Theleus had written them to her. And when her groning time was come, and the to be layed. they did their best by all possible means to saue her, but she died notwithstanding in labour, and could never be delivered. So the was honourably buried by the Ladies of Cypros. The few nor long after returned thither againe, who took her death maruelous heavily, & left mony with the inhabitants of the country, to facrifice vnto her yearly: & for memory of her, he caused two litle images to be molten; the one of copper, & the other of filuer, which he dedicated vnto her. This facrifice is done the fecond day of September, on which they do yet observe this ceremony: they do lay a yong child vpon a bed, which pitifully crieth and lamenteth, as women trauelling with child. They fay alfo, that the AMATHYSIANS do yet cal the groue where her tombe is fet vp, the wood of Venus Ariadne. And yet there are of the Naxians, that report this otherwise: faying, there were two Minoes, and two Ariadnes, whereof the one was maried to Bacchus in the Ile of Naxos of whom Staphylus was borne; and the other the yongest, was rauished and caried away by Thefew, who afterward for fooke her, & she came into the Ile of Naxos with her nurce called Coreyna, whose graue they do shew yet to this day. The second Ariadne died there also, but fhe had no fuch honour done to her after her death, as to the first was given. For they celebrate the feast of the first with all joy & mirth; where the facrifices done in memory of the fecond be Theseus re- mingled with mourning and sorow. Theseus then departing from the Ile of Creta, arrived in the Ile of DELOS, where he did facrifice in the temple of Apollo, and gauethere a litle image of to the teef Venus, the which he had gotten of Ariadne. Then with the other yong boyes that he had deliue. red, he danced a kind of dance, which the DELIANS keepe to this day, as they fay: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turnings of the Labyrinth. And the DELI-ANS call this manner of dance, the crane, as Die earcus faith. And Thefeus danced it first about the altar, which is called Ceraton, that is to fay, horne-staffe: because it is made and builded of hornes only all on the left hand well and curioufly fet together without any other binding. It is faid also, that he made a game in this I le of DELOS, in which at the first was given to him that hen of vite Ouercame, a branch of palme for reward of victorie. But when they drew neare to the coaft of ATTICA, they were so ioyfull, he and his maister, that they forgat to set up their white saile, by which they should have given knowledge of their health and fafety vnto Ageus. Who seeing the blacke faile afarre off, being out of all hope euer more to fee his fonne againe, tooke fuch a griefe at his heart, that he threw himfelfe headlong from the toppe of a clyffe, and killed himfelfe. So soone as Theseus was arrived at the port named Phalerus, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure: and fent an Herald of his before vnto the city, to carry newes of his fafe arrivall. The Herald found many of the city mourning the death viu eth lafe of King AEgeus. Many other received him with great ioy, as may be supposed. They would haue crowned him also with a garland of flowers, for that he had brought so good tidings, that children in the children of the city were returned in fafety. The Herald was content to take the garland, yet the bauen would he not in any wife put it on his head, but did wind it about his Heralds rod he bare in his hand, and so returned forthwith to the sea, where Theseus made his sacrifices. Who perceirala bare a using they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the temple, and stayed without for troubling of the facrifices. Afterwards all ceremonies finished, he went in and told him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for forrow, hafted with speed towards the city. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called ofcophoria (as who would fav Ocephoria. the feaft of boughes) the Herald hath not his head but his rod onely crowned with floures, and why the affiftants also after the facrifice done, do make such cries and exclamations: Elizatet

iou.iou. whereof the first is the cry and voice they commonly vse one to another to make haste. or else it is the foote of some song of triumph: and the other is the cry and voice of men as it were in feare and trouble. After he had ended the obsequies and funerals for his father, he performed all his facrifices vnto Apollo, which he had vowed, the feuenth day of the moneth of October, on which they arrived at their returne into the city of ATHENS. Even so the custome officer which they vie at this day to feeth all manner of pulse, cometh of this: that those which then returned with Theseus, did seeth in a great brasse pot all the remaine of their provision, and therewith made good cheare together. Euen in fuch fort as this came vp the custome to carry a tongue. branch of oliue, wreathed about with wooll, which they call Irefione: because at that time they irefione in caried boughes of supplication, as we have told ye before. About which they hang all forts of the life of fruits: for then barrennesse did ceasse, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

Bring him good bread, that is of (au'ry tafte, With pleasant figges, and drops of dulcet mell: Then sowple oyle his body for to baste,

And pure good wine, to make him sleepe full well. Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the Heraclides, that is to fay those that descended from Hercules: which flying for their safetic and succour vnto the A-THENTANS, were entertained and much made of by them for a time. But the most part hold opinion, they were made vpon the occasion aforesaid. The vessell in which Theseus went and re- Theseus turned, was a galliot of thirty owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of Demetrics west into the Phalerian, alwayes taking away the old peeces of wood that were rotten, and euer renew- the tribute ing them with new in their places. So that euerfince, in the disputations of the Philosophers elithen, in touching things that increase, to wir, whether they remaine alwayes one, or be made others: the gallion of 30. cmthis galliot was alwayes brought in for example of doubt. For some maintained, that it was still or. one vessell: others to the contrary defended it was not so. And they hold opinion also, that the Discussion feast of boughes which is celebrated at ATHENS at this time, was then first of all instituted by creefe. Thefens, It is faid moreouer, that he did not carry all the wenches vpon whom the lots did fall, The galliot but chose two faire young boyes, whose faces were sweete and delicate as maidens be, that for a deabt. otherwise were hardie and quicke spirited. but he made them so oft bathe themselues in hote bathes, and keepe them from the heate of the Sunne, and so many times to wash, annoing, and rub themselves with oiles, which serve to supple and smooth their skins, to keepe fresh and faire their colour, to make yellow and bright their haires: and withall did teach them to to counterfeit the speech, countenance and fashion of young maides, that they seemed to be like them, rather then yong boyes. For there was no maner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a proceffion, in which both he and the other yong boyes were apparelled then, as they be now which carry boughes on the day of the feast in their hands. They carry them in the honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, following the fable that is told of them: or rather because they returned home just at the time and season, whe they gather the fruit of those trees. There are women which they call Deipnophores, that is to fay, supper cariers, which are affistants to the facrifice done that day, in reprefenting the mothers of those vpon whom the lots did fall, because they in like fort brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children to comfort and encourage them. All these particularities were written by Demonthe Historiographer. There was moreouer a place chosen out, to build him a temple in and he himself ordained, that those houses which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, should now yearely thenceforth become contributaries towards the Phytalides charges of a folemne facrifice, which should be done in the honour of him: and he did affigue the the full order and administratio of the same, vnto the house of the Phytalides, in recompence of the cur- that seased tesie which they shewed him when he ariued. Furthermore, after the death of his father Ageus, him in he vndertooke a maruellous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitants of the whole fes. prouince of ATTICA, to be within the city of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, Thefers which were before dispersed into diverse villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be inhabitants affembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the common of the counstate. Many times also they were at variance together and by the eares, making wars one vpon in of atanother. But Thefeus tooke the paines to go from village to village, and from familie to familie, one citie.

Homer and Suidas.

Thefeus dance cal. led the

Delos.

Palme a tofler of bis Ship forgat to fet aut the white faile. Æ geus death. Thefeus ar-

rod in his

therians. nea and Meteria Theleu re-Gracel bus kingdome . Athens a common.

to let them understand the reasons why they should confent unto it. So he found the poore people and private men ready to obey and follow his will, but the rich, and fuch as had authoritie in enery village, all against it. Neuerthelesse he wanthem, promising that it should be a commonwealth, and not fubicet to the power of any fole Prince, but rather a popular state. In which he would onely referue to himselfe the charge of the warres, and the preservation of the lawes: for the reft, he was content that every citizen in all, and for all should beare a like sway & authoritie. So there were fome that willingly granted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yeelded notwithstanding for feare of his displeasure and power, which then was very great. So they thought it better to confent with good will, ynto that he required, then to tarry his forcible copulfion. Then he caused all the places where justice was ministred, and all their halles of affem-The fealts bly to be ouerthrowne and pulled downe. He remoued fraight all judges and officers, and built a towne house, and a counsell hall, in the place where the city now standeth, which the ATHE-NIANS call ASTY, but he called the whole corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwards he inflituted the great feast and common facrifice for all the country of ATTICA, which they call Panathenea. Then he ordained another feast also vpon the fixteenth day of the moneth of June, for and moketh all firangers which should come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called Metwein, and is kept cuen to this day. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promife, and began to fet vp an estate or policy of a commonwealth, beginning first with the scruice of the gods. To The O acle know the good fuccesse of his enterprise, he fent at the very beginning to the oracle of Apollo in DELPHES, to inquire of the fortune of this city: fro whence this answer was brought unto him:

O thou which are the fonne of A Egens, Begot by him on Pitheus daughter deare: The mighty love, my father glorious. By his decree, bath (aid there shall appeare A fatall end of enery city here. Which end he will, shall also come adowne. Within the walles of this thy stately towne. Therefore (hew thou, a valiant constant mind, And let no care nor carke thy heart displease: For like vnto a bladder blowne with wind Thou Shalt be tost apon the furging feas. Yet les no dint of dolours thee difeafe. For why? thou shalt, not perish nor decay, Nor be orecome, not yet be cast away.

It is found written also, that Sibylla afterwards gaue out such a like oracle over the citic of ATHENS:

> The bladder blowne may fleete vpon the fludde, But cannot finke, nor flicke in filthy mudde.

Morcouer, because he would further yet augment his people, and enlarge his city, he enticed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the felfe fame freedome and printledges which the natural borne citizens had. So that many judge, that these words which are in vie at this day in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, come ye hither: be the felfe tame which Thefess then caused to be proclaimed, when he in that fort did gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all the the fuffered not the great multitude that came thicher tagge and ragge, to be without distinction of degrees and orders. For he first deuided the Noblemen offlares & from husbandmen and artificers, appointing the Noblemen as judges and Magistrats to judge vpon matters of Religion, and touching the service of the gods: and of hem also he did chuse moximente. rulers, to beare civill office in the common-weale, to determine the law, and to tell all holy and The stime things. By this meanes he made the Noblemen and the two other estates equall in voice. And as the Noblemen did passe the other in honour, even so the artificers exceeded them in regall pane number, and the husbandmenthem in profite. Now that Thefeus was the first who of all others er, and f. 4- yeelded to have a common-weale or popular estate (as Aristotle saith) and did give over his repular state. gall power: Homer selfe seemeth to testific it, in numbring the ships which were in the GR #-Anoxella. Clans army beforethe city of Troia. For amongst all the Gracians, he onely calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreover Thefews coyned money, which he marked with the stampe

of an oxe, in memory of the Ball of Marathon, or of Taurus the captaine of Minos, or else to prouoke his citizens to give themselves to labour. They fay also that of this money they were fince called Hecatombaon, and Decabaon, which fignifieth worth an hundred oxen, and worth ten Hecatom oxen. Furthermore having joyned all the territorie of the city of ME GARA vnto the countrey barn, Deof ATTICA, he caused that notable four fquare pillar to be set up for their confines within the straight of PELOPONNESVS; and engraved thereupon this superfeription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this:

Where Titan doth begin, his beames for to display, Euenthat way stands Ionia, in fertile wife alway: And where againe he goeth, adowne to take his rest, There slands Peloponnesus land, for there I compt it west.

It was he also which made the games called Isthmia, after the imitation of Hercules, to the end that as the GRECIANS did celebrate the feaft of games called Olympia, in the honour of Iupi. ter, by Hercules ordinance: fo, that they should also celebrate the games called Isthmia, by his olympia. order and inflitution, in the honour of Neptune. For those that were done in the straights in the honour of Melicerta, were done in the night, and had rather forme of facrifice or of a my- Thefene. sterie, then of games and open feast. Yet some will say, that these games of Isthmia were instituted in the honour and memory of Sciron, and that Thefens ordained them in fatisfaction of min in the his death: because he was his cosingermaine, being the sonne of Canethus, and of Heniocha Bonnar of the daughter of Pitheus. Other fay that it was Sinnis and not Sciron, and that for him Thefeus made these games, and not for the memory of the other. Howsocuer it was, he specially willed the Cominthians, that they should give vnto those that came from ATHENS to see their games of Isthmia, so much placeto sit downe before them in the most honourable part of the feast place) as the saile of their ship should cover, in the which they came from Athens: thus do Hellanicus and Andron Halicarnaffeus write hercof. Touching the voyage he made by the fea Maior, Phelochorus, and some other hold opinion, that he went thither with Hercules against the Thefen AMAZONES: and that to honour his valiantnesse, Hercules gauchim Antiopa the AMAZONE. iourny into But the more part of the other Historiographers, namely Hellanicus, Pherecides, and Herodotus, mare maior do write, that Thefeus went thither alone, after Hercules voyage, and that he tooke this A A A ZONE prisoner; which is likelieft to be true. For we do not find that any other who went this Antique iourney with him, had taken any AMAZONE prisoner besides himselse. Bion also the Histori- the dinsographer, this notwithstanding saith, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the fined by AMAZONES (faith he) naturally louing men, did not flie at all when they faw them land in their Thefen. countrey, but fent them prefents, and that Thefeus entited her to come into his shippe, who brought him a prefent; and to foone as fle was aboord, he hoyfed his faile, and to carried her away. Another Historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the historic of the city of NICEA in the countrey of BYTHINIA, faith: that Thef us having this AMAZONE Antiopa with him, remained a certaine time vpon those coasts, and that amongst other he had in his companie three youngerbrethren of ATHENS, Euneus, Thors, and Solois. This last, Solois, was maruellously in lone with Antiopa, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, faning vnto one salvi fell with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter vn- in lone with to Antiopa. But she veterly rejected his suite, though otherwise she handled it wisely and cur- amipa. teously, and did not complaine to Theseus of him. How beit the young man despairing to enjoy his loue, tooke it so inwardly, that desperatly he leapt into the river, and drowned himselfe. solois Which when Thefeus vnderstood, and the cause also the rought him to the desperation and drawned and he was very forward angreast. Whereamon he remembered a certaine Oracle of Bushin himself end, he was very fory, and angry alfo. Whereupon he remembred a certaine Oracle of Pythia, for lone. by whom he was commanded to build a city in that place in a strange countrey, where he should be most fory, and that he should leave some that were about him at that time, to gouerne the fame. For this cause therefore he built a city in that place, which he named Pyrho- pyllopsili POLIS, because he built it onely by the commandement of the Nume Pythia. He called the ri- built by uer in the which the young man was drowned, Solois, in memorie of him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as governors of this new city, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called Hermes. Hereof it cometh, that at this day the PYTHOPOLITANS calla certaine place of their city, Hermus house. But they faile in the accent, by putting it vpon the last syllable: for

I befeus

defference

degrees in

in pronouncing it fo, Hermus fignifieth Mercury. By this meanes they do transferre the honour

Zones again't the Ashenians.

Boft borus

7 befrees fightetha with the _/mazom. The order

cluded at foure mo. meanes of Hyppolita.

Orcemofian the name of

Ancient tombes of lofenge fa 1 bermoden Hamon fl.

H:ppolitus 7 beleus wife and danebier

The cause due to the memory of Hermus, ynto the god Mercury. Now heare what was the occasion of the wars of the Amazones, which me thinkes was not a matter of finall moment, nor an enterprife of a woman. For they had not placed their camp within the very city of Athens, nor had not fought in the very place it felfe (called PNYCE) adioyning to the temple of the Mules, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the country therabouts: neither had they all come at the first, so valiantly to assaile the city of Athens. Now, whether they came by land from so farre a countrey, or that they passed ouer an arme of the sea, which is called Bosphorus Cimmericus, being frosen as Hellanicus faith: it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very city it felfe, the names of the places which continue yet to this prefent day do witnesse it, and the graues also of the women which died there. But so it is, that both armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length Theleus having first made facrifice vnto Foure the goddesse, according to the counsell of a prophecy he had received, he gave them battel in the moneth of August, on the same day, in the which the A-THEN IANS do cuenat this prefent folemnife the feaft, which they cal Boedromia. But Clidemus the Historiographer, defirous particularly to write all the circustances of this encounter, faith, that the left point of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION; and that the right point marched by the fide of Chrysa, eue to the place which is called Pnyce, vpo which the ATHENIANS coming towards the temple of the Muses, did first give their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graves of the women which died in the first encounter, are found yet in the great fireete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neare vnto the chappell of the litle god Chalcodes. And the ATHENIANS (faith he) were in this place repulsed by the AMAZONS. cuento the place where the images of Eumenides are, that is to fay, of the furies. But on the other fide alfo, the Athenians coming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardettus, and Lucium, draue back their right point euen to within their campe, and flue a great number of them. Peace con- Afterwards, at the end of foure moneths, peace was taken between them by meanes of one of the women called Hyppolita. For this Hiftoriographer calleth the AMAZONE which Thefeus maried, Hyppolita and nor Antiopa. Neuertheleffe, some fay that she was flaine (fighting on The. feus fide) with a darr, by another called Molpadia. In memorie whereof, the pillar which is ioyned to the temple of the olympian ground, was fet vp in her honour. We are not to maruell, if the historie of things fo ancient, be found fo dinerly written. For there are also that write, that Queene Antiopa fent those fecretly which were hurt then into the city of CALCIDE, where some of them recouered, and were healed; and others also died, which were buried neare to the place called Amazonion. Howfoeuer it was, it is most certaine that this warre was ended by agreement. For a place adjoying to the temple of Thefens, doth beare record of it, being called orcomofium: because the peace was there by solemne oath concluded. And the facrifice also dorh truly verifie it, which they have made to the AMAZONS, before the feast of Thefews, long time out of mind. They of MEGARA also do shew a tombe of the AMAZONES in their citie, which is as they go from the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they find an ancient tombe, cut in forme and fashion of a losenge. They say that there died other of the AMAZONES allo, neare vnto the city of CHÆRONEA, which were buried all along the litle brooke paffing by the fame, which in the old time (in mine opinion) was called Thermodon, and is now named Hamon, as we have other places written in the life of Demosthenes. And it feemethalfo, that they did not paffe through THESSALY without fighting: for there are feene yet of their tombes all about the city of Scorvsa, hard by the rockes, which be called the dogees head. And this is that which is worthy memory (in mine opinion) touching the warres of these AMAZONES. How the Poet telleth that the AMAZONES made wars with Thefeas to reuenge the iniury he did to their Queene Antiora, refusing her, to marry with Phedra: and for the mur-The few for der which he telleth that Hercules did, that me thinkes is altogether but a denice of Poets. It is by antiopa. very true, that after the death of Antiopa, Thefeus married Phadra, having had before of Antiopa a sonne called Hyppolitus, or as the Poet Pindarus writeth, Demophon. And for that the Historiographers do not in any thing speake against the tragicall Poets, in that which concerneth the ill happe that chanced to him, in the persons of this his wife, and of his sonne: we must needes take it to be so, as we finde it written in the Tragedies. And yet we finde many other reports touching the mariages of Thefeus, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither fell out their ends very fortunate: and yet for all that they have made no Tragedies of them. neither

neither have they bene plaied in the Theaters. For we reade that he took away Anaxo, the Tro-EZENIAN, and that after he had killed Sinnis and Gereyon, he tooke their daughters perforce; and that he did also mary Phiribea the mother of Aiax, and afterwards Pherebea, and Ioppa the daughter of Iphicles. And they blame him much alfo, for that he fo lightly for fooke his wife Ariadne, for the loue of Agles the daughter of Panopeus, as we have recited before. Lastly, he tooke away Hellen: which raufhment filled all the Realme of ATTICA with wars, & finally was the very occafion that forced him to forfake his country, and brought him at length to his end, as we will tel you hereafter. Albeit in his time other Princes of GRECE had done many goodly & notable exploits in the wars, yet Herodotw is of opinion, that Thefew was never in any one of them: fauing that he was at the battel of the Lapithe against the Centauri, Others say to the contrary, that The Contrary he was at the journey of Cholchide with Iason, and that he did helpe Meleager to kil the wild Bore burels. of Calydonia: from whence (as they fay) this Prouerbe came : Not without Thefeus; meaning that Prouerbe. fuch a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that Theleus on theleus telfe did many famous acts, without aide of any man, and that for his valiant neffe this Prouerbe. came in vie, which is spoken: This is another Thefeus. Also he did helpe Adrastus King of the An-ther Thefees. GIVES, to recover the bodies of those that were slaine in the battell, before the city of Thebes. ". Howbeit it was not, as the Poet Euripides faith, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the THEBANS in battell but it was by composition. And thus the greatest number of the most anciet writers do declare it. Furthermore, Philochorus writerh, that this was the first treaty that ener was made to recover the dead bodies flaine in battell : Nevertheleffe we reade in the fiffories & geffes of Hereules, that he was the first that over suffered his enemies to carry away their dead bodies, after they had bene put to the fword. But who focuer he was, at this day in the village of ELEVIHERES, they do flew the place where the people were buried, & where Princes tombes are feen about the city of ELEVSIN, which he made at the request of Adrastus. And for testimony hereof, the tragedy Affilius made of the Elevsinians, where he caufeth it to be fookeneuen thus to The feus himself, doth clearely ouerthrow the petitioners in Euripides. Touching the friendship betwixt Pirithous and him, it is faid it began this. The renowne of his valiancy was Thosewaramaruelloufly blown abroad through all GRECE, & Pirithous definous to know it by experience listing went even of purpose to inuade his country, & brought away a certaine booty of oxe of his taken out of the country of MARATHON. The feus being aduertifed therof, armed straight, & went friend hip to the refere. Perithous hearing of his coming, fled not at all, but recurned back fuddenly to meet with him. him. And so foon as they came to see one another, they borh wondred at each others beauty & courage, and fo had they no defire to fight. But Pirithous reaching out his hand first to Theseus, faid vnto him; I make your selfe indge of the damage you have fuftained by my invasion, and with all my heart I will make fuch farisfaction, as ir shall please you to asset it at. These as the did not only release him of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Herupon they were presently sworn brethren in the field: after Perithons which oath betwixt them, Pirithous maried Deidamia, & fent to pray Thefens to come to his maringe, to visite his country, and to make merry with the Lapithe He had bidden also the Centauri them in the to the feaft: who being drunke, committed many lewd parts, euen to the forcing of women. field. Howbeit the Lapith & chastised them fo well, that they flue fome of them prefently in the place, maried De. and drane the rest forwards out of the countrey by the helpe of Theseus, who armed himselfe, idamia. and fought on their fide. Yet Herodotus writeth the matter formwhat contrary, faying that Thefe-the overzes went not at all vntill the war was well begun: and that it was the first time that he saw Hercules, come the and spake vnto him neare vnto the city of Trachina, when he was then quiet, having ended all Those and the city of Trachina when he was then quiet, having ended all Those and the city of Trachina when he was then quiet, having ended all Those and the city of his far voyages, and greatest troubles. They report that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnesse, and honorable entertainement betweene them, and great curtesse was metal Traoffered to each other. Neuertheleffeme thinkes we fhould give better credite to those writers ebina. that fay they met many times together, and that Heroules was accepted and received into the brotherhood of the mysteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenance and fauor which Thefens shewed vnto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of who was to be purged of necessitie of all his ill deeds and cruelcies, before he could enter into the company of These sift thole holy mysteries. Furthermore, Theseus was fiftie yeares old when he tooke away Hellen inguistry and rainfied her, which was very young, and not of age to be maried, as Hellanicus faith. By old when 60 reason whereof, some seeking to hide the rauishment of her as a haynous fact, do report it Hellen.

The maner Dirna Or.

Thefeus left Hellenia the citienf Aphidnes.

Thefeus mout mith Pirithous Profertias Aidoneus daughter. Pirithous Cerberus. Thefeus clefe prifo

the Atheni-

Marathon, 100:1 6 ra zed by the Alycus Scislaine at

was not he, but one Idas and Lyncens that caried her away, who left her in his cuftodie and keeping: and that Theseus would have kept her from them, and would not have delivered her to her brethren Callor and Pollux, which afterwards did demand her againe of him. Others againe fay, it was her owne father Tyndarus, who gaue her to keepe, for that he was affraid of Enarfbhorus the fonne of Hippocoon, who would have had her away by force. But that which cometh nearest to the troth in this case, & which indeed by many authors is testified, was in this fort. Thefeus & Perithous wentrogether to the city of LACED EMON, where they took away Hellen (being yet very yong) euen as she was dancing in the temple of Diana surnamed Orthia: and they fled for life. They of LACED EMON sentafter her, but those that followed went no further then the city of TEGEA. Now when they were escaped out of the country of PELOPONNESVS. they agreed to draw lots together, which of them two should haucher, with condition that whose lot it were to have her, he should take her to his wife, & should be boundalso to help his companion to get him another. It was Thefeus hap to light vpon her, who caried her to the city of APHIDNES, because she was yet too young to be maried. Whither he caused his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called Aphidnus the charge of them both, recomending her to his good care, and to keep it fo fecretly, that no body should know what was become of her. Because he would do the like for Perithous (according to the agreement made betwixt them) he went into Epirvs with him to steale the daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians, who had furnamed his wife Proferpina, his daughter Proferpina, and his dogge Cerberus, with whom he made them fight which came to aske his daughter in mariage, promiting to give her to him that should ouercome his Cerberus. But the king vnderstanding that Perithous was come, not to request his daughter in mariage, but to steale her away, he tooke him prisoner with Theseus: torn in pee- and as for Pirithous, he caused him presently to betorne in peeces with his dogge, and shut Thefess up in close prison. In the meane time there was one at ATHENS called Menestheus, the sonne of Peteus: which Peteus was the fon of Orneus, and Orneus was the fon of Erictheus. This Menefibens was the first that began to flatter the people, and did seeke to win the fauour of the communaltic, by sweet entifing words: by which denice he stirred up the chiefest of the city against Thesens (who indeed long before began to be weary of him) by declaring vnto them how Thefeus had taken from them their royalties and figniories, and had shut them up in such fort within the walles of a city, that he might the better keep them in fubication and obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour fort of people he did stirre vp also to rebellion, perswading them that it was no other then a dreame of liberty which was promifed them: and how contrariwisethey were clearely dispossessed and thrown out of their owne houses, of their temples, and from their naturall places where they were borne, to the end onely, that in liew of many good and louing Lords which they were wont to have before, they should now be compelled to serue one onely head, and a strange Lord. Euen as Menestheus was very hote about this practife, the war of the Tyndarides fell out at that instant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For thefe Tyndarides (to wit the children of Tyndarus) Castor and Pollux, came down with a great army against the city of ATHENS: and some suspect fore that Monestheus was cause of their comming thither. Howbeitat the first entrie they did no hurt at all in the countrey, but only demanded restitution of their fister. To whom the citizens made answer, that they knew not where she was left: and then the brethren began to make spoile, and offer warre indeed. Howbeit there was one called Academus, who having knowledge (I cannot tell by what meane) that flie was fecretly hidden in the city of Aphidnes, reucaled it vnto the. By reason wherofthe Tyndarides did alwaies honor him very much, fo long as he lived, and afterwards the LACED ÆMONIANS, having of burnt & destroyed the whole country of Arrica throughout, they would yet never touch the Academie of ATHENS for Academus fake. Yet Dicearchus faith, that in the armie of the Tyndarides there were two ARCADIANS, Echedemus and Marathus, and how of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemic, which fithence hath bene called Academia:and after the name of the other, there was a village called MARATHON, because he willingly Timiarides offered himself to be facrificed before the battell, as obeying the order and commandement of a prophecie. So they went and pitched their campe before the city of APHIDNES, and having wonne the battell, and taken the city by affault, they razed the place. They fay that Alyeus, the the battell fonne of Sciron was flaine at this field, who was in the hoaft of the Tyndarides, and that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called Alyeus, in the which his body

was buried. Howbeit Hereas writeth that Thefeus felfe did kill him before Aphidnes: In wirnesse whereof he alledgeth certaine verses which speake of Alycus.

While as he fought with all his might and maine In thy defence, faire Hellen for to fight, In Aphidnes upon the pleasant plaine, Bold Thefeus to cruell death him dight,

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that Theseus being there, the city of APHIDNES, and his mother also were taken. But when it was wonne, they of ATHENS beganto quake for feare, and Menestheus counselled them to receive the Tyndarides into the city, and to make them good cheere, fo they would make no wars but vpon Thefeus, which was the first that had done them the wrong and iniury:and that to all other else they should shew fauour and good will. And so it fell out. For when the Tyndarides had all in their power to do as they listed, they demanded nothing else but that they might be received into their corporation, and not to be reckoned for strangers, no more then Hercules was: the which was granted the Tyndarides, and Aphidnus did The Tynadopt them for his children, as Pylins had adopted Hercules. Moreouer they did honor them as if darides had adopted Hercules. they had bene gods, calling them Anaces. Either because they ceased the wars, or for that they ordered themselves so well, that their whole army being lodged within the city, there was not called ding. any hurt or displeasure done to any person: but as it became those that have the charge of any thing, they did carefully watch to preserve the good quiet thereof. All which this Greeke word Anacos doth fignific, whereof perchance it comes that they call the kings Anacos. There are o- 163. thers also who hold opinion that they were called Anaces, because of their starres which appeadings and the startes which appeadings and the startes which appeadings and the startes which appead the startes which appears the startes which red in the aire. For the Attican tongue faith, Anaces, and Anecathen: where the common peoAnaces. ple fay ino, and Anothen, that is to fay, aboue. Neuertheleffe Athra Thefeus mother, was caried why fo calprisoned to LACED EMON, and from thence to TROLA with Hellen, as some say: and as Homer led. himselse doth witnesse in his verses, where he speaketh of the women that followed Hellen:

Athra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Sire, And with her faire Clymene she, whose eyes most men desire.

Yetthere are other who as well reject these two verses, and maintaine they are not Homers: as Diverse also they reprote all that is reported of Munychus: to wit, that Lacetde Wing printilly conceived pinious of of him by Demophon, he was brought vp fecretly by Athra within TROIA. But Hefter the hiftorian in his thirteenth of his histories of Arrica, maketh a recitall far contrary to other, laying that fome hold opinion, that Paris Alexander was flaine in battell by Achilles and Patroclus in the country of Thessaly, neare to the river of Sperchius, & that his brother Hector took the city of Sperchi. TROEZEN, from whence he brought away Athra: in which there is no maner of appearance or ms. likehhood. But Adonius king of the Molossians, feasting Hercules one day as he passed through his Realme, descended by chance into talke of Theseus and Perithous, how they came to feale away his daughter fecretly: and after told how they were also punished. Hercules was maruellous forry to vuderstand that one of them was now dead, and the other in danger to die; and thought with himselfe that to make his mone to Adoneus, it would not helpe the matter; he Theseus de. befought him only that he would deliner Thefens for his fake. And he granted him. Thus Thefens Incredent being deliuered of his captivity, returned to Athens, where his friends were not altogether kept Hereules vnder by his enemics: & at his returne he did dedicate to Hercules all the temples, which the city means. had beforecaused to be built in his owne honour. And where first of all they were called The. fea, he did now farname them all Herculea, excepting foure, as Philochorus writeth. Now when he was arrived at ATHENS, he would immediatly have commanded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found himselfe troubled much with sedition, because those who had hated him of a long time, had added also to their old cankred hate, a disdaine and contempt to The Ather feare him any more. And the common people now were become so stubborne, that where before they would have done all that they were commanded; and have spoken nothing to the contrary to the looked to be horne with and flattered. Wherever, the flattered with the first flattered with the flattered with the flattered with the first flattered with the first flattered with the flattere trary now they looked to be borne with, and flattered. Whereupon Theseusthought at the first to have vsed force, but he was forced by the faction and contention of his enemies to let all alone, and in the end, despairing he should euer bring his matters to passe to his desire, he secretly fent away his children vnto the Ile of Evno BA, to Elphenor the fonne of Chalcodus. And himfelfe, after he had made many wishes & curses against the Athenians, in the village of Gar-GETTVs, in a place which for that cause to this day is called Arateriod, (that is to say, the place of

Æibra ta

to Lacede.

Thefeus Sciros

Thefeus c = : éll v Caine by Lycomedes. i eneffhens king of A zirens . Thefeus funzes.

Thefeus

Neptune who called Asphaises and Gaio

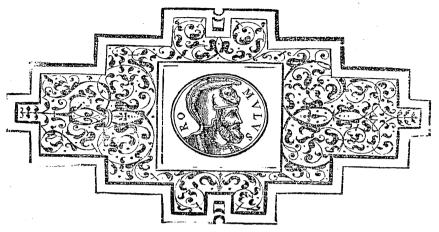
curfings the did take the feas, & went into the He of Scinos, where he had goods, and thought alfo to have found friends. Lycomedes reigned at that time, and was king of the Ile, vnto whom to the It of Thefeus made request for fome land, as intending to dwell there: albeit some say that he required him to giue him aide against the ATHENIANS. Lycomedes, were it that he doubted to enterraine fo great a personage, or that he did it to gratifie Menestheus: caried him vp to the high rockes, faining as though he would from thence have shewed him all his country round about: but when he had him there, he threw him downe headlong from the top of the rocks to the bottome, and put him thus vnfortunatly to death. Yet other write, that he feldowne of himselfe by an unfortunate chance, walking one day after supper as he was wont. There was no man at that time that did follow or pursue his death, but Menestheus quietly remained king of ATHENS: and the children of Thefem, as private souldiers followed Elphinor in the warres of TROIA. But atter the death of Menestheus, who died in the journey to TROY, Theseus sonnes returned vnto ATHENS, where they recouered their state. Sithence there were many occasions which moued the ATHENIANS to reuerence and honour him as a demy God. For in the battell of Marathon. many thought they saw his shadow and image in armes, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the warres of the Medes (the yeare wherein Phadon was gouernour of ATHENS) the Nume Pethia aniwered the ATHENIANS, who had fent to the Oracle of Apolio: that they should bring backe the boncs of Thefeus, and putting them in some honourable place, they should preserve and honour them deuoutly. But it was a hard matter to find his graue; and if they had found it, yet had it bin a hard thing to have brought his bones away, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that He:which were so wild and fierce, that none could trade or liue with them. Notwithstanding Gimon having taken the Iland(as we have written in keth the lle his life) and feeking his graue: perceining by good hap an Eagle pecking with her beake, and fcraping with her clawes in a place of some prety height: straight it came into his mind (as by diuine inspiration) to search and digge the place, where was found the tombe of a great body, with the head of a speare which was of brasse, & a sword with it. All which things were brought to ATHENS by Cimon in the admirall gally. The ATHENIANS received them with greatioy. with processions and goodly sacrifices, as if Thefeus himselfe had bene aliue, and had returned into the city againe. At this day all these relickes lye yet in the middest of the city, neare to the place where the yong men do vie all their exercises of body. There is free liberty of accesse for all slaues and poore men (that are afflicted and pursued by any mightier then themselues) to pray and facrifice in remembrance of Thefew: who while he lived was protector of the oppreffed, and did curteously receive their requests and petitions that prayed to have aid of him. The greatest & most solemne sacrifice they do vnto him, is on the eight day of October, in which he returned from CRETA with the other yong children of ATHENS. Howbeit they do not leave to honour him euery eight day of all other moneths, either because he arrived from TROE-ZEN at ATHENS the eight day of Iune, as Diodorus the Cosmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meetelt for him, because the bruite ranne he was begotten of Neptune. They do sacrifice also to Neptune the eight day of enery moneth, because the number of eight is the first cube made of euen number, and the double of the first square: which doth represent a stedsastnesse immoueable, properly attributed to the might of

Neptune, whom for this cause we furname Asphalius, and Gaiochus, which by interpretation doth fignifie the lafe keeper, and the stayer of the earth.

The end of Thefeus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF Romulus.





HE Historiographers do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause the great name of the city of Rome (the glory whereof is Dinerseop). blowne abroad through all the world) was first given vnto it. For some the name of thinke that the Pelasgians, after they had ouercome the greatest part of Rome. the world, and had inhabited and fubdued many nations, in the end did stay themselues in that place where it was new builded: and for their great strength and power in armes, they gaue the name of Rome vnto the city, as fignifying power in the Greeke tongue, Other fay, that after the taking and destruction of TROIA, there were certaine TROIANS,

which fauing themselues from the fword, tooke such vessels as they found at aduenture in the hauen, and were by winds put to the Thyscane shore, where they anckered neare vnto the riner of Tyber. There their wives being so fore sea sick, that possibly they could not any more endure the boilterous surges of the seas, it happened one of them among the rest (the noblest and wifest of the company) called Roma, to counsell the other women of her companions to set their ships a fire; which they did accordingly. Wherewith their husbands at the first were maruellously offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessitie to plant themselves neare vnto the city of Pallantivn, they were appealed when they faw things prosper better then they hoped for, finding the foile there fertile, and the people their neighbours civill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore among other honours they did to requite this Lady Roma, they called their city after her name, as from whom came the originall cause of the building and foundation thereof. They fay, that from thence came this custome continuing yet to this day at Rome, that the women faluting their kinsefolkes and husbands, dokisse them on the ning of kismonth; for so did these Trotan Ladies to please their husbands, and to winner them againe, sing their after they had lost their fauours, and procured their displeasures with burning of their shippes. kinfolk on the mouth Other fay, that Roma was the daughter of Italus, and of Lucaria, or elle of Telephus the came from fonne of Hercules, and the wife of AEneas: other fay, of Ascanius, the sonne of AEneas, who the Trian named the city after her name. Other hold opinion, that it was Romanus (the fonne of Vliffes and of Circe) that first founded Rome: other will fay that it was Romus the sonne of Emathion, whom Diomedes fent thither from Troia. Other write that it was one Romis a tyrant of the LATINS, who draue the Thys cans out of those parts: which departing out of Thessaly, went first of all into Lydia, and afterwards from Lydia into Italy. And furthermore, they C 4

Falles of Romalus

who thinke that Romalus (as indeed it carieth best likelihood) was he that gaue the name to the city, do not agree about his anceflors. For fome of them write, that he was the fonne of Aneas and of Dexithea the daughter of Phorbus, and that he was brought into Iraly of a litle child with his brother Remus: and that at that time the river of Tyber being overflowne, all other ships were cast away, fauing the shippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good hap came to ftay vpon a very plaine euen ground on the banke: and because the children beyond all hope were faued by this means, therfore the place was afterwards called Roma. Other fay, that Roma the daughter of the first Troian Lady was maried vnto Latinus the son of Telemachus, by whom she had Romulus. Other write, that it was Almilia the daughter of Aneas, and of Lauinia, which was gotten with child by the god Mars. Other telatale of Romulus birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is faid that there was sometime a king of ALBA named Tarchetius, a very wicked and cruell man, in whose house through the permission of the gods, appeared such a like vision: that there rose vp in the harth of his chimney the forme and fashion of a mans priny member, which continued there many daies. And they fay, that at that time there was in Thy s-CANE an oracle of Thetis, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king Tarchetius such an of theusin answer; that he should cause his daughter yet vnmaried to have carnall company with the strange thing, for she should beare a some, that should be famous for his valiancie, for strength of body, and his happy fuccesse, wherein he should exceed all men of his time. Tarchetius told this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this strange thing: but she disdaining to do it, sent one of her wayting women to vndertake the entertainement. But Tarchetius was fo mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddesse Vesta appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and charged him he should not do it. Whereupon he did command them to make him a peece of cloth in the prison, with promise that they should be maried when they had finished it. These poore maids toiled at it all the line long day, but in the night there came other (by Tarchetins commandement) that did vndo all they had done the day before. In the mean time, this waiting woman that was got with child by this strange thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twins: whom Tarchetius gaue ynto one Teratius, with expresse commandement he should cast them away. This Teratius caried them vnto the banke of the river: thither came ashe Wolfeand gave them sucke, and certains birds that brought little crums and put them in their mouthes, vntill a fwine-heard perceiuing them, and wondring at the fight, did boldly go to the children, and tooke them away with him. These infants being thus preserved, after they were come to mans state, did set vpon Tarche. zins and flue him. One Promathien an Italian writer, deliuereth this story thus. But the report that carieth best credite of all, and is allowed of by many writers, cometh from Diocles Peparethian, (whom Fabius Piëlor followeth in many things) who was the first that put forth this story among the GRECIANS, and specially the chiefest points of it. Though this matter be somewhat dinertly taken, yet in effect the flory is thus. The right line and bloud of the kings of AL-BA descended from AEneas, by succession from the father to the sonne: and the kingdome fell in the end betweene two brethren, Wumitor and Amulius, They agreed by lot to make divition betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the gold, filuer, ready money, goods and iewels brought from TROIA. Numitor by his lot chose the Realme for his portion: Amulius having all the gold and treasure in his hands, did find himselfe thereby the stronger, and so did easily take his Realme from him. And fearing lest his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddesse Vesta, there to passe her dayes in virginity, and neuer to-be maried: (some call her Rhea, other sylma, and other Ilia) neuertheleffe not long after the was found with child, against the rule and profession of the Westall Numes. So nothing had saued her from present death, but the petition of Antho the daughter of king Amulius, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithstanding she was straightly locked vp, that no body could see her, nor speake with her, lest the should be brought to bed without Amulius knowledge. In the end she was deliuered of two faire boyes and maruellous greattwins; which made Amulius more affraid then before. So he commanded one of his men to take the two children, and to throw them away, and deftroy them. Some fay that this feruants name was Faulfulus: other thinke it was he that brought them vp. But who foeuer he was, he that had the charge to throw them away put them in a trough, and went towards the riner with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it rifen fo high,

fragments of Fabius Pistor, and of Calo. See alfo H. licarnaffeus, and T. Livios. Romalus

Remulu

kindred.

and running fo swifely, that he durst not come neare the waters side, and so they being in the trough, he laid them on the banke. In the meane time the river swelling still, and overslowing the banke; in such fortthat it came under the trough, did gently life up the trough, and caried it vnto a great plaine, called at this present Cermanum, and in the old time Germanum (as Itake it) Cermanum. because the Romaines called the brothers of father and mother, Germani. Now there was neare vnto this place a wild fig-tree which they called Ruminalis, of the name of Romalus, as the Rominalis, most pare thought: or else because the beasts feeding there, were wont to come under the same in the extreme heate of the day, and there did ruminate, that is, chew their cudde in the shadow: or perhaps because that the two children did sucke the teate of the Wolfe, which the ancient LATINS call RVMA, and they at this day do yet call the goddesse on whom they cry out to give The godtheir children sucke, Rymilia. And in their sacrifices to her they vseno wine, but offer up desse Romi. milke and water mingled with hony. To these two childrenlying there in this fort, they write, there came a she Wolfe, and gaue them suck, and a Hitwaw also which did helpe to nourish and keepe them. Thefetwo beafts are thought to be confecrated to the god Mars, and the LATINS do fingularly honour and reuerence the Hitwaw. This did much helpe to give credite to the words of the mother, who affirmed she was conceined of those two children, by the god Mars. Howbeit some thinke she was deceined in her opinion: for Amulius that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce did rauish her. Other hold opinion that the name of the nurse which gaue the two children sucke with her breasts, gaue occasion to common report to erre much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the LATINS do call with one selfe name she Wolfes Lupas, and women that give their bodies to all comers: as this nurse the wise of Faustulus (that brought these children home to her house) did vseto do. By her right name she was called Acca Laurentia, vnto whom the Romaines do sacrifice yet vnto rentia Fau. this day: & the Priest of Mars doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the shedding of wine that mured & milk accustomed at Lurials, and the feast it selfe is called Laurentia. It is true that they honor the town. also another Laurentia for like occasion. The clerk or fexte of Hercules temple, nor knowing one The Greeke day how to drine away the time, as it should seeme: of a certaine line linessee and boldnesse, did rental defire the god Hercules to play at dice with him, with condition that if he did winne, Hercules should be bound to send him some good fortune and if it were his lucke to lose, then he promifed Hercules he would provide him a very good supper, & would besides bring him a faire gentlewoman to Iye withall. The conditions of the play thus rehearfed, the fexten first cast the dice for Hercules, and afterwards for himselfe. It fell out that Hercules wan, and the sexten meaning good faith, and thinking it very meet to performe the bargaine that himself had made, prepared a good supper, and hired this Laurentia the curdian, which was very faire, but as yet of no great Laurentia faine, to cometo it. Thus having feasted within the temple, and prepared a bed ready there, af- fest. ter supper he locked her into the temple, as if Hercules should have come indeed, and lyen with Laurentia her. And it is said for troth that Hercules came thicker, and commanded her in the morning the her. And it is faid for troth, that Hercules came thither, and commanded her in the morning she should go into the market place, and salute the first man she met, & keep him euer for her friend. Which thing she performed, and the first man she met was called Tarrutius, a man of great Tarrutius. yeares, and one that had gathered together maruellous wealth and riches. He had no children at all, neither was he cuer maried. He fell acquainted with this Laurentia, and loued her fo dearely, that shortly after chancing to die, he madeher heire of all he had :-whereof she disposed afterwards by her last will and testament, the best and greatest part vnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported also, that she now being growne to be famous & of great honor (as thought to be the lemman of a god) did vanish away suddenly in the self same place where the first Lanremia was buried. The place at this day is called relabrum: because the river being overslowne, relabrum they were oftentimes compelled to paffe by bote to go to the market place, and they called this where fi maner of ferrying oner, Velatura. Other fay, that those tumblers and common players, which are Decad. shewed fundry games and passimes to win the fauour of the people, were wont to couer that passage ouer with canuas clothes & veiles, by which they go from the market place to the lists or show place where they run their horses, beginning their race even at that place; and they call a veile in their tongue, Velum. This is the cause why the second Laurentia is honoured at Rome. Faustulus chiefe neat-heard to Amulius, tooke vp the two children, and no body knew it, as some fay; or as others report (and likest to be true) with the privity and knowledge of Numitor Amulius brother, who fecretly furnished them with mony that brought vp the two yong children. It

Romalar & is faid alfothey were both connected vnto the city of the Garlans, where they were brought vp at schoole, and taught all other honest things, which they vse to teach the sons and children of good and Noble men. Further they fay, they were named Remus and Remulus because they were found fucking on the teats of a Wolfe. Now the beautie of their bodies did presently shew, beholding onely but their stature and maner of their countenances, of what nature and linage they were and as they grew in yeares, their manly courage increased maruellously, so as they became flout and hardy men, in so much as they were neuer troubled or astonied at any danger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that Romalus had more wit and vnderstanding the his brother Remus. For in all things wherin they were to deale with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limits of their pastures, it was easily discerned in him, that he was borne to command, and not to obey. For this cause they were both exccedingly beloued of their companions, & of those which were their inferiors. As for the kings heardine, they passed not much for them, saying that they were euen like themselues, and so seemed not to care a pinne for their anger or displeasure, but wholly gaue themselves to all gentlemanly exercises and trades, thinking to line idly and at ease without trauell, was neither comely nor convenient: but to exercife and harden heir bodies with hunting, running, purfuing murderers and thecues, and to helpe those which were oppressed with wrong and violence, should be credit and commendation to them. By reason whereof, in very short time they grew to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chance there arose some strife and variance betweene the heardmen of Amulius, and the heardmen of Numeter: in to much as those that were Numitors, caried away by force fome cattell of the others. The other fide would not beare that, but purfued fast after, and beating them wel-fauoredly, they made them take their legs, and brought back againe the greatest part of the cattell they had carried sway with them. Whereat Numitor stormed maruelloufly, but yet his men feemed to make but litle account of it, and purpofing reuenge, they gathered about them a good company of vacabounds (that had neither home nor resting place) and certaine fugitiue bondmen which they entifed ill-fauouredly, incouraging them to steale away from their maisters. Thus one day whilest Romulus was busic about some facrifice (being a deuout man and religious, and well giuen to ferue the gods, and to learne to diuine and tell beforehand what things should happen and come to passe) it happened the heardmen of Numitor to meete Remus very flenderly accompanied: fo they fell vpon him fuddenly: blowes were dealt roundly on both fides, and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit Numitors men in the endproued the stronger part, & tooke Remus by force, & caried him straight before Mumitor, alledging many complaints and matters against him. Numitor durst not punish him of his own authority, because he feared his brother Amelius, who was somewhat terrible:but went vnto him, and earneftly befought him to do him inflice, and not to fuffer him being his owne brother, to receive such injurie of his men. There was not a man in the city of ALBA, but did greatly mislike the iniury done to Namitor: and spake it openly, that he was no person to be offered fuch a wrong. Info much as Amutius moued herewith, did deliuer Remus into his hands, to punish him as he thought good. Whereupon Numitar caried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he began to consider better of him, with admiratio how goodly a yong man he was, how in height and ftrength of body he passed all the rest of his people, and perceiuing in his face an affur d conftancy, and bold stedfass courage that yeelded not, nor was abashed for any danger he saw towards him: and hearing also the reports of his acts and man-Galapronie hood to be answerable to that he faw: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion, by some secret inspiration of the gods, which ordaine the depth of great matters) began partly by coniecture, and partly by chance to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his father and mother: speaking to him in a more gentle wife, and with a friendlier countenance then before, to make him the bolder to answer, & be of better hope. Remns boldly answered him. Truly I will not hide the troth from thee, for thou feemest to be more worthy to be King then tion, accla- thy brother Amulius. For thou enquirest, and hearest first before thou condemnest: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill now we thought we had bene the chilbimelfe dren of two of the Kings servants, to wit of Faustilus and of Laurentia: I say we, because my bis trailer. brother and I are two twins. But feeing we are now falfely accused vnto thee, and by malicious furmised tales are wrongfully brought in danger of our lines: we intend to discouer our selues, and to declare ftrange things vnto thee, whereof the prefent perill we now ftand in, shal plainly

more firangely, and in our tender yeares were fed by birds and wild beafts, to whom we were cast our as a prey. For a Wolfe gaue vs sucke with her teats, and an Hitwaw(they say) brought vs litle crimmes, and put them in our mouthes, as we lay vponthe banke by the river, where we were put in atrough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of copper, vpon the which are fome letters engrauen half worne out, which peraduenture will one day ferue for fome tokens of knowledge (unprofitable for our parents) when it shall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. Numitor then comparing these words, with the age the young man seemed Rumitors to be of, and confidering well his face, did not reject the hope of his imagination that finiled on wiedome. him, but handled the matter fo, that he found meanes to speake secretly with his daughter, notwithstanding arthat time she was kept very straightly. Faustalus in the meane time hearing that Remus was prisoner, and that the King had delinered him already into the hands of his brother Numitor todo inflice, went to pray Romalus to helpe him, and told him then whose children Fausulus they were for before he had never opened it to them but in darke speeches, and glauncing wise, remains the state of the st and fo much as fufficed to put them in some hope. So Faustulus taking the trough with him at that time, went vnto Numitor in great halte, as maruelloufly affraid for the prefent danger he thought Remns in. The kings fouldiers which warded at the gates of the city, began to gather fome sufpition of Faustulus maner of coming: and he made himselfe to be the more suspected; being questioned with about the cause of his repaire thither, that he saltred in his words, besides they espied his trough which he caried under his cloke. Now amongst the warders, there was by chance one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be cast away, and was present when they were left on the banke of the river to the mercy of fortune. This man knew the trough by and by, as well by the fashion, as by the letters grauen vpon it: who mistrufled ftraight that which was true indeed. So he did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, & led Fanftulus with him to have him confesse the troth. Faustulus being in this perplexity, could not keepe all close vpon examination, but did ytter out somewhat of the matter, and he told not all. For he plainely instiffed the children were aline; yet he faid they were farre from the city of Alba, where they kept bealts in the fields. And as for the trough, he was going to carry it to Ilia, because she had dinerse times praied him to let her see & feeleit: to the end the might be more affured of her hope, who promifed her that one day she should see her children againe. So it chanced vnto Amulius at that time, as it commonly doth Amulius vnto those that are troubled, and do any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to fend professional or the things was a year based man burn great friend of his bank. one presently (who in all other things was a very honest man, but a great friend of his brother Namitors) to aske him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aline. This perfon being come to Numitors house, found him ready to embrace Remus, who fell to be wirnelle thereof, and of the good hap disconcred vnto Numitor: whereupon he perswaded him how to fet vpon hisbrother, & to dispatch the matter with speed. So from that time forwards, he tooke their part. On the other fide also the matter gaue them no leisure to deferre their enterprise, although they had bene willing: for the whole case was somewhat blowne abroad. So Romulus then got straight a power, and drew very neare the city, and many of the citizens of $A_{\rm LEA}$ went out to ioyne with him, who cither feared or hated Amulius. Now Romulus power which he brought (ouer and befides those citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were divided by hundreds, and every hundred had his captaine who marched before his band, carrying litle bundels of graffe or of boughes tied to the end of their poles. The LATINES call these bundels Manipulos, whereof it cometh that yet at this day in an army of the ROMAINES, the fouldiers which are all vnder one enfigne, are called Manipulares. So Remus stirring vp those that were within the city, and Romalus bringing in men from without, the tyrant Amulius fell in such forward against the without provided. feare and agony, that without prouiding any thing for his fafety, they came vpon him suddenly in his pallace, and fluc him. Thus you heare how neare Fabius Pictor and Diocles Peparethian do doubles Pepareth

city of Rome: howbeit there are that think they are all but fables and tales denifed of pleasure.

But me thinks for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or discredited, if we will consi-

der fortunes strange effects vpon times, and of the greatnes also of the Romaine empire: which

had neuer atchieued to her present possessed power and authority, if the gods had not from the

beginning bene workers of the same, and if there had not also bene some strange cause, and

agree in reciting the flory, who was the first in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the

Strife be Rignarium

flying of Vultures.

wonderfull foundation. Amulius being now flaine as before, and after that all things were appeafed and reduced to good order againe, Remus and Romulus would not dwell in the city of ALBA, being no Lords thereof, nor also would be Lords of it, so long as their grandfather by the mothers fide was aliue. Wherefore after they had reftored him to his estate, and had done the honour and duty they ought vnto their mother, they purposed to go and build a citic in those places where they had bene first brought vp, for this was the honestest colour they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peraduenture they were enforced fo to do whether they would or not, for the great number of banished men, and fugitiue slaues which were gathered together by them for their strength, who had bene vitterly lost and cast away, if they had bene once discharged by them. Therefore it was of necessitie that they should dwell by themselues, separated in some place, to keepe this number together and in some order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the city of ALBA would not fuffer fuch banished persons and runagates to be mingled amongst them, nor would receive them into their city to be free among them. All which appeareth furficiently: first, because they tooke away women by force: and so not of insolency, but of necessity, when they found no man that would bestow any of them. It is manifest also they did greatly honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Purthermore, when their citie began a litle to be fetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitives and afficted persons, which they called the temple of the god Asileus: where there was fanctuarie and fafety for all forts of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple: for whom it was alledged, they could not deliner any bondman to his maiiter, nor detter to his creditor, nor the murtherer to the Iustice, that was fled thither for succour, because the oracle of Apollo the Delphian had expresly eniouned them to grant sanctuarie to all those that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in short space their city slourished, and was replenished, where at the first foundation of it, they say there was not aboue one thousand houses, as more at large hereafter shall be declared. When they came now to the building of their citie, Romulus and Romus the two brethren fell suddenly at a strife together about the place where the city should be builded. For Romulus built Rome, which is called four fquare, and would needs it should remain in the place which he had chosen. Remus his brother chose another place very strong of situation, vpon mount Auentine, which was called after his name Remorium. and now is called Rignarium. Notwithstanding, in the end they agreed betweene themselues this controuersie should be decided by the slying of birds, which do give a happy divination of things to come. So being fet in diverse places by themselves to make observation, some say that there appeared vnto Remus fix, and to Romulus twelve vultures. Others fay that Remus truly faw fixe, and Romulus feined from the beginning that he faw twife as many . but when Remus came to him, then there appeared twelve indeed vnto Romulus; and this is the cause why the ROMANES at this day in their diminations and fouthfayings of the flying of birds, do maruelloufly observe the flying of the vultures. It is true which the Historiographer Herodotus Ponticus writeth, that Hercules reloyced much when there appeared a vultur to him, being ready to begin any enterprise. For it is the fowle of the world that doth least hurt, and neuer marreth nor destroyethany thing that man doth fow, plant, or set: considering hat she feedeth on cario nonly, and doth neuer hurt nor kill any living thing. Also she dorh not prey vpon dead fowle, for the likeneffe that is betweenethem: where the cagles, the dukes, and the fakers, do murther, kill, and cate those which are of their owne kind. And yet as Achylus faith, Needs must that fowle accounted be most vile,

Melt ravening and full of filthy mind, Which doth himfelfe continually defile, By preying still upon his proper kind.

Moreouer, other birds are alwayes (as a man would fay) before our eyes, and do daily shew themselues vnto vs. where the vultur is a very rare bird, and hardly to be seene, and men do not eafily find their ayries. Which hath given some occasion to hold a false opinion, that the vulturs are paffagers, and come into these parts out of strange countries. The prognosticators also thinke, that fuch things which are not ordinary, and but feldome feene, be not naturall, but miraculously fent by the gods to prognosticate something. When Remus knew how his brother had mocked him, he was very angrie with him. And when Romulus had casta ditch, as it were for the wall about his citie, Remus did not onely scorne it, but hindred also his worke, and

in the end for a mockery leapt ouer his wall. To conclude, he did so much, that at the last he was flaine there by Romulus owne hands, as some say: or as other hold opinion, by one of his b Romulus owne hands, as some say: mca, which was called Celer. In this fight they flue Faustalus, and Plestinus also his brother, who or celer. had holpen him to bring vp Romulus. Howfocuer the matter fell out, this Celer absented himself from Rome, and went into the country of Thus cane. And they fay, that men which are quick and ready vpon a fodaine, took their names cuer after of him, & were called Celeres. As amongst other, Quintus Metellus after the death of his father, having in very few daies made the people of be called. Rome to see a combat of sencers (called Gladiatores) fighting at the sharpe, they surnamed him Questions Celer, for that the ROMANES maruelled how he could prepare his things in fo short a time. Furthermore, Romulus haning now buried his brother, & his other two bringers vp(called foster fathers) in the place they cal Remonia, began then to build & lay the foundation of his city, sending Remolar for menout of Thyscane, who did name and teach him particularly all the ceremonies he had laying the to observe there, according to their lawes & ordinances, as a great holy mystery. And first of all of Rome. they made a round ditch in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did cast their chiefest and best things, which men vse lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessary. After that they did throw also into it, a litle of the earth, from whence every man came, and mingled these all together. This ditch in their ceremonies is called the World, in Latine Mundus, euen The world. the selfe same name the Latines call the Vniversall. About this ditch they did trace the compasse of the city they would build, cuen as one would draw a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the city taketh a plough, to which he fastned a culter or plough share of brasse, & so yoaked in the plough an oxe and a cow, he himselfe holding the plough did make round about the compasse of the city a deep furrow. Those which followed him, had the charge to throw the turues of earth inward into the city, which the plough share raised vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrow thus cast vp was the whole compasse of their wal, which they call in Latin Pomærium, by shortning of the syllables, for post murum: to wit, after wall. But in the Pomærium place where they determined to make a gate, they did take off the plough share, and draw the why so called. plough, with leaving a certaine space vnbroken vp: whereupon the Romain s thinke all the compasse of their wals holy and sacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed Thewals and fanctified, they would have had a conscience through the to have brought in, or caried out by. of the city, any things necessary for the life of man, that had not bene pure and clean. Now they beleeue certainly, that this ceremony of the foundation of their city was made the one & twenty The feels of Aprillibecause the Romanes do yet keep that day holyday, & call it the feast of the natinity day of Romeisons of their country. On which day they did not in old time facrifice any thing that had life, as efteeming that day(which was the natiuity of their city) to be most meet to be kept cleane and pure fro being polluted or defiled with any bloud. Notwithstanding before Rome was builded they had another feast called the shephcards or heardmens holy day, which they did celebrate vpon the same day, and called it Palilia. Now at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the Ro- The season MAINS is cleane contrary to the GRECIANS: yet for all this, they hold opinion for certainty, that Pablia. the day on which Romulus fouded his city, was affuredly that which the GRECIANS call Triacada: that is to fay, the thirtieth day. On which there was feen an eclips of the Moon, which they so elips of firppose was observed by the Poet Animachus (born in the city of TEOs) in the thirteenth yeare the Moore of the fixt Olympiad Likewise in the time of Marcus Varro (a learned man, and one that had read as much of ancient stories as any Romaine) there was a friend of his called Tarutius, a great Phifoundation losopher and Mathematitian, who being given to the calculation of Astronomie for the delight of speculation only, wherin he was thought most excellent: it did fall out that Varro gaue Philospher him this question, to search out what houre and day the nativity of Romulas was; who gathered Taratius it out by certaine accidents, as they do in the refolutions of certaine Geometricall questions. For they fay, that by the self same science, one may tell before of things to come, and to happen The houre to a man in his life, knowing certainly the houre of his nativity: and how one may tell also the houre of his nativity, when by accidents they know what harh hapned to him all his life. Ta- mativitie may be calrutins did the question that Varrogaue him. And having throughly considered the aduentures, enlared by deeds, and gefts of Romalus, how long he lived, and how he died: all which being gathered and his accident conferred together, he did boldly judge for a certainty, that he was conceined in his mothers nativitie wombe, in the first yeare of the second olympiad, the three and twentieth day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call Cheac, and now is called December, about three of the clocke by Tarn-

conceived in

3000.footmen, 200. horfemen. Romulus in_ Rituteth a wealth. Whatthe Patrician e

Patroni.

maines to take gifts of

Anedipse in the morning, in which houre there was a whole eclips of the Sun: and that he was borne into the world, the 21. of the month of Thoth, which is the moneth of September, about the rifing of the Sun. And that Rome was begun by him on the ninth day of the moneth, which the ÆGYP-TIANS call Pharmuthi, and answereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will fay, that a city hath his revolution & his time of continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man: & that they knew by the fituation of the stars, the day of her beginning & foundation. These things & such other like, peraduenture wil please the Readers better, for their strangenesse and curiosity, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Now after that he had founded his city, he first and formost did divide in two companies The Roman all those that were of age to cary armor. In every one of these companies there were three thoufand footmen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, because they were forted of the chosen men that were pickt out amongst all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called Populus, which fignifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred counsellors of the best and honestest men of the city, which he called Patricians: and the whole company of them together he called Senatur, as one would fay, the counsel of the ancients. So they were called Patricians, as some will say, the councell of the fathers lawfull children, which few of the first inhabitants could fliew. It may be, fome wil fay this name was given the of Patrocinium, as growing of the protection they had by the fanctuary of their city, which word they vse at this day in the self same fignification; as one that followed Enander into ITALY, was called Patron, because he was pitifull, and relected the poore and litle children, and fo got himselfe a name for his pity and humanity. But me thinks it were more like the troth to fay, that Romulus did call them fo because he thought the chiefest me should have a fatherly care of the meaner fort:considering alfoit was to teach the meaner fort, that they shold not feare the authority of the greater, nor enuv at the honors they had, but rather in all their causes should vsetheir fauour and goodwill, by taking them as their fathers. For eue at this prefent, strangers cal those of the Senat, lords or captaines: but the naturall Romans call them, Patres Conscription which is a name of father head and dignity without enuy. It is true, that at the beginning they were only called Patres, but fithence, because they were many joyned vnto the first, they have bene named Patres Conscription as a man should say, fathers of record together: which is the honorablest name he could have denisted to make a differece betwixt the Senators & the people. Furthermore, he made a difference between the chiefer citizens, and the baser people, by calling the better fort Patroni, as much to say, as defenders: & the meaner fort Clientes, as you would fay, followers, or me protected. This did breed maruellous great loue & good will among them, making the one much beholding to the other. by many mutual curtefies & pleasures; for the Patrons did help the Clients to their right, defended their causes in judgement, gaue vnto them counsell, & did take all their matters in hand. The Clients again enterchangably humbled themselues to their patrons, not only in outward honor & reuerence towards them, but otherwise did help them with mony to marry & aduance their daughters, or els to pay their debts and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no law nor magistrate that could compell the patron to be a witnes against his client: nor yet the client to witnes against his patron. So they increased and continued all other rights & offices of amity & friendship together, saving afterwards they thought it a great shame & reproch for the better & richer, to take reward of the meaner & poorer. And thus of this matter we have spoken sufficiently. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the city was laid, Fabius writeth, there was a great rauishment of women. There are some which lay it vpon Romalus, who being the of nature warlike, & giuento prophecies and answers of the gods, foretold that his city should become very great & mighty, so as he raised it by wars, & increased it by arms: & he sought out this colour to do mischief, and to make war vpon the SABYNS. To proue this true, some say he cau-Sabyne wo- sed certain of their maids by force to be taken away, but not past 30. in nuber, as one that rather fought cause of wars, then did it for need of mariages: which me thinks was not likely to be true, but rather I judge the contrary. For feeing his city was incontinently replenished with people of all forts, wher of there were very few that had wives, and that they were men gathered out of all countries, & the most part of them poore and needy, so as their neighbors disdained the much. and did not look they would long dwell together: Romulus hoping by this violent taking of their maids & rauishing the, to have an entry into alliance with the SARINS, & to entice the further to ioine with them in mariage, if they did gently intreat these wives they had gotten, enterprised

this violent taking of their maids, and rauishing of them in such fort. First, he made it to becommonly bruted abroad in enery place, that he had found the altar of a god hidde in the ground, & craft about he called the name of the god, Confus: either because he was god of counsell, wherupon the Ro- ment of the MAINS at this day in their tong call Confilium, which we call counfell: and the chiefe Magistrats Sabyus of their city Confules, as we say counsellers. Other say, it was the altar of the god Neptune, surna- confus a med the patron of horses. For this altar is yet at this day within the great lists of the city, & euer god. couered and hidden, but whe they vie the running games of their horse race. Other say, because the god of the countries of th counsell euer must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to keepe that altar of this god horsemen. Confus hidden in the ground. Now other write, when it was opened, Romulus made a facrifice of wonderfullioy, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in diverse places, that at such a day there should be common playes at Rome, and a solemne feast kept of the god Consus, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all parts. He himselfe was set in the chiefest seate of the shew place, apparelled faire in purple, & accompanied with the chiefe of the citie about him. And there having purposed this rauishment you have heard of, he had given the figne before: that the same should begin, when he should rife vp and fold a plaite of his gowne, and vnfold the same againe. Hereupon his men stood attending with their fwords: who so soone as they perceived the signe was given, with their swords drawne in hand, and with great shouts and cries, ran violently on the maids and daughters of the SABYNES to take them away and rauish them; and suffered the men to runaway, without do-tion of the ing them any hurt or violence. So some say, there were but thirty rauished, after whose names The number were called the thirty linages of the people of Rome. Howbeit Valerius Antias writeth, that ther of the Sawere fine hundred & fenen and twenty; and Iuba, fix hundred fourescore and three. In the which byne work is fingularly to be noted for the comendation of Romulus, that he himselfe did take then but only one of the maids, named Hersilia: that afterwards was the only cause and mediation of peace Hersila betwixt the SABYNEs and the ROMAINS. Which argueth plainly, that it was not to do the Sa-BYNEs any hurt, nor to fatisfic any difordinate lust, that they had so forcibly undertakenthis rauishment: but to joyne two peoples together, with the straightest bonds that could be between men. This Hersilia as some say, was married vnto one Hostelius, the noblest man at that time amongst the Romaines: or as others write, vnto Romulus himselfe, which had two children by Romulus her. The first was a daughter, and her name was Prima, because she was the first the other was a first daugh fon who he named Aollius, because of the multitude of people he had assembled together in his prima. city, & afterwards he was furnamed Abillius. Thus Zenodotus the TROEZENIAN Writeth, wher- Husonwas in notwithstanding there be diverse that do contrarey him. Among those which ravished the daughters of the SABYNES, it is faid there were found certaine meanemen carying away a marucllous paffing faire one. These met by chance on the way certaine of the chief of the city who would hauetaken her by force from them; which they had done, but that they began to cry, they carried her vnto Talasius, who was a young man maruellously well beloued of enery body. Which when the other vnderstood, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them:infomuch as there were fome which fodainly turned backe againe, and did accompany them for Talasius fake, crying out aloud, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this day the Romains sing at their mariages, Talasius, like as the Grecians sing Hymeneus. For it is faid he was counted very happy that he met with this woman. But Sextins Sylla a why the CARTHAGINIAN borne, a man very wife, and well learned, told me once it was the cry & figne Romains. which Romulus gaue to his men to begin the ravishment: whereupon those that carried them a- do sing the way went crying this word Talasius, & that from thence the custome had continued, that they Talassius in fing it yet attheir mariages. Neuerthelesse the most part of authors, specially Iuba, thinkes it is a mariages. warning to remember the new married women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the GRECIANS call Talasia, the Italian word at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And Talasia if it be true the Romaines vscd this terme of Talassia, as we of Grece do vsc, we might by coniecture yeeld another reason for it, which should carry a better likelihood and proofe. For when the SABYNES after the battell had made peace with the ROMAINS, they put in an article in fauor of the women in the treaty, that they should not be bound to serue their husbands in any other worke but in spinning of wooll. Euer fince this custome hath growne, that those which give their daughters in mariage, and those who leade the bride, and such as are present monie at at the wedding, speake in sport to the new maried wife, laughing, Talasius: in token that they do Rome.

Sextilis August. Platar.in his proble. Confualia. 28

Romulus triumph.

obtained (polia opi-

not lead the bride for any other work or feruice, but to fpin wooll. Therof this hath bene the vfe to this day, that the bride doth not of her felfe come over the threshold of her husbands doore, but flie is hoifed pretily into the house; because the Sabyne women at that time were so lift vp. and caried away by force. They fay also, that the maner of making the shed of the new wedded wives haire with the yron head of a Iauclin came up then likewife: this flory being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swords points as we have written more at large in the booke, wherein we render & flew the causes of the Ro-MAINES fashions and customes. This rauishment was put in execution about the eighteenth day of the moneth called Sextilis, and now named August: on which day they yet celebrate the feast they call consaira. Now the SABYNES were good men of war, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within inclosed wals: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did feare nothing, and as those who were descended from the LACED AMONI-ANS. Neuertheleffe they feeing themselues bound and tied to peace by pledges and hostages. that were very neare allied vnto them, & fearing their daughters should be ill intreated, sentambaffadors to Romulus, by whom they made reasonable offers & perswasions, that their daughters might be delivered vito them againe, without any force or violence, & then afterwards, that he would canfe the to be asked in mariage of their parents, as both reason & law would require to the end that with good wil & cofent of al parties, both peoples might contrast amity & alliance together. Wherunto Romulus made answer, he could not restore the maids which his people had taken away and maried: but most friendly he praied the Sabyns to be contented with their alliance. This answer being returned, & not liked, whilst the princes & community of the SABYNS Acron king were occupied in consultatio, & about the arming of the selections: Acron king of the Ceninenses (a man exceeding couragious & skilfull in wars, & one that from the beginning miftrufted the helb warre Ouer bold & stout enterprises that Romulus was likely to attempt, considering the late rauishmet with Roma- of the SABYN's daughters, and how he was already greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and fomwhat vntollerable, if he were not chaftifed and brought lower) first began to inuade him with a puissant army, & to make hot & violent wars vpon him. Romulus on the other side prepared also, & went forth to meet him. Whe they were come so neare together that they might see one another, they fet defiace to ech other, & praied that they two might fight man to man amidft their armics, & neither of theirs to flir a foot. Both of the accepted of it, & Romulus making his praier vnto Inpiter, did promise, & made a vow: that if he did give him the victory to our come, he wold offer vp to him the armor of his enemy, which he did. For first he flue Acron in the field, & after. wards gaue battell to his men, & ouerthrew them also. Lastly he tooke his city, where he did no hurt nor yet displeasure to any, saving that he comanded them to pull down their houses, & deftroy the & to go dwell with him at Kom E: where they should have the self same rights & priviledges which the first inhabitats did enjoy. There was nothing more inlarged the city of Rome the this maner of policy, to joyne alwaies vnto it those she had ouercome & vanquished, Romelus now to discharge his vow, and in such fort that his offring might be acceptable to Inpiter, and pleasant to his citizes to behold: did cut down a goodly straight grown yong oke, which he ligh. ted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lie: the fame he trimmed and fet forth after the maner of victory, hanging & tying all about it in faire order, the armor & weapons of king Acron. Then he girding his gown to him, and putting upon his long bush of haire a garland of lawrel, laid the yong oke vpon his right shoulder, & he first marched before towards his city, and fung a royall long of victory, all his army following him in armes vnto the city in order of The begin- battell: where his citizens received him in all paffing wife and triumph. This noble and stately ming of rie entry euer fince hath given them minds in fuch fort, and in statelier wise to make their triumph. The offering of this triumph was dedicated to Inpiter surnamed Feretrian: because the Latine word Ferire fignification hurt and kill: and the praier Romalus had made, was he might hurt and Spolia opi- kill his enemy. Such spoiles are called in Latine, Spolia opima: therefore faith Varro, that opes signifie riches. Howbeit me thinks it were more likely to fay, that they were so named of this word Opus, which betokeneth a deed, because he must needs be the chiefe of the army, that hath slaine with his own hands the Generall of his enemies, and that must offer the spoiles called Spolia opimanus onely ma, as you would fay, his principall spoiles and deeds. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captains only: of the which Romulus was the first, who flue Acron king of the CENINEN-SES. Cornelius Collus was the fecond, who killed Tolumnius, the General of the THVSCAHS, Clodius Marcellus

Marcellus was the third, who flue Britomartus, king of the Gavles, with his owne hands. And for the two last, Cossus and Marcellus, they made their entry into the city, carying their triumphs vpon charets triumphant: but Romulus did not fo. Therefore in this point Dionysius the historiographer hath erred, writing that Romulus did enter into Rome vpon a charet triumphant. For it Tarquinius was Tarquinius Priscus the son of Demaratus, who first did set out triumphs in so stately and magnificent flew. Other hold opinion it was Valerius Publicola, who was the first that cuerentred vpon triumphant charret. Concerning Romulus, his statues are yet to be seene in Rome, carying in glaree. his triumph a foote. After this ouerthrow and taking of the ČENINENSES, the inhabitants of Filtria the cities of Fidena, Crystymerium, and Antemna, rose altogether against the Romains whiles the other SABYNES also were a preparing themselves. So they fought a battell, in which they took the ouerthrow: & left their cities to the spoile of Romulus, their lands to be give where he thought good, and themselves to be caried to Rome. Romulus then did give their lands among of ememna his citizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maidens that they had ta- 1964 4 ken away & rauished. For he was contented that the fathers of them should keep still their lands. By and by the other SABINES from king therat, did chuse them a Generall called Tatius, and so went with a puillant army toward the city of Rome, whereunto to approch at that time it was bone ledby very hard, the castle or keepe of their city being seated where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrifon, wherof Tarpeins was captaine, & not his daughter Tar- the ons of phia, as some will fay, who set out Romulus as a foole. But Tarpeia the captaines daughter, for the Tarpeia bedefire she had to have all the gold bracelets which they did weare about their arms, sold the fort trijeth the to the Saurns, & asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their lescarmes. Tatius blecalle, promifed them vnto her; and she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the in the sale in the collection of the collection of the sale in t SABYNS into the castle. Antigonus the was not alone, who said, he loued those which did betray, hims & hated the that had betrayed nor yet Cafar Augustus, who told Rymitalces the Thracian that he loued treason, but he hated traytors. And it is a common affection which we beare to wicked has Cafars while the common affection which we beare to wicked has Cafars while the cafars and can be can be can be can be can be cased to the case of the persons, whilest we stand in need of them: not valike for all the world to those that have need words of of the gall and poylon of venimous beafts. For when they find it, they are glad, & take it to ferue their turne:but after their turne is serued, & they have that they sought, they have the cruelty of tude. fuch beafts. So plaied Tatius at that time. For when he was gotten into the caftle, he commanded the Sabyns (for performance of his promise he had made to Tarpeia) they should not sticke to giue her allthey ware on their left armes, & to do as he did: who taking from his own arme first, the bracelets which he ware, did cast it to her, & his target after; and so did althe rest in like fort, November infomuch as being borne down to the ground by the weight of bracelets and targets, she died as prefied to death vnder her burden. Neuerthelesse Tarpeius self was atteinted, & condemned also Tarpeia of treason, by Romulus order, as Iuba saith; it is set forth by Sulpitius Galba. They that write now presed to otherwise of Tarpeia, taying she was the daughter of Tatius, Generall of the SAEYNS, & was forced by Romulus to lie with him, & how she was punished in this fort by her own father after her faid treason committed: those I say, amongst whom Antigonus is one, are not to be credited. And the Poet Simylus also doth dote most, who saith Tarpeia sold the Capitoll not to the SARYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom she was in soue: as in these verses doth appeare.

ROMVLVS.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolish minde, Which neere unto the Capitoll did dwell, (In feruent flames of beaftly loue bebisnd, Wherewith the king of Gaules did make her swell) Caus'd stately Rome surprised for to be By enemies, as enery man may fee. And so through hope of his fidelity Betrayd her Syre, with all his family. And a little after, in speaking of the maner of her death, he saith also: Yet lo: the Gaules, those worthy men of might, Threw her not downe into the waves of Po, But from their armes, wherewith they wont to fight, They cast their shields woon her body fo, That she supprest with such an heavy waight, (Ih wofull maid) to death was (mootherd straight.

Certina the Sabyne.

Curtlus The Sabins to Remalus Ho dias flaine.

Romulus heat with

Impiter Stator.

of women.

This maiden therefore being buried in the fame place; the whole hill was called afterwards Tarpeius after her name, which continued untill Tarquinius the King did dedicate all the place to Impiter: for then they caried her bones into some other place, and so it lost her name. Valetse is be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call Rupes Tarpeia, from the toppe whereof they were wont in old time to throw downe headlong all wicked offenders. When the SARYNS now had gotten this hold, Romulus being exceeding wrath, fent them a defiance, and bad them battell if they durst. Tation throught refused not confidering if by mischance they were distressed, they had a fure refuge to retire vinto. The place betweene y two armies where the fight should be, was all round about enuironed with litle hils. So as it was plaine, the fight could not be but fharpe and dangerous, for the discommodiousnes of the place, where was neither ground for any to fly, nor yet any space for any long chase, it was of so smala compas. Now it fortuned by chance, the river of Tyber had overflowne the banks a few daics before, and there remained in it a deeper mind then men would have judged, because the ground was so plaine, and was even where the great market place of Roms standeth at this day. They could diftern nothing therof by the eye, because the vpper part of it was crusted, whereby it was the more ready for them to venter vpon, and the worle to get out, for that it did finke vnderneath. So the SABYN's had gone ypon it, had not Curtius danger bene, which by good fortune stayed them. He was one of the nobleft and valiantest men of the SARYNES, who being mounted vpona courser, went on a good way before the army. This courfer entring voon the crufted mud, and finking withall, began to plunge and struggle in the mire: whereat Curtius proued a while with the spurre to stirre him. and get him out, but in the end feeing it would not be, he left his backe, and faued himfelfe. The fame very place to this day is called after his name, Lacus Curtim. The SABYNS the scaping thus this danger, began the battell. The fight did grow very cruell, and endured fo great a while, the gine battell victory leaning no more to the one fide the to the other. There died in a finall space a great number of men, amongst whom Hestiliss was one, who as they say, was the husband of Hersilia, and grandfather to Hostilius that was king of Romain's ofter Numa Pompilius. Afterward there were (as we may think) many other encounters and battels betweene them howbeit they make mention of the last about all the rest, wherin Romulus had so fore a blow on his head with a stone, that he was almost felled to the ground, in so much as he was driven to retire a litle out of the battel. Vpon which occasion the Romaines gaue backe also, and drew towards mount Palatine, being driven out of the plaine by force. Remulus began now to recover of the blow he had receiued, and fo returned to give a new onfet, and cried out all he might to his fouldiers to tary, and thew their face again to their enemie. But for all his loud crying, they left not flying ftill for life. and there was not one that durst returne againe. Wherupon Romulus lifting up his hands straight to heauen, did most feruently pray vnto Iupiter, that it would please him to stay the flying of his people, and not fuffer the Romains glory thus to fall to their veter destruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He had no fooner ended his prayer, but divers of his men that fled, began to be ashamed to slie before their King, and a sudden boldnesse came upon them, and their feare therwithall vanished away. The place they first staicd in was where as now is the temple of Inpiter Stator, which is as much to fay, as Inpiter the stayer, Afterwards gathering themselves together again, they repulfed the Sabins even to the place they calnow Regia, and vnto the temple of the goddelfe Veft. where both the battels being prepared to give a new charge, there did fill out before them a strange and incredible thing to ice, which stayed them they fought not. For of the SABYNE women whom the ROMAINES had rauished, some ran of the one fide, ofull boldnes ther of the other fide of the battels, with lamentations, cries, and shouts, stepping between their weapons, and among the flaine bodies on the ground, in f.ich fort that they feemed out of their wits, and caried as it were with fome spirits. In this manner they went to find out their fathers and their husbands, fome carying their fucking babes in their armes, other having their haire loose about their eyes, and all of them calling, now upon the Sabunes, now upon the Romaines, with the gentlest names that could be deuised which did melt the hearts of both parties in fuch fort, that they gave backe a litle, and made them place betweene both the battels. Then were the cries and lamentations of every one plainely heard. There was not a man there but it pitied him, as well to fee them in that pitifull cafe, as to heare the lamentable words they spake: adding to their most humble petitions and requests that could be any way imagined, pastfing wife perswafions and reasons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (say they) or

what displeasure have we done to you, that we should deserve such an heape of enils, as we have the world of the short of the start of the short of already fuffered, and yet you make vs beares we were as you know violently (and against allaw) of Herfills and other rauished by those, whose now we remaine. But our fathers, our brethren, our mothers & friends Sabine wo. have left vs with them fo long, that proces of time, and the straightest bonds of the world, have tied vs now fo fast to them, whom mortally before we hated, that we are constrained now to be flighted thus, to fee them fight, yea and to lament and dye with them, who before vniustly tooke vs from you. For then you came not to our rescue when we were virgins vntouched, nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly affaulted vs, poore foules: but now ye came to take the wines from their husbands, and the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thinke to giue vs now doth grieue vs more, then the forsaking of vs was sorrowfull to vs then. Such is the loue they hauebornevnto vs, and such is the kindnesse we beare against to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other cause then for vs, yet were it reason ye should let fall your armes for our fakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in law, cofins and brothers in law) euen from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this war began for vs, we heartily befeech youthen that you will receive vs with your fons in law, and your ions by them, and that you wil restore vnto vs our fathers, our brethren, our kinsfolks & friends without spoiling vs of our husbands, of our children, and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs wofull captines and prisoners in our minds. These requests and persivasions by Hersilia, and other the Saryne women being heard, both the armies stayed, and held enery body his hand, and ftraight the two Generals imparked together. During which parle they brought their husbands Romaling and their children, to their fathers and their brethren. They brought meat and drinke for them that would cate. They dreffed vp the wounds of them that were hurt. They caried them home that, with them to their houses. They showed them how they have the shown that were hurt. with them to their houses. They shewed them how they were mistresses there with their husbands. They made them see how greatly they were accounted of and esteemed; yea how with a wedlocke lone and reputation they were honored. So in the end peace was concluded between Peacebethe, wherin it was articled, that the Sabyne women which would remaine with their husbands tween the should tarry still, and be exempted from all work or service (as aboue recited) saue onely spin-andibes. ning of wooll. And that the SABINES and ROMAINS should dwell together in the city, which bines. should be called Rome, after Romalus name; and the inhabitants should be called Quirites, after Ly, which the name of the city of Tatius king of the Sabanes, and that they should reigne and gonerne led. rogether by a common consent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this day Comitium: because that Coire, in the Latin tong fignifieth to affemble. So the city being aug- Comitium, mented, by the one halfe, they did chuse of the SABYNES another hundred new PATRICIANS, vato the first hundred of the ROMAINS that were chosen before. Then were the Legions made The Roof 6000, footmen, & 600, horsmen. After they divided their inhabitants into 3. tribes, wherof maine legion 600. those that came of Romulus, were called Ramnenses after his name: those that came of Tatius were for men & called Tasienses after his name: and those that were of the third stocke, were called Lucrenses, as 600. borsefrom the Latin word Lucus, called with vs a groue in English, because thither great nuber of people of al forts did gather, which afterwards were made citizes of Rome. The very word of Tribus mains (which fignifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) dorh witnes this beginning of Rome from wards or hundreds. For hercupon the Romains call those at this day, their Tribune, which are the chiefe heads of the people. But every one of these principall wards had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them, which somethink were called after the names of the thirty Sanyn women that were ranished: but that seemeth false, because many of them carry the names of the places they came from. Howbeit at that time many things were stablished & ordained in honor Honouristof the women: as to give them place, the vpper hand in meeting them: the vpper hand in freets: to speake no foule or dishonest word before them, no man to vnray himself, or shew naked before them: that they should not be called before criminal Judges sitting vpo homicides & murderers: that their childre should we are about their necks a kind of iewel, called Bulla, fashioned in maner like these water bubbles that rise vpon the water when it beginneth to raine: & that their gownes should be garded with purple. Now the two kings did not straight confer together so soone as any occasion of businesse was offered them, but either of them did first counsell alone with his hundred Senators, and afterwards they did all affemble together. Tatius dwelt in the place where now is the temple of tuno Moneta: Romulus in the place called at this present, The staires of the faire bank, then, the descent of mount Palatine, as they go to the show place or great lifts, where palatine, as they go to the show place or great lifts, where palatine, as they go to the show place or great lifts, where

The boly

neths.

menta.

tronalia, lia, Car-

they fay was fometime the holy Cornell tree, whereof they make fo great account. Romalus one corneltree day defirous to proue his strength, threw (as it is fayd) a dart from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine; the staffe whereof was of a Cornell tree: and the Iron of it entred so deepe into the ground being a lustic fat foyle, that no man could pull it our, although many proued it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did so noul rish the end of this staffe, that it tooke root, and began to spread branches: so that in time it became a faire great Cornell tree, which the fucceffours of Romulus did inclose with a wall, and did keepe and worship it as a very holy thing. If by chance any went to see it, and found it looked not fresh and greene, but like a tree withcred and dried away for lack of moisture the went away straight as one affraid, crying to all he met (and they with him went crying still) in enery place. Water, water, as it had bene to have quenched a fire. Then ran they thither out of all quarters with veffels of water, to water and moist the tree. In the time of Caius Casar, who caused the staires about it to be repaired, they fay the labourers raising the place, and digging about this Cornell tree, did by negligence hurt the rootes of the same in such fort, as afterwards it dried vp altogether. Now the Sabynes received the moneths after the manner of the Romaines, whereof we have written fufficiently in the life of Numa. Romulus againe vsed the SABYNES shields:and both he and his people changed the fashion of their armour and weapons they vsed. For the ROMAINE's before did cary litle shields, after the fashion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy dayes and facrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them, which either the one or the other people observed before, but they added theranto Feaths, Mar fome other new. As that which they call Matronalia, which was inftituted in honour of the women, because by their meanes peace was concluded. And that also of Carmentalia, in the honour of Carmenta, whom some suppose to be the goddesse of fate or destiny, because she hath rule and power ouer the nativities of men; by reason whereof the mothers call vpon her often, and reuerence her very much. Other fay, the was the wife of Euander the ARCADIAN, who being a prophetesse inspired by the god Phabus, gaue the Oracles in verse; whereupon she was surnamed Carmenta, because that Carmina in Latine fignific verses: for it is of certainty that her proper name was Nicostrata. Howbeit there are some which give another maner of derivation and interpretation of this word Carmenta, which is the likelier to be true: as if they would fay, Carens mente. which fignifieth wanting wit, for the very fury that taketh them when they are inspired with the propheticall spirit. For in Latine Carere betokeneth to lacke: and Mens, signifieth wit. As for the feast of Palilia, we have told of it before: but the feast of Lupercalia, confidering the time of celebrating therof, it feemeth it is ordained for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate dayes of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging daies. The daies in the old time on which they did celebrate the fame, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feaft, is as much to fay, as the feast of Wolues. Wherefore it seemeth to be a feast of great antiquity, and instituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with Enander: albeit the name of Wolues is as common to the females, as the males, and to it might perhaps be called, by reason of the Wolfe that brought vp Romulus. For we fee those which run vp and downethe city that day, and they call Luperci, do begin their course in the very place where they say Romalus was cast out. Howbeit, many things are done, wherof the original cause were hard now to be coniectured. For goats about a certaine time of the yeare, are killed; then they bring two yong boyes, Noble mens fons, whose foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloud of the goates that are sacrificed. By and by they dry their foreheads with woll dipped in milk. Then the yong boies must laugh immediatly after they have dried their forheads. That done, they cut the goats skins, and make thongs of the, which they take in their hands, & run with the all about the city stark naked (fauing they have a cloth before their fecrets)& so they strike with these thongs all they meet in their way. The yong wives never shun them at all, but are well cotented to be striken with them, beleeuing it helpeth them to be with child, and also to be easily deliuered. There is another thing cians dofa- yet in this feast, that these Lypercians which run about the city, do also sacrifice a dogge. Concerning this feast, the Poet named Butto doth write somwhat in his elegies, where shewing the occasion of the fond customes and ceremonies of the Romains, he doth fay, that Romulus Lupercians after that he had flaine Amulius, did runne straight with great ioy to the very place where the Wolfe gaue him and his brother fucke, in memorie of which running, he faith this feaft of Lusity naked, percalia was celebrated: and that the Noble mens younger sonnes do runne through the citie,

striking & laying on the that they meet in their way with their goat thongs, in token that Remus & Romalus ran from ALBA vnto that place, with their drawn fwords in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloudy knife, is in remembrace of the danger they stood in at that time to have bene slaine. Last of all, the drying of their forheads with wool, dipped in milk, is in memory of the milk they sucked of the Wolces. But Caius Acilius writeth that Remus & Romulus before Rome was built, did happen to lose their beasts on a day, and after they had made certain praiers vnto Faunus for the finding of the, they ranhere & there stark naked as they wet a feeking of the, for feare they shold have bin troubled with overmuch heat & sweating. And this is the cause he saith, why the Lvpercians do at this day run about naked. And if it betrue, they make this facrifice for a purging, a man might fay they might offer vp a dog for that purpose, as the GRECIANS in their facrifices of purgation, do vie to carry out all their dogs. And in many places they do observe this ceremony, to drive out the dogs, which they call Perisylacifmes. Otherwise, if it be of a thankfulnes to the Wolfthat gaue Romulus suck, & saued him fro perishing, that the Romains do solemnize this feast: it is not impertinent they should facrifice a dog, because he is an enemy to the Wolues. Vnlesse a man would say, it was to punish this beast which troubleth and letteth the Lypercians when they run. Some fay also it was Romulus, who first instituted it a religion to keep holy fire, & that first ordained holy virgins, which are called Vesta- The vestal les: other do ascribe it to Numa Fompilius. Notwithstanding it is most certain otherwise, that Romulus was a very deuout man, & greatly skilful in telling of things to come by the flying of birds fine aby for which cause he did ordinarily cary the augurs crooked staffe, called in latin Littus. It is a rod Romelus. crooked at y end, wher with the augurs or foothfaiers whe they fit down to behold the flying of Lituus. birds, do point out & mark the quarters of the heaven. They carefully kept it within the pallace: howbeit it was lost in the time of wars with the GAVLES, when the city of Rome was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chased & driue out, it was found again (as it is faid) all whole, within a great hill or heape of ashes, having no maner of hurt, where all things else about it had bin confumed & marred with the fire. He is faid to have made certain lawes, among Romalia which there is one that feemeth formwhat hard, which is that the man is suffered to put away his laws. wife, & in some case to give her nothing: & like liberty is not given to the wife to put away her hesband. As if the may be proued to have conferred to the poiloning of her children, or to have counterfeited her husbads keys, or to haue comitted adultery. But if he put her away for any other cause, then the one half of the goods is adjudged to the wife, & the other moity to the goddes Geres: & he that putteth away his wife after this fort, is comunded further to facrifice to the goddes of the earth. This also was notable in Romulus, who having ordained no pain nor punishmet for parricides (that is, for those that kil their parents) called yet al murther parricide, to shew how detestable that murder was; and as for parricide, he thought it vnpossible. And it seemed a great while, he had reaso to think so, that such wickednes wold neuer happe in the world. For in 600. years together it was not known that any man in Rome comitted fuch an offence, and the Ropari. first parricide with them was Lucius Ostius, after the wars of Hannibal. But enough touching this cide known in Rome matter. Furthermore in the first yeare of the raigne of Tatius, some of his kinsmen & friends met 600, years by chance on the way certain ambassadors, coming from the city of LAVRENTVM VIIto Rome, together, who they set upon, & meant to have robbed the. The ambassadors resisting the, & not willing to deliuer their mony, they made no more ado, but flue them. This hainous deed being thus comitted, Romulus was of opinio they shold be executed openly in the high way for example. But Ta. Stehinger tius deferred it still from day to day, & did alwaies excuse the matter vnto him, which was the only cause they sel out one with the other. For in all things else, they caried themselves as honestly Ambassa. as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a comon confent & good dours stains to accord. But the parents and kinsfolkes of those who were murdered, when they saw they could Rome. have no inflice because of Tains, watched him one day as he facrificed with Romulus, in the city haue no inflice because of Tatius, watched him one day as he tacrificed with Romalus, in the city of Lauiniñ. & stabbed him in, without offering Romalus any violence, but rather praised him for of Tatius in a good & righteous prince. Ronsulus caused the body of Tatius to be straighttaken vp, & buried Lauminm. him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place now called Armilustriu. Further he neuer shewed any countenance to reuenge his death. There are some Historiographers that write, and that those of the city of Laurent u being affraid at this murder, did deliuer forthwith to Romulus the murderers of the ambassadours. He notwithstanding did let them go againe, saying: one murther was requited by another. This gaue some occasion of speech to thinke, he was glad he

The Sabunes obedience to Romulus.

tie of Fide-

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taken of Romulus.

was rid of his copanion: yet the Sabynes neither stirred nor rebelled for all this, but some of the were afraid of him for y great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honor they gaue him as a god, continuing still in duty and obedience towards him. Divers strangers also had Romulus valiancy in great honor: as amongst other, those who then were called the ancient Latins, which fent ambassadors to him to make league & amity with him. He deuised to take the city of FIDENA which was neare to Rome. Some fay he tooke it vpon a sudden, hasocke she sin uing fent before certaine horfmen to break downe the hookes and hinges with force, which the gates hang by: & himself came after with the rest of his army, & stole vpon them, before the city mistrusted any thing. Other write that the FIDENATES first inuaded his country, and foraged vnto the very fuburbes of Rome, where they did great harme: & how Romulus laid an ambush in their way as they returned home. & flue a great number of them. When he took their city, he did not raze it, but made a colony of it (as a place to fend the ouer-increase of Rome vnto) whither he fent afterwards two thousand fine hundred Romains to inhabit there and it was on the 13.day of Aprill, which the ROMAINES call the Ides of the same moneth. Not long after there rose such a great plague in Rome, that men died suddenly, & were not sicke: the earth brought forth no fruit; brute beafts deliuered no increase of their kind: there rained also drops of bloud in Rome, as they fay. In so much as besides the euils men felt in this extremity, they fel in a maruellous feare of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiuing the like hapned to the inhabitants of LAVRENTYM, then every man judged it was the very vengeance and heavy hand of the gods: who plagued and punished these two cities for the murder committed vpon Tatim, and the ambaffadors that were killed. Wherupon the murderers of both fides were apprehended & executed: & these plagues by & by ceased both in the one and the other city. Romulus besides, did purifie the cities with certain facrifices that he deuised, which they keep still at this day, at the gate called Ferentia. But before the plague ceassed, the CAMERIANS came to assult the ROMAINS and had ouercome all the country, supposing they should not be able to withstand the because they had bene fo fore troubled with the plague. Yet not with standing, Romulus fet vponthem with his army, & wan the field of them, in which conflict there were flaine about fixe thousand men. After the battell done, he tooke their city, and conucied to Rome the one halfe of the inhabitants that remained. After this he fent twife as many Romains as there were naturall Ca-MERIANS left at CAMERINE, to dwell there among the. This was done the 1.day of August: fo great was the multitude of the inhabitants of Rome that had increased in 16. years from the first foundation of the city. Among other spoiles he got there, he caried away a charret of brasse with foure horses, which he caused to be set up in the temple of Vulcan, and his owne statue vpon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triumphant. His power being growne thus great, his weake neighbors did submit themselves vnto him, being contented to live in peace by him. His stronger neighbors were afraid of him, and enuicd much his greatnes, and did take it no good policie to fuffer him thus to rife in the face of the world, and thought it meet speedily to daunt his glorie, and clippe his wings. The first of the Thys canes that bent their power against him, were the VETANS, who had a great countrey, and dwelled in a strong and mightie city. To picke a quarrell to him, they fent to have delivered to them the city of FIDENA. which they faid belonged vnto them. This was thought not onely vnreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, confidering that all the while the FIDENATES were in war and danger, the THYSCANES never came to their aide, but had suffered them to be flaine, and then came to demand their lands and tenements, when other had possession of them. Therefore Romulus hauing giuen them an answer full of mockerie and derifion, they deuided their power into two armies, and fent the one against them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went against the city of Fidena, prevailed, and killed there two thousand ROMAINES: the other was overthrowne and discomfitted by Romulus, in which there died eight thousand VEIANS. Afterwards they met againe somwhat neare the city of the FIDENA-TES, where they fought a battell, and all did confesse, the chiefest exploite was done by Romu. The incre- lus owne hands that day, who shewed all the skill and valiantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy captaine. It feemed that day he farre exceeded the common fort of men, in strength of body and feats of armes. Neuerthelesse that which some say, is hardly to be credited and to be plaine is out of all compasse of beliefe and possibilitie. For they write, there were 14.thousand men flaine at that battell and that more then halfe of them were flaine by Romulus owne hands:

and the rather, for that every man judgeth it a vaine bragge and oftentation which the MESSE-NIANS report of Aristomenes, who offered in facrifice to the gods three hundred beasts of victory, as for fo many LACED EMONIANS himselfe had slaine in the battell. Their army being thus broken, Romulus Suffered them to flie who by swiftnes could faue themselues, and marched with all his power in good array towards their city. The citizens the confidering their late great loffe and ouerthrow, would not hazard the danger of withstanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition and suit for peace. All was granted them for a hundred yeares, saue Romulus they should forgo their territory called Septemagium, that was the seventh part of their country: materi and yeeld to the Romains all their falt houses by the rivers side, and deliver siftie of their chiefeff citizens for their pledges. Romulus made his entry & triumph into Rome for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the same moneth, leading in his triumph many prisoners také in those wars: & among other, the Generall of the VEIANS, a very ancient man, who fondly behaued himfelfe in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was farre short for his yeares in the warres. And from thence it cometh, when they offer to the gods to give thanks for this victory, that even at this day, they bring to the Capitol through the market place, an old man apparelled in a purple robe, and with a iewell called Bulla about his ncck, which the gentlemens yong children weare about their necks: and a herald goeth hard by him, crying, Who buyeth who, the SARDIANIANS? because they hold opinion the THVScans are come of the Sardianians, and the very city of VEIEs standeth in the country of THYSCANE. This was the last war that Romulus had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almost to all those, who by sudden prosperity & fortunes Prosperite speciall fauour, are raised to high and great estate. For trusting to prosperity and good successed interests of his acts he began to grow more france and farely and good successed pride and of his acts, he began to grow more strange and stately, and to carrie a sowrer countenance then formathe. he was wont to do before: leauing to be after his old maner, a courteous & gracious prince: and gaue himselfe in fashions to be somewhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and stately port and maiesty that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vpon that, a long robe of purple colour: and gaue audience, fitting in a wide chaire of effate, having euer about him yong men called celeres, as we would fay, flights, for their fwiftnes and speed in executing of his celeres Rocommandements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were tipstaues in malin their hands, to make the people give roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to bind goard. fast streight, all the prince should command. Now in old time the LATINS said, Ligare was to bind: but at this present they say Alligare, from whence it cometh that the vshers and sergeants are called Lictores. Howbeit me thinkes it were more likely to fay, they had put to a c, and that Lictores. before they were called Litores, without a c. For they be the very same which the CRECIANS wherefore call Liturgos, and be in English, ministers or officers: and arthis day, Leitos, or Leos in the GREEK Societa. tong fignifieth the people. Romulus now after his grandfather Numitor was dead at the city of Alba, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to win the fauor of the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Common weale, and enery yeare did chuse a new magistrate, to minifter instice to the SABYNES. This president taught the noble men of Rome to seeke and desire to have a free estate, where no subject should be at the commandement of a King alone, and the king where every man should command and obey as should be his course. Those which were called dome of the house Patricians in Rome, did meddle with nothing but had only an honorable name & robe, & were man weale. called to counsell rather for a fashion, then to have their advice or counsell. For when they were affembled together, they did only heare the Kings pleasure & commandement, but they might not speak one word, and so departed having no other preheminence ouer the comon wealth, lauing they were the first that did know what was don. Al other things therby did grieuethe lesse. But when of his own meere authority, & as it were of himfelf, he would as pleafed him, beftow the conquered lands of his enemies to his foldiers, & restore again to the VBI ANS their hostages as he did:therein plainely appeared, how great injury he did to the Senate. Whereupon the Senators were suspected afterward that they killed him, when within few daies after it was said, he vanished away so strangely, that no man euer knew what became of him. This was on the seueth Romalus day of the moneth now called Iuly, which then was named Quintilis, leauing no maner of certainty els of his death that is knowne, faue only of the day & the time when he vanished, as we haue faid before. For on that day the Romains do at this present many things, in remebrance by of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his death

of Scitio A. fricanus.

Inlius Prowith Roma lusafter his vanifbing. Remulas oracleto Pro-

called Qui Finus, and honoured as a god.

Aristeasa fight after Lewas dead. Cleomedes

was not knowne: feeing Scipio Africanus was found after supper dead in his house, and no man day of July could tell nor yet did know how he died. For some say, that he fainted and died sodainly, being mated by to of weake complexion. Other say he poisoned himselfe other think his enemies did get secretly in the night into his house, and smothered him in his bed. Yet they found his body layed on the ground, that enery body might at leifure confider, if they could find or coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit Romulus vanished away sodainly, there was neither seene peece of his garments, nor yet was there foud any part of his body. Therfore fome have thought that the whole Divers opi- Senators fell vpon him together in the temple of Vulcan, and how after they had cut him in pecces, eucry one caried away a peece of him, folded close in the skirt of his robe. Other think alfo, this vanishing away was not in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the Senators onely: but they fay that Romulus was at that time without the city, neare the place called The goates marsh, where he made an oration to the people, and that fodainly the weather changed, and o. uercaft forerribly as it is not to be told nor credited. For first, the Sun was darkened as if it had bene very night: this darknes was not in a calme or still but there fell horrible thunders boiste. rous winds, and flashing lightnings on every fide, which made the people run away, and scatter here and there, but the Senatours kept still close together. Afterwards when the lightning was past and gone, the day cleared vp, and the element waxed faire as before: then the people gathered together againe, and fought for the King, asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not fuffer them to enquire any further after him, but counselled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp into heauen; and that thenceforth in flead of a good King, he would be vnto them a merciful and gracious god. The meaner fort of people (for the most part of them) took it well, and were very glad to heare therof, and went their way worshipping Romu. lus in their hearts, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the troth more eagerly, did cumber fore and troubled the PATRICIANS, accusing them, that they abused the comon people with vaine & fond perswasions, whilst theselues in the meanetime had murdered the king with their own hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some say there was one Iulias Proculus, the nobleft of all the PATRICIANS, esteemed for a maruellous hones man, and knowne to have bene very familiar with Romelus, and came with him from the city of ALBA: that stepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greatest and holiest other) man might fweare) that he had met Romulus on the way, far greater and fairer, then he had feene him euer before, and armed all in white armor, shining bright like fire: whereat being affraid in that fort to fee him, he asked him yet: O King, why haft thou thus left and forfaken vs. that are fo fallly accused and charged to our vtter discredite and shame, by thy vanishing? To whom Romulus gaue this answer: Proculus, it hath pleased the gods from whom I came, that I should remaine among men so long as Idid: and now having built acity, which in glory and greatnesse of empire shall be the chiefest of the world, that I should return again to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therfore be of good comfort, and tell the Romaines, that they exercifing prowesse and temperancie, shall be the mightiest and greatest people of the world. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protector, and patron, and they shall call me Quirinus These words seemed credible to the Romans, as wel for the honesty of the man that spake vnto them, as for the solemne othes he made before them all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or divine inspiration helped it much: for no man faid a word against it. And so all sufpition and accusation laid aside, every man began to call vpon Quirinus, to pray vnto him, and to worship him. Truly this taleis much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of Aristeas the Proconnesian, & of Cleomedes the Astypalaian. For they say, that Arises died in a fullers work ont of mens house, and his friends coming to carrie away his body, it fell out they could not tell what be came of it: and at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his way towards the city of CROTONA. It is faid also that Cleomedes was more the a man naturally strong & great, & therewithall mad, & furious ha sty. For after many desperat parts he had plaid, he came at the last on a day into a schoolehouse full of litle children, the roofe where f was borne with one pillar, which he did hit with fo terriout of mens ble a blow of his fift, that he brake it in the midst, so as the whole roofe fell & dashed the poore children in peeces. The people ran straight after him to take him: but he threw himselfe forth with into a chest, and pulled the lid vpon him. He held it so fast down, that many striuing toge ther all they could to open it, they were not able once to stir it. Wher upon they brake the chest

all in peeces, but they found the man neither quick nor dead. Whereat they were maruelloufly amazed, and sent to Apollo Pythias, where the prophetesse answered them in this verse: Cleomedes the balt of demy gods.

The report goeth alfo that Alemenes corfe did vanish away, as they caried it to buriall, and how Alemenes instead therof they found a stone laid in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other such wonders, that are farre from any appearance of troth: only because they would make men to be as affile here. gods, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and deny divine power, it were a lewd and wicked part: euen so to compare earth and heauentogether, it were a meere folly. Therefore we must let such fables go, being most certaine that, as Pindarus saith, it is true:

Each living corps must reeld at last to death, Ind enery life must leefe his vitall breath: The foule of man, that onely lines on hie, And is an image of eternitie.

The Coule

For from heaven it came, and thither againe it doth returne, not with the body, but then foonest, when the foule is furthest off and separated from the body, and that she is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the flesh. It is that the Philosopher Heraclitus meant, when he said: The dry light, is the best foule which slieth out of the body, as lightning doth out of the cloud: but that the faile faile folio. which is joyned with the body being full of corporall passions, is a grosse vapor, dark and massie, and cannot flame, arise or shoot out like lightning. We must not believe therefore, that the bodies of noble and vertuous men, do go vp together with their foules into heauen, against the order of nature. But this we are certainly to beleeue, that by the vertues of their foules (according to dinine nature and inflice) they do of men become faints, and of faints halfe gods, and of halfe gods, entire and perfect gods: after that they are perfectly (as it were by facrifice of purgation) made cleane and pure, being delinered from all paine and mortality, and not by any civill ordinance, but in troth and reason, they receive a most happy and glorious end. Now touching Romulus furname, which afterwards was called Quirinus, fome fay, that it fignifieth as much as warlike: other thinke it was so called because the Romain Es themselves were called Quirites. O- lu mucal led Quirites. ther write, that men in old time did call the point of a speare, or the dart it selfe, Quiris by reason ****. whereof the image of Iuno furnamed Quiritides, was fet vp with an iron speare, and the speare which was consecrated in the Kings pallace, was called Mars. Furthermore it is an vse amongst men, to honor them with a speare or dart, which have shewed themselves valiant in the wars: and that for this cause Romulus was surnamed Onirinus, as who would say, god of the speares & wars. There was since built a temple vnto him, in the hill called Quirinus, and so named of him. The day whereon he vanished, is called the flying of the people, or otherwise the Nones of the goates. None cap-For on that day they go out of the city to do facrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goats sating. marsh: and the Romaines call a goate, Capra. As they go thus together, they call with lowd showtes and cryes upon diverse Romaines, as Marcus, Cnews, and Gains, intoken of the flying that was then: and they called one another back againe, as they ran away in great feare and disorder. Howbeit other say, that it is not done to shew the running away, but to shew their fpeed and diligence, and refer it to the flory. Now after the GAVLES that had taken Rome were expulsed by Camillus, y city was so weakned, that they could scant recouer their force & stregth againc: wherefore many of the LATINES ioyning together, went with a great mighty army, vn- The war of der the conduct of Linius Posthumius, to war against the Romains - This Posthumius brought his the Launes, camp as pearer the city of Rounds the could and contract the Romains by Atlanta Linius camp as neare the city of Rome as he could, and sent to the Romains by a trumpet to let them possibilities vnderstand, how the LATINS were desirous by new mariages to restore their old ancient amity General. and kindred that was neere hand decayed between them: and therfore if the Romaines would fend them a convenient number of their daughters and yong widowes to mary with them, they would have peace, as they had before time with the SABYNES, vpon the like occasion. The Ro-MAINS hereat were fore troubled, thinking that to deliuer their women in fuch fort, was no better then to yeeld and submit themselues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a waiting maid called Philotis (or as other call her, Tutola) gaue the counsell to do neither the one nor Philotis the other, but to vie a policy with them, by means whereof they should scape the danger of the waining wars, and should also not be tied nor bound to any pledge. The device was, they should fend to main fulthe LATINES her selfe, and a certaine number of their fairest bond-maids, trimmed vp like gentlewomen, and the best citizens daughters, and that in the night she would lift them vp a burning

torch in the airc, at which figne they should come armed, and set vpon their enemies as they lay afleepe. This was brought to passe: and the LATINS thought verily they had benethe Ro-MAINS daughters. Philotis failed not in the night to lift vp her figne, and to shew them a burning torch in the top of a wild fig-tree: and did hang certaine couerlets and clothes behind it, that the enemics might not see the light, and the Romaines contrariwise might discerne it the better. Thereupon fo foone as the ROMAINE's faw it, they ran with all speed, calling one another by their names, and issued out of the gates of the city with great hast and so tooke their enemies vp on a sudden, and flue them. In memory of which victory, they do yet so lemnize the feast called the Nones of the goats, because of the wild fig-tree called in Latine Caprificus. And they do feast the women without the city, vnder shadowes made of the boughes of fig-trees. The waiting maids, they run vp and down, and play here and there together. Afterwards they feeme to fight, and throw stones one at another, as then they did when they holpe the Romains in their fight. But few writers do anow this tale, because it is on the day time that they call so each other by their names, and that they go to the place which they call the goats marsh, as vnto a sacrifice. It feemeth this agreeth better with the first history when they call one another by their names in the night, going against the LATINES: vnlesse peraduenture these two things after many years happened vpon one day. Furthermore, they fay Romulus was taken out of the world, when he was foure and fiftie yeares of age, and had reigned eight and thirty yeares by accompt.

THE COMPARISON OF

Thefeus with Romulus.



means men are prosso. ked to great enterprifes.

age and

Plato in

Hus haue we declared all things of Thefeus & Remulus worthy memory. But to compare the one with the other: it appeareth first, that Thefew of his own voluntary wil, without compulsion of any (when he might with fafety haue reigned in the city of TROEZEN, and fucceeded his grandfather in no small kingdome) did desire of himselfe, and rather sought meanes to aspire to great things: and that Romulus on the other side, to deliuer himfelf from bondage and seruitude that lay sore vpon him, and to escape the threatned punishment which still did hang ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as Plato faith) to shew himselfe hardy for

feare:who feeing how extremely he was like to be handled, was of very force constrained to feek aduantage, and hazard the enterprise of attaining high and great things. Moreover the chiefest act that ener he did, was, when he flue one onely tyrant of the city of Alba called Anulius: where Thefeus in his journy only, as he trauelled, gaue his mind to great enterprifes, and flue Sciron, Scinnis, Procrustes, & Corrnetes. And by ridding them out of the world, he delivered GRECE of all those cruell tyrants, before any of those knew him whom he had deliuered from them, Furthermore, he might have gone to Athens by sea, & neuer needed to have travelled, or put himfelfe in danger with these robbers, considering he neuer received hurt by any of them: whereas

Romalus could not be in safety whilest Amulius lived. Hereupon it may be alledged, that Thefeus vnprouoked by any prinat wrong or hurt received, did fet vpon these detestable thieues and robbers: Remus and Remulus contrariwife, fo long as the tyrant did them no harme, did fuffer him to oppresse and wrong all other. And if they alledge, these were noble deeds, and worthy memory: that Romalus was hurt fighting against the SAEYNES, and that he flucking Acron with his owne hands, and that he had ouercome and subdued many of his enemies: the for Thesess on the other figurary be objected, the battel of the Centauri, the wars of the Amazons, the tributed ueto the king of CRETAS how he ventured to go himselfthither with the yong boies & wenches of A-THENS, as willingly offering himselfto be deuoured by a cruell beast, or elsto be slain, & sacrificed vpo the tomb of Androgew, or to become bondslave & tied in captivity to the vile service of cruel men & enemies, if by his courage & manhood he could not deliner himself. This was such an act of magnanimity, inflice & glory, & briefly of so great vertue, that it is vnpoffible truly to be fet out. Screly me thinks the Philosophers did not ill define loue, when they said she was a seruitour of the gods, to faue yong folkes, whom they thought meet to be preferued. For, the loue of miniter of Arisdne was in mine opinion the work of some god, and a meane purposely prepared for Theseus the gods. fafety. Therfore the woman is not to be reproched nor blamed for the love she bare Theseus, but rather it is much to be wondred at, that every man & woman in like wise did not love him. And if of her felf she fell in lone with him, I say (and not without cause) she afterwards deserued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her own nature loued valiantnes and honor, & entertained men of fingular value. But both Thefeus & Romulus being naturally given to rule & reigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a king, but both of them did degenerate alike: the one changing himself into a popular man, the other to a very tyrant. So that by fundry humors, they both fell into one mischiefe and error. For a prince about all things must keep his estate: which Theospees is no lesse preserved by doing nothing vncoly, then by doing all things honorably. But he that is aprince, more sense or remisse then he should be, remaineth now no more a king or a prince, but becommeth a people-pleaser, or a cruell tyrant: & so causeth his subjects to despise or hate him. Yet me thinkes the one is an error of too much pitty and basenesse: and the other of too much pride and crucky. But if we may not charge fortune with all mischances happening vnto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diversities of maners & passions, seeing anger is vnreasonable, and wrath rashand passionate: then can we not cleare the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the fact committed by the one against his brother, and by the other against his naturall fon. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth much excuse Theseus, who moued with the greatest cause that might be, was put into such choler and passion. But if Romulus variance with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counfell, or cause of the common-weals: there is none fo fimple to think, that his wildome would fo fuddenly haue fet vpon him. Where as The seus in contrary maner killed his son, prouoked by those passions that few men can avoid: to wit, loue, icalousic, and false report of his wife. Moreouer Romalus anger went to the effect, wherof the iffue fell out very lamentable: The feus anger stretched no further the to rough words and old folks curses in their heat. For it seemeth, cursed fortune, and nought els, was the cause of his fons only mishap, as forespoken and wished for somwhat by his father. These be the speciall things may be alledged for Thefeus. But for Romulus this was a notable thing in him. First his beginning being very low and mean, and his brother and he taken for bondmen, & the children of hogheards, before they were themselves all free, they set at liberty in maner all the Latins, winning at one inftant many titles of glory and honour:as destroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of new cities, and no ouerthrowers of the old: whereas preferred Thefeus of many habitations and houses made only one, and did ouerthrow and plucke downe before The. diners states, bearing the names of ancient kings, princes, & halfgods of Attica, All these also fem. did Remulus afterward, & compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to destroy their own houses, and to come and dwell with their conquerors. And in the begining, he never changed nor increased any city that was built before, but built himself a new city out of the ground, getting all together, land, coutry, kingdoe, kindred & mariages, without lofing or killing any man: and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrey, land, nor houses, and defired nothing else but to make a people amongst them, and to become citizens of some city. Also Romulus bent not himself to follow thecues and robbers, but subdued by force of armes many mighty and puitfant people: he tooke cities, and triumphed ouer kings

certainely knowne of whose hands he died. The most part of Authors do charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that Romulus deliuered his mother from apparent death, & resto-

red his grandfather to the royall throne of Aneas, who before was deposed and brought from a

king to feruile obcdience, without any regard of honour or dignity: to whom he did many moe

great pleasures and services. Besides he never offended him willingly, no not so much as ignorantly. Contrary I thinke Thelew, who failing by negligence to put out his white faile at his eturne, cannot be cleared of parricide, how cloquent an oration focuer could be made for his ex-

cuse: yea though it were before the most fauourable judges that could be. Wherfore an ATHE-NIAN very well perceiuing that it was an hard thing to excuse and defend so soule a fault, doth faine that the good old man Ageus having newes brought him that his fonnes ship was at hand, did runin so great hast to his castle, to see his son arrive afar off, that as he ran, his soot hit against fomething, and ouerthrew him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man feeing him run fo haftily to the fea fide, did make hafte to attend and waite vpon him. Far-

did so knit and toyne in one the set wo nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutual loue

which grew afterwards betwixt those two peoples, & consequently of the ioining of their pow-

ers rogether. Furthermore, time hath giuen a good testimony of the loue, reuerence, constancy,

nations liued peaceably, and in equality, vnder one citill policy, and well gournned common-

weale. The ATHENIAN'S contrariwife, by Thefeus mariages, did get neither lone nor kindred of

any one person, but rather they procured wars, enmittees, and the flaughter of their citizens, with

the loff: in the end of the city of APHIDNES: and yet very hardly, and by the mercy of their enc-

mies (whom they honored as gods) they escaped for him, the danger which the TROIANS suf-

fered afterwards, for the selfeact done by Alexander Paris. So it fel out at the last, that his mother

was not onely in danger, but even feelingly fuffered like mifery and captivity, which Hecuba did

afterwards, when she was for faken of her son vnlesse peraduenture those things that they write

of the impritonment and captivity of Athra, be found false and but fables, as for the fame and

memory of Thefeus were behouefull, that both it and many other things alfo, were of no more

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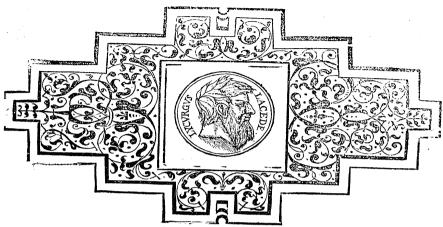
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THE LIFE OF



Mancannot speake any thing at all of Lyeurgus, who made the lawes of the LACED ÆMONIANS, but he shall find great contrariety of him amongst the historiographers. For, of his parentage and trauell out of his country, of his death and making of lawes, of his forme of gouernment and order of executing the same, they have written diversly. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worst about the time heliued in. For some of them (and Aristotle is of that number) will needes have him to have bene in the time of Iphytus, and that he did

helpe him to stablish the ordinance that all warres should ceasse during the feast of the games Olympicall: for a testimony wherof, they alledge the copper coyt which was vied to be throwne in those games, and had found grauen vpon it, the name of Lycurgus. Other compring the dayes and time of the fuccession of the kings of LACED EMON (as Eratoftenes & Apollodorus) say, he was many yeares before the first Olympiade. Timeus alfo thinketh ther were two of this name, and in diverfe times: how beit the one having more estimation then the other, men gaue this Lyeurgus the glory of both their doings. Some fay the eldest of the twaine was not long after Homer and fome write they faw him . Xenophon sheweth vs plainely he was of xenophon great antiquitie: faying he was in the time of the Heraclides, who were nearest of bloud by de- bbde Linescent to Hercules. For it is likely Xenophon meant not those Heraclides, which descended from Herademon rep. cules felfe: for the laft kings of Sparta were of Hercules progeny, as well as the first. Therefore of the He. he meaneth those Heraclides, which doubtlesse were the first and nearest before Hercules time. raclides, Neuerthelesse though the historiographers haue written diversly of him, yet we will not leave Paulanias. to collect that which we find written of him in ancient histories, and is least to be denied, and Climen. by best testimonies most to be proued. And first of all, the Poet Simonides sayth, his father was Strem. lib. 1 called Prytams and not Eunomus. and the most part do write the pedigree otherwise, as well of Lycurgus felfe, as of Euromus. For they fay, that Patrocles the fonne of Aristodemus begate Sous, and Sous begate Eurytion, and Eurytion begate Prytanis, and Prytanis begate Eunomus, and Eunomus begate Polydeetes of his first wife, and Lyourgus of the second wife, called Dianassa: yet Euthychidas another writer, maketh Lycurgus the fixt of descent in the right line from Polydettes, and the eleuenth after Hercules. But of all his auncesters, the noblest was Sous, in whose time the citie of Sparta fubdued the ILOTES, made them flaues, and did enlarge and increase their dominion, with the lands and possessions they had got by conquest of the Arcadians. And it is faid, that Sous himselfe being on a time straightly besieged by the Cittorians; in a hard

Lycurgus.

Thefeusele- thermore, Thefeus faults touching women and rauishments, of the twaine, had the lesse shadow and colour of honesty. Because Thesem did attempt it very often: for he stole away Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the TROEZENIAN. Againe, being stepped in yeares, and at later age, and past maringe, he stole away Helen in her minority, being nothing neere to consent to mary. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACED EMONIANS, and the AMAzons (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birth and linage of his owne countrey which were at ATHENS, and descended of the noble race and progeny of Erichtheus, and of Ce. creps) did giue men occasion to suspect that his womannishnesse was rather to satisfic lust, then of any great loue. Romalus now in a contrary maner, when his people had taken 800. or thereabouts, of the Sabyne women to rauish them, kept but onely one for himselfe that was called Her filia, as they fay, and delivered the rest to his best and most honest citizens. Afterwards by the

Romulus ran Sherent honor, love, and good entertainment that he caused them to have and receive of their husbands. he changed this violent force of rauishment, into a most perfect bond and league of amity: which

kindnesse, and all matrimonial offices that he established by that means, betwist man and wife. No disorce For in two hundred and thirty yeares afterwards, there was never man that durst for fake or put away his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the best learned men, and most curious observers of antiquities, do know his name that was the first murderer of his 230 jeares father and mother: even so all the Romains knew what he was, which first durst put away his Spre. Val. wife. It was one called Sparius Carulius, because his wife was barren & had no children. The ef-Max, faith fects also do agree with the testimony of the time. For the realme was common vino the kings of The first wife put at both nations, and through the alliance of these mariages that began first of rauishments, both way in Rome. Thefeus

mar'ages

troubles.

Romulus more accep table to the gods then Thefens,

troth nor likelihood. That which they write of Romalus dininements, maketh great difference between him and Thefeus. For Romalus in his birth was preserved by the maruellous fauor of the gods: Thefeus to the contrary was begotten against the gods will, as appeared plainly by the answer of the Oracle to Ageus, that he should not meddle with any woman in a strange and for aine countrey.

The end of Romulus life.

THE

A Subtill

dry ground, where no water could be found, offered them thereupon to restore all their lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his company did drinke of a fountaine that was there not far off. The CLITORIAN'S did grant vnto it, and peace also was sworne between them. Then he called all his fouldiers before him, and told them if there were any one amongst them that would refraine from drinking, he would refigne his kingdome to him; howbeit there was not one in all his company that could (or would) forbcare to drinke, they were so fore athirst. So they all dranke heartily except himselfe, who being the last that came downe, did no more but a litle moyst his mouth without, and so refreshed himselfe, the enemies selues standing by, and drank not a drop. By reason wherof, he refused afterwards to restore their lands he had promifed, alledging they had not all drunk. But that notwithstanding, he was greatly esteemed for his acts, and yet his house was not named after his owne name: but after his sonnes name Eurytion. they of his house were called Eurytionides. The reason was because his sonne Eu. rytion to please the people, did first let fall and give over the sole and absolute power of a king. Wherupon there followed afterwards maruellous diforder and diffolution, which continued a great time in the city of Sparta. For the people finding themselues at liberty, became very bold and disobedient: and some of the kings that succeeded, were hated even to death, because they would perforce vie their ancient authority ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and good-wils of the people, or because they saw they were not strong inough to rule them, did give theinfelues to diffemble. And this did fo much increase the peoples loose and rebellious minds. that Lyeurgus owne father being king, was flaine among them. For one day, as he was parting a fray betweene two that were fighting, he had fuch a wound with a kitchin knife, that he died: and left his Realine to his eldeft fonne PolydeEtes, who died also soone after, and without heire of his body, as was supposed. In so much as every man thought Lycure we should be king; and fo he tooke it vpon him, vntill it was vnderstood that his brothers wife was young with child. Which thing to foone as he perceived, he published openly, that the Realine belonged to the child that should be borne, if it were a sonne. After this he gouerned the Realme, but as the kings lieutenant and regent. The LACEDEMONIANS calthe regents of their kings that are left within age, Prodicos Lycurgus brothers widow did fend, and let him fecretly vnderstand, that if he would Regents, or promise to marry her when he should be king, that she would come before her time, and either miscary or destroy that she went with. Lyourgus detestably abhorring this brutish and sauage vnkingi inmi. naturalnesse of the woman, did not reject her offer made him, but seemed rather to be very glad, then to diflike of it. Neueriheleffe he fent her word againe, she should not need to try masteries, with drinkes and medicines to make her come before her time: for in so doing, she might bring her felf in danger, and be caft away for euer. Howbeit he aduited her to go her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he would find meanes inough to make away the child that should be borne. And so with such perswasions he drew on this woman to her full time of deliuery. But fo foone as he perceived she was neare her time, he fent certaine to keep her, and to be prefent at her labour, commanding them that if flie were brought a bed of a daughter, they should leave her with the woman: and if it were a sonne, they should forthwith bring it to him. in what place focuer he was, and what bufineffe focuer he had in hand. It chanced that fhe came euen about supportime, and was deliuered of a sonne. As he was sitting at the table with the other magistrates of the city, his feruants entred the hall, and presented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes: and fayd openly to them that were prefent: Behold my Lords of Sparta, here is a king borne vnto vs. And speaking these words, he layd him downe in the kings place, and named him Charilaus, as much to fay as the joy of the people. Thus he faw all the lookers on rejoycing much, and might heare them praise and extoll his finceritie, iuflice, and vertue. By this meanes he reigned onely as king but eight moneths, from thenceforth he was taken and effected fo inft and fincere a man among the citizens, that there were moe that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the kings regent, or that he had the gouernment of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstanding there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who fought to hinder and disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends and kindred of the kings mother: whose power and honour were thought much impaired by Lycurgus authoritie: in so much, as a brother of hers called Leonidas, entring boldly into great words with him on a day, did not sticke to say to his face: I know for a certainty one of these dayes thou wilt be king: meaning thereby to bring him in suspition with the citizens. Which thing

Prodices.

thing though Lycurgus neuer meant, yet of a fubrill and crafty wit, Leonidas thought by giving out such words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be mistrusted that Lyeurgus had secretly made him away. The Kings mother also gaue out such like speeches, which in the end did so table him, with the searche had, what event might fall out thereof, that he determined to depart his country, and by his absence to avoid the sufficient that the country had been even a such that the search when the search had been even a such that the search when the search had been even the search had been even to such that the search had been even the search had been even to such that the search had been even the search had been even to be search had been even the search had been even to be search had been tion that therein might grow vpon him any way. So he trauelled abroad in the world as a Lycurgus ftranger, vntill his nephew had begotten a fonne who was to succeed him in his kingdome. travelled He having with this determination taken his journey, went first of all into CRETA, where he diligently observed and considered the manner of their lining, the order of the government of their Common-weale, and euer kept company with the best, and euer was conferring with the most learned. There he found very good lawes in his judgement, which he noted of purpose to carry home to his countrey, to serue when time should come. He found there other lawes also, but of them he made no reckoning. Now there was one man that aboue the rest was reputed wife and skilfull in matters of state and gouernement, who was called Thales: with whom Lycurgus did so much by intreaty, and for familiar friendship, that he perswaded him to go with him vnto Sparta. This Thales was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title and Thales apomame: but in effect he sang all that the best and sufficientest governours of the world could deuife. For all his fongs were goodly ditties, wherein he did exhort and perfwade the people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace and concord one with the other. His words were fet out with fuch tunes, countenance and accents, that were fo full of fweetneffe, harmonie, and piercing, that inwardly it melted mens hearts, and drew the hearers of a loue to like the most honest things, and to leave all hatred, enmitte, sedition, and division, which at that time reigned fore among them. So as it may be faid, he it was that prepared the way for Lyeurgus, wherby he afterwards reformed and brought the LACED ÆMONIANS vnto reafon. At his departing out of CRETA, he went into Asia, with intent (as it is faid) to compare the manner of life and policy former inof those of CRETA (being then very straight and seuere) with the superfluities and vanities of to Afia. IONIA: and thereupon to confider the difference betweene their two manners and gouernements, as the Physition doth, who to know the whole and healthfull the better, doth victo compare them with the ficke and diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first faw Homers workes, in the hands of the heires and fuccessours of cirophylus and finding in the same, as well many rules of policy, as the great pleasure of poets faining, he diligently copied it out, and made a volume thereof to cary into GRECE. It is true, there was much fame abroad of Homers poefies among the GRECIANS, howbeit there were few of them brought together, but were feattered of Homers and there in diverse mens hands in parables and page 1997. here and there in diucrfe mens hands, in pamphlets and peeces vnfewed and without any order: profes. but the first that brought them most to light among men, was Lyenrgus. The ÆGYPTIANS say, Homers po. that he was in their countrey also, and that having found there one notable ordinance among knows to other, that their fouldiers and men of war were separated from the rest of the people, he brought she Greet. the practife of it into Sparta: where fetting the merchants, artificers and labourers every one apart by themselves he did of ablifus poble common wealth. So the did not be light by apart by themselues, he did establish a noble common wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN historiographers, and some others also of GRECE do write. He was also in Africk E, and in Spaine, and as farreas India, to conferre with the wife menthere, that were called the Philosophers of In-DIA. I know no man that hath written it, fauing Aristocrates, that was Hipparchus sonne. The La-GED EMONIANS wished for him often when he was gone, and sent diverse and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or maiestic of a Prince, whereby they did excell the common people. But as for Lycurgus, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to command, and to give order, as having in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to draw men willingly to obey him. Moreouer the Kings themselues were not vnwilling to have him to returne home, becausethey hoped that his presence would somewhat bridle and restraine the people from their infolency and disobedience towards them. Whereupon Lyeurgus returning home in this opinion and affeand disobedience towards them. Whereupon Lyeurgus returning nome in this opinion and ante-ction of men, it fell out that he was no sooner arrived, but he began to deuise how to alter the whole gouemement of the common-weale, and throughout to change the whole course and and change order of the state: thinking that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpose, but gethall the much like, as one should give forme casie medicine, to purge an overthrowne body with all weath. humours and diseases. Therefore he thought first that all grosse and superfluous humours were

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meet to be dissoluted and purged, and then afterwards to give them a new form and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with himself, before he would take in hand to do any connelled thing, he went to the city of DELPHES: where after he had facrificed to Apollo, he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of Pythia: O beloued of the gods, and rather god then man. Where when he craued grace of Apollo to establishgood lawes in his country, it was answered him: that Apollo granted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest maner of a common-wealth, that ever had or should be in the world. This answer did comfort him very much, and so he beganto break his purpose to certaine of the chiefe of the city, and fecretly to pray and exhort them to helpe him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, and after by litle and litle he wan others to him, who joined with him in his enterprise. So when he faw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirty of the chiefest men of the city in a morning to come into the market place well appointed and furnished, to suppres those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. Hermippus the historiographer rehearseth twenty of the chiefest: but he that aboue all others did most assist him in his doings, and was the greatest aid vnto the stablishing of his lawes, was called Arithmiadus. The king Charilaus hearing of this affembly, did feare there had bene some conspiracy or insurrection against his person, and chalceacos, for his fafety he fled into the temple of Iuno, and Chalceacos, as much to fay, as Iunos brafen teple. Immes bra- Howbeit afterwards when he knew the troth, he waxed bold & came out of the temple again, & he himselffauored the enterprise, being a prince of a noble mind, howbeit very soft by nature, as witneffeth Archelaus (that was then the other king of LACED EMON) by telling how Charilaus antwered one that praised him to his face, in faying he was a good ma. And how shold I not (quoth he)be good, when I cannot be euill to the euill? In this change of the state, many things were altered by Lycurgus, but his chiefest alteration was, his law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regal power and equall authority with the kings in matters of weight and importance, and was (as Plato faith) to be y healthful counterpoise of the whole body of the commonweale. The other state before was euer wavering, sometime inclining to tyranny, when the kings were too mighty; and fortime to confusion, when the people would vsurpeauthority. Lyourgus therfore placed between the kings and the people, a counfell of Senators, which was as a strong beame, that held both these extremes in an euen ballance, and gaue sure footing and ground to either part to make ftrong the state of the common-weale. For the 28. Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) tooke for time the kings part, when it was needfull to pul down the fury of the people: & contrarily, they held fomtimes with the people against the kings, to bridle their tyrannicall gouernement. Aristotle faith, he ordained the number of Senators to be but 28. was the eight and twenty, becarfe two of thirty that io yned with him as afore, did for feare for fake him at his enterprise. Howbeit Spherus writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purposed to have more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, confidering it is compounded of the number of seuen, multiplied by foure: and is the first perfect number next to fix being equall to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number rather then any other, because he meant the whole body of the counsell should be but thirty persons, adding to that number, the two kings. Lycurgus tooke so great care to establish well this counsell, that he brought an oracle for it, from Apolloes temple in DELPHES. This oracle is called vnto this day Retra, as who would fay, the statute oracle; wher-Lycurgus. of the answer was: When thou hast built a temple vnto Iupiter the Syllanian, and to Minerua, the Syllanian, and deuided the people into lineages, thou shalt establish a Senate of thirty counsellors, with the two kings: and shalt affemble the people at times convenient, in the place between coation f. the bridge and the river CNACION. There the Senators shall propound all matters, and breake vp after their affemblies:and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one word. In those dayes the people were euer affembled betweene two rivers, for there was no hall to affemble a counsell at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For Lycurgus thought no builded place meet for men to giue good counsell in, or to determine causes, but rather a hinderance: because in fuch places men be drawne to muse on vaine things, and their minds be caried away with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, commonly fet vp for ornament in fuch open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and fports be made, they think more of them, then of any counsell. Againe, if it be in a great hall, then of the faire embowed or vawted roofs, or of the fretifed feelings curioufly wrought, and fumptuoufly fet forth, and tend

not still their businesse they come for. When the people were assembled in counsell, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counsell to be determined, neither mightany of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thing : but the people had only authority to gine their affent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senators, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two kings Polydorus and Theopompus, because the people did many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding something to it, they did adde these words to the Oracle aforesaid. That if the people would not assent to any ordinance of the Senate, then should it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake up the counsell, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wise aduice of the Senate being encountred thus, and their meaning to the best, so peruerted to the worse. These two kings perswaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the Oracle of Apollo. as the poet Tyrtaus maketh mention in the place, where he faith:

From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought Of Pythia, into their countrey foile. The Kings (eucn they to whom of right there ought A louing care in princely breasts to boile. The Spartane wealth, to gard from enery spoile:) Shall be the chiefe, grave causes to decide With Senators: whose sound advice is tride. And next to them the people shall fulfill As much as feemes to please their princes will.

Lycurgus now having thus tempered the form of his common-weate, it feemed not with flanding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirty persons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, and of too great authority. Wherefore to bridle them in a litle, they gave them (as Plato faith) a bit in their mouths, and that was the authority of the Ephores, which fignifie as The inflitte. much as controllers: and were creeted about a hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycur-tion of the gus. The first which was chosen of these, was Elatus, and it was in the time of King Theopompus, whose wife on a day in her anger said: How through his negligence he would leave lesse to his fucceffors, then he had received of his predecessors. To whom he answered againe; Not lesse but more, for that it shall continue longer, and with a more surety. For, in losing thus their too absolute power that wrought them great enuy and hatred among their citizens, they did escape the danger and mischiefe that their neighbours the ARGIVES and MESSENIANS did feele: who would not give outr the four-raigne authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh Lyeurgus great wisdome and forefight manifestly knowne; who so will deeply consider the feditions and ill gouernments of the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS (their necreneighbors and wildome. kinsmen)aswell from the people, as from the kings; who from the beginning had all things alike to the Spartans; and in dividing of their lands a far better order then theirs. This notwithstanding, they did not prosper long but through the pride of their kings, & the disobedience of their people, they entred into civill wars one against another, shewing by their disorders and mistortunes the special grace the gods did beare to Sparta, to give the such a reformer, as did so wisely temper the flate of their common-weale, as we will shew herafter. The second law that Lyour Lyourgus gus made, and the boldest and hardest he euer tooke in hand, was the making of a new division of makeib etheir lands. For he faw fo great a diforder and inequality among the inhabitants, as well of the quality among the inhabitants, as well of the country, as of the city Laced & Mon, by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so mis the cipoore, that they had not a handfull of ground, & other some being least in nuber were very rich, wem. that had all: he thought with himfelf to banish out of the city all insolency, enuy, couetcousnes, & cicliciousnes, and also all riches & pouerty, which he took for the greatest, and most continual plagues of a city, or common-weale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessary a meane, as to perswade his citizens to suffer all the lands, possessions, and inheritance of their country, to runne in common together: and that they should make a new division equally in partition amongst themselues, to line from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, fo that no one were richer then another, and none should seeke to go before each other, any other way then in vertue only: thinking there should be no difference or vnequality among inhabitants of one city, but the reproches of dishonesty, and the praises of vertue. Thus Lycureus following his determination, did out of hand make a law of the division of their lands. For

lands countrey of La conta. doutded in . 2030000 All the lands about Sparta into parts. What barley every

Lycurgus changeth all gold and

Cothon & of the La cedemonia fouldiers.

first he did divide all the country of LACONTA, into thirty thousand equall parts, the which he through the did set out for those that inhabited about Spart a: and of those lands that iouned next to the city of Sparta, that was the first metropolitan city of Laconia, he made other nine thousand parts, which he deuided to the naturall citizens of Sparta, who be those that are properly called Spartans. Howbeit some will say, he made but fixethousand parts, and that king Polydorus afterwards did adde two other three thousand parts. Others say also, that Lycurgus of these nine thousand parts made but the halfe only, and Polydorus the rest. Euery one of these parts was such. as might yeeld vnto the owner yearly, threefcore and ten bushels of barley for a man, & twelve bushels for the woman; and of wine and other liquid fruits, much like in proportion, which quantity Lycurgus judged to be fufficient, to keep the body of a man in health, & to make him strong and lusty, without any further allowance. They say after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came ouer the lands where wheate had benereaped not long before, and faw the number of sheaueslying in euery shocketogether, and no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, and told them that were with him, Me thinksall LACONIA is as it were an inheritance of many brethren, who had newly made partition together. He gaue an attempt to haue divided also moucables, and to have made a common partition betweene them, to the end he would have viterly taken away all vnequality. But finding the citizens took it very impatiently. that openly that which they had, should be taken away, he went about to do it more recretly, and in a cunninger wife to take away that conetoufnes. For first of all he did forbid all coine of gold and filuer to be currant: and then he did set out certaine coines of iron, which he commanded only to be currant, wherof a great waight and quantity was but litle worth. So as to lay vp therof the value of ten minas, it would have occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would have needed a yoke of oxen to carry it any where. Now gold and filter being thus banished out of the country, many lewd parts and faults must needs ceasife thereby. For who would rob, steale, pick, take away, hide, procure, or hoord vp any thing, that he had no great occasion to defire, nor any profit to possess, nor wold be any pleasure to vie or imploy. For, the iron they occupied for their coine, they cast vinegar vpon it while it was red-hot out of the fire, to kill the strength and working of it to any other vse for thereby it was so eager and brittle, that it would bide no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other fashion. By this meanes he banished also, all superfluous and unprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not need to do by any proclamation:because they would fall away (or the most part of them) euen of themselves, when the basenesse of the mony they should take for their work, should vndo them. For their iron monies were not currant els where in the cities of GRECE, but every body made a lest of it there. By this occasion, the Laced Emonians could buy no forrein wares nor merchandises, neither came there any ship into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rhetorician did repaire into their country to teach them eloquence, and the cunning cast of iying: nor yet came there to them any wifard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keep any brothell house, nor yet goldsmith or ieweller, to make or sel any toics or trifles of gold or filuer to set forth women: confidering all these things are vsed to be made to get mony, and to hoord vp that they had not. After this fort, delicatenetse that wanted many things that entertained it, began by litle and litle to vanish away, and lastly, to fall off from themselves: when the most rich men had no more occasion then the poorest, and riches having no meane to shew her selfe openly in the world, was faine to remaine shut at home idly, as not able to do her master any service. Thereupon moneables & houshold stuffe (which a man cannot be without, and must be daily occupied) as bedsteds, tables, chaires, and such like necessaries for house, were excellently well made; and mendid greatly praise the fashion of the Laconian cup which they called Cothon, and especially for a fouldier in the wars, as Critius was wontto fay. For it was made after such a fashion, that the color of it did let the eye to discern the foule and vnwholsome water, which men are driven of times to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times against ones stomacke to see it: and if by chance there was any filth or mud in the bottome, it would cleaue and sticke fast up on the ribs of the belly, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that dranke it. The reformer of their state was the cause of althis: because their artificers tending now to superfluous works, were occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, now to driue away all superfluity and deliciousnesse, and to root out vtterly desire to get and gather:he made another third law for eating & drinking, and against feasts & bankets. First he willed and

commanded the citizens, that they should eate together all of one meat, and chiefly of those he Lyangus had permitted by his ordinance. Then he did expressly forbid them to eate alone, or apart, or order for fecretly by them selues, vpon rich tables and sumptuous beds, abusing the labour of excellent die vno workemen, and the denices of lickerish cookes, to cramme themselues in corners, as they do fat the Laceda. vp beafts and poultry, which dorh not onely breed ill conditions in the minde, but doth marre the complexions of men, and the good state of their bodies, when they give themselves over to fuch fenfuelity and gluttony. Whereof it followeth in the end, that men must needes sleepe much, to helpe to digeft the excesse of meates they have taken, and then must they go to the hote houses to bathe themselues, and spend long time about the ordinary attendance of their fickly bodies. This was a maruellous thing for him to bring to passe, but much more, to make riches notto be stolen, and least of all to be coneted, as Theophrastus said of him: which by this means of making the cat together with all sobriety at their ordinary diet, was brought to passe. For there was no more meane to the rich, then to the poore, to vieto play, or flew riches, fith both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: fo as that which is commonly ipoken, that Pluto the god of riches is blind, was truly verified onely in the city of Sparta, about all other places of the world. For there riches were layd on the ground like a corfewithout a foule, that moueth no whit at all: confidering it was not lawfull for any man to car at home feeretly in his house before he came to their open hals, nor might not come thither for a countenance onely to his meales, being already full and well fraught. For enery mans eye was vpon those especially which did not cat and drink with a good stomach amongst th.m: and it was the vse to reproch them as gluttons, and dainty mouthed men, which refused to case as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they fay, that grieued most the rich about all that Lyeurgus made, and whereat they were most mad and angry with him: infomuch, as on a day, they all fetting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to run out of the market place, and getting ground of them, he recoursed the liberties of a Church, before any could ouertake him: fauing one yong man called Aleander, who otherwise had no ill nature in him, but that he was formwhat quick of his hand, and cholerike withall. Who following Lycurgus neerer then any other, did give him a blow overthwart the face with a staffe, and strake froke out out one of his Lyes, as Lyeurgus turned toward him. Yet for all this, Lyeurgus neuer bashed or Lyeurgus made word at the marter, but did lift up his head to those that followed him, and shewed them his face all a gore-bloud, & his eye put out cleane; wherof they were fo fore ashamed, that there was not a man that durst once open his mouth against him, but to the contrary, they seemed to piry him, and did deliner Alcander into his hands that had done the deed, to punish him as himfelf pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, and shewed they were right heartily fory for his hurt. Lycurgus thanking them, returned them all backe againe, faue that he made Alcander to go with him into his house, where he never hurt him, nor gauchim fowle word; but Lyeurgus commanded him onely to waite vpon him, and made his other ordinarie feruants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now began to fpie his owne fault, did most willingly attend upon him, and neuer spake word to the contrary. When he had serued him a certaine time, being very necre continually about him, he began to feele and tafte of his naturall liberaliey, and faw of what affection and intention Lyourgus was moved to do all he did: he perceived what was the fenerity of his ordinary life, and what his constancy was to endure labour without wearinesse. Alcander then began to loue and honour Lyeurgus from his heart, and told his parents and friends, how he was no fuch feuere man as he feemed, but was of fo kind and gentlea nature to all men as might be. See I pray you how Alcander was transformed by Lycurgus, and his punishmentalfo, which he should have received: for of a fierce, rash, and a lewd conditioned youth he was before, he became now a very graue and wife man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, Lyeurgus built a temple to Minerua, which he furnamed Optiletide, because the Minerua DORIANS which dwell inthose parts of PELOPONNESVS, docall the cycs, Optiles. There are other writers (as Diosecrides for one) which say Lycurgus had a blow with a staffe, but he had not his eye striken out with it: and how contrariwise, he founded this temple to Minerua, to give her thanks for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that ever fince the Spartans have bene restrained to cary states in any affembly of counsell. But to returne to their common repastes, Andria and which the CRETANS call Andria, and the LACED EMONIANS Phiditta, either because they Phiditia, were places wherein they leavned to line foberly and straightly, (for in the GREERE tong Phido pealed."

is to faue and spare) or els because their amity and friendship grew there towards one another, as if they would have called them Philitia, feaffs of love, by changing D. into L. It may be also they added the first letter as superfluous, and meant to call the places Editia, because they did eat and drink there: They fate in their hals by fifteene in a company, litle more or leffe, and at the beginning of cuery moneth, enery one brought a bushell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fine pound of cheefe and two pound and a halfe of figs for a man, befides forme litle portion of their mony to buy certaine fresh cates. And ouer & aboue all this euery man when he did facrifice in his house was bound to fend the best and chiefest things of his facrifice to the hals to be eaten. Likewise if any man went on hunting, and killed any venifon, it was an order, he should send a peece of the flesh thither. Having these two lawfull causes, they might eat and drink by themselves, at home, either when they facrificed any beaft to the gods, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwise they were bound of necessitie to meete in their hals at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very straightly a great time; in so much as king Agis on a day, returning from the wars, where he had overthrowne the Athenians, and being defirous to fup at home prinarly with the Queene his wife, he fent to the hals for his portion. But the Polemarchi. that be certain officers affifting the kings in the wars, did deny him. The next day Agis left off for spite, to do the accustomed facrifice they were wont to celebrate in the end of every war; wherupon they fet a fine on his head, and condemned him to pay it. The yong children also went to thefe repafts, cue as they should go to schooles to learn gravity & temperance, where they heard brought to wife & grave discourses touching the government of a common weale, but not of masters that were as hirelings. There they learned pretily to play vpon words, & pleasantly to sport one with another, without any broad speeches, or vncomly iests, and at others hands to beare the same again, without choler or anger. For this property. The the LACED EMONIANS about all other to edamonia, take and giue a mock without any offence:neuertheleffe, if any mans nature could not beare it, he needed but pray the party to forbeare his iesting, and so he left it straight. And it was cuer an ordinary thing among the that the eldest of the company told the rest that were come into the hall to meale, with shewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a word here out of this doore. Even so he that wold be received to meale there in their copany, must first of necessity be of receiving allowed & received in this fort, by all the rest. Every one of them took a litle ball of bran or dow to wash their hands with, & without cuer a word speaking, they threw it into a basin, which the company at feruant that waited on them at the table did cary vpon his head; he that was contented the other should be received in company, did cast in his ball as he did receive it; but if he misliked him, then he pressed it flat betweene his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of bran thus pressed flat, was as much as a beane bored through, and was to them a figne of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this fort, the fuiter was rejected: for they would not have any enter into their company that was not liked of all the reft. He that thus was rejected, they fay he was discadded: for the basin wherein the litle bals were caried, was called Caddos. The best dish they served at these meales, was that they call their black broth: fo that when they had that, the old men did cate no The blacke flesh, but left it all to the yong men, and they by themselues did eat the broth. There was a king of Pontys, that being defirous to taft of this black broth, did buy of purpose a LACEDEMO NIAN cooke: but after he had once tafted thereof, he was very angry straight. The cooke then faid vnto him and it please your grace, ere one shall find this broth good, he must be washed first in the river of Evrotas. After they had cate and drunke thus foberly together, every one repaired home without any light for it was not lawfull for them to go thither, nor any where els with light, because they should accustome themselves boldly to go vp and downe the dark, and all about in the night. This was the order and maner of their meales. But here is specially to be noted, that Lyourgus would in no wife have any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expresly fet downe in his lawes they call Retra, that none of his lawes should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly make a city happy and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens hearts and manners, as to have continuance for cuer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as afarre fironger knot to tie them with then any other compulsarie law. Which when men by vie and cuftome, through good education, do take in their childhood, it maketh enery man to be a law to himfelfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and fometime are changed into one fort, and fometime in another, as occasion feructh: he thought it best not to constraine them to do it by writing,

norto establish customes that might not be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and discretion of men which had bene brought vp in the same, both to take away, and to adde therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefest point of a good law-maker or reformer of the common-weale was, to cause men to be well brought vp and infiructed. One of his Ordinances therefore was expresly, that not one of his lawes should be written. Another of his deuices was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to anoid, he made a law that all roofes of houses should be made onely with the axe, and all gates and doores with the fawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like open imagination as afterwards Epaminondus had, when he faid, speaking of his table: Such a boord Epaminonneuer receiveth any treason. Even so thought Lycurgus, that such a built house would never receine curioficie or daintinesse. For no man is so madly disposed or simple witted, as to bring into fo poore and meane houses, bedsteads with filuer feet, imbrodered couerlets, or counterpoints of purple filk, neither yet plate of gold nor of filuer, nor fuch other like coffly furniture and fineneile, as those things require to waite upon them: because the beds must be answerable to the meaneneffe of the house, the furnitures of the beds must be sutelike to the same, and all other houshold stuffe, diet, meate, and drinke agreeable to the rest. Hereof proceeded that, which Leentychidas the first King of that name, said once: who supping on a time in the citic of Corintu, & feeing the roofe of the hall where he fate, fumptuoufly embowed & carued, he asked fir aight King Low-& feeing the roofe of the half where he fate, sumptuously embowed & carted, it asked transfer in that from the trees did grow carned fo in that country. The third law was, he did forbid them to make this day in the fairing. warre often with one enemie, left the enemie forced to take often armes in hand, might in the Retra for end grow experter and valianter then they. For this cause king Agesilans was greatly blamed, warres. who was a long time after. For by making often wars with the country of Bo E ot 14, he made the THEBANS in the end as expert and valiant fouldiers as the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon Antaleidas feeing him hurt one day, faid vnto him: The THEBBANS have nobly rewarded Antaleidas thee for their learning, fith thou hast made them expert fouldiers vnwilling to learne the discipline of war. These be the lawes Lyourgus selfe called Reira, and signisse as much as Oracles, that the god Apollo had discouered to him. Now the education of children, he esteemed the chiefest and greatest matter that a reformer of lawes should establish. Therefore beginning a farre off, he first considered the state of mariage, and the generation of children. For Aristotle laith, that Lyeurgus did attempt to reforme women, and did soone giue it ouer againe: because he could doe no good therein, by reason of the great liberty they had taken by the absence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often fo to be abroad, and that they did leave them mistresses of their houses, and at their returne did honour them so much, and make of them so beyond measure, with calling them ladies and mistresses. Howbeitthis is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, as well as he had of mens; and so reason did require. First of all, he willed that The distribution the maidens should harden their bodies with exercise of running, wrestling, throw the barre, and casting the dart, to the end that the fruit wherewith they might be afterwards conceined, taking the Lacelenourifhment of a ftrong and lafty body, should shoot out and spread the better: and that they by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easily away with the paines of child-bearing. And to take away from them their womannish daintinesse and sinenesse, he brought vp 17. a custome, for young maides and boyes to goe as it were a procession, and to daunce naked at the series follower following for the series and to sing consists force of their constant in the series and to sing consists force of their constant in the series and to sing consists force of their constant in the series and to sing consists force of their constant in the series and to sing consists force of their constant in the series of the series o folemme feaftes and facrifices, and to fing certaine fongs of their owne making, in the prefence discipline and fight of young men. To whom by the way they gaue many times pretie mockes of pur- of maples. pose, as pleasantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and fometimes also in their fong for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they praised them which had descrued it. By this meanes, they did set young mens hearts on fire, to striue to winne most praise and honour. For who so was praised of them for a valiant man, or whose worthie sets were fing by them, he thereby was encouraged to do the better another time; and the pretie girds and quippes they gaue to others, were of no leffe force, then the sharpest words and admonitions that otherwife could be given them. This tooke place the rather, because it was done in the presence of the Kings, the Senators, & all the rest of the citizens which came thither to fee those sports. And though the maids did shew themselues thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonesty scene nor offered, but all this sport was full of play and toyes, without any youthfuil part or wantonnesse; and rather caried a shew of demurenesse, and a desireto haue their bestmade bodies icen & spied. Moreouer, it somewhat lifted vp their hearts, and made them noblier

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Children

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regard to wealth.

minded, by giving them to understand, that it was no lesse comely for them, in their kind and exercifes to carrie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exercifes to carry the price. Hereofit came, that the women of LACED EMON were fooded to fay, and thinke of themselves that, which Gorgonathe wife of king Leonidus one day answered, being in talke with a strange woman that faid to her: There be no women in the world that commaund their husbands, but you wines of LACEDEMON. Whereto the Queene straight replied: So be there no women but we. which bring forth men. Furthermore, these plaies, sports, and daunces, the maides did naked before young men, were pronocations to draw and allure the young men to marrie: not as perfivaded by geometricall reasons, as faith Plato, but brought to it by liking, & of very love. Those which would not marrie, he made infamous by law. For it was not lawful for fuch to be preset. where those open games and pastimes were shewed naked. Furthermore the officers of the city compelled fuch as would not marry, euen in the hardest time of the winter, to enuiron the place of these sportes, and to go vp and downe starke naked, and to sing a certaine song made for the purpose against them, which was: that justly were they punished, because that law they disobeyed. Moreouer, when fuch were old, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which old maried men vfually received. Therfore there was no man that mifliked or reproved that, which was spoken to Dercillidas: albeit otherwise he was a noble Captaine. For, coming into a presence, there was a young man which would not vouchsafe to rise and doe him reuerence, nor to give him place for to fit downe: And worthily, quoth he, because thou hast not gotten a fon, who may do fo much for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marrie any, were driuen to take them away by force whom they would marie, not litle young wenches I meane, which were not of age to be married : but lufty and ftrong maides, of age to beare children. And when one of them was stolen away in this fort, she that was privile thereto, and meant to make the mariage, came and fhaued the haires of her head that was maried: then she put her into mans apparell, and gaue her all things fute-like to the fame, and laid her vpon a mattreffe all alone, without light or candle. After this was done, the bridegroome being neither drunk nor finelier apparelled then he was wont to be, but having supped soberly at his ordinary, came home fecretly to the house where the bride was and there vntyed his wines girdle tooke her in his armes, layd her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards faire and foftly stole away to the place where he was wont to sleepe with other young men. And so from thenceforth, he continued alwaies to do the like, being all the day time with his companions, & fleeping most of the night, vnlesse he fometime stole to see his wife; being afraid, and ashamed cuer to be seene by any of the house where she was. And hereunto his young wife did helpe for her part, to spie meanes and occasions how they might meete together, and not be seene. This manner endured a great while and vntill fome of them had children, before they boldly met together, and faw each other on the day time. This fecret meeting in this fort did ferue to good purposes, noronely because it was some meane of continencie, and shamefastnesse, but also it kept their bodies in strength and better state to bring forth children. It continued also in both parties, as still burning loue, and a new defire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor weary, as theirs commonly be which have their bellies full of loue, and as much as they luft: but they cuer parted with an appetite one from another, keeping still a longing defire to deuise how to meete againe. Now when he had stablished such a continencie, and so kind a framed honestie in mariage, he took no lesse care to drive away all foolish icalousie therein, thinking it very good reason to beware there should be no violence, nor confusion in mariage; and yet as loughe in the reason would, they should suffer those which were worthicto get children as it were in common, laughing, at the madde folly of them which reuenge fuch things with warre and bloudflied, as though in that case men in no wise should have no fellowshippe together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being stepped in yeares, and having a young wife, if seeing a faire young man that liked him, and knowne withall to be of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with child, and afterwards would auow it for his, as if himfelfe had gotten it. It was lawful alfo for an honest man that loued another mans wife, for that he saw her wife, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreate her husband to suffer him to lye with her, and that he might also plow in that lustic ground, and cast abroade the seede of well fauoured children: which by this meanes came to be common in bloud and parentage, with the most honourable and honestest persons. For first of all, Lyourgus did not like that children should be prinate

private to any men, but that they should be common to the common-weale: by which reason he would also, that such as should become citizens, should not be begotten of enery man, but of the most honestest men onely. So Lycurgus thought also there were many foolish vaine toyes & fancies, in the lawes and orders of other Nations, touching mariage: seeing they caused their birches and mares to be limed and conered with the fairest dogs and goodliest stalons that might bee gotten, praying or paying the mafters and owners of the fame; and kept their wives notwithstanding shut vp safe vnder locke and key, for feare lest other then themselues might get them with child, although they were fickely, feeble brained, and extreme old. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommodity to the fathers & mothers, & likewise to those that bring them vp, to haue unperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of dry and withered men: and then to the contrary, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have saire and good children borne, as gotten of like feed and men. Thefe things were done then by natural & civill reason, neuerthelesse they say women were so farre off then from intreatic, as euer they were before: fo as in old time, in Sparta, men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe wheror, the Woodulte. answer made by Geradis (one of the first ancient Spartans) vnto a stranger, may be alledged, trickness, trickn that asked him, what punishment they had for adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were: replied the stranger againe. Mary said he, the he must pay as great a bul, as standing vpon the top of the mountaine Taygetus, may drinke in the riner Euroras. Yea marie:but how is it possible (quoth the stranger) to find such a bull! Geradas laughing, answered him againe: And how were it possible also to find an adulterer in Sparta? And this is that which is found of Lycurgus lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birth of euery boy, the fit The educather was no more mafter of him, to cocker and bring him vp after his will:but he himfelf caried him to a certaine place called Lesché, where the eldest men of his kindred being set, did view the the laredechild: and if they found him faire, and well proportionated of all his limmes, and strong, they gaue order he should be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thousand parts of inheritance for his education. Contrariwife, if they found him deformed, misshape, or leane, or pale, they fent him to be throwne in a deepe pit of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, & Apothetes. as a man would fay, the common house of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the child, nor yet for the comonweale, that it should line, considering from his birth he was not well made, nor giuento be strong healthfull, nor lustie of body all his life long. For this cause therefore, the nurse after their birth did not wash them with water simply (as they do enery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine; and thereby did they proue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they suppose, that children which are fred with giuen to haue the falling ficknesse, or otherwise to be fall of rewms and ficknesse, cannot abide wine. washing with wine, but rather dry & pine away: as concrarily the other which are healthfull, become thereby the stronger and the lustier. The nurces also of Sparta vse a certaine manner to The sparbring vp their children, without fwadling, or binding them vp in clothes with fivadling bands, or having on their heads any crof-clothes: so as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better shaped and goodlier of body. Befides that, hey acquainted their children to all kind of meates, and brought them vp without much tendance, fo as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be left alone in the dark:neither were they cryers, wrallers, or vnhappie children, which be all tokens of base & cowardly natures. So that there were strangers, that of purpose bought nurces out of Laconia, to bring vp their children: as they fay Amiela was one of them which nurced Alcibiades. But Pericles his tutor, gauchim afterwards a bondman called Zopyrus, to be his mafter Platof and gouernour: who had no better property in him, than other common flaues. This did not Lycurgus. For he did not put the education and gouernement of the children of SPARTA into the hands of hired mafters or flaues bought with money; neither was it lawfull for the father himselfe to bring up his owne child after his owne manner and liking. For so soone as they came to seuen yeares of age, he tooke and deuided them by companies, to make them to be brought. How the vptogether, and to accustome them to play, to learne, and to study one with another. Then he chose out of energy company one, whom has bounded bounded by a deal and to study one with another. Then he niamebilchose out of euery company one, whom he thought to have the best wit, and had most courage dren were in him to fight, to whom he gaue the charge and ouerfight of his owne company. The rest had brought me their eyes waiting alwaies on him, they did obey his commandements willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections he gaue them, they did fuch taskes and works as he appointed them: fo that all their studie was most to learne to obey. Furthermore, the old gray headed men were

of thiffle in the Miffe-Melirenes.

The theeuerie of the

present many times to see them play, and for the most part they gaue them occasions to fall our, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better know and difcerne the natural disposition of enery one of them, and whether they gaue any fignes or tokens in time to come to become cowards or valiant men. Touching learning, they had as much as ferued their turnefor the rest of their time they spent in learning how to obey, to away with paine, or endure labour, to ouercome still in fight. According to their growth and yeares, they did change the exercises of their bodies: they did shaue their heads, they went bare-legged, they were constrained to play naked together the most part of their time. After they were past twelve yeares of age, they wore no longer coates; and they gave them yearely but one fily gowne. This was the cause they were alwaies so nastie & sluttish, and they never yied to bath or noint themselves, sauing onely at certaine daies in the yeare, when they were suffered to tast of this refreshing. They lay & flept together upon beds of straw, which they themselves did make of the tops of reeds or canes that grew in the river of Eurotas: which they were forced to go gather and breake themfelucs with their hands, without any toole or iron at all. In the Winter, they did mingle thiftle downe with these, which is called Lycophonas, because that stuffe seemeth somewhat warme of it felfe. About this time, the fauourers and likers of this pretie youth, which were commonly the Infliest and best disposed youths of the citie, began to be ofter in their company: and then the old men took the better regard vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exercises, and where their vse was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mock another. This did their old me, not by way of pastime only, but with such care and harry loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, masters, & gouernors, while they were boyes:infomuch as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not alwaies fome to admonish, reproue, or correct the, if they did a fault. Notwithstanding at this, there was euer one of the honestest men of the civie, who had expresly the charge and gouernance of these boyes. He did deuide them in companies, & afterwards gaue the overfight of them to fuch a one of the boyes as was difereeteft, the manlieft, the most hardie, and of the best courage amongst them. They called the children that were past infancy two yeares, Irene: and the greatest boyes Melirenes as who would fay, readie to go out of boyerie. This boy who was made ouerfeer of them, was commonly twenty yeares of age. He was their captaine whethey fought, & did command them as his feruants when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest and the most growne, to carrie wood when they should prepare dinner or supper; & those which were least and weakest, to go gather herbes, which they must steale or lacke them. So they went out to steale, some in gardens, some at the markets, other in the halles where the feasts were kept, and men did catetogether, into the which they conucyed them felues as closely and cunningly as they could deuise: for if they were taken with the maner, they were scourged terribly, because they were fo groffe and negligent, and not fine and cunning in their faculty. They stole also all other kind of meate, what foeuer they could get or lay hands on. They pried and fought at occafions how to take and steale meate handsomely, both when men were asseepe, or else that they were careleffe, or did not give good heed vnto them. But he that was taken with the maner, had his payment roundly, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittance; because necessity should drive them to venter boldly, and wit should find out all devices to steale finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gave them so small a diet. The second cause was, that their bodies might grow vp higher in height. For the vitall spirits not being occupied to concoct and digest much meat, nor yet kept down, or spread abroad by the quantity or ouerburde thereof, do enlarge the selues into length, & shoot up for their lightnes: & for this reason they thought the body did grow in height and length, having nothing to let or hinder the rifing of the same. It feemeth that the felf fame cause made them fairer also. For the bodies that are leane & slender, do better and more easily yeeld to nature, which bringeth a better proportion & forme to energy member: and contrariwife, it feemeth thefe groffe, corpulent, and ouer-fed bodies do encounter nature, and be not fo numble and pliant to her, by reason of their heatic substance. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a litle before their time, & be somewhat cast before they should have bene borne, be smaller and fairer also, and more pure commonly then other that go their time: because the matter whereof the body is formed, being more supple and plyant, is the eafilier weilded by nature, which giveth them their shape and forme. Touching the naturall cause of this effect, let vs give place to other to dispute it that will, without our further deciding

deciding of the fame. But to returne to the matter of the LACED EMONIANS children: They did robbe with fo great care, and feare to be discouered, that they tell of one, which having stolen a littlefoxe, did hide him vnder his cloke, and suffered him with his teeth and clawes to teare out all his belly, and neuer cried, for feare he should have bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he stood. This is not vncredible, by that we see young boyes do abide at this day: for we have seene diverse, which have bidden whipping even to death, vponthe altar of Diana, furnamed orthia. Now this vnder mafter, who had the charge of enery company of dildrens these boyes, vied after supper (fitting yet at the table) to bid one of them sing a song: to another exercises he put foorth a question, who was to be well aduised of his answer, as for example: Who is forest the honestest man in the cities or how thinkest thou by that such a one dids By this exercise they were enured from boyes state, to judge of things well or ill done, and to vaderst and the life and gouernement of their citizens. For which of them did not answer quickely and directly to these questions, Who is a good man, who is an honest citizen, and who not: they thought it was a figne of a dull wit, and carelesse nature, not given to any vertue, for defire of honour and estimation. Furthermore this vnder mafter was ever to waite for his answer, and to see it should be briefe and well knit vp in words : otherwise his punishment that answered crossely, or to little purpose, was, that his master bit him by the thumbe. This he did many times in the presence of the old men & magistrates of the citie, that they might see whether he punished them with reafon or not, and according to their deferuing. And though he did hurt him, they did not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone away, then was he himfelfe rebuked and panished, if he had corrected them too fore, or contrarily had favoured them too much. Moreover they did afcribe the good or ill opinion conceined of the children, vnto enery of their fanourers and louers, which did affect and entertaine them: in as much as they fay, a young boy vpon a time fighting with another, and a cry feaping out of his mouth, which his faint cowardly heart did yeeld, his fauourer and louer was straight condemned by the officers of the cities to a fire. Albeit this loue was athing euen incorporated into them, that the most honest and vertuousest women loued the young maides thus also: yet was there no icalousie nor suspition that grew The Lace. hereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grew a maruellous mutuall loue and kindnes betweene demonstrate them, which lived in one selfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, did denife boing. how to make the child they loued in common, the wifeft, the gentleft, and the best conditioned aboue all other. They taught these children to speake in such fort, that their speech had ever in it a pleafant grace, and in few words comprehended much matter. For Lyeurgus ordained, a great maile and weight of iron money, should be but litle worth, and of a small value, as we have told you before; and contrarily, that speech in few words, without any affectation, should hold much shore deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long filence, should freeth be briefe and nithin in their answers. For an the Good of inconvisions which are not had taught as be briefe and pithie in their answers. For as the seed of incontinent men which are too busic mang the with enery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bring foorth fruit: enen fo immoderate speech, full of words & busic tattle, bringeth forth as little sence. Hereof it cometh, that the answers of the Laconians were so short and wittie. As they say, king Agis answered on a day an ATHENIAN, who iesting at the swords the LACED EMONIANS did weare, faid they were fo short, that these tumblers and juglers did swallow them downe in the fight of all the world: And yet, faid Agis, we hurt our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of fpeaking : which is not to fpeake much, but when they speake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers understand them. I thinke also that Lyeurgus selfe, was short and quick in his talke. For so a man may conjecture by his answers which are written as that which he made to one who earnestly prayed him to stablish a popular state in Laced Emon, that the basest might haucas great authority as the highest. Beginne wife an. (quoth he) to do it first in thine own house. And as that also which he answered another who sweet. asked him, why he had appointed fo finall things, and fo little of value to be offered to the gods: Because (quoth he) we should never cease to honour them. And as that which he spake another Lecurgus time, touching fights and frayes, which was : that he did neuer forbid his citizens any of them, but to God but those wherein they vse to give their hand, as you would say, to yeeld. Men find also such band is to like answers, in some of his letters written to his citizens, as when they asked him: How can we confess defend our selues against our enemies? He answered: If ye be poore, and one doe couet no more then another. And in another letter that was fent, where he discourseth, whether it were

Short fen tences of certaine Laconians. Leonidas. Charitans. Archidami Sharpe Centences of the aco-Demaratus Agus. Theofom-

Plilonas. Paulanias archida. midas.

requifire to inclose the citie with walles: he faith, can that city be without walles, which is enuironed with men, though it be vncompassed with stone? Neuerthelesse it is hard to resolue, whether those letters, and other such like that are shewed, be to be beleeved, or discredited to be his. But that long foeech was much difliked, and reproved among the LACED AMONIAN s,it is manifeffly to be seene by the words, which some amongst them have hertofore answered. As king Leonidas faid one day to one that difcourfed with him many good things, but out of feafon: Friend, thou speakest many good words, but to litle purpose. And Charilaus, nephew to Lycureus, being asked why his yncle made to few lawes; Becaufe, faid he, to men of few words, few lawes will ferue. And Archidamidus faid thus to some which reproued Hecateus the Orator, for that being bidde to supper at one of their feasts, he spake not a word all supper time: He who can speak well knowethalfo when to fpeake. And where I have told before, that in their feate and quicke antiwers commonly there was some pretie grace, it may be well seene and knowne by thefe that follow. Demeratus answered a busic fellow who troubled him too much with vaine importunate questions, asking him still: who was the honestest man of LACED EMONE Even he that is least like thy felfe. And Agis faid to some which highly praised the Elilans for their vpright judgement, and inst dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in fine yeares space the Elians one day do good instice? And Theopompus likewise to a stranger, who as defirous to flew his affection he bare the LACED ÆMONIANS, told him how every body called him Philolacon (as to fay) a louer of LACHD EMON. It were more honeftic for thee (faid he) to be named Philopolites, a lower of her citizens. And Philonan the forme of Paulanias when an Oratour of ATHENS faid the LACED AMONIANS were vinlearned and ignorant: Thou fayeft true, quoth he, for we only of all the Grecians have learned none of your ill conditions. And Archidamides to one that demanded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enow faid he to drive away the wicked. We may confecture also their manner of fpeaking, by their words in mirth, which they spake sometimes playing wise: for they did neuer vie to speake vaine words at randon, but it had alwaies some secret meaning in it, which required anothers good observation that would find it. As he which was defired to goe heare the Nightingale counterfeited naturally: I haue (faid he) heard the Nightingale it felfe. And another which having read this infeription vpon a tombe:

When as they had well quenched tyrannie Throughout their land, by worthy warlike power; Their hap was yet in wretched wife to die, By fealing Selynuntaes frongest tower.

They well deferred death, faid hee, that di our quench tyranny: they fhould have quite confumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promifing to give him fuch hardic cocks of the game, as should die in the place where they fough. O give me not those (faid he) which will die, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men fitting in coaches and litters as they went: God forbid (faid he) that I should euer six in a chaire, where I could not rise to my elders. Such were their answers and encounters. So that seme had reason which said heretofore, to fpeake LACONIAN like, was to be Philosopher like: as you would fay, more to exercife the mind, then the bodie. Berides all this, they did fludieto fing well, and to make goodly ditties and fongs. Then they spake most properly and featly. There was in their fongs also a certaine motion, I wote not what, which stirred vp the hearers hearts, and did kindle desire in them to do notable feats. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter grave and morall, containing for the most part the praise of those which were slaine in battell for the desence of their countrie, as being happiemen; and a shame to those that line, which for faint hearts refused foto die, to leade a miserable and vnfortunate life. Or else they sang how they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glory of the world, and the true representation of vertuous men; as the fong would best become their ages which did sing. It shall not be impertinent for the better vnderstanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open feasts, there were alwaies three dances, according to the difference of the three ages. The dance of the old men, thus began first for to sing:

ces among the Lacedes MORIANS.

The Late-

fongs.

da monians

We have bene young and strong, yet valiant heretofore. Till crooked age did hold ws backe, and bad ws do no more.

The young men followed after, finging:

We yet are yong bold frong, and readie to maintaine, That quarrell still against all men that do on earth remaine.

The third was of children that came after and faid:

And we do hope as well, to passe you all at last, And that the world shall witnesse be, ere many yeares be past.

To conclude, who nearely will confider the works and makings of the Lacon Poets (whereof some are yet extant) and will mark also the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the found and meafire wherof they marched in arrays going to charge the enemy the shall find that Terpander and Pindarus, had reason to joyne hardinesse with musicke. For Terpander speaking of the LACE- Terpander DÆMONIANS, faith in a place:

This is that land where deeds of chinalrie, Did flourish most in many a martiall feate: where musicke made her choise of harmonie. And instrice kept her stately royall seate.

And Pindarus speaking of them, also saith:

There: grave aduife, is found in aged braines: There : gallant youths are luftie lads indeede. Which can both fing and dance in courtlike traines: Yet daunt their foes with many a doughtie deede.

By which testimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and described them to have loued mufick, and the warres together. For as another LACON Poet faith:

It fitteth well, and is a feemely thing, For such as spend their time in feates of warre: To have the skill, sweete sonnets for to fing, And touch the harpe without enlangling larre.

For this cause therfore in all their warres, when they should give battell, the King did first facrifice to the Muses, to put the souldiers in mind (as it should seeme) of the discipline and wisdome of the Mules that they had bene brought up in, to the end that when his fouldiers were in the most extreme danger, the Muses should present themselves before the souldiers eyes, to pricke them forwards to do fome noble acts of worthy memorie. In their time of war, they did tollerate their yong men a little of their hard and old accustomed life, and suffered them then to trim their haires, to haue braue armour, to were gay apparell, and tooke as great delight therein, Thelong to feethem gallant and lustie, as to behold yong neying and snorting horses; desirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they did vie to weare long haire: yet Laconians. were they never to carefull to combe and brush their heads, as when they should to the battell. For then they did noint themselues with sweet oyles, and did shed their haire, remembring Lycurgus faying: who was wont to tell them, that haires to them which were faire, did make them more faire, and to them that were foule, they made them more vgly and dreadfull. The exercifes alfo of their bodies, were more casie and gende, and not so hard and straight in their warres, as they were in peace: and generally, their whole manner of life was nor then fo straightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they onely were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a rest from labour, which men ordinarily doe endure, to make them the began bate fitter for the warres. Afterwards when their armie was fet in battell ray, euen in the face of toll the enemies, the King did straight facrifice a goate vnto the gods, and forthwith commanded all his fouldiers to purtheir garlands of flowers on their heads, and willed show he rives flow I. all his fouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heads, and willed that the pipes should wheather found the fong of Castor, at the noise and tune whereof, he himselfe begaune first to marched marched. forward. So that it was a maruellous pleasure, and likewise a dreadfull sight, to see the whole battell march together in order, at the found of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confound their rankes, nor to be difinated nor amazed themselves, but to go on quietly and toyfully at the found of these pipes, to hazard themselues even to death. For it is likely, that such courages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercome with much furie; but rather they have an affured constancie and valiantnesse in good hope, as those which are backed with the affifting fauour of the gods. The king marching in this order, had alwaies some about him, which had before time wonne the prifes in games and iustes. And they fay there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great summe of mony at the games Olympicall, notto present himself

cedamoni-

of the Lasedemoni.

How farre the Laceda did purfue their enemies.

Lycurgus d

The Lacous nians opinion to ferne their countrey.

The reft & leifure of the Lacede. monians.

Idle liners punished at

Suites in law went away with gold and filuer that was bani-Shed. How they fpent the time in Sparta.

at them, but he refused it, liking better with great paine to win the prife, then for much money ro lose his honour. Whereupon the one said vnto him, Lacon I an and what hast thougotten now to carry away the prife with fo much fivet? The LACONIAN answered him laughing: I shall fight in the battel, faith he before the King. When they had once broke into their enemics, they did ftill fiercely & fiercelier fet vpon them, and did neuer ceaffe, vntil their enemies gaue way & fled: and then they chased and followed them still, until such time as their overthrow and flight. had affured them of the victory. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, judge ing it to be no manhood, neither part of a noble mind, or of fo worthy a nation as the GRECI-ANS were to kill & hew in peeces men fo feattered & out of order having for faken all the hope of victory. This fell out not only honourable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but such as resisted stoutly, and how they did let other go which fled before them: they found it was more their benefit to flie, then to tarrie and abide the strokes. Hippias the sophister faith, that Lyonigus himselfe was a very good captaine, and a great fouldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fields; and Philostephanas afcribeth to him the device to put horfemen in troupes & companies, which they called oulames. whereof fifty men at armes was a troupe, whose maner was to put themselues in squadrons. But Demetrius the Phalerian writeth otherwife, that Lyourgus was ever at the wars, and that he made all his lawes and gouernement in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of wars during the plaies Olympical, which they fay he deuised, doth shew in appearace that he was a gentle natured man, and one that loued quietnes and peace. Some not withflanding (amongst whom Hermippus was one) fay, he was not with Iphius at the first beginning when he ordained the plaies Olympicall, but that by chance he happened to come thither, paffing by in his journey only, and that he stayed there to see the games: where he thought he heard the voice of a man behind him. faying, he maruelled much why he did not perfwade his citizens also to be partners of this new deuice: and turning backe to fee who it was that fpake to him, he faw no body. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a speech from the gods : and went therfore presently to seek out Tobis. tus, with whom he made all the statutes and orders of the feast, which afterwards were far more famous, better ordered, & more stately then before. But to return eagain to the LACEDEMO-NIAN st their discipline and order of life continued still, after they were full growne men. For it was not lawfull for any man to line as helifted, butthey were within their city, as if they had bene a campe, where every man knoweth what allowance he hath to live withall, and what bufinesse he hath else to do in his calling. To be short, they were all of this mind, that they were not borne to ferue themselues, but to serve their countrey. Therefore if they were commanded nothing elfe, they went continually to fee what the children did, & to teach them formwhat which might profit the comon weale, or elfe they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which Lyourgus cuer brought into his city, was the great rest & leifure which he made his citizens to haue, only forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation: and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goods were nothing profitable nor effected. For the Ilotes, which were made bodme by the wars, did till their grounds, & yeelded them a certain reuenue euery yeare. And as touching this matter, they tel of a LACED EMONIAN, who being on a day at ATHENS where the law was pleaded, did understand that a citizen there was condemned for idlenes, and how he went home to his house very forrowful, accompanied with his friends which were fory for him, and greatly lamented his ill hap: the Laced Amonian then prayed those which were about him, to shew him the man condemned for living nobly, and like a gentleman. I have alledged this, to fliew how he thought it a vile and feruile thing to exercife any handy craft, or to work any thing by hand to get money. For fuites in law, a man may be well affured they were banished with the gold & filter from LACED AMON, confidering now there was no more avarice nor couetoufneffe there, nor yet pouertie nor lack, but equality with abundance, and quiet life with sobriety. All other times but when they had warres, they followed dancing, feasts, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exercises of body, and meetings to passe the time away. For the young men yntill they came to thirty yeares of age, neuer went into the market to buy any prouision or things for the house, but did their fathers or their friends businesse; nay it was a stame for the oldest me, to haum the market too often. As to the contrary, it was honourable for them to be present at the fliew place the most part of the day, where they diversly exercised their bodies, & likewise to be

at the places of affembly, there to fpend time with walking together, and discoursing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffick, or mony. For all their talke (for the most part) was about the praising of some honest thing, or sporting wise to reproue some dishonesty, which alwaies caried with it some gentle less or monitio by the way. For Lycurgus was not such a sourc mã, as they neuer saw him laugh; but as Sosibius writeth, it was he that first sacrificcd to the litlegod of laughter, which is at LACED EMON, because he would mingle their feasts & affemblies with mirth, as a pleafant fawce to cafe the trouble of their strict & hard life. To be briefe, he did accultome his citizens fo, that they neither would not could line alone, but were in The Lagremaner as men incorporated one with another, & were alwaies in company together, as the bees demonstrate be about their master bee: still in a continuall loue to serue their country, to win honour, and to aduance the common-weale. Which affection of theirs is plaine and eafly seene to be imprinted shemselves in them by certain of their answers, as in that which Padaretus faid on a time, being left out of the inthecom. election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery & iocond Pedaretus as might be, faid: It did him good to fee there were three hundred found better in the citie than faying. himself. Pissfratidas also being sent ambassador with certain other to the lieutenants of the kine of Persia, the Persian Lords asked him, if they came of their owne defire; or whether they were fent from the whole state: If we obtaine, said he, it is from the state: if we be denied; then we come of our selucs. And Argileonidathe mother of Brasidas, asked some that wetto visit her after they were returned home to LACED EMON from their journey to AMPHIPOLIS, if her fonne died like a man, & a worthy Spartan; and they straight commended him highly, daying: There was not left in all LACED EMON fuch a valiant man. She replied vnto them. Say not fo, my friends, I pray you: for Brasidas was indeed a valiant man, but the countrey of LACONIA hath many moe yet valianter then he was. Now touching their Senate, Lycurgus was the first that erected it among them. The first that were thereof, were Lyangus chiefe aiders and assisters of that erection, as we have declared before: but afterwards he ordained, that when any of those first The manshould happen to die, they should chuse in his place the most honest reported man in the citie, so "er of choohe were threefcore yeares old and aboue. This was the nobleft glory that could be among men, Senate in whea man bore the bel & praise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongst Sparta. the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for liberty to speake, sourraigne authority to gouerne, and princely power ouer the commonweale, the honor, the life, and the goods of the whole citizens: howbeit the election was made after this fort. The people first assembled in the market place, where there were some appointed & shut vp thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assentbled, but only they might heare the noise which they made there: For the people by their crie & shout, did declare whom they did chuse, and whom they did resuse of the competitours; as they vsed to shew their liking by the like crie in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lotfel, paffed through the midst of the assembly of the people, and faid neuer a word. The people straight that liked, made a cric or shout aloud. The men appointed which were locked vp, had books or tables in which they wrote & noted the greatnes of the cry & shout the people made, as enery competitor passed by not knowing nor seeing who he was. These hidden men did only fet down in their books, the first, the second, the third, and so many more, as by shouts and cries they perceived did passe thus through the assembly. They noted also in their said books, which of those had the greatest cry & shout of people at their passing through: and him they came and declared to be Senator chosen. Then he wearing a garland of howers on his head, went to althe was to althe temples of the gods in the citie to give thankes, having a great traine of young men following, domethe seand praising of his vertues. There went also with him a maruellous company of women singing thosen. fongs of his praise, & how blessed he was that he had lived so vertuously. Then every one of his kinne prepared a banquet for him at home at their houses, and as he entred the house, they said vnto him: The citie honoureth thee with this banquet. That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinary place of their eating, where he did in all things as he was accustomed, sauing he was serucd now at his table with a double allowance, whereof he referued the one. After supper; all his kinsewomen stood in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: so he called her whom he loued best, and gaue her his allowance he had faued, and said to her : This was given me intoken I was this day rewarded for my vertue; and even fo I give it thee for a like token of reward

ner of bari Bacedamo-

None al. lowed to tranell into other countries with-No frangers (uffer r. d to dwell

Criptia with the Lacedemo

The cruelty of the Lace against the Hotes.

for thy vertue. Then was the brought home by all the women there to her house, euen in like fort as he was by the men. Touching burials, Lycurgus made a wife order: For first of all, to cut offall superstition of burying places, he commanded they should bury the dead within the citie, and that their graves should be round about their temples, that young persons might have them alwayes in their eyes, and not be affraid to fee a dead body, as if to touch a coarfe, or to paffe by their graues, it should defile a man. Then did he forbid them to bury any thing with the coarse, & willed they should only lap it vp in a red cloth, with olive leaves. It was not lawful to grave the name of any dead body vpon his graue, but only of fuch a man as died in the warres, or of some The sime of holy woman professed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very fhort. For it lasted not but eleuen daies, & on the twelf h day, they must do sacrifice to Proferfina, and so leave off their mourning. To conclude, hee left nothing idle, or vnworking in his citizens: for to all necessary things which men cannot lack, Lycurgus ioyned ever a certaine emulation of men; as to defire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furnished his city with many good precepts and examples, among which his citizens being fill borne and bred vp, and having the fame in enery place before their eyes wherethey went, they came to passe in time to be framed after the very patterne and mould of vertue it felfe. For this cause did he not suffer any to travell out of the country, or to go abroad as he would, without special licence, for scare less those which trauelled abroad for the ir pleasure, should bring home strange fashions and manners, & a corrupt disordered life, which by litle and litle might get way, and bring an alteration and change of the whole flate. Furthermore, he kept out of Sparta all flrangers, except those which had neces fary bufineffe there, or were come thither for fome profit to the country: not that he was a fraid they should learne something wherby to love vertue, or that they should defire to follow his fashion and manner of gouernement, as Thucydides was: but rather fearing they should teach his citizens some naughty manners, or some ill fauoured vice. For it must needs be, that strangers bring euer ftrange and new deuices with them: which new deuices bring with them also new o pinions: and new opinions beget new affections and minds, that many times are repugnant to the law, and to the forme of the common-weale established before, as discords do many times in an harmony of muficke, that before agreed very well together. Therfore he judged it a thing most necessary, to keep his city free and fafe from counterfaiting of any strangers manners or fashions, that were commonly as persons infected with some contagious sicknesse. Now in all we have spoken before, even to this place, there is no maner of token or shew of injustice, or lack of equity, wherewith fome feeme to burden Lyourgus in his lawes: by faying they were well made, to make men warlike and valiant, but not to be just and righteous. But concerning the law they call Cippiia, as much to fay, as their fecret: if it were of Lyourgus institution, as Aristotle faith, in might have caried Plato into the like opinion that Lyeurges had of his common-weale. This was the law: The gouernors which had the charge and ouerfight of the yong men, at certaine appointed times, did chuse out those they thought to have the best discretion, and sent them abroad into the country, some one way, some another way, who caried with them daggers, and some prouision to feed them. These young men being thus dispersed abroade in the country, did hide themschees all the day close in secret places, and there they lay and tooke their rest afterwards when night was come, they went to feek out the high waies, & killed the first of the ILOTE s that they met. Sometimes euen in the broad day, they went into the country to kill the strongest and stoutest of them:as Thueydides telleth in his history of the wars of Peloponnesvs, where he saith: That a certaine convenient number of the ILOTES were crowned, by a publike proclamatio of the Spartans: and being infranchifed for their good services they had done the commonweale, they were caried to all the temples of the gods for an honour. Within a while after, no man knew what was become of them, being about two thouland in number: fo that neuer man heard tell neither then nor fince, how they came to their deaths. How beit Aristotle aboue all others faith, that the Ephores, fo soone as they were placed in their offices, made warre with the ILOTE s, because they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardly. For they forced them fomtimes to drink wine without water out of meafure, till they had made them starke drunk. Then they brought them all into their common hals where they did eate, to make their children to behold them, and to fee what beaftlineffe it was for a man to be drunk. Likewife they made them fing fongs, and daunce daunces, vnfit for honest men, and such as were full of derision and mockery; and did forbid them expressly to sing any

honest fongs. So it is reported, that in the journy the Therans made to LACONIA, many of the ILOTES were taken prisoners thereat, & when they were commanded to sing the verses of Terpander, or of Aleman, or of Spendon the Laconian, they would not do it: faying, they durft not fing Diedorm the for their masters. Wherfore he that first said in the courty of LACED EMONIA, he that is free is more free, and he that is bond, is more bond then in other places: knew very well the diverfity betweene the liberty and bondage there, and the liberty and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the LACED ÆMONIANS bega to vse these great outrages & cruckies, long time after the death of Lyourgus, and specially since the great earthquake that happened at Sparta, at which time the ILOTE's rose against them with the MESSENIANS, and did great mischiefethorough the countrey, and put the citie to the greatest distresse and danger that ever it had. For I cannot be perswaded, that cuer Lyourgus invented, or instituted, so wicked and mischieuous an act, as that kind of ordinance was: because I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and inflice we fee he vsed in all his other doings, and was witnessed besides by open oracle from the gods, for a iust and wise man. Furthermore, they say of him, that when he saw the chiefest points of his gouernement had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his commonweale went on; and was strong inough to maintaine and keepe it selfe on foot, like as Plato saith, Platoin that Godreioyccd greatly after he had made the world, and faw the fame turne and mouchis first moning: euen so Lycurgus taking singular pleasure and delight in his mind, to see his notable lawes put in vre, and so well established and liked of by experience, sought yetto make them immortal, as neere as he could possible, by any forecast of man, that no after time what socuer, might change or put them downe. To bring this to passe, he caused all the people to assemble, and told them he thought his civil policie & frate of common weale was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happie life; yet there was one matter behind of greater importance then all the rest, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntill he had first asked counsell of the oracle of Apollo. And therfore in the meane time they should keepe and observe his lawes and ordinances Lycurgus inuiolably, without changing, remouing, or flaying any matter therein, vntill he were returned from the city of DELPHES, and then they should do that other thing behind, if the god then so fabishing couselled him. They all promised him to do it, and praied him to make hast to go on his journey. his lawer. But before he departed, he made the kings and fenators fweare first, and consequently at the people after, that they would keep his lawes & ordinances without changing or altering any thing, vntill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the city of DELPHES, where so soone as he arriued, he facrificed in the temple of Apollo, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man line an happie life. Apollo made him answer, his lawes were very good, and that his city keeping them, should be the most renowned of the world. Lyengus caused this oracle to be written, which he fent to Spanta. After he facrificed to Apollo againe: and then taking leave of his friends, and of his son, he determined to die, because his citizens should neuer be released of the oath they had made betweene his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath strength inough to line longer; and yet was old inough also to die if he would. Wherfore finding himself happieto have obtained his defire, he willingly pined himfelfe to death, by abstinence and lacke of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit ever to the common-weale, and that the end of their life should be no more idle or unprofitabe, the the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious acts, to have their death extolled for worthinesse. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfectio & crown of his felicity, after he had made & ordained fo many good and notable lawes, for the honor and benefit of his country; and should be as a scale of cofirmation of his law, and the continuall preferuitour of his citie, confidering all his citizens had fworne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceived of his hope, for his city was the chiefest of the world, in glory and honour of gouernement, by the space of trungus fine hundred yeares. For folong his city kept his lawes without any change or alteration by any of the Kings successions, virtil King Agis, the some of Archidamus began to reigne. For the King Agis the some of the kings successions, virtil King Agis, the some of Archidamus began to reigne. For the King Agis the some of the laws of Lycureus, but reducreation of the Ephores, did not breake, nor discontinue any of the lawes of Lycurgus, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strict order: althogh it seemed at the first that the Ephores were ordained for the maintenance and defence of the liberty of the people, whereas indeed Money torthey did also strengthen the authority of the Kings and Senate. Now in the reigne of King Agis, gold and filter beganne first to creepe in againe to the city of SPARTA, by meanes of

Lyfander brought in riches a-

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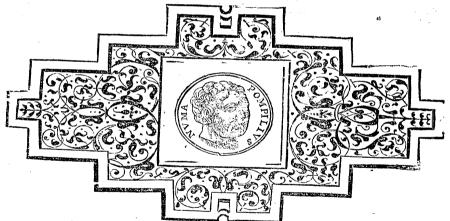
Lysander. With money there came in straight couetousnes, and greedines to get and gather. And although Lysander was not defirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money : yet hee brought riches and couctousnesse into the countrey, and filled the same with all finenes, by bringing in great store of gold and filuer from the wars, directly against the lawes and ordinances of Lycurgus. The which folong as they were in force and vsc, it appeared that the gouernement of SPARTA seemed not to be a policie or common-weale, but rather a certain holy place and order of religion. And euen as the Poets faine, that Hercules went through the world with his club and Lions skinne, punishing cruell robbers, and vnnaturall tyrants, so in like case with a little scrole of parchment, and a poore cape, did the Spartans command and give lawes to all the rest of GRECE, even with their good liking and confent. And they chased the tyrants away, which vsur. ped tyrannicall power ouer any of their cities, and did decide all controuersies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without fending out one souldier, but only a simple poore ambassadour. At whose commandement, the people presently assembled like the bees, which gather together about their king, so soone as they spie him: they did then so greatly reuerence the good gouernment and inflice of the Spartans. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which fay, the city of LACED EMON could obey well, but not command: and for proofe they alledge words of king Theopompus, who answered one which faid, that SPARTA was maintained, because the kings could command wel. Nay, the rather (faid he) because the citizens can obey wel. For men com. monly disdaine to obey those which are not wise in commanding. So that the faithful obedience of the subjects, dependent much upon the sufficient comandement of the wise prince. For he that directeth wel, must needs be wel obeyed. For like as the art of a good rider, is to make his horse gentle, and ready at commandement: euen fo the chiefest point belonging to a Prince, is to teach his subjects to obey. Wherefore the LACED EMONIANS procured, that not only other people did willingly obey them, but also defired to be ruled and commanded by them. For they asked them, neither ships nor money, nor yet did send them any number of men of warre to compell them, but only they fent one citizen of Sparta to gouerne them, to whom all the other people fubmitted themselves, and were holpen by him in their necessity, as fearing & reverencing him. Inthis wife the Sicilians were holpen by Gylippus, the Chalcidonians by Brasidas, and al the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by Lyfander, Callicratidus, and by Agefilaus, who were called the reformers and directers of Princes, peoples and Kings, vnto whom they were fent here and there: but ever they had their eye vpon the city of Sparta, as vpo the most perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common-weale after. To this effect tended the mery word spoken in iest by Stratonicus: who said he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their facrifices, and the Elians to tend their games: and if they made any fault therein, the LACED EMONIANS should be well whipped. That was merily spoken, and in a lesting manner. But Antisthenes (the Philosopher and one of Socrates schollers) seeing the THEBANS growne very hawty and glorious, after that they had conquered the LACED EMONIANS in the journey of LEVCTRES: Mee thinketh, faid he, these Thebans here do like the schoole-boyes, which brag and reioyce, when they have a lttle beaten their master. But this was not Lycurgus meaning, to have his city to command many. But he thought the felicity of a citie, as of a private man, confifted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, & in the vnity of the inhabitants therof. He framed his common-wealth to this end, that his citizens should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintaine and keepe themselues long in safety. The selfe same intention had Plato, Diogenes, and Zenon, in fetting forth their bookes, which they wrote of the gouernment of common-weales: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which haue written of the same matter. How beit they only left behind them words, and written books: but Lycurgus contrariwise, left no written bookes nor pamphlets, but stablished and left behind him a royall forme of gouernement, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainely see a whole citie line together, and gouerne it felfe philosophically, according to the true rules and precepts of perfect wisdome: which imagined that true wisedome was a thing hanging in the ayre, and could not visibly be seene in the world. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glory all those, which ever tooke vpon them to write or stablish the gouernement of a common-weale. And therefore faith Aristotle, that after his death they did him leffe honor in LACED EMONIA, the he had deserved albeit they did him all the honor they possibly could deuise. And yet they built a temple for him, and made solemne

facrifice to him enery yearc, as vnto a god. More, they fay, that when the affies of his body were Divine last brought to Sparta, there fell straight lightning vpon his tombe where they were put, which Mourage Lythey had not often leene to happen to other men of name after their decease, fauing onely to war in the least the Poet Euripides, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neare the citie of ARETHYSA. The which is some manifest argument, for such as loue the Poet, to lay against them that somewhat depraue him, seeing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloued man of the gods. Some fay, Lyourgus died in the citic of CIRRHA. But Apollothemis faith, he died in ELIDA. Timeus and Arsfloxenus write, he ended his daies in CRETA. And Aristoneous saith further, that those of the Ile of CRETA doe shew his graue in the place which they call Pergamia, by the broade high wayes fide. He left one only begotten for named Antiorus, who died without iffue, to that his houte and name failed with him. But his neare kinfmen and familiar friends, did fet yn a company or brotherhood in memoria of him related.

Lycurgus men and familiar friends, did fet vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the daies wherein they affembled, were called the Lycurgides. There is another Ariftocrates (the sonne of Hisparchus) who faith, that he being dead in Chera, his friends burned his body, and afterwards threw his aftes into the fea, according as he had praied and requested them. For he feared, that if any part of him should at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitants would have faid he was returned againe, and thereby would have thought themselves discharged of their oath, and might have lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and end of Lycurgus life.

The end of Lyourgus life.

THE LIFE OF Numa Pompilius.



HE Historiographers differ maruellously of the time, in which Numa In what Pompilius reigned king, albeit some will deriue fro him many noble houfes descended in Rome. For one Clodius, who wrote the book intituled, Gierode the table of time, affirmeth that the ancient registers of the city of Rome Trigula were lost when it was taken and sacked by the GAVLES: and that those Liu Hawhich are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men de- lie, lib. 4. firous to gratifie fome, which have thrust in ancient houses and families of the first Romaines, that concerne nothing them whom they meant

to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that Numa was a familiar friend and schollar of Pythagoras the Philosopher, yet some say he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. And yet maintaining that it is possible enough, that

Whether Pythago-tas had are converta tion with Numa. Pythago-Tas the feedd, a Sparean born. ma as Rome

In the life

Proculus.

Diffention

bout chao-

he was fo well borne, and had fuch perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer needed any mafter: and though he had needed, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this king vnto some other forreine personathat was more excellent then Pythagotas. Other fay, that Pythagoras the Philosopher was long time after the reigne of Numa, & well-nigh fine ages after him. Howbeit other fay, there was another Pythagoras borne in Sparta (who having won the prize in running at the games Olympicall, in the fixteenth Olympiad, & the third yeare of Nu. maes reigne) did come into ITALIE, where he kept much about Numa, and did affift and helpe tanghe Nu. him in the gouerning and ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the Laconians, mingled with the Romains, which this fecond Pythagoras was faid to haue taught him. Neuertheles it is not confessed that Numa was borne of the Sabynes, which they fay are descended from the LACED EMONIANS. So it falleth out hard to agree certainly of the time when Numa was and chiefly for such as will follow the roll or table of those, which from Olympiades to Olympiades have won the prizes of games Olympicall: confidering the roll or table that they have at this present, was very lately published by one Hippins an Elian, who deliuereth no reason or argument of necessit, why it should be taken for an vindoubted troth, which he in that fort hath gathered. Y et we will not leaue to put in writing those things worthy of memory which we could gather by any meanes of king Numa, beginning at that place which we thought to be meeteft. It was now fince Rome was built, feuen and thirty yeares (for fo long time reigned Romulus) when Romulus the fifth of the month of July (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a folemne facrifice without the city, neare to a certain place commonly called, the goate marsh. As all the whole Senate, with the most part of the people were present at this facrifice, suddenly there arose in the aire a very great tempest, and a maruellous darke thick cloud, which fell on the earth with fuch boysterous winds, stormes, lightnings, and thunder, that the poore common people being afraid of so fore a tempest, dispersed themselves suddenly, running here and there for fuccour, and therewithall king Romulus vanished away in such fort, that he was neuer after feene aliue nor dead. This brought the Senatours and Noblemen whom they called Patricians, into great fuspition, And there ran a foule tale among the common peopleshow they had long time borne very impatiently to be subjects to a king because themselves would have had & taken upon them some soueraign authority, and that for this cause they had killed king Romulus. Adding somewhat more vnto it, how a little before he had vsed them more roughly, and commanded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Neuertheles they found the meanes to quench all those brutes and murmurings, by doing divine honour and facrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but paffed to a better life. To confirm this, one of the noblest of Romulus men among them called Proclus came in, and by oath affirmed before all the people, that he faw he is named Romulus afcending vp into heaven, armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voice fay: From thence foorth call him Quirinus. This being thus appealed, there sprang vp another trouble, to know at Rome 4= whom they should choose in his place. For the itrangers which were come then from other plafing of their ces to dwell in Rome, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne Romaines: in fo much, as the common people did not onely waver, and stagger vp and downe in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many, and of diverse nations) did enter into a suspition one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessity they must choose a king howbeit in the rest they differed much, not onely whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first founders and builders of the citie of Rome with Romulus, could in no wifeabide nor fuffer that the Sabynes (to whom they had deuided part of their lands, and a moitie of their citie) should attempt and presume to command them, whom they did receive and affociate into their company and fellowship. The SABYNES alledged on the other fide for them, a good reason, and such as caried great probability. Which was, that neuer fince the death of their king Tatius, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted king Romulus, but had suffered him to reigne peaceably: and therefore Romulus being now deceassed, reason would that the new King should be chosen of their nation, And that al-

beit the Romaines had received them into their citie, they could not fay therefore, that in time

of this affociation, they were leffe to be reckoned of in any thing, then themselves. Further they

added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increased their might & power,

and had made a bodie of a people, which deserved the honour and title of a citie. These were the

causes of their contention. But to preuent that of this contention there might grow no confusion

in the citie if it should remaine without any head to command: the Senators which were a hun- Lime faith dred and fiftie in number, gaue counsell that every one of them by turnes, one after another, should carriethe royall state of the king, and all the shewes and ornaments of his maiestie and Dionsius should do the ordinarie facrifices of the king, and dispatch all causes six hours in the day, & six houres in the night, as the king before had vied. Thus they thought it best to deuide the rule, that Thurs in the life of the rule, that the life of the rule of t one might have a fmuch power as the other, a swell in respect of themselves, as also for regard of Romulus the people. For they imagined, that the changing and remouing thus of this regall dignity, and greeth with Dispaffing it from manto man, would cleanetake away enuie among them, and make every of them minu. to rule temperatly, and vprightly see, that in one and the selfesame day and night, every of them should be a King and private personalso. The ROMAINE's call this manner of regiment in vacation, Interregnum: as you would fay, rule for the time. Now albeit their gouernment was very Interregnum. modest and civill, yet the could not for all that keepe themselves from falling into the suspicion and flander of the people: who gaue it out straight, that this was a fine deuice of theirs, to change by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a few Noble mens hands, to the end that the whole authority and gouernment of al publike causes, should remaine still in themselues, because it grieued them to be libiect to a King. And in the end, the two parts of the city came to this agreement: that the one part should choose one of the body of the other, to be the King. This courfe they liked very well, aswell for the pacification of present stirre and dissention amongst themselues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and stirring vp a likenesse of good will in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen whereby he should loue the one part for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other part for that he was of their Nation. The SARYNES were the first, which referred the election to the Romaines choyce: and the Romaines whought it better to choose one of the Nation of the SABYNES, then to have a ROMAINE chofen by the SABYNES. After they had consulted, they determined amongst themselves : and did Numacle choose Numa Pompilsus one of the body of the SABYNES to bee King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at Rome, howbeit he was a man fo famous for his vertue, that the SAEYNEs fo foone as they named him, did receive him more willingly, then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their election, the first and chiefest persons of the one and the other fide, were chosen out to go vnto him. Now Numa Pompilius was borne in Numa one of the chiefest and best cities which the SABYNEs had, called Cures, whereupon the Ro-MAINES and their followers the SABYNES were called afterward Quirites: and he was the fon Cures. of Pon-pontus a Noble man, the youngest of foure brethren: being by the secret working of the Quiries gods, borne on the very day, on the which Rome was first founded by Romelus, which was the whyse calone and twentieth day of April. This man being naturally given and inclined vnto all vertue, The ife & did yet increase the same by studie, and all kind of good discipline : and by the exercise thereof, and of true patience, and right philosophie, he did maruelously adorne himselfe and his manners. For he did not only cleare his foule and mind of all passions and vices commonly vsed in reigns. the world but he conquered in himselfe all heats, violence and couetousnesse. And would neither feeke nor vsurpe that which was another mans; a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people: but thought that to be the true and right victory in man, first to conquer and command himfelfe by judgement and reason, and then to subdue all couctous nesses and greedinesse. Having therefore this opinion, he would in no wise have in his house any supersuity or finenesse. He became to enery man that would employ him (aswell stranger as his own country man)a wise counseller, and an vpright judge. Hebestowed his leisure, not to follow his own delight, or to gather goods together but to serue the gods, and to behold their celestial nature & power, as much as mans reason and understanding could comprehend. Therby he got so great a name and reputation, that Tails (which was king of Rome with Romulus) having but one only daughter called Tatia, made him his son in law. Howbeit this marige put him in no such iolity, Tatia the that he would dwell at Rome with his father in law, but rather kept at home at his own house in the countrie of the Sandara there to serve and cherish his old father with his wife Tatia: who the countrie of the SABYNES, there to serve and cherish his old father with his wife Tatia: who for her part also liked better to live quietly with her husband being a private man, then to go to Rome where the might have lived in much honor and glory, by means of the King her father. She died as it is reported, 13. yeares after she was maried. After her death, Numa leaving to dwel in the city, was better contented to liue in the country alone, & folitary, & gaue himself to walk much in the fields and woods consecrated to the gods, as one desirous of alone life, far from the

Numa con goddeffe Egeria,

Gods fami

company of men. Whereupon was raifed (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, and of the goddesse Egeria: That it was not for any strangenesse, or melancholinesse of nature, that Nu. ma withdrew himselfe from the conversation and company of men, but because he had found another more honourable and holy focietie of the Nymph, and goddeffe Egeria, who had done him as they fay, that honour, as to make him her husband: with whom as his beloued darling it is faid he enioyed happie daics, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the loue and knowledge of all celestiall things. Surely, these devices are much like vnto certaine old fables of the Phrygians, which they having learned from the father to the fonne, do loue to tell of one Agu: of the Bithynians, of one Herodotus: of the ARCADIANS, of one Endymion: and of many other fuch like men, who in their lines were taken for faints, and beloued of the gods. Notwithstanding, it is likely, that the gods loue neither birds, nor horse, but men, and have somtimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and do not disdaine sometime the conversation of fuch as be holy, religious and denout. But to beleeue the gods have carnall knowledge, and do delight in the outward beauty of creatures, that feemeth to carie a very hard beleefe. Yet the wife Æ GYPTIANS thinke it probable enough and likely, that the spirit of the gods hath giuen original of generation to women, & do beget fruit of their bodies: how beit they hold that a man can haue no corporall company with any divine nature. Wherein they do not confider. that every thing that joyneth together, doth deliver againe a like substance, to that wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithstanding, it is meet we should belecuethe gods beare good will to men, and that of it doth foring their loue, whereby men fay, the gods loue those whose manners they purifie and inspire with vertue. And they do not offend, which faine that Phorbas, Hyacinthus and Admetus, were sometimes the louers of Apollo, and also Hypolitus the Sicyonian : of whom they report, that ever when he paffed over the arme of the fea which lieth betweene the cities of Sicyona and of CIRRHA, the god which knew he came, rejoyced, and caused Pythia the Prophetesse to pronounce these heroycall verses:

I know full well, my deare Hypolytus Returnes by few my mind divineth thus.

It is faid also that Pan was in love with Bindaris and his verses, and that the gods honoured Who are beloved of the Poets Hesterdus and Archibocus, after open death, by the Muses. They say moreover that AEsculapius lay with Sophocies in his life time, and at this day they do yet shew many tokens therof and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honourably buried. Now if they grant, that fuch things may be true: how can we refuse to believe, that some gods have bene familiar with Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroastres, Lucus gus, Numa, and fuch other like perfonages, which have governed Kingdomes, and stablished Common-weales? And it is not valike that the gods indeed did company with them, to infpire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw neare vnto those Poets and plaiers of the harpe, that made and applyed many dolefall and toyfull ditties, at the least for their sport and pleasure onely, if euer they came neare them. Neuertheles if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large, as Bacchylides faid, to thinke and fay as he luft. For my felfe, I do find that which is written of Lycurgus, Numa, and other fuch perfons, not to be without likely hood and probabilitie: who having to gouerne rude, churlish, and stiffe-necked people, and purposing to bring in strange nouclties, into the gouernements of their countries, did faine wifely to have conference with the gods, confidering this faining fell to be profitable and beneficiall to those themselues, whom they made to beleeue the fame. But to returne to our history: Numa was forty yeares old, when the ambassadors of Rome Proclus & were fent to present the kingdome vnto him, and to intreat him to accept therof. Proclus & Velebassadors to sus, were the ambassadors that were sent. One of the which the people looked should have bene offer Numa chosen for King, because those of Romulus side, did fauor much Proclus: & those of Tatius part sauoured Velesus. Now they vsed no long speech vnto him, because they thought he would have beneglad of such a great good fortune. But cotrarily it was indeed a very hard thing, & required great perswasions, & much intreaty, to moue a man which had alwaies lived quietly, and at case, to accept the regiment of a city, which as a man would fay, had bene raifed vp & grown by wars and martiall deeds. Wherefore he answered them in the presence of his father, and one other of the ambas. his kinsmen called Martius in this sort: Change and alteration of mans life is ever dangerous: but for him that lacketh nothing necessary, nor hath cause to coplaine of his present state, it is a great folly to leave his old acquainted trade of life, and to enter into another new and vnknowne, if

the king.

there were no other but this only respect that he leaueth a certainty, to venter vpon vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the dangers and perils of this kingdome which they offer me, are not altogether vicertaine, if we will looke back what happened vito Romulus: who was not vufulpected to have laid wait, to have had Tatius his fellow and companion murdered: and now after Remulus death, the Senatours felues are mistrusted to have killed him on the other fide by treason. And yet they fay it, and sing it enery where: that Romulus was the son of a God, that at his birth he was miraculoufly preferued, & afterwards he was as incredibly brought vp. Whereas for my owne part, I do confesse, I was begotten by a mortall man, and was fostered, brought vp, and taught by men, as you know; and these few qualities which they praise & commend in me, are conditions faire vnmeet for a man that is to reigne. I ever loved a folitary life, quiet and fludy, and did exempt my felfe from worldly causes. All my life time I have sought & loued peace abone all things, and neuer had to do with any warres. My convertation hath bene to company with men, which meet onely to ferue and honor the gods, or to laugh and be meric one with another, or else to spend their time in their private affaires, or otherwise sometime to attend their passures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas Romulus (my Romaine lords) hath lest you many wars begun, which peraduenture you could be contented to spare: yet now to maintaine the fame, your citie had need of a martiall King, actine, and strong of body. Your people moreouer, through long custome, & the great increase they are growne vnto by seates of armes. defire nought elfe perhaps but warres and it is plainely feene, they feeke still to grow, and command their neighbours. So that if there were no other confideration in it, yet were it a meere mockerie for me, to goe to teach a city at this present to serue the gods, to loue instice, to hate wars, and to fly violence: when it rather hath need of a conquering Captaine, then of a peaceable king. These & such other like reasons & perswasions Numa alledged, to discharge himself of the kingdome which they offered him. Howbeit, the ambaffadors of the Romaines most humbly befought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he wold not be the cause of another new ftir & commotion among them, feeing both parts in the city haue given their confent & liking to him alone, and none other to be their king. Moreouer, when the ambaffadors had left him vppon this fuit, his father, and Martius his kinfinan, began also privately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good & godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and defired to be no richer then he was, nor coucted no princely honour nor glory, because he fought onely most famous vertue: yet he must needs think, that to rule well, was to do the gods good feruice, whose will it was to employ the instice they knew in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refule northerefore (quoth they) this royall dignity, which to agraue and wife man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable works and fruits. There you may do noble feruice to the gods, to humble the hearts of these marriall people, and to bring them to be holy & religious: for they readily turne, and eafily conformethemselues vnto the nature of their Prince. They dearely loued Tatius, although he was a stranger: they have confecrated a memory to Rorealiss with divine honours, which they make vnto him at this day. And it may be, that the people feeing themselues conquerors, will be full enough of wars; and the Romaines being now full of spoiles and triumphes, will be glad to have a gentle Prince, & one that loueth inflice, that they may thenceforth line in peace under good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hearts be still full of heat and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their defire to make wars fome other way, when a man hath the bridle in his own hands to do it, and to be a meane in the meane time to joyne the country, and all the nations of the Sarvies in perpetual loue and amirie, with fo mightie and flourishing a citie? Befides all these perswasions and reasons. there were many fignes also (as they say) which promised him good luck, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne country citizens. Who, so some as they understood the coming and commission of the ambassadours of Rome, they importunately desired him to go thither, and to accept the offer of the kingdome: that he might more straightly vnite and incorporate them together with the Romaines. Whereupon, Numa accepted the Kingdome. Then simethbia porate them together with the Komaines. Whereupon, Numa accepted the kingdome. I then after he had done facrifice to the gods, he fet forwards on his journey towards Rome: where with the the people and Senate went out to meete him, with wonderfull defire to fee him. The women at his entrie, went bleffing of him, and finging of his praises. They did sacrifice for him, the gods. in all the temples of the gods. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to bee as ioyfull and glad, as if a new Realme, and not a new King, had bene come to the citie of Rome.

NVM'A

The guard of Celeres discharged by Numa. Flamen Quirinalis inflituted of Numa.

Numain. duceth ciwill and aniet life Rep.lib.2.

Thus was he brought with this openioy and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called Spurius Vettius, made them pronounce his open election; and fo by one consent he was chosen king, with all the voices of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignity of the King. But he himfelf commanded they should be staid a while, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the gods. Then he took the wise men and priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which at that time was Muna was yet called mount Tarpeian. And there, the chiefest of the fouthfayers called Augures, turned him towards the fouth, having his face covered with a veile, and stood behind him, laying his right hand vpon his head, and praying to the gods that it would pleafe them to declare their wills by flying of birds, or some other token concerning this election; and so the southfayer cast his eyes all about, as farre as he could possibly discerne. During all this time there was a maruellous silence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were affembled there together, attending with great denotion what the iffue of this dinination would be wrill there appeared vnto them on the right hand, good and luckie birds, which did confirme the election. Then Numa putting on his royall robes, came downe from mount Tarpeian, into the market place, where all the people received him with wonderfull shouts of ioy, as a man the most holy and best beloued of the gods that they could have chosen. So having taken the royall seat of the Kingdome, his first act was this: that he discharged the guard of the three hundred souldiers, which Romulus had alwaics about his person, called Celeres, saying: He would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which should mistrust him. His secondact was, that he did adde to the two priests of Iupiter and Mars, a third in the honour of Romulus, who was called Flamen Quirinalis. For the ancient Romaines also called their priests, instituted in the old time, Flamines, by reason of certaine litle narrow hats which they did weare on their heads, as if they had called them Pilamines: for Pilos in greeke fignifieth a hat. And at that time(as they fay) there were many mo Greeke words mingled with the Latine, then there are at this day. For they called the mantles the Kings did weare Lanas. And Iuba faith, that it is the very fame which the GRECIANS call Chlanas & that the young boy which was a feruant in the temple of Iupiter, was called Camillus, as some of the GRECIANS do yet call the god Mercurie, because he is seruant of the gods. Now Numa having done these things at his first entrie into his kingdome, still to win further fauour and good wil of the people, began immediatly to frame his citizens to a certaine civility, being as iron wrought to softnesse, and brought them from their violent and warlike defires, to temperate and civill manners. For out of doubt, Rome was properly that, which Plate afcribeth to a city full of trouble & pride. For, first it was founded by the most couragious and warlikemen of the world, which from al parts were gathered theretogether, in a most desperat boldnes, and afterwards it increased, and grew strong, by armes & cotinuall wars, like as piles driuen into the ground, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and flick the faster. Wherfore Numa indging it no small nor light enterprise, to pluck down the haughty stomacks of so fierce & violent a people, and to frame them vnto a sober and quiet life, did feeme to work it by meanes of the gods, with drawing them on therto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their hot and fierce courages to fight, with facrifices, feafts, dancings, and common processions, wherin he celebrated euer himself. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled now & then pastime & pleasure; and somtimes he laid the terror & searce of the gods before their eyes, making the beleeue that he had seen strange visions, or that he had heard voices, by which the gods did threaten them with some great troubles & plagues, alwaics to pull downe and humble their hearts vnto the feare of the gods. This was the cause why they thought afterwards that he had learned his wisdome of Pythagoras the Philosopher:because the greatest part of the philosophy of the one, and of the gouernment of the other, consisted in such ceremonies & dinine studies. They report also that Numa did put on the outward shew & semmuch diske. blance of Pythagoras holinesse, as following his intention and example. For Pythagoras as they fay, made an Eagle fo tame and gentle, that she would stoupe & come downe to him by certaine voices, as she slew in the aire ouer his head. And that passing through the assembly of the games Olympical, he shewed her thigh of gold, and many other prety feats & deeds they tel of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which Timon Phliasian hath written these verses of him: Pythagoras which loued to dwell in dignity,

And hath an heart to glory bent, and past in policy.

Much like a man which fought, by charming to enchaunt, Did vee this art to win mens minds which unto him did haunt: His grane and pleasant tongue, in sugred speech did flow,

Whereby he drew most minds of men, to bent of his owne bow. Euen so the fained fable of Numa, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the loue of a goddesse, or some Nymph of the mountaine: with whom he seemed to have certaine secret meetings and talke, whereof we have spoken before. And it is said, he much frequented the Muses in thewoods. For he would fay, he had the most part of his reuclations of the Muses, and he taught the Romaines to reuerence one of them aboue all the rest, who was called Tacita, as ye would Nime fay, Lady Silence. It feemeth he inuented this, after the example of Pythagoras, who did fo specially command and recommend silence virolfie schoolers. Against styre considerable and recommend silence virolfie schoolers. ally command and recommend filence vnto lfis schollers. Againe, if we consider what Numa of the Maordained concerning images, and the representation of the gods, it is altogether agreeable vnto the doctrine of Pythagoras: who thought that God was neither fenfible nor mortall, but inuifible, incorruptible, & only intelligible And Numa did forbid the ROMAINE salfo to beleeue, fibelersto that God hath euer forme or likeneffe of beaft or man. So that in those former times, there was in Rome no image of God, either painted or grauen: and it was from the beginning a hundred opinion of threefcore and ten yeares, that they had built temples and chappels vnto the gods in Rome, and yet there was neither picture nor image of God within them. For they took it at the first for a facriledge, to present heauenly things by earthly formes, seeing we canot possibly any way attaine of God. to the knowledge of God, but in mind and understanding. The very facrifices which Numa ordained, were altogether agreeable and like vnto the maner of ferning of the gods, which the Pythagorians vsed. For in their facrifices they spilt not the bloud, but they did theirs comonly with a litle meale, a litle shedding of wine and milke, and with such other light things. Such as affirme that those two men did much companie & were familiar together, do lay further proofes & argum ets for the same. The first is this that the ROMAINES did make Pythagoras a free man of the Proofesfor of Rome, as Epicharmus the Comicall poet an ancient writer (and sometimes one of Pythather one of Pythather Comicall poet and dedicated ways Antonia The or has proceed in the top werfation gorus schollers) saith in a book he wrote and dedicated vnto Ameror. The other proofe is: that of Nama Numa having had four echildren, called one of them Mamerous, after Pythagoras fonnes name, and Pathafrom whom, they fay, is descended the house of the AEmilians, which is the noblest of the Patricians: for the king gaue him the name of AEmilius, because of his sweete tongue and pleasant voice. Furthermore, I my selfe have heard fay many times in Rome, that the Romaines having receited an oracle, which commanded them to fet vp images in their city, to the wifest and valiantest man that euer was among the GRECIANS, caused two statues of brasse to be set up in their market place, the one of Pythagoras, the other of Alcibiades. Howbeit to strine about this matter any further, feeing there are so many doubts, me thinketh it were but vaine. Moreouer they attribute to Numa, the first creetion of the colledge pontificall: and fay, he himselfe was the first Pontifex that cuer was. But touching the name of Pontifex, some flument will fay they were fo called, because they chiefly were ordained and appointed for the fernice of the Almightie: for this word Potens in the Romaine tongue, betokeneth mightie. Webs food-Other thinke this name was giuen to them by their founders, as to exempt persons out of the lad. world: who enjoyned them to do all the feruice and facrifices to the gods they could possibly, and yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most part doc bring out another derination of this name, wherein me thinks there is little reason. As that they should be called Pontifices, because they had the charge and maintenance of the bridge. For that which the G_{RE} CIANS call Gephyran, the LATINES call Pontem that is, a bridge. And to fay truly, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the Bishops: as well as the keeping of the most holy and vnchangeable ceremonies. For the Romaines thought it not onely a thing vnlawfull, but tooke it for a most damnable and wicked act, to destroy or breake the bridge of wood, which was onely ioyned together (as they fay) with pinnes of wood, and with- The work. out any yron at all, by the commandement of an old oracle. But the stone bridge was desbridge built long time after the reigne of Numa, and in the time of the reigne of his nephew (Mar- at Resid.) tins. Now the first and chiefest of these bishoppes, which they call the great Pontifex, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the high Priest and master of their pontificall law: who should be carefull, not onely about all publicke facrifices and ceremonies, but also biffue,

Euery one draweth backe, when they fee this litter a farre off, and do give it place to passe by; and

then follow it mourningly with heavy lookes, and speake never a word. They do nothing in the

The in ?i tution of the Vestall The holy and immortall fire.

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How the holy fire is drawne from the

touching the Veitall The order by Numa.

about such as were private, and to see that no man privately should breake the ancient ceremo. nies, nor bring in any new thing into religion, but rather every man should be taught by him, how, and after what fort he should serue and honour the gods. He also hath the keeping of the holy virgins which they call Vestales. For they do give Numa the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the inflitution also of keeping the immortal fire with honor and reverence, which these virgins have the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to committhe subflance of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the cuftody of cleane and vncorrupt maids : or else because he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, & bringeth forth nothing) was fittest and most proper vnto virgins. For in GRECE, where they kept continual fire likewise (as in the temple of Apollo in DELPHES, and at ATHENS) the maidens do not keepe the fame, but old women which are past mariage. And if this fire chace to faile, as they say in Athen s the holy lamp was put out in the time of the tyranny of Antion: and in the city of DELPHES it was put out, when the temple of Apollo was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME also, in the time of the warres that the ROMAINES had against king Mithridates: and in the time of the civill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and confumed together: hey fay that it must not be lighted againe with other common fire, but must be made anew, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the Sunne, and that they do in this maner. They have a hollow veifell made of a peece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two fides alike: fo that from all parts of his compaffe and circumference, it falleth into one point. Then they fet this veffell right against the beames of the Sun. To that the bright Sunne beames come to affemble & gather together in the center of this veffel. where they do pietee the ayre fo ftrongly, that they fet it on fire: & when they put to it any drie matter or substance, the fire taketh it straight, because the beame of the Sunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drie matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thinke that thefe Veftall virgins keepe no other thing but this fire, which never goeth out. Other fay there are other holy things also, which no body may lawfully see but they whereof we have written more largely in the life of Camillus, at the least so much as may be learned and told. The first maidens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by Numa, were (as they fay) Gegania & Ve. renia: and after them, Canulcia and Tarpeia. Afterwards king Servius increased the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vnto this day. Their rule and order fet down by king Numa was this: that they should vow chastity for the space of thirty yeares. In the first ten yeares they learne what they haue to do: the next ten yeares following, they do that which they haue learned and the last ten yeares, they teach yong nonices. After they haue passed their thirty yeares, they may lawfully mary if they be difposed, and take them to another maner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very few of them which haue taken this liberty, and fewer also which have joyed after they were professed, but rather have repented themfelues, and lived ever after a very grievous & forrowfull life. This did to fray the other Vefals, that they were better contented with their vowed chaftitie; and fo remained virgines, until they were old, or else died. He gaue them also great priviledges & prerogatives: as, to make their will and testament in their fathers life time; to do all things without any gardian or ouerleer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they go abroad, they cary maces before them to honour them. And if by chance they meete any offendor in their way going to execution, they faue his life: howbeit the professed Vestall must affirme by oath, that she met him you wares, and not of fet purpose. If any man presume under their chaire, whereupon they are caried through the city, he shal die for it. Also when they themselues do any fault, they are corrected by the great Bishop, who sometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and quality of their offence) in a dark place, and vnder a curten. But she that hath defloured her virginity is buried quick by one of the gates of the city, which they call Colling gate: where within the city there is a mount of earth of a good length, & with the Latines is faid to be raifed. Under this forced mount, they make a litle hollow vault, and leaue a hole open, whereby one may go downe; and within it there is fet a litle bed, a burning lampe, and some victuals to suffaine life withal. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honors fake: to the end they would not be thought to famish a body to death, which had bene consecrated by the most holy and denout ceremonies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer ftrongly, and close it vp with thicke leather, in fuch fort, that no body can fo much as heare her voice, and fo they carie her thus shut vp through the market place.

city more feareful to behold, then this neither is there any day wherein the people are more forrowful, then on fuch a day. Then after she is come to the place of this vawt, the screens straight vnlose these fast bound couerings: and the chiefe Bishop after he hath made certaine secret praiers vnto the gods, and lift his hands vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter, the condemned Pestall. muffled vp close, and so putteth her vpon the ladder, which conveyeth her downe into the vawr. That done, he withdraweth, and all the priests with him: and when the filly offendour is gone downe, they straight pluck vp the ladder, and cast abundance of earth in at the open hole, so that they fil it vp to the very top of the arch. And this is the punishment of the Vestals which de- The temfile their virginity. They thinke also it was Numa that built the round temple of the goddesse ple of vesta Vesta, in which is kept the euerlasting fire meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which the signer they say is Vesta, but the figure of the whole world, in the middest whereof (according to the Py- of the world, thagoreans opinion) remaineth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call Vesta, fire abidish, and name it the Vnitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmooueable, nor yet that it is fet in the middeft of the world, neither that the heaven goeth about it: but fay to the cotrary, that the earth hangeth in the aire about the fire, as about the ceter therof. Neither wil they grant, that the earth is one of the first and chiefest parts of the world: as Plate held opinion in that age, that the earth was in another place then the very middest, and that the center of the world, as the most honourablest place, did appertaine to some other of more worthic substance than the earth. Furthermore, the bishops office was to shew those that needed to be taught, all the rites, maners, and customes of buriall: whom Numa taught not to beleeue that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burials, but rather it was to worship and honour the gods of the all. earth, with vsuall and honourable ceremonies, as those which after their death receive the chiefest feruice of vs they can. But aboue all other in burials, they did specially honour the goddesse bourseday the chiefe course and professions of the chiefe course and professions of the chiefe course and professions of the chiefes course and professions of t called Libitina, that is faid, the chiefe gouernour and preserver of the rites of the dead: or be it funerals, Proferpina, or Venus, as the most learned men among the Romaines do judge, who not without cause do attribute the order of the beginning and end of mans life, to one selfe god, and power diuine. Numa ordained also, how long time euery body should mourne in black. And for a child from three yeares to ten yeares, of age, that died: he ordained they should mourne no more moneths then it had lived yeares, and not to adde a day more. For he commanded, that the longest time of mourning should be but ten moneths onely, and so long time art he least he willed the women should remaine widowes, after the decease of their husbands or else she that would mary within that time, was bound by his order to facrifice a whole bullock. Numa also erected many other orders of priests: of two forts whereof I will only make mention. The one less Plutar. shall be the order of the Salli, and the other of the Feciales: for me thinkes, both the one Problet. and the other doth manifestly shew the great holinesse, and singular deuotion which he had in him. The Feciales are properly those, which the Grecians callrenophylace s, as who Feciales would fay, peacekeepers. And in my judgement, they had their right name according to their office, because they did pacific quarrels with reason by way of order, and did not suffer (as much as in the lay) that any matter should be tried by violence, vitil they were past al hope of any peace. For the GRECIANS call it properly Irenen, when both parties agree, & decide their controuerfie with reason, & not with sword. Euen so those which the Romain's called the Feciales, went many times in person to those that did the Romains injury, and sought to perswade them with with reagood reason, to keepe promise with the Romaines, and to offer them no wrong. But if they sommittee would not yeeld to reason, whom they sought to perswade, then they called the gods to the wit- the sword. nesse thereof, and prayed them, that if they did not most earnestly incense the Romaines, to purfue that most inftly appertained vnto their right, that all euils and mischiefes of the warres

might fall vpon themselves, and on their countrie. This done, they did threaten open warres a-

gainst such enemies. And if the FECIALES would not consent to open warres, and did happen

to speake against them, it was not lawfull in that case, neither for private person, nor for the king

himselfe to make any wars. But like a just Prince, he must have leave by their sufferance to make

the warres. Then did he confider, and confult, by what meanes he might best procure and profe-

cute the fame. Concerning this matter, they judge that the il hap which came to the ROMAINS,

when the city of Rome was taken and facked by the GAVLES, chanced infly for breaking

lus life. The inflitu. tion of the A target from hea-

Whereof they were caked Salij

of this holy inftitution. For at that time the barbarous people befieged the city of the CLVST. NIANS: and Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassador vnto them, to see if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill answer: whereupon Fabius thinking his embaffie had bene ended, and being formwhat hor, and rash in defence of the CLUSINIANS, game defiance to the valiantest GAV LE there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune fauoured him in this chalenge: for he flue the GAVLE, and stripped him in the field. The GAVLE's sceing their man flaine, fent immediatly an herald to Rome, to accuse Fabius, how against all right and reafon he began warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The Feciales being then consulted with thereabout, diddeclare, he ought to be delivered into the hands of the GAVLEs, as one that had broken the law of armes, and had deferued it: but he made friends to the people which fauoured him very much, and by their meanes escaped his deliuery and punishment. Neuerthelesse, the GAVLES within short time after, came before Rome with all their power: which they tooke, facked, and burnt enery whit, fauing the Capitoll, as we have written more amply in the life of Camillus. Now concerning the Priests that were called Salightey say he did institute them vpon this occasion. In the eight yeare of his reigne, there came a pestilent disease through all ITALIE and at the length it crept also into Rome. Whereat every man being greatly affraid and discouraged, they say there fell from heaven a target of copper, which lighted betweene the hands of Numa. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King himfelfe affir. med he heard of the Nymph Egeria, and the Mules; to wit, that this target was fent from heaven for the health and preservation of the citie: and therefore he should keepe it carefully, and cause eleuen other to be cast and made, all like vnto the same in fashion and greatnesse, to the end that if any would enterprise to steale it, he should not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he faid, he was commanded to consecrate the place to the Muses (in the which he did oftentimes companie with them) and also the fields which were neare thereabouts: and likewise to give the fountaine that sprang in that place, vnto the Vestals professed, that every day, they might draw water at that Well, to wash the sanctuary of their remple. The successe hereof proued his words true, for the ficknes ceassed incontinetly. So he assembled al the chiefe crafts men then in Rome, to proue which of them would take vpon him to make one like vnto that. Euery - man despaired to performe it. Howbeit one called Veturius Mamurius (the excellentest workma that was in those daies did make them all so suite-like, that Numa himself did not know the first target, when they were all layd together: So he ordained the priefts Salin, to have the custody of these targets, to see them safe kept. They were called Salij, not after the name of Salian borne in SAMOTHRACIA, or in MANTINEA, as some have vntruly alledged, who first invented the maner of dancing all armed: but they were so called, of their fashion and manner of dancing and leaping. For in the moneth of March, they go skipping and leaping vp and downe the city, with those targets on their armes, apparelled in red cassockes without sleeues, and girded about with broad leather sword girdles, studded with copper, having helmets of copper on their heads, and striking vpon their targets with short daggers, which they cary in their hands. Morcouer, all their dancing confisteth in mouing of their feet: for they handle them finely, making turnes about ground and beneath, with a fodaine measure, and a maruellous force of agility. They call these targets Ancylia, because of their fashion, which is not altogether compasse: for they are not all round as other common targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many foldes, and one so neare another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call Ancylon, Or elfe they are so called, because Ancon fignifiethan elbow, vpon which they cary them. Al these derivations are writte in the history of Iuba. who in any case will haue this word Ancylia to be drawne out of the Greek tong. And it may be also they were so called, because the first came fro aboue, which the GRECIANS cal Anecathe; or els for healing the fick, which is called Acelis: or els for ceasing of the drynes, which in Greek is called Anshmon Lysis: or for the ending of all discases and enils, for which cause the Athenians call Caftor and Pollux, Anacas: if they lust to give this word his derivation from the Greektong. Now the reward which Mamurius the goldfinith had for making of these targets was that the Salij vnto this day do make mention of him in their fong, which they fing going through the city, and dancing of their dance all armed. Howbeit somethinke they say not Veturius Mamurius, but veterem memoriam, ancient memory. But Numa after he had ordained and instituted these ling palace Orders of priests, built his palace neare vnto the temple of Vesta, which holdeth his name Regia at

this day, to fay, the kings palace. In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to sacrifice to the gods, or to teach the Priests what they should do, or how with them he should best contemplate all heavenly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this day, Quirinall, the place wherof is yet to be seene. But in all these facrifices, ceremonies, & The maner processions of the Priests, there were alwaies husshers that went before, crying to the people, of the Re-Keepe filence, and tend vpon divine fervice. For they fay the Pythagoreans thought it good, that worlding the good, that worlding the good, that worlding the good to the good men should not worship the gods, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other ping of the thing: but they thought it meet, that men should of purpose goe out of their houses, to serve and sold. pray vnto them. Euen so king Numa thought it not meet, that his subjects should come to see, & gream oheare divine service negligently, as it were for a fashion, &only to be rid of it, as heeding another pinion thing:but he would have them fer afide all other bufinesse, and employ their thoughts and hearts touching only vpon the principall service of religion, and devotion towards the gods. So that during feruice time, he would not have heard any noise, any knocking, bouncing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in al artificers shops of occupation, wherofarthis day yet they see some signes and tokens remaining in their facrifices at Rome. For althetime the Angur beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any facrifice, the vergers crie alowd: Hoc age, which meaneth, ted watchpord this. And it is awarning to those that are prefent, to cal their wits home, & to think on that which solend diis in hand, Alfothere are many of his orders like the precepts of the Pythagoreans. For as they did """ The fimile "The fimile "The fimile" "The fim warne men, not to fit vpon a litle bushell, not to cut fire with a sword, not to looke behind them stide of Nno when they go abroad: to facrifice to the celeftiall gods in odd number, and to the gods of the maand by earth in an euen number, of which precepts they would not hauethe common people to haue any knowledge or vnderstanding. Euen so there are many institutions of Numa, the reasons wherof are hidden and kept fecret: as not to offer wine to the gods of the vine neuer cut, and not to facrifice vnto them without meale: & to turne a turne about when they do reuerence to the gods, and to fit downe after they have worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it feemeth that by them he did recommend elemency & humanity, as being a part of the deuotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make that worship the gods, they fay it presenteth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thinketh it should rather come of this for that the temples being set to the East, he that worshippeth entring into the temple, sheweth his backe to the West, and for this cause turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth againe rowards God:doing the whole turne, & ending the confummation of his praier, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behind. Vales peraducture that he meant fecretly to fignifie, & give the to vnderstand by this turning & changing of their look, that which the ÆGYPTIAN'S figured by their wheeles: in shewing thereby, that these worldly things were neuer constant and in one state: and therefore, that we should take it thankfully, and patiently beare it, in what fort focuer it pleased God to change or alter our life: And where he comanded that they should sit after they had worshipped God: they said it was a toke of a good hope vnto the that prayed that their prayers shold be exalted, & that their goods should remaine safe, & stick by them. Other say, that this case & sitting, is a separating them from doing: & therfore he would they should fit in the temples of the gods, to shew they had done that which they had in had before, to the end to take of the gods the beginning of another. And it may wel bealfo that it was referred to ŷ thing we spake of a litle before: That Numa wold accustom his people, not to serue the gods, nor to speake to the atal, as they passed by, or did any other thing, or were in haste: but would have them pray vnto the gods when they had time & leifure, & al other businesse at that time set apart. By this good instruction and training them vnto religion, the city of Rom E by litle and litle came to be so tractable, & had the great power of king Numa in such ad- By what miration, that they took alto be as true as the Gospel that he spake, though it had no more likelihood of troth, the tales deuised of pleasure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpossible to him, if he wold haue it. And for proofe herof, there goeth a tale of him, that he having Romaines biddena great company of the citizens of Rome to come & sup with him, caused them to be ferued with plaine groffe meat, & in very poore & homely vessel. And when they were set, & bega The wonto fal to their meate, he cast out words lodainly vnto them, how the goddesse with whom he accompanied, was come to fee him euen at that inftant, and that fodainly the hall was richly furnished, & the tables couered with al forts of excellent fine & delicate meats. How beit this far paifed all the vanity of lying, which is found written of him, about his speaking with Inpiter. The hil with Inpiter.

Picas. Faunus.

Ilieium,the name of the place.

N uma builded temples to Faith and

Numa made the boundsof the territorie'of Rome.

Numa adnanceth til. lage.

Nama de. people into

Auentine was not at that time inhabited, nor inclosed within the wals of Rome, but was full of fprings and shadowed groues, whither commonly repaired to solace themselues, the two gods. Picus and Faunus, which otherwife might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the Titanian; fauing it is faid, that they went through all ITALY, doing the like wonders and miracles in phyficke, charmes and art magick, which they report of those the GRECIANS call Idees Datyles, There they fay that Nama tooke them both, having put into the fpring both wine and honie. where they yied to drink. When they faw that they were taken, they transformed themselues in. to divers formes, difguifing and disfiguring their naturall shape, into many terrible and fearefull fights to behold. Neuertheleffe in the end, perceiuing they were fo fast, as to escape there was no The purify- reckoning: they reucaled vnto him many things to come, and taught him the purifying against ing of thin-lightning and thunder, which they make yet at this day with onions, haire, and pilchers. Other fay, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched Inpiter out of heaven, with their coniuring and magicke: whereat Inpiter being offended, answered in choler, thathe should make it with heads. But Numa added straight, of onions: Initer replied, of men. Then Numa asked him againe, to take a little away the crucky of the commandement. What haires: Iupiter answered, quicke haires. And Numa put too pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddeffe Ege. ria, that taught Numa this lubriltie. This done, inputer returned appealed: by reason whereof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ilico*, in the Greeke tongue fignifieth appeared, and fauourable; and this purifying was afterwards made in that fort. These tales not only vaine, but full of mocketie alfo, do fliew vs yet plainly the zeale & denotion men had in those times towards the gods: vnto which Numa through custome had won them. And as for Numa himselfe, they say that he so firmely putall his hope and confidence in the helpe of the gods: that one day when he was told his enemics were in armes against him, he did but laugh at it, and answered: And I do sacrifice. It is he (as fome fay) that first built the temple to Fauth and Terme, and which made the ROMAINS vinderstand, that the most holy and greatest oath they could make, was to sweare by their faith, which they keepe yet at this day. But Terme, which fignifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they do facrifice, both publikely and privately, vpon the limits of inheritance, and now they facrifice vnto him line beafts. Howbeir in old time they did facrifice vnto him without any bloud, through the wife inflitution of Numa: who declared and preached vnto them, that this god of bounds was fincere, and vpright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witnesse of instice, and keeper of peace. It was he, which in my opinion, did first limite out the bounds of the territorie of ROME, which Romulus would never doe, for feare left in bounding out his own he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & measuring, to him that will keepe it justly is a bond that bridleth power and defire but to him that forceth not to keepe it, it is a proofe to flew his iniuffice. To fay truly, the territory of Rome had no great bounds at the first beginning, and Romulus had got by conquest the greatest part of it, and Numa did wholy deuide it vnto the needy inhabitants to relieue them, and to bring them out of poucrty: (which carieth men headlong into mulchiefe, & discourageth them to labor) to the end that plowing vp the faid land, they should also plow vp the weeds of their own barennes, to become civill and gentle. For there is no exercise nor occupation in the world, which so fodainly bringetha manto loue and de fire quietnes, as doth husbandry & tillage: and yet to defend a mans own, there is in it courage & hardines to fight. But greedy defire, violently to take from others & vniuftly to occupy that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husbandmen. And therefore Nama hauing brought in husbandry among st his subjects, as a medicine & meane to make them love quietneffe, was defirous to enure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble and gentle of condition, then to increase them in riches. He deuided all the territory of Rome into certaine parts which he called Pagos as much to fay as villages. And in enery one of them he ordained controllers and vifiters, which should survey all about: and he himselfe sometimes went abroad in person, coniecturing by their labour the manners and nature of enery man. Such as he found diligent, he advanced them vnto honour, and gave them countenance and authoritie: other which he faw flothfull and negligent, by rebuking and reprouing of them, he made them amend. But amongst all his ordinances which he made, one aboue all the rest caried the praise and that was, that he deuided his people into fundry occupations. For the city of Rome feemed yet to be made of two nations, as we have faid before; and to speake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one; being altogether

impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrels nor contentions betweene both parts. Wherefore he confidered that when one will mingle two bodies or fimples together, which for their hardnesse and contrary natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breakes and beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller & leffer powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to deuide the people also into many finall parts: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more eafily take away the first and the greatest part, when it should be deuided and separated thus into fundry sorts. And this division he made by arts and occupations: as minstrels, goldsmiths, carpenters, diers, shoomakers, tawers, tanners, belfounders, and pot-makers, and fo forth through other crafts and occupations. So that he brought euery one of these into one body, and company by it selfe; and ordained vnto enery particular mystery or craft, their feafts, affemblies, and feruices, which they should make vnto the gods, according to 2000 at 100 fe the dignity and worthinesse of enery occupation, And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither fide faid, nor thought any more, those are Sabynes, these are Romaines, thesearc of Tatius, these are of Romulus. Insomuch as this division was an incorporating, and Tatim. an uniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinances, they did much commend his reforming of the law, that gaue liberty vnto fathers to fell their children. For he did except childrenalready maried, fo they were maried with their fathers confent and good will : indging it to be too cruell and ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had maried a free man, Theords. fhould find her selfe to be the wife of a bondman. He began alioto mend a litle the calendar, nor them meths foexactly as he should have done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the reigne of Ro- of Numaes mulus, they vied the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them influencem. 20. dayes and leffe, and others 35. dayes and more, without knowing the difference betweene the course of the Sunne and the Moone; and onely they observed this rule, that there was 360.

Marrob. 1.

Saipr. 13. dayes in the yeare. But Numa confidering the inequality stood vpon 11. dayes, for that the 12. revolutions of the Moone are runne in 354. dayes, and the revolution of the Sunne, in 365. dayes, he doubled the 11. dayes, whereof he made a moneth: which he placed from 2. yeares to 2. yeers, after the moneth of February, and the ROMAINES called this moneth put betweene, Mercidinum, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correction that Numa made, which fince hath had a farre better amendment. He did also change the order of the moneths. For March which before was the first, he made it now the third : and Ianuary the first, which vnder Romulus was the cleuenth, and February the twelfth and last. Yet many are of opinion, that Numa added thefe two, Ianuary and February. For the Romaines at the beginning had but ten moneths in the yeare: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yeare. And Thereare the ARCADIAN'S amongst the GRECIAN'S have but four monoths for their years. The Acar-NANIANS haue fix to the yeare. And the ÆGYPTIANS had first but one moneth to their yeare: and afterwards they made foure moneths for their yeare. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabit a new countrey) to be neuerthelesse the ancientest people of the world: for that in their Chronicles they reckon up fuch infinite number of yeares, as those which count the moneths for the yeares. And to proue this true, that the ROMAINES at the beginning had butten moneths in the yeare, and not twelue, it is easie to be judged by the name of the last, which they call at this day December. And that the moneth of March was also the first, may be coniectured by this; for the fifth moneth after that, is yet called Quintilis: the fixt Sextilis, and so the other in order following the numbers. For if Ianuary and February had then bene the first, of necessity the moneth of July, which they call Quintilis, must have bene named September: confidering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which Romulus had dedicated vnto Mars, was also by him ordained to be the first. The second was Aprill: so called of the name Aphrodite, that is to fay, Venus, vnto whom they make open facrifice in this moneth. And on the first day of the same, women do wash themselves, having a garland of myrtle vpon *Peradtheir heads. Howbeit some other say, that it was not called after the name of Aphrodite, but it was one ly colled a dayle hospital than is the chief of Some and Command a Solle for the party was one ly colled a dayle hospital than is the chief of Source and Command a Solle for the party was one ly colled a dayle hospital than is the chief of Source and Command a Solle for the party was one ly colled a dayle hospital than it was not called after the name of Aphrodite, but it must reade was onely called Apriles. because then is the chiefest force and strength of the spring, at which inthe Greek feason the earthdorh open, and the seeds of plants and hearbes begin to bud and shew foorth, which the word it felfe doth fignific. The moneth following next after this, is called May: after the name of Maia the mother of Mercury, vnto whom the moneth is consecrated. * The ferefile moneth of Iune is fo called alfo, because of the quality of that scason, which is as the youth of the time.

Gresian co. ohis place. as much so Why lanus is painted with two faces.

As what time the temple of Janus is frut in Lin lib 1.

no wars in

vegre. Although fome will fav, that the moneth of May was named of this word Majores, which fignifieth as much as the elders; and the moneth of June, of Juniores, which fignifies the yonger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order. Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, Nonember, and December. But Quintilis, was after called Inling, of the name of Inling Cafar, who flew Pompeins: and Sextilus was named Angulus of Octa. uius Cafar his fuccessour in the empire, who was also surnamed Augustus. It is true also that Do. mitian would they should call the two moneths following (which are September and October) the one Germanieus and the other Domitianus, But that held not long: for so soone as Domitian was killed, the moneths recoursed their ancient names againe. The two last moneths only, have ever continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which W uma added, or at the least translated, the moneth of February doth fignific as much as purging, or at least the deriuation of the word foundeth neere it. In this moneth, they do facrifice of plants, * and do celebrate the feast of the Lypencales, in which there are many things agreeable and like to the facrifices made for purification. And the first, which is Ianuary, was called after the name of Ianus. Wherefore me thinkes that Numa tooke away the moneth of March from the first place. and gaue it vnto Ianuary: because he would have peace preferred before war, and civill things before martiall. For this Janus (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very civill and politike. For he changed the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruell, and wild and brought it to be honeff, gentle, and civill. For this cause they do paint his image at this day with two faces, the one before, and the other behind, for thus changing the lines of men. And there is in Rome a temple dedicated vnto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of war: for the custome is to open them, when the Romaine's have any warres in any place, and to flut them when they be at peace. To have them flut, it was a rare thing to fee, and happened very feldome: by reason of the greatnesse of their empire, which on all sides sides was enuironed with barbarous nations, whom they were compelled to keepe under with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut vp in the time of Augustus, after he had slaine Antonie. and once before also in the yeare when Marcus Attilius and Titus Manlius were Consuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened againe incontinently, by reason of wars that came vpon them foone after. Howbeit during the reigne of Numa, it was never one day opened, but remained thut continually by the space of three and forty yeares together. For all occasions of warres, were then veterly dead and forgotten: because at Rome the people were not onely through the example of inflice, elemency, and the goodnesse of the King, brought to be quiet, and to loue peace; but in the cities thereabouts, there began a maruellous change of maners, and alteration of life, as if some gentle aire had breathed on them, by some gracious and healthfull wind blowne from Rome to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens minds such a hearty defire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, and to ferue the gods truly: that almost through all ITALY, there was nothing but feasts, playes, sacrifices, and bankets. The people did trafficke and frequent together, without feare or danger, and visited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the springing fountaine of Numaes wildome many prety brookes and Areames of good and honest life had run ouer all IT ALY, and had watered it and that the mildnesse of his wisdome had from hand to hand bin dispersed through the whole world. Insomuch, as the ouer excessive speeches the Poets accustomably do vse, were not sufficient inough to expresse the peaceable reigne of that time. There: (piders weave, there cobwebs day and night

In harnesses, which wont to serue for warre: There: cancred ruft doth fret, the steele full bright Of trenchant blades, well whet in many a iarre. There: mighty speares, for lacke of wse are eaten, With rotten wormes: and in that country there. The braying trompe doth neuer feeme to threater Their quiet eares with blasts of bloudy feare. There: in that land no drowfie sleepe is broken

With hot alarmes which terrors do betoken.

For during all king Numaes reigne, it was never heard that ever there were any warres, civil diffention, or innouation of gouernement attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmity or

maliceborne him, neither any conspiracy once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the gods, (which visibly seemed to take him into their protection) or for the reuerent regard they had vnto his vertue, or for his prosperous & good successeall the time he reigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he fought to keepe men still pure, and honest, from all wickednesse, and laid most open before the eyes of the whole world, a electe example of that which Plate long time after did affirme, and fay, concerning true gouernement: which was: That the onely meane of true quietnesse, and remedy from all cuill (which cuer troubleth men) was: when by fomediume ordinance from about there meeteth in one person, the right maieflie of a King, and the mind of a wife philosopher, to make vertue gouernesse and ruler ouer vice. living of a For indeed happy is fuch a wife man, and more happy are they, which may heare the graue weale, counfell, and good leffons of fuch a mouth: and there (me thinkes) needeth no force, no compulfion, no threats, nor extremity to bridle the people. For men feeing the true image of vertue in their visible Prince, and in the example of his life, do willingly grow to be wife, and of themselues do fall into loue, liking, and friendship together, and do vie all temperance, inst dealing, and good order one towards another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other:which is the chiefe point of felicity, and the most happy good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wildome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition; and this, Numa about all other, seemed best to know and vnderstand. Furthermore, touching his wines and children, there are great contrarieties among the historigraphers. For some of them say, he neuer maried other wife then posterier. Tatia, and that he neuer had any children, but one onely daughter, and she was called Pompilia. Pompilia. Pompilia. Other write to the contrary, that he had foure fonnes, Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, of Nomaes euery one of the which (by fuccession from the father to the sonne) have descended the noblest races, and most ancient houses of the Romaines. As the house of the Pomponians, of Pompo: the house of the Pinarians, of Pinus: the house of the Calphurnians, of Calpus: and the house of the Mamercians, of Mamercias. All which families by reason of their progenitor have kept the furname of Reges, Kings. There are three other writers, which do reproue the two first saying, that they did write to gratifie the families, making them fallely to descend of the noble race of king Numa. Moreouer it is faid, he had his daughter Pompilia, not by Tatia, but by his other wife called Lucretia, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter Pompilia was maried vnto one Martins, the fonne of the fame Martins which perfivaded him to accept the kingdome of Rome. For he went with him to Rome, to remaine there: maried to caire Marwhere they did him the honour to receive him into the number of the Senators. After the death tim corioof Nama, Martius the father stood against Tullus Hostilius for the succession of the Realme, and Martius the being ouercome, he killed himselfe for forrow. But his fon Martins, who maried Pompilia, continued still at Rome, where he begot Ancus Martius, who was king of Rome, after Tullus Hosti- made Selius, and was but fine yeares old when Numa died. Whose death was not sudden. For he died Rome. confuming by little and little, as well through age, as also through a lingring disease that waited Ancus on him to his end, as Pifo hath written: and Numaat his death was little more then fourescore the north of the name and honour done were him at his financial mode his life was a the fon of yeares old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funerals, made his life yet more Caim Marhappy and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friends, kinfmen, and allies of the Ro- time Corne-MAINES came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publick contributions to honor The death his obsequies. The noble men selues of the city (which were called Patricians) caried on their of Numa. shoulders the very bed, on which the corfe lay, to be conneyed to his graue. The Priests attended also on his body, and so did althe rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his tombe, all bewailing and lamenting his death, with teares, fighs, and mournings: not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kiniman, and nearest friend that had died before he was old. They burnt not his body, because (as some say) he commanded the contrary by his will and testament: but they made two cossins of stone, which they buried at the foot of the hill called Iniculum. In the one they layd his body, and in the other the holy bookes which he had written himselfe, much like vnto those, Numan which they that made the lawes among the GRECIANS did write intables. But because in books. his life time he had taught the priests the substance of the whole contained in the same, he willed the holy tables which he had written, should be buried with his body. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens maners

Why the writing.

Traile bookes of Prichbood. Twelae bookerof phologophy.

Goodmen praised af. ter their death.

The misfertunes of Numates. [wiceffors.

Hofilius.

and exercises. And he followed herein they say, the Pythagorians, who would not put their works in writing, but did print the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of person the hidden rules and sccrets of Geometry, which had not bene worthy of them, then they faid the gods by manifest tokens would threaten to reuenge such sacriledge and impicty. with fome great destruction and misery. Therefore, seeing so many things agreeable and altogether like betweene Numa and Pythagoras, I eafily pardon those which maintaine their opinion, that Numa and Pythagoras were familiarly acquainted and conversant together. Valerius Anias the historian writeth, there were twelve books written concerning the office of Priests. and twelue other containing the phylosophy of the GRECIANS. And that four hundred years after (in the fame yeare when Publius Cornelius, and Marcus Bebius were confuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earth, and discouered these coffins: and the lids and couers thereof being caried away, they found the one altogether voide, having no manner of likelihood, or token of a body that had layen in it: and in the other they found these bookes. which were deliuered vnto one named Petilius (at that time Præror) who had the charge to read them ouer, and to make the report of them. But he having perufed them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not convenient the matters contained in them should bee published vnto the fimple people; and for that cause they were caried into the market place, & there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and just men, than they are farre more praifed and effeemed after their death, then before because that enuy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding, the misfortunes which chanced afterwards vnto the fine Kings which reigned at Rome after Numa, have made his honour shine, with much more noble glory then before. For the last of them was driven out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very old: and of the o. ther foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treason. And Tullus Hostilius which reigned after Numa, deriding and contemning the most part of his good and holy inflitutions, and chiefly his deuotion towards the gods, as a thing which made men lowly & faint hearted: did as soone as euer he came to be king, turne al his subjects hearts to the wars. But this madde humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a strange and most grieuous disease that followed him, which brought him to change his mind, and did farre otherwise turne his contempt of Religion, into an over fearefull superstition, which did nothing yet refemble the true Religion and deuotion of Numa: and befides he infected

others with his contagious errour, through the inconvenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was striken and burnt with lightening.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF Lycurgus with Numa.



HVS having written the lives of Lycurgus and Numa, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat hard to do, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference betweenethem. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deeds do shew it sufficiently. As in their temperance, their denotion to the gods, their wifedome in gouerning, and their difereet handling of their people, by making them believe that the gods had revealed the lawes vnto them, but their which they effablished. And now to come vnto their qualities, which decided are directly and severally commended in gither of them Their God are diverfely, and severally commended in either of them: Their first

quality is, that Numa accepted the kingdome, and Lourgus gaue it vp. The one received it, nor feeking for it; and the other having it in his hands did reftore it againe. The one being a stranger and a private man, was by strangers elected and chosen their Lord and King. The other being in possession a King, made himselfe againe a private person. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtaine Realme by inflice : but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme instice about a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred so noble a mind in the other, that he esteemed not to be a king. Their second quality is, that like as in an instrument of musick, the one of them did tune and wrest vp the slacke strings which were in Sparta: fo the other flackened, and fet them lower, which were two high mounted in Roma. Wherein Lycurgus difficulty was the greater. For he did not perswade his citizens, to what Pluck off their armor & curates, nor to lay by their fwords; but only to leave their gold and filuer, to forfake their foft beds, their fine wrought tables, and other curious rich furniture, & not to leaue off thetrauell of warres, to give themselves onely vnto feasts, sacrifices, and playes; but to the contrary, to give vp banquetting and feafting, and continually to take paines in the wars, yeelding their bodies to all kind of paines. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did bearehim, easily perswaded all that he would: and the other, by putting himselfe in danger, and being hurt also, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpose and desire. Numa his muse was so gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now so tractable and civill, that he taught them to love peace and inflice. And to the contrary, if they will compell me to number amongst the lawes and ordinances of Lyourgus, that which we have written touching the ILO-TE 1, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I must of force confesse that Numa was much wifer. more gentle, and civill in his lawes, confidering that even vnto those which indeed were borne flaues, he gaue some little tast of honour, and sweetnesse of liberty, having ordained, that in Slaves sate the feasts of Saturne, they should sit downe at meate at their masters owne table. Some hold with their opinion that this custome was brought in by king along will deband of the band of the saturnes. opinion, that this custome was brought in by king Numa: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, should have some pleasure thereof to make good feels cheere with the fruits of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembrance of twelfare

the equality which was amongst men in the world in Saturnes time, when there was neither

caufesuf she dinerfity of inflitutions and Lyeur

Deferiorion

mafter nor feruant, but all men were alike equall, as brethren or kinfmen. To conclude, it feemeth either of them took a direct course, thought best to themselues, to frame their people vnto temperance, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre best, and the other instice: vnlesse it were that men would say, that for the diversitie of the nature or custome of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) they were both compelled to vse also contrary and diverse meanes from other. For it was nor of a faint hart, that Numa took from his people the vie of armes, and defire to be in warres: but it was to the end they should not do any wrong to others. Neither did Lycurgus also study to make his people fouldiers and warlike, to hurt others : but for feare rather that others should hurt them. And so, to cut off the excesse in the one, and to supply the defect of the other, they were both enforced to bring in a strange manner of gouernement. Furthermore, touching their feuerall kind of gouernement, and dividing of their people into states and companies: that of Numa was maruellous meane and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a body of a city, and a people compounded together, of all forts, as goldsmiths, minstrels, founders, shoemakers, and of all forts of crafts men and occupations together. But that of Lycurque was directly contrary: for his was more seucre and tyrannicall, in gouerning of the Nobility, casting all crafts and base occupations upon bondmen and strangers, and putting into the hands of his citizens the shield and launce, suffering them to exercise no other art or science, but the art and discipline of wars, as the true ministers of Mars: which all their life time neuer knew other science, but onely learned to obey their captaines, and to command their enemies. For to have any occupation, to buy and fell, or to trafficke, free men were expressely forbidden; because they should wholly and absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawfull for flaues, and the ILOTES: being counted for as vile an occupation as to dreffe meate, and to bea feullian of a kitchin. Numa put not this difference amongst his people, but only tooke away couctous defire to be rich by wars: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goods by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regard to bring all to equality, and to be alike wealthy, but fuffering enery manto get what he could, taking no order to preuent pouerty, which crept in, and spread farre in his city: which he should have looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequality amongst them, and that his citizens for substance were in manner equall one with another: for then was the time when he should have made head against avarice, to have stopped the mischiefes and inconveniences which fell out afterwards, and they were not litle. For that onely was the fountaine and roote of the most part of the greatest enils and mischiefes, which happened afterwards in Rome. And as touching the denission of goods, neither ought Lycurgus to be blamed for doing it, nor Numa for that he did it not. For this equality to the one, was a ground & foundatio of his common-wealth, which he afterwards instituted and to the other, it could not be. For this division being made not long before the time of his predeceffor, there was no great need to change the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, and their children to be in common, both the one and the other wisely sought to take away all occasion of icalousie: but yet they tooke not both one course. For the Romain a husband, having children inough to his contentation, if another that lacked children came vnto him, to pray him to lend him his wife, he might grant her vnto him, and it was in him to giue her altogether, or to lend her for a time, and to take her afterwards againe. But the Laconian keeping his wife in his house, and the mariage remaining whole and vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to have children by her nav furthermore, many (as we have told you before) did themselves intreate men, by whom they thought to haue a trim brood of children, and layd them with their wives. What difference I pray you was betweene these two customes? fauing that the custome of the LACONIANS shewed, that the husbands were nothing angry, nor grieued with their wives for those things. which for forrow & iealousic doth rent the hearts of most maried men in the world. And that of the Romaines was a simplicity somewhat more shamefast, which to couer, it was shadowed yet with the cloake of matrimony and contract of mariage:confessing that to vse wife and chil-Numaer or. dren by halfes together, was a thing most intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidens to be maried by Numaes order, was much straighter, & more honorable for womanhood: and Lycurgus order having too much scope and liberty, gave Poets occasion to speake, and to

Reafon fer

give them furnames not very honest. As Ibyens called them Phanomeridas: to say, thigh-shewers: and Andromanes: to fay, man-wood. And Euripides faith also of them.

. Good nut-browne girles which left their fathers house at large,

And fought for young mens company, and tooke their ware in charge: And shewed their thighes all bare; the taylour did them wrong,

On each side open were their cotes, the slits were all too long.

And indeed to fay truly, the fides of their pericotes were not fewed beneath: fo that as they went, they flewed their thighs naked and bare. The which Sophocles doth eafily declare by thefe verses:

The fong which you shall fing, shall be the former fand By Hermony lufty lase, that strong and sturdy maide: Which trust her peticote about her middle short,

And fet to shew her naked hippes, in francke and freendly fort. And therfore it is faid, the Lacon wives were bold, manly, and flour against their husbands, The Lacon

vnlesse it were in the presence of their husbands. In so much as it is reported, that a woman chan-

cing one day to pleade her cause in person, openly before the Judges: the Senate hearing of it, did

fend immediatly vnto the oracle of Apollo, to know what that did prognosticate to the city. And

therfore Numathought the memory of the naughty women, would much commend the great

humility, getlenes, & obediece of the good. For like as our GRECIAN historiographers do note

namely the first. For they were wholy mistresses in their house, and abroad yea they had law on minuters their side also, to vtter their minds frankly concerning the chiefest matters. But Numa euer referued the honor & dignity vnto the women, which was left them by Romalus in his time, when

their husbands, after they had taken the away perforce, disposed themselves to vie them as getly as possibly they could neuerthelesse, he added otherwise thereto great honesty, and took away all curiofity from them, and taught them sobriety, and did enure them to speake little. For he did mine wovtterly forbidthem wine, and did prohibit them to speake, although it were for things necessary, men series

those which were the first that killed any of their citizens, or haue fought with their brethre, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen fo the ROMAINES doe note that Spurius Caruilius was Thefre the first that forsook his wife, two hundred & thirty yeares after the first foundation of Rome, discrete at which was neuer done by any before. And that the wife of one Pinarius, called Thalea, was the Rome. first which ener brauled or quarrelled with her mother in law called Geeata, in the time whe Tarquin furnamed the proud reigned: fo well and honeftly were the orders of Numa deuised cocerning mariage. Moreouer, the age and time of marying of maids, which both the one & the other ordained, doth agree with the rest of their education. For Lycurgus would not that they should be maried, till they were of good yeares & women grown, to the end that they knowing the copany of man at fuch time as nature requireth, it should be a beginning of their pleasure and loue, & not ofgriefe & hate, when she should be copelled vnto it before time agreeable by nature; & because their bodies also should be more strong & able to beare children, & to endure the mothers painfull throwes & trauel in child-bearing, confidering they are maried to no other end, but to beare children. But the Roman s to the contrary, doe marry them at twelue yeares of age and vnder: faying, that by this meanes their bodies & manners be wholly theirs which do marry them, being affured that no body else could touch them. By this reason it is manifest, that the one is more natural, to make the strong to beare children: & the other more morall, to give the the forme & maner of conditions, which a man wold have the to keepe all their life time. Moreover touching orders for education of children, that they should be brought vp, instructed, & taught, vnder the felfe fame masters and gouernors, which should have an eye to make them drink, cate, play, and exercise themselves have the property and exercise themselves have the property and and disc. exercise themselues honestly & orderly together: Numa made no more prouision for the same, pline is then the least maker of lawes that ever was, & nothing in comparison of Lycurgus For Numa left worth. the parents at liberty, to vse their discretio (according to their couetousnes or necessity) to cause their children to be brought vp as they thought good: whether they wold put them to be labourers, carpenters, founders, or minstrels. As if they should not frame the maners of children, and fashion them from their cradle all to one end : but should be as it were like passengers into one ship, which being there, some for one busines, other for another purpose, but all to diverse ends, do neuer meddle one with another, but in a rough storme or tempest, when every man is affraid of his own life. For otherwise, no mã careth but for himself. And other makers of lawes also, are

lacke of sufficient power and authority. But a wise Philosopher having received a realme of peo-

ple newly gathered together, which did contrary him in nothing: whereto should he most ply his study and indeuour, but to cause children to be well brought vp, and to make yong men exercife themselves, to the end they should not differ in manners, nor that they should be trouble. fome, by their diuerse manner of bringing vp, but that they should all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one selfe trade; and fashioned vnder one selfe

patterne of vertue? That good education, besides other commodities, did also serve to preserve the state of their oath which they had made, had bene of small effect, if he were flabis. Lycurgus lawes. For the feare of their oath which they had made, had bene of small effect, if he had not through institution, and education (as it were) died in wooll the maners of children, and had not made them from their nurses breasts in manner, sucke the iuyce and loue of his lawee

and civill ordinances. And this was of such force, that for the space of fine hundred yeares and more. Lycureus chiefe lawes and ordinances remained in full perfection, as a deepe worded die which went to the bottome, and pierced into the tender wooll. Contrariwife, that which was Numaes chiefe end and purpose, to continue Rome in peace & amity, died by and by with him.

For he was no fooner dead, but they opened both the gates of the temple of Ianus, which he fo carefully had kept shut all his reigne, as if indeed he had kept in wars there, under lock and key. and they filled all ITALIE with murther and bloud: and this his godly, holy, & iust gouernment

which his realme enjoyed all his time, did not last long after, because it had not the bond of education, and the discipline of children which should maintaine it. Why, may aman say to me here: harh not Rom z excelled still, and preuailed more and more in chiualry. This question requireth a long answer, and specially vnto such men as place felicity in riches, in possessions, and in the greatnesse of empire, rather then in the quiet safety, peace, and concord of a commonweale, and in clemency and inflice, joyned with contention. Neuerthelesse, how so enerit was.

that maketh for Lycurgus also, that the Romaine's after they had changed the state which they had of Numa, did fo maruelloufly increase and grow mighty : and that the LACED EMONIANS to the contrary, so soone as they began to breake Lyeurgus lawes, being of great authoritie and fway, fell afterwards to be of small account. So that having lost the sourcing and commande-

ment ouer GREECE, they stood in great hazard also to be ouerthrowne for euer. But in trothic was some divine thing in Numa, that he being a meere stranger, the Romains did seeke him to to be pre make him king, and that he could fo change all, and rule a whole city as he lifted (not yet iowned)

fere Lyeure together) without need of any force or violence: as it was in Lyeurgus, to be affifted with the best of the city, in resisting the commons of LACED EMON, but he could never

otherwise haue kept them in peace, and made them lone together, but by his onely wildome

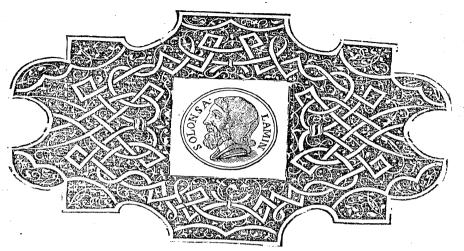
and justice.

The end of Numa Pompilius life.



THE

THE LIFE OF Solon



TDY MV S the Grammarian, in a little bookethat he wrote, and dedicated vnto Asclepiades, touching the tables of the lawes of solon, alledgeth the words of one Philocles, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that have written, that solons father was called Euphorion. For all other writers agree, that he was the sonne of Execestides, a man but reasonably to live, although otherwise he was of the nage. noblest and most ancient house of the city of ATHENS. For of his fathers fide, he was descended of King Codius: and for his mother, Heraclides Ponticus writeth, she was cofin germaine vnto Pyfistratus

mother. For this cause cuen from the beginning there was great friendship betweenethem, partly for their kindred, and partly also for the courteste and beauty of Pylistratus, with whom it is reported Solon on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of state and gouernement: yet this square bred no violent inconvenience solon and betweene them, but they referred in their hearts fill their ancientamity, which continued the Pyffraim. memory of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That solon was no stayed man to withstand beauty, nor any great doer to prevaile in love, it is manifest to all, as well by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a law of his owne: wherein he did forbid bondmen Affature to perfume themselues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this law among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better fort, and forbidding it to the basest. They men. fay also that Pysistratus selfe was in love with Charmus, and that he did set vp the little image of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candle. But Solons father (as Hermippus writeth) having spent his goods in liberality and deeds of courtesse, though he might cafily have bene relieved at diverse mens hands with money, he was yet ashamed to take any, because he came of a house which was wont rather to give and relieve others, then to take solongane themsclues: so being yet a yong man, he deuised to trade merchandise. Howbeit other say, that himselfein Solon trauelled countries, rather to see the world, and to learne, then to trafficke, or gaine. For rade mer fure he was very desirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being now old, he estandise.

I growold, learning fill. Also he was not couetously bent, nor loued riches too much: for he said in one place:

SOLON.

Who fo hath goods, and gold inough at call, Great heards of beafts, and flockes in many a fold, Both hor (e and mule yea flore of corne, and all That may content each man about the mould: No richer is for all those heapes and hoords. Then be which hash, sufficiently to feede, And cloth his corpes with fuch as God afoords. But if his ioy, and chiefe delight do breede, For to behold the faire and heavenly face Of some sweete wife, which is adornd with grace, Or elle some child of beauty faire and bright. Then bath he cause (indeed) of deepe delight.

And in another place also he saith:

Indeed I do desire, some wealth to have at will: But not wnlesse the same be got by faithfull dealing still. For fure who fodefires by wickednesse to thrine : Shall find that inflice from fuch goods, will instly him deprine.

Howbeit, as an honest man is not to busic himselfe ouermuch in scraping together of supersuous and vnnecessary goods; so nothing letteth but that he may have a care to store himselfe

with fuch things as he shall have need of.

In those daies no state was discommended, as faith Hesiodus, nor any art or science made any difference betweene men; but merchandise they thought an honorable state, as that which deliuered meanes to trafficke into strange and farre countries, to get acquaintance with states, to modities of merchädise procure the loue of Princes, and chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there A merchant haue bene merchants, which heretofore haue bene founders of great cities: as he which built MARSILIA, after he had obtained the friendship of the GAVLES, dwelling by the riner of Rhosne. And they say also, that Thales Milesius the wife did trafficke merchandise, and that Hippocrates the mathematike did euen fo: and likewife that Plato trauelling into AGYPT, did beare the whole charges of his journey, with the gaines he made of the fale of oyle he caried thither. They remember also that Solon learned to be lauish in expense, to fare delicately, and to speake wantonly of pleasures in his Poems, somwhat more licentiously then became the gravity of a Philosopher, only because he was brought up in the trade of merchandise, wherein for that men are maruellous subject to great losses and dangers, they seeke otherwhiles good cheere to drive these cares away, and liberty to make much of themselves. Yet it appeareth by these verfes, that Solon accounted himselfe rather in the number of the poore, then of the rich. Rich men (oft times) in lewdest lines do range.

Poucrty with vertue better then riches.

rfet his

poerry.

builded

Marfilia.

And often seene, that vertuous men be poore: Tet would the good their goodnesse neuer change With level estate, although their wealth be more. For wertue stands alwayes both firme and stable: When riches rone, and seldome are durable.

How Solon This poetry at the beginning he yied but for pleasure, and when he had leisure, writing no matter of importance in his veries. Afterwards he did fet out many graue matters of philosophy, and the most part of such things as he had deuised before, in the government of a commonweale, which he did not for hiftory or memories fake, but only of a pleafure to discourse: for he fleweth the reasons of that he did, and in some places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the ATHENIANS. And some affirme also he went about to write his lawes and ordinances in verse, and do recite his preface, which was this:

Vouch (afe o mighty love of heaven and earth high King: To grant good fortune to my lawes, and heasts in enery thing. And that their glory grow, in such triumphant wife, As may remaine in fame for aye, which lines and neuer dyes.

He chiefly delighted in morall philosophy, which treated of government and commonweales: as the most part of the wisemen did of those times. But for natural philosophy, he was very groffe and fimple, as appeareth by these verses:

The clattering baile and foftly falling fnow Do breed in aire, and fall from clouds on bie, The dreadfull claps, which thunderbolts do throw, Do come from heanen, and lightnings bright in skie. The fea it felfe by boifterous blafts doth rore, Which (were it not prouoked fo full fore) Would be both calme and quiet for to paffe, As any element that ener was.

So in effect there was none but Thales alone of all the fenen wife men of GRHCH, who fearched further the contemplation of things in common vse among men, than he. For setting him apart, all the others got the name of wisedome, onely for their understanding in matters of state and gouernement. It is reported that they met on a day all seuen together in the city of DEL-PHES, and another time in the city of CORINTH, where Periander got them together at a feast that he made to the other fixe. But that which most increased their glory, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending backe againe of the three footed stoole when they all had refufed it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, how certaine fisher-men of the Ile of Co, cast their nets into the sea, and certaine strangers passing by, that came from the city of MILETVM, did buy their draught of fish at aduenture, before thenet was drawne. And when they drew it vp, there came vp in the net a three footed floole of massie gold, which men say, Hellen (as she did returne from TROY) had throwne in that place, Hellen in memorie of an ancient Oracle the called then vnto her mind. Thereupon the strangers and three foote of fisher-men first fell at strife about this three footed stoole, who should have it : but afterwards gelddrawn the two cities tooke part of both fides, on their citizens behalfe. In fo much as wars had like to have followed between them had not the prophere for a white given a like Oracle water them. to haue followed betweene them, had not the prophetesse Pythia giuen a like Oracle vnto them both: That they should give this three footed stoole vnto the wifest man. Whereupon the men of Co, sent it first to Thales in the city of MILETYM, as being willing to grant that vnto a primate person, for which they had made warres with all the MILESIANS before. Thales faid, hee thought Bissa wifer man then himself: and so it was sent vnto him. He likewise sent it againe vnto another, as a wifer man. And that other, fent it also vnto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through diverse hands, in the end it was brought backe againe vnto the city of MILETVM, and delinered into the hands of Thales the fecond time: and last of all was caried vnto THEEEs, and offered vp vnto the temple of Apollo Ifmenian. Howbeit Theophraflus writeth, that first it was sent to the city of PRI and, vnto Bias: and then vnto Thales, in the city of MILETVM, by Bias consent. And after that it had passed through all their hands, it was brought againe vnto Bias: and lastly it was sent to the city of DELPHES. And thus much have the best and most ancient writers written: sauing that some say in stead of a three sooted stoole, it was a cup that King Crassus sent vnto the city of DELPHES. Other say, it was a peece of plate which Bathyoles left there. They made mentio also of another private meeting betwixt Anacharsis and Solon, and of another betweene him and Thales, where they recite, that they had this talke. Anacharsis being ariued at Athens, went to knock at Solons gate, saying that he was a stranger Anatharwhich came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquain ance and friendship. Solon answered & and sehim, that it was better to feeke friendship in his owne countrey. Anachar sis replied againe: Thou then that art at home, and in thine owne countrey, begin to shew me friendship. Then solon wondering at his bold ready wit, entertained him very courteoufly, & kept him a certaine time in his house, & made him very good cheere, at the selfe same time wherin he was most busie in gouerning the common-weale, and making lawes for the state thereof. Which when Anacharsis vnderstood, he laughed at it: to see that solon imagined with written lawes, to bridle mens couctousnesse and iniustice. For such lawes, said he, do rightly resemble the spiders cobwebs: because Anatharsis they take hold of litle flyes and gnats which fall into them, but the rich and mighty will breake faire of and runne through them at their will. Solon answered him, that men do inftly keepe all couenants written and bargaines which one make with another, because it is to the hinderance of either partie to lawes. breake them: and euen so, he did so temper his lawes, that he made his citizens know, it was more for their profit to obey law and inflice, then to breake it. Neuerthelesse afterwards, matters proued rather according to Anacharsis comparison, then agreeable to the hope that Selon had conceiued. Anacharsis being by hap one day in a common assembly of the people at ATHENS, said

Solon delighted in morall,but not in naturall phia

with Thales at Mileis. riage for having of

not let to get things neceffary,

C.b. Aus dosted fen.

Proclamia tion wpon paine of death no mountle

that he maruelled much, why in the confultations and meetings of the GRECIANS wife men propounded matters, and fooles did decide them. It is faid moreouer, that Solon was fomtime in the city of MILETYM at Thales house, where he said that he could not but maruell at Thales, that he would never marry to have children. Thales gave him never a word at that prefent; but with. in few dayes after he suborned a stranger, which said that he came but newly home from A. THENS, departing from thence but ten dayes before. Solon asked him immediatly, What newes there. This stranger whom Thales had schooled before, answered: None other there, sauing that they caried a young man to buriall, whom all the city followed: for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the city, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the countrey, and had bene a long time (as they faid) abroad. O poore vn fortunate father, then faid solon: and what was his name. I have heard him named, faid the stranger, but I have forgotten him now: fauing that they all faid, he was a worthy wife man. So solon ftill trembling more and more for feare, at every answer of this stranger in the end he could hold no longer, being full of trouble, but told his name himselfe vnto the stranger, and asked him againe, if he were not the fonne of Solon which was buried. The very fame, faid the stranger. Solon with that like a madde man straight began to beate his head, and to fay, and do, like men impatient in affiiction, and o. uercome with forrow. But Thales laughing to fee this pageant, staid him, and faid: Lo, Solon, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children; which is of fuch a violence, that thou feeft it hath now ouercome thee, although otherwise thou art strong, and able to wrestle with any. How beit for any thing he hath faid vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it is but a tale and nothing fo. Hermippus Writeth, that Patzens (he which faid he had Afops foule) reciteth this ftory thus. Neuertheleffe it lacketh judgement, and the conrage of a man also, to be affraid to get things necessary, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning he should neither esteeme honor, goods, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lofe them. For we feethat vertue it falfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can haue, decayeth of times through sickneffe, or elfe by physick and potions. Furthermore Thales felf, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, vnlesse be would confesse that he neither loued friends, kinfmea, nor country: howbeit Thales had an adopted fon, called Cybeffus, which was his fifters fon. For our foule having in it a naturall inclination to love, & being borne as well to love, as to feel. The mind to reason, or vnder Hand, and to remember: having nothing of her owne whereupon she might bestow that naturall love, borroweth of other. As where there is a house of inheritance without lawfull heires, many times strangers, and base borne children, do creepe into the kind affection of the owner, and when they have once won and possessed his love, they make him ever after to be kind and tender over them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that move them to marry, and get lawfull children; and yet afterwards are ready to die for feare and forrow, when they fee their bastards (that they have gotten of their flaues or concubines) fall ficke or die, and doe vtter words far vnmeet for men of noble courage. And fome such there be, that for the death of a dog, or their horse, are so out of heart & take such thought, that they are ready to go into the ground, they look so pitifully. Other some are cleane contrary, who though they have loft their children, forgone their friends, or fome gentleman deare vnto them, yet no forrowfull word hath come from them, neither haue they done any unfeemely thing: but have passed the rest of their life likewise, constant and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weaknes, which breedeth these extreme forrowes, & exceeding feare. in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they love & desire, by reason of the cotinuals trouble, feare & griefe they feele, by thinking how in time they may be depriued of it. Now we must not arme our sclues with pouerty, against the griefe of losse of goods: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friends: neither with want of mariage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus have we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIAN'S having now fustained a long and troublesome warre against the MEGARIANS, for the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA, were in the end weary of it, and made proclamation, straightly commanding vpon paine of death, that no man should presume to prefer any more to the councell of the city, the title or question of the possession of the le of SALAMINA. Salon could not beare this open shame, & seeing the most part of the lustiest youths desirous still of warre, though their tongues were tied for feare of the proclamation, he fained

himfelfe

himselfe to be out of his wits, and caused it to be given out that solon was become a soole: and fecretly he had made certaine lamentable verses, which he had cunned without booke, to sing abroad the city. So one day he ranne suddenly out of his house with a garland on his head, and got him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like Bees about him: and getring him vpon the stone whereall proclamations are vsually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which began after this fort:

There present my selfe (an Herald) in this case, Which come from Salamina land, that noble worthy place. May mind in pelting profe. Shall never be exprest. But sung in werse Heroisall, for so I thinke it best.

Solons Elegies of the

This Elegie is intituled SALAMINA, and containeth an hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being openly sung by Solon at that time, his friends incontinently praifed them beyond measure, and specially Pylistratus and they went about perswading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Hercupon the matter was so handled among st them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they began to follow the wars with greater fury then before, appointing Solon to be Generall in the same. But the common tale & report is, that he went by fea with Pyfistratus vnto the temple of Venus, surnamed Coliade, where he found all the women at a solemne feast and sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddesse. He nus coliad. taking occasion thereby, sent from thence atrustie man of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, Strablib. which then had SALAMINA: whom he instructed to faine himselfe a revolted traitour, and that fan of the he came of purpose to tel them, that if they would but go with him, they might take al the chiefe dihenians. ladies and gentlewomen of ATHENS on a fudden. The MEGARIANS eafily believed him, and solon first shipped forthwith certaine fouldiers to goe with him. But when Solon perceived the ship vnder tageme. faile coming from SALAMINA, he commanded the women to depart, and in stead of them he put lusty beardlesse springals into their apparell, & gaue them litle short daggers to conuey vnder their cloakes, commanding them to play and dance together vponthe fea fide, vntill their enemies were landed, and their ship at anker, and so it came to passe. For the MEGARIANS being deceived by that they faw afarre off, affoone as ever they came to the shore side, did land in heapes, one in anothers necke, euen for greedinesse, to take these women but not a man of them escaped, for they were slaine enery mothers son. This stratageme being finely handled, and to good effect, the Athenians tooke sea straight, and coasted ouer to the Isle of Salamina: Selon was which they tooke voon the fudden, and wanne it without much refistance. Other fay that it was not taken after this fort: but that Apollo Delphions gaue Solon first such an Oracle:

Thou shalt first winneby vowes and sacrifice, The helpe of Lords and demy gods full bright : Of whose dead bones, the dust engraved lyes, In wester ne sayle, Asopia that hight.

By order of this oracle, he one night paffed ouer to SALAMINA, and did facrifice to Peripoemus, and to Cichris, demy-gods of the country. Which done, the ATHENIAN's delinered him fine hundred men, who willingly offered themselues: and the city made an accord with them, that if they tooke the Isle of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authority in the commonweale. Solon imbarked his foldiers into divers fisher boats, & appointed a galliot of thirty owers to come after him, & he ankered hard by the city of SALAMINA, under the point which looketh towards the Isle of Negrepont. The Megarians which were within Salamina, having by chance heard some inkling of it, but yet knew nothing of certainty, ren presently in hurly burly to arme them, and manned out a ship to descry what it was. But they fondly coming within danger, were taken by Solon, who clapped the MEGARIANS under hatches fast bound, & in their roomes put aboord in their ship the choisest fouldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commanding them to settheir course direct vpon the citie, and to keepe themselues as close out of sight as could be. And he himselse with all the rest of his souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the field. Now whilst they were fighting together, solons men whom he had fent in the MEGARIANS ship, entred the hauen and wan the towne. This is certainely true, and testified by that which is shewed yet at this day. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a ship of Athens arriveth quietly at the first, and by and by those that are in the ship make a great shout, and a man armed leaping out of the ship, runneth

ting continually with the of-spring of Megacles. These factions were greatest & highest in Solons

time: who being of authority, and leeing the people thus deuided in two parts, he stepped in be-

tweene them, with the chiefest men of ATHENS, & did so perswade & intreat those whom they

celled the abiects and excommunicates, that they were contented to be judged. So 300.0fthe

chiefest citizens were chosen judges to heare this matter. The accuser was Myron Phlyeian, This

matter was heard and pleaded, & by fentence of the judges, the excommunicates were condem-

ned. Those that were aliue, to perpetual exile: & the bones of the that were dead, to be digged vp,

& throwne out of the confines of the territory of ATHENS. But whilft the cicy of ATHENS was

occupied with these vprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught hold of the occasion deliuered,&

fet vponthe ATHENIANS, took from them the hauen of NISEA, and recouered againe out of

their hands the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the city was possessed with a certaine super-

stitious feare: for some said, that spirits were come againe, and strange sights were seene. The

ported also that Epimenides when he saw the hauen of Munychia, and had long considered of it:

told those about him, that men were very blind in foreseeing things to come. For if the ATHE-

NIANS (faid he) knew what hurt this hauen would bring them, they would cate it (as they fay)

with their teeth. It is faid also that Thales did prognosticate such a like thing, who after his death

commanded they should bury his body in some vile place of no reckening, within the territory

being maruelloufly effeemed of enery man for these causes, was greatly honored of the ATHE-

NIANS, & they offered him great presents of mony and other things, but he would take nothing,

and only prayed them to give him a bough of the holy olive: which they granted him, and so he

into fo diuers pares and factions, as there were people of fundry places and territories within the

country of ATTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and

the people of the sea coast. Those of the mountaines, tooke the common peoples part for their

liues. Those of the valley, would a few of the best citizens should cary the sway. The coast-men

would that neither of them should preuaile, because they would have had a mean government &

mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betweene the poore & rich, proceeding of their

vnequality, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the city was in great danger, and it

seemed there was no way to pacifie or take vp these cotrouersies, vnlesse some tyrant hapned to

rise, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For al the common people were so fore indeb-

(for which cause they were called Hestemorijand servants) or elsethey borrowed mony of them

at vsurie, vpon gage of their bodies to serue it out. And if they were not able to pay the, the were

they by the law deliuered to their creditors, who kept the as bondmen & slaues in their houses,

or else they sent them into strange countries to be sold: & many euen for very pouerty were for-

of the MILESIANS, faying, that one day there should be the place of a city. Epimenides therfore.

Great frife between the Megarians and Athe

nians for Salamina.

Iliad.lib.s.

showing towards the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme land: and hard by the same is the temple of Mars, which Solon built there after he had ouercome the ME-GARIANS in battell from whence he fent back againe those prisoners that he had taken (which were faued from the flaughter of the battel) without any ranfome paying. Neuertheles, the ME-GARTAN'S were sharpely bent still to recouer SALAMINA againe. Much hurt being done and fuffered on both fides: both parts in the end made the LACED EMONIANS judges of the quarrell. But vpon judgement giuen, common report is, that Homers authority did Solon good service. because he did adde these verses to the number of ships, which are in the Iliads of Homer, which he rehearled before the Judges, as if they had bene indeed written by Homer:

.. Aiax that champion flout, did leade with him in charge, Twelve Ships from Salamina Soyle, which he had left at large, And even those selfe same ships in battell did he cast, And place in order for to fight, with enemies force at last, In that same very place, whereas it seemed then,

The manall with the Mega the Athe.

Solon defendeth the Delphes.

The captaines which from Athens came imbatteld had their men. Howbeit the ATHENTAN's felues thinke, it was but a tale of pleafure: and fay that Solon made it appeare to the judges, that Phileus, and Eury faces (both Aiax fons) were made free denizens of ATHENS. Wherupon they gaue the Isle of SALAMINA Vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of Attica: and the other in a town called MILETVM. And for due proofe thereof, they fay there is yet a certaine canton or quarter of the country of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the Phileides, after the name of this Philewww.where Pyfiftratus was borne. And it is faid moreouer, that solon (because he would throughly conuince the Megarians) did alledge that the Salaminians buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS maner, but after the Athentans maner. For in Megarathey bury the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHEN's their faces are towards the West. Yet Hereas the Megarian denyeth it faying that the MEGARIAN'S did bury them also with their faces towards the West:alledging moreour, that at ATHEN'S cuery corfe had his owne beere or coffin by it felf, & that at MEGARA they did put three or foure corses together. They say also there were certaine oracles of Apollo Pythias, which did greatly help Solon by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their strife was judged by five Arbitrators, all Spartan's borne: that is to fay, Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypscobidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes. Solon undoubtedly won great glory and honor by this exploit, yet was he much more honored and efteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the temple of Apollo, in the city of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be fuffered, that the CYRRH ÆTANS, should at their pleasure abuse the sanctuary of the Oracle, and that they should ayde the DELPHIANS in honour and reucrence of Apollo. Whereupon the councell of the Amphictyons, being moued with his words and perswassions, proclaimed warres against the CYRRHÆIANS, as divers others do witnesse, and especially Aristotie, in the storie he wrote of those that wan the Pythian games, where he ascribeth vnto Solon the honour of that determination. Neuerthelesse Hermippus saith, Solon was not made Generall of their armie, as Euanthes Samian hath written. For Alchines the Orator wrote no fuch thing of him: and in the Chronicles of the DELPHIANS they find, that one Aleman, and not Solon, was the Generall of the ATHE-NIANS. Now the city of ATHENS had a long time bene vexed and troubled through Cylons hainous offence, euer fince the yeare that Megatles (governor of the city of ATHENS) did with faire words handle so the confederats of the rebellion of Cylon, which had taken fanctuary within the libertie, of the temple of Minerua: that he perswaded them to be wise, and to present themselves before the Iudges, holding by a threed, which they should tye about the base of the image of the goddesse where she stood, because they should not lose their liberty. But when they were come to the place of the honourable goddeffes so called, (which be the images of the Furies) coming down to present themselves before y Ludges, the threed brake of itself. Then Megaeles, & other officers his companions, laid hold on them prefently, faying, that it was a manifest figne that the goddesse Minerua refused to faue them. So those they took, and all they could lay hands on were immediatly stoned to death without the city: the rest which took the altars of refuge, were slain there also. And none were faued, but such as had made meanes to the governours wives of the city, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, & comonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the iffues of the rebels that rose with cylon,

prognofticators also said, they perceived by their facrifices the city was defiled with some abominable and wicked things, which were of necessity to be purged and throwneout. Hereupon they fent into CRETA for Epimenides Phastian, whom they reckned the scuenth of the wisemen, Epimenides at the least such as will not allow Per iander for one of the number. He was a holy and deuout Phastus taman, and very wife in celestiall things, by inspiration from about; by reason whereof, men of his of the 7 sa. time called him the new Curetes, that is to fay, Prophet: & he was thought the fon of a Nymph ges, exclucalled Balte. When he was come to ATHENS, and growne in friendship with Solon, he did helpe him much, and made his way for eftablishing of his lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENI-ANS to make their facrifices much lighter, and of leffe coft and brought the citizens to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting off certaine seuere and barbarous ceremonies, which the most part of women observed in their mourning; and he ordained certaine sacrifices which he would have done immediatly after the obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest, was, that by vsing the citizens vnto holinesse and denotion, daily sacrifices, prayers vnto the gods, purging of themselues, and humble offerings: he wan mens hearts by litle and litle, to yeeld them more conformable to instice, and to be more inclined to concord and vnity. It is re-

returned shortly home into CRETA. Now that this sedition of Cylon was veterly appealed in A- solon pair THENS, for that the excommunicates were banished the country, the city fell againe into their fields for old troubles & dissentions about the gouernment of the common-weale; and they were deuided dissent

ted to the rich, that either they plowed their lands, and yeelded them the fixt part of their crop: yars.

ced to fel their own childre (for there was no law to forbid the contrary) or els to forfake their

city and country, for the extreme cruelty and hard dealing of these abominable vserers their cre-

SOLON.

Solons equitie and pprightnes. Soion by fr.btilt.e fet order be twist the poore and rich.

Solon cho-Centefor mer of the law and chiefe go-Hernour.

tyrant

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Branny.

Tynnandas,

ditors. Infomuch that many of the luftieft and flouteft of them, banded together in companies & incouraged one another, not to fuffer and beare any longer fuch extremity, but to chule them a front and trufty captaine, that might fet them at liberty, and redeeme those out of captivitie, which were judged to be bondmen & feruants, for lack of paying of their dets at their daies appointed; and fo to make againe a new division of all lands and tenements, and wholly to change and turne vp the whole state and gouernment. Then the wifest men of the citic, who save Solon only neither partner with the rich in their oppression, neither partaker with the poore in their necessity, made suite to him, that it would please him to take the matter in hand, and to appeale & pacific all these broiles and sedition. Yet Phanias Lesbian writeth, that he vsed a subtilty, whereby he deceived both the one and the other fide, concerning the common-weale. For he feererly promised the poore to deuide the lands againe; and the rich also, to confirme their couenants & bargaines. Howfoeuer it fell out, it is very certaine that solon from the beginning made it a great matter, and was very ferupulous to deale betweene them: fearing the couetoufnetic of the one. and arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in the end he was chosen governor after Philobrotus, and was made reformer of the rigour of the lawes, and the temperer of the state & common-weale. by confent and agreement of both parties. The rich accepted him, because he was no begger: the poore did alto like him, because he was an honest man. They say moreouer, that one word and fentence which he spake, (which at that present was rife in enery mans mouth) that equality did breed no strife, did aswell please the rich and wealthy, as the poore and needie. For the one fort conceived of this word equality, that he would measure all things according to the quality of the man: and the other tooke it for their purpole, that hee would measure all things by the number, and by the polle only. Thus the captains of both factions perfwaded and prayed him. boldly to take vpon him that four-aigne authority, fithens he had the whole city now at his commandement. The neuters also of enery part, when they faw it very hard to pacifie these things with law and reason, were well content that the wifest, and honestest man, should alone haue the royall power in his hands. Some fay also that there was such an oracle of Apollo:

Sit thou at belme as governour to feere. To guide our course, and rule the rowling ship: For thou halt fee, full many Athenians there. Will take thy part, and after thee will trip.

But his familiar friends about all rebuked him, faying he was to be accompted no better then a Solon refu- beaft, if for feare of the name of tyrant, he would refuse to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the most iust and honorable state, if one take it vpon him that is an honest man. As in old time, Tinnondas made himselfe King of those of Ne GREPONT, with their consent: and as Pittaces was Then presently of those of Metelin. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they fay that hee answered his friends, that principalitie and tyranny, was indeed a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entred into ir. And in certaine verses that he wrote to Phocus, thus hee faid:

I neither blush, nor yet repent my selfe, That have preserved my native soyle alwaies. And that therein (to hoord up trash and pelfe) No tyrants thought could once eclipse my praise. Nomight could move my mind to any wrong, Which might beblot the glory of my name: For fo I thought, to line in honour long, And farre excell all other men of fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was chosen reformer of the state, to stablish new lawes, he was then of great countenance and authority. But he himselfe writeth, that many said of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of vsurping of this tyrannie:

Sure Solon was a foole, and of a bashfull mind. That would refuse the great good hap which gods to him assignd. The prey was in his hands, yet durft be never draw The net therefore: but stood abasht, and like a dastard daw.

For had not that so bene, be would (for one daies reigne, To be a king in Athens towne) himselfe (all quicke) have slaine. And eke subnerted quite, bis familie withall. So sweete it is to rule theroft, yelad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Now, not with standing he had refufed the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor soft therefore in governing, neither would he bow for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking that had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischiese was tollerable, he did not straight pluck it vp by the rootes:neither did he so change the state, as he might have done, lest if he should have attempted to turne vpfide downe the whole gouernment, he might afterwards have bene neuer able to settle & stablish the same again. Therfore he only altred that, which he thought by reason he would perswade his citizens vnto, or else by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he faid, foure with sweete, and force with instice. And herewith agreeth his answer that he made afterwards vnto one that asked him, if he had made the best lawes he could for the A. THENIANS? Yea fure, faith he, fuch as they were to conceine. And this that followesh alfo, they haue cuer fince observed in the Athenian tong to make certaine things pleasant, that be hateful, finely conveying them vnder colour of pleafing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions:garrifons, guards:prifons, houses. And all this came vp first by Solons inuention, who called clearing of debts, Se fachtheian: in English, discharge. For the first change and reformation sweet werds he made in government was this: he ordained that all manner of debts past should be cleare, and cleaning of no body should aske his debtour any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth first law. lend money out to vsurie, vpon couenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repayed. Vsurie for. Howbeit some write (as Androison among other) that the poore were contented that the interest bidden ? onely for vsurie should be moderated, without taking away the whole debt:and that Solon called the body this easie and gentle discharge, Seisachtheian, with crying vp the value of money. For he raised the The value pound of filuer, being before but threescore and thirteene Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: fo they which were to pay great sums of mony, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse solon. number of peeces then the debt could have bene payed whe it was borowed. And so the detters gained much, and the creditors lost nothing. Neuerthelesse the greater part of them which have written the same, say, that this crying vp of mony, was a general discharge of al debts, conditios and couenants vpon the same: whereto the very poems themselues, which solon wrote, do seeme to agree. For he glorieth, and breaketh forth in his verses, that he had taken away all bawkes and marks that separated mens lands through the country of Attica; and that now he had set at liberty, that which before was in bondage. And that of the citizens of ATHENS, which for lacke of paiment of their debts had bene condemned for flaues to their creditors, he had brought many home againe out of strange countries, where they had bene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall tongue: and other which remained at home in captiuity, he had now set them all at good liberty. But while he was in doing this, men say a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruelloufly. For having framed an Edict for clearing alders, and lacking only a litle Language to grace it with words, & to giue it some pretie preface, that otherwise was readie to be proclaimedihe opened himself somewhat to certaine of his familiars whom he trusted (as Conon, Clinias, ill they be and Hipponicus) and told them how he would not meddle with lands and possessions, but would rubbled. only cleare and cut off all maner of debts. These men before the proclamation came out, went the confidence of the confi presently to the money-men, and borowed great sums of mony of them, and laid it out straight enter by vpon land. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the lands they had purchased, but refored not the mony they had borrowed. This foule part of theirs made Solon very il spoken of, & wrongfully blamed:as if he had not only fuffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong and iniustice. Notwithstanding he cleared himself of this slanderous report, losing fine ralents by his owne law. For it was well knowne that fo much was due vnto him, and he was the first that following his own proclamation, did clearely release his debtours of the same. Other say he was beginnesh owing fifteene talents, and among the fame, PolyZelus the Rhodian is one that affirmeth it. Not- te downsite withstanding they euer after called Solons friends, Greocopides, Cutters of debts. This law neither liked the one nor the other fort. For it greatly offended the rich for cancelling their bonds: and it much more misliked the poore, because all lands and possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, and enery body alike rich and wealthie, as Lycurgus had made the

LACED AMONIANS. But Lycurgus was the eleventh descended of the right line from Hercules. and had many yeares bene King of LACED EMON, where he had gotten great authority, and made himselfe many friends: all which things together, did greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wifely had imagined for the order of the Common weale. Yet also he vsed more perfwafion then force, a good witnesse thereof the losse of his eye: preferring a law before his priuate injurie, which hath power to preferue a citie long in vnion and concord, and to make citizens to be neither poore nor rich. Solon could not attaine to this, for he was borne in a popular state, and a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one feeking to winne no credit with his citizens, but onely by his counfell. Now, that he got the ill will of the greater part of the city, by his proclamation which he made, he him felf doth witneffe it faying:

Euen those which earst did beare mee friendly face, And spake full faire where euer I them met: Gan now beginne, to looke full grim of grace, And were (like foes) in force against me (et. As if I had done them some spite or scorne, Or open wrong , which were not to be borne.

Neuertheleffe he faith immediatly after, that with the fame authority and power he had, a man possibly

Could not controll the peoples minds:

Nor still their braines, which wrought like winds.

But flortly after, having a feeling of the benefit of his ordinance, and every one forgetting his private quarrel, they altogether made a common facrifice, which they called the facrifice of Sei. fachtheia, or discharge, and chose solon generall reformer of the law, and of the whole state of the common-weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will: as the office of state common assemblies, voices in election, judgements in justice, and the body of the Senate. And they gaue him also full power and authority, to seife & taxe any of them, to appoint the number, what time the fesse should continue, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the ancient lawes & customes then in being. To begin withal, he first took away all Dracons bloudy lawes, fauing for murther, & manflaughter, which were too feuere & cruell. For almost he did ordaine but one kind of punishment for all kind of faults and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idleneffe, were judged to dye. And pety larcenie, as robbing mes hortyards & gardens of fruit, or herbes, was as feuerely punished, as those who had committed facilledge or murder. Demades therefore encountred it pleafantly, when he faid: that Dracons lawes were not written with inke, but with bloud. And Draco himselfe being asked one day, why his punishments were so vnequall, as death for all kinds of faults, he answered:Because he thought the least offence worthy so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grieuous. Then Solon being defirous to have the chiefe offices of the city to remaine in rich mens hands, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authority of gouernment in such fort, as the meaner people might beare a little sway, which they neuer could before; he made an estimate of the goods of every private citizen. And those which he found yearly worth 500. bushels of corne, & other liquid fruits and vpwards, he called Pentacosiomedimnes: as to say, fine hundred bushell men of reuenue. And those that had 300 bushels a yeare, and were able to keep a horfe of feruice, he put in the fecond degree, & called them knights. They that might difpend but two hundred buthels a yeare, were put in the third place, and called Zeugites. All other vnder those, were called Thetes, as ye would say, hirelings, or crafts me liuing of their labor; who he did not admit to beare any office in the city, neither were they taken as free citizens, fauing they had voices in elections, and affemblies of the city, & in judgements, where the people wholy judged. This at the first feemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpose, for hereby the most part of private quarrels and strife that grew among them, were in the end laid open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong judgement in their causes. Furthermore because his laws were written somwhat oblaw increase scurrely, & might be diversly taken & interpreted, this did give a great deale more authority and power to the ludges. For confidering all their controuerfies could not be ended and judged by she ludges. Expresse law, they were driven of necessity alwaies to run to the Judges, and debated their mat-

Salane at. folute anshority in the commo meale.

Solo rateth euery citi-Zen at a certains Summe. Pentacosio Zeuzita. Thetes,

ters before them. In fo much as the Iudges by this meanes came to be formewhat about the law: for they did euen expound it as they would themselues. Solon selfe doth note this equal division

of the publike authority, in a place of his poefies, were he fayth: Such power have I given, to common peoples hand, As might become their meane estate, with equitie to stand: And as I have not pluckt, from them their dignitie, So have I not too much increase'd their (mall authoritie. Vnto the rich likewife, I have allowed no more, Then well might seeme (in inst conceite) sufficient for their store. And so I baue for both provided in such wife,

That neither shall each other wrong nor seeme for to despise. Yet confidering it was meete to provide for the povertie of the common fort of people, hee fuffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence of any poore mans cafe that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwise wronged, any other man that would might lawfully fue the offendor, & profecute law against him. And this was a wise law ordained of him, to custome his citizens to be sorie for anothers hurt, and so to feele it, as if any part of his owne body had bene injured. And they fay he made an answer on a time agreeable to this law. For, being asked what citie he thought best gouerned, he answered: That citie where such as receiue no wrong, do as carnestly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and injury had bene done vnto themselues. He erected also the councell of the Areopagites, of those magistrates The coun. of the city, out of which they did yearely chuse their gouernour; and he himself had bene of that cellostibe number, for that he had bene gouernor for a yeare. Wherefore perceiuing now the people were drespagness growne to a stomack & haughtines of mind because they were cleare discharged of their debts, he set up for matters of state, another Councel of an hundred, chosen out of every tribe, whereoffoure hundred of them were to confult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people; that when the great Councell of the people at large should be assembled, no matter should be put forth, vales it had bene before well confidered of, & digested, by the councell of the fourthundred. Moreouer, he ordained the higher court should have the chiefe authority and power ouer althings, and chiefly to fee the law executed and maintained: supposing that the common weale being fetled, & flaied with these two courts (as with two strong anker holds) it should be the lesse turmoiled and troubled, and the people also better pacified & quieted. The most part of writers hold this opinion, that it was Solon which erected the councell of the Areapagites, as we have faid, and it is very likely to be true, for that Dracon in al his lawes and ordinances made no manner of mention of the Areopagites, but alwaies speaketh to the Ephetes (which were Iudges of life and death) when he spake of murther, or of any mans death. Notwithstanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of solon faith thus, in these very words: All such as have other laws bene banished or detected of naughtic life, before Solon made his lawes, shalbe restored agains to of Solon. their goods and good name, except those which were condemned by order of the councel of the Areopagites, or by the Ephetes, or by the Kings in open court, for murther, and death of any man, or for aspiring to vsurp tyrannic. These words to the contrary seeme to proue & testific that the councell of the Areopagites was before Solon was chosen reformer of the lawes. For how could offendors and wicked men be condemned, by order of the councell of the Areopagites before Solon, if Solon was the first that gaue it authority to judge? vnlesse a man will say peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obscure and darke, and would supply that they lacked, with expounding of the same by them. Those which shall be found attainted and connicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the councell of the Areopagites, the Ephetes, or the gouernors of the city, when this law shall come forth, shall stand condemned still, and all other shall be pardoned, restored and set at liberty. Howsoever it is, sure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore among the rest of his lawes, one of them indeed was of his own deuice: for the like was neuer stablished elsewhere. And it is that law, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnhonest, who in a civill vproare among the citizens, sitteth still a looker on, and a neuter, and taketh part with neither fide. Whereby his mind was, as it should appeare, that priuate men should not be only carefull to put themselves and their causes in safetie, nor yet should be carelesse for other mens matters, or thinke it a vertue not to meddle with the miseries and misfortunes of their countrey, but from the beginning of enery fedition that they should io yne

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with those that take the instell cause in hand, and rather to hazard themselves with such, then to tary looking (without putting themselues in danger) which of the two should have the victory. There is another law alto, which at the first fight me thinketh is very vnhonest and fond: That if any man according to the law hath matched with a rich heireand inheritour, and of himfelfe is imporer, & vnable to do the office of a husband, the may lawfully lie with any whom the liketh of her husbands nearest kinfmen. Howocit some affirme, that it is a wife made law for those which knowing themse lues vnmeet to entertaine wedlocke, will for concroushesse of lands, marie with rich heires and potlessioners, and mind to abuse poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of law; and will thinketo force and restraine nature. For, seeing the law suffereth an inheritor or possessioner thus ill bestowed, at her pleasure to be bold with any of her husbands kin, men will either leane to purchase such mariages, or if they be so carelesse that they will needs marie, it shall be to their extreme shame and ignominy, and so shall they deferuedly pay for their greedy couetoufnes. And the law is made well alfo, because the wife both not scope to all her husbands kins. men, but vnto one choide man whom the liketh best of his house: to the end that the children that shall be borne, shall be at the least of her husbands bloud and kindred. This also confirmeth the fame, that fuch a new maried wife should be shut vp with her husband, and care a quince with him: and that he also which marieth such an inheritor, should of duty see her thrife a moneth at the least. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honor the husband doth to his wife. arguing that he taketh her for an honest woman, that he loueth her, and that he esteemeth of her. Befides, it taketh away many millikings and displeafures which oftentimes happen in fuch cafes. and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it die not vtterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tookeaway all joynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wines should bring their husbands but three gownes only, with some other litle moucables of smal value, and without any other thing as it were vetterly forbidding that they should buy their husbands, or that they should make merchandize of mariages, as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman should merie together for islue, for pleasure, and for loue, but in no case for money. And for proofe hereof, Dianylius the tyrant of Sicilia, one day answered his mother (which would need be maried to a young man of Syracysa) in this fort: I have power (faith he) to breake the lawes of Syracvsa, by having the kingdome: but to force the law of nature, orto make mariage without the reasonable compasse of age, that passeth my reach and power. So is it not tollerable, and much lesse allowable also, that such disorder should be in well ordered cities, that fuch vincomely and vinfit mariages should be made, betweene couples of vincquall yeares: confidering there is no meete nor necessary end of such matches. A wife gouernor of a citie, or a Judge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well fay to an old man that should marie with a yong maide, as the Poet faith of PhiloEtetes:

Ah filly wretch, how trimme a man art thon, At these yong yeares, for to be married now?

And finding a young man in an old rich womans house, getting his living by riding of her errands, and waxing fat, as they fay the partridge doth, by treading of the hens: he may take him from thence, to bestow him on some yong maide that shall have neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another law of Solons, which forbiddeth to speake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to think, that they ought not to touch the dead, no more than to touch holy things: and men should take great heed to offend those that are departed out of this world: besides, it is a token of wisdome and civility, to beware of immortall enemies. He commanded also in the selfe same law, that no man should speake ill of the liuing, specially in Churches, during divine service, or in councel chamber of the city, nor in the Theaters whilest games were a playing upon paine of three filter* Drachmes to be payed to him that was injured, and two to the common treasury. For he thought it too much shamelesse boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choler; and moreouer, that fuch lacked civilitie and good manners:and yet altogether to suppresse and smother it, he knew it was not onely a hard matter, but to some natures vnpossible. And he that maketh lawes, must have regard to the common possibility of men, if he wil punish litle, with profitable example, and not much without some profit. So was he maruelloufly well thought of, for the law that he made touching wils and testaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their heires whom they would, but the goods came to the children or kinred of the testator. But he leaving it at liberty, to dispose their goods where

they thought good, so they had no children of their own: did therein preferre friendship before kindred, and good wil and fanor before receffiny and constraint, and so made energy one lord and matter of his own goods. Yet he did not fimply & alike allow of al forts of gifts, how focuer they were made, but those only which were made by men of found memory, or by those whose wits failed them nor by extreme ficknes, or through drinks, medicines, poitonings, charmes, or other fuch violence and extraordinary meanes, neither yet through the inticements & perfivations of women. As thinking very wifely, there was no difference at albetween those that were enidently forced by conflraint, and those that were compatled & wrought by subornation at length to do athing against their will, taking fraud in this case equall with violence, & pleasure with forrow, as pathons withmadnes, which commonly have as much force the one as the other, to draw and drine men from reason. He made another law also, in which he appointed women their times to Alarfor go abroad into the fields, their mourning, their feafls and facrifices, plucking from them all diforder & wilfull liberty, which they yied before. For he did forbid that they should carrie out of ing abroad, the citie with them aboue three gownes, and to take victuals with them aboue the value of an halfe penny, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite high and specially he did forbid them to go in the night, other then in their coach, and that a torch should be carried before them. He did forbid them alto at the buriall of the dead, to teare and spoile themselves with blowes, to make lamentatios in verfes, to weepe at the funerals of a franger not being their kinfinan, to facrifice an oxe on the grane of the dead, to bury about three gownes with the corfe, to go to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corfe all which or the most part of them, are forbidden by our lawes this day. Moreouer, those lawes appoint a penaltic vpon such women as of fend in the fame, to be diffrained for, by certain officers exprelly named, to controll & reforme the abutes of women, as womanith perfons and faint harted, which fuffer themselues to be overcome with fuch pattions and fondnesse in their mourning. And perceiving that the citie of A. THESS began to replenish daily more and more, by mens repairing thirder from all parts, and by reason of the great assured safety and liberty that they found there and also considering how the greatest part of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffiquing the feas, are not wont to bring any merchandize to those which can give them nothing againe in exchange: he began to practife that his citizens should gine themselves vnto crasts and crasts and occupations, and made a law, that the fon should not be bound to relicue his father being old, occupations vnlette he had fet him in his youth to fome occupation. It was a wife part of Lycurgus (who dwelt in a city where was no refort of ftrangers, and had fo great a territorie, as could have furnished twife as many people, as Euripides faith, and moreouer on all sides was environed with a great number of flaues of the I LOTES, whom it was needfull to keepe still in labour and work continually) to haue his citizens alwaies occupied in exercises of seates of armes, without making them to learne any other science, but discharged them of all other miserable occupations and handy-crafts. But Solon framing his lawes vnto things, and not things vnto lawes, when he faw the countrey of Attick folcane and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to fuffaine those that tilled the ground onely, and therefore much more impossible to keepe so great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requifite to fet vp occupations, and to give them countenance and estimation. Therefore he ordained, that the councell of the Circopagites, thould have full power and authority to enquire how every man lived in the citic, and also to punish such as they found idle people, and did not labour. But this was thought council of too senere and straight a law which he ordained, (as Heraclides Ponticus writeth) that the children borne of common harlots and ftrumpets should not be bound to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainly sheweth that he tooke not a wife to have children, but onely to fatisfie his luft and pleafure; and fo fuch a one hath his just reward, and is disappointed of the reverence that a father ought to have of his children, fince through his owne fault the birth of his child falleth out to his reproach. Yet to fay truly, in Solons lawes touching women, there are many abfurdities, as they fall out ill fauouredly. For he maketh it lawful for any man to kill an adulterer taking him with the fact. But he that rauisheth or forcibly taketh away a free woman, is only condemned to pay a hundred filuer*drachmes. And he that was the *Drachma. Pandar to procure her, should onely pay twenty drachmes; vnlesse she had bene a common frumpet or curtifan, for such do instifie open accesse to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he

doth forbid any person to sel his daughters or sisters, vnlesse the father or brother had taken the

A law for

bidding to

Speake cuill

The tribes of the athe n'an bore called.

planting & fetting of

abusing themselves before mariage. Me thinketh it is far from purpose and reason, with severity to punish a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to passe it ouer in another: or to set some light fine on ones head for a great fault, and after to discharge him, as it were but a matter of sport. Vnlesse they will excuse it thus, that money being very hard and scant at that time in ATHENS, those fines were then very great and gricuous to pay. For in fetting out the charges of offerings which should be made in sacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a convenient offering, and he settetha bushell of come at a filure drachine. More he ordained, that they which won any of the games at ATHENS, should pay to the common treasurie an hundred drachmes. And those that wonne any of the games Olympicall, five hundred drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought he woolfe, should have five drachmes, & him one drachme for a reward of a she woolfe. Where of as Demetrius Valerian writeth, the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For touching the rates he ordained in the fixteenth table of his lawes meete for burnt facrifices, it likely he did rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet not withstanding the price which he setteth, is very litle in comparison of that which they are worth at this day. Now it was a custome cuer amongst the ATHENIANS to kill their woolues, because all their country lay for pasture, and not for tillage. Some there be that say, the tribes of the peo ple of ATHENS have not bene called after the names of the children of lon, as the common op nion hath bene; but that they were called after their divers trades and maners of living, which they tooke themselves vnto from the beginning. For such as gaue themselves vnto the warres were called oflites: as who would, fay, men of armes. Those that wrought in their occupations were called Ergades: as much to fay, as men of occupation. The other two which were husband men, & followed the plough, were called Teleontes: 2s you would fay, labouring men. And those that kept beafts and cattell, were called Agicores as much to fay, as heardmen. Now, for a fmuch as the whole province of Attica was very drie, and had great lacke of water, being not full of rivers, runing streames, not lakes, nor yet stored with any great number of springs, in so much as they are driven there to vie(through the most part of the countrey) water drawne out of wellmade with mens hands:he made fuch an order, that where there was any Well within the space of an Hippicon, that every body within that circuite might come and draw water onely at that Well, for his vie and necessity. Hippicon is the distance of foure furlongs, which is halfe a mile & those that dwell further off, should go feek their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yards deepe in the ground, & could find no water in the bottome, in thi case, they might lawfully go to their next neighbors wel, and take a pot full of water containing fix gallons, twife a day undging it great reason that necessity should be holpen, but not that idle nesse should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept and observed by those that would set or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilfull in these matters For he ordained, that who focuer would plant any kind of trees in his ground, he should fet them five foot afunder one from another; but for the fig tree and olive tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foot asunder, because these two trees do spread out their branches farre off. and they cannot stand neare other trees but they must needs hurtthem very much. For besides that they draw away the fap that doth nourish the other trees, they cast also a certaine moisture and steame vpon them, that is very hurtfull and incommodious. More he ordained, that whose euer would digge a pit or hole in his ground, should digge it as far off from his neighbours pit as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would fet up a hiue of bees in his ground, he should set them at the least three hundred foot from other hiues set about him be fore. And of the fruits of the earth, he was contented they should transport and fell onely oyle out of the Realmeto strangers, but no other fruit or graine. He ordained that the gouernor of the citic should yearely proclaime open curses against those that should do to the contrary, or else he himself making default therein, should be fined at an hundred drachmes. This ordinance is in the first table of Solons lawes, and therefore we may not altogether discredit those which fay, they did forbid in the old time that men should carie figges out of the country of ATTICA and that from thence it came that these pick-thankes, which bewray and accuse them that trans ported figges, were called Sycophantes. He made another law alfoagainst the hurt that beasts might do vnto men. Wherein he ordained, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him should deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tied to a logge of timber of foure cubites long & this was a very good deuice, to make men lafe from dogs. But he was very straight in one law

he made, that no stranger might be made denizen & free man of the city of ATHENS, vhlessehe were a banished man for ever out of his country, or else that he should come and dwell there with all his family, to exercise some craft or science. Notwithstanding, they say he made not this law so much to put strangers from their freedome there, as to draw them thither, affuring them by this ordinance, they might come and be free of the city and he thought moreouer, that both the one and the other would be more faithfull to the common-weale of Athens. The one of the, for that against their wils they were drive to forsake their country: & the other sort, for that aduifedly and willingly they were contented to forfake it. This also was another of solons laws which he ordained for those that should feast certain daies at the town house of the city, at other Feast for mens cost. For he would not allow that one man should come often to feasts there. And if any man were inuited thither to the feafts, and did refuse to come, he did set a fine on his head, as reprouing the miserable niggardlines of the one, and the presumptuous arrogancie of the other, to of Athens. contemne and despise common order. After he had made his lawes, he did stablish them to continue for the space of an hundred yeares, and they were written in tables of wood called Axones. Axones. which were made more long then broad, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine fome monuments yet in our time, which are to be feen in the towne hall of the city of ATHENS. Aristotle saith, that these tables were called Cyrbes. And Cratinus also the Comicall poet saith in cirbes. one place, of Solon & Dracon: that Cyrbes was a veffel or pan wherein they did frie millet or hirfe. Howbeit other fay, that Cyrbes properly were thetables, which contained the ordinances of the facrifices: and Axones were the other tables, that concerned the common-weale. So, al the councels & magistrates together did sweare, that they would keepe solons lawes themselves, and also cause them to be observed of others throughly and particularly. Then every one of the Thesmo. The moule thetes (which were certaine officers attendant on the councell, and had speciall charge to see the lawes observed) did solemnly sweare in the open market place, neare the stone where the proclamations are proclaimed; and enery of them both promifed, and vowed openly to keepe the fame lawes, and that if any of them did in any one point breake the faid ordinances, then they were content that fuch offender should pay to the temple of Apollo, at the city of DELPHES, an image of fine gold, that should wey as much as himselfe. Moreouer, solon seeing the disorder of the moneths, and the mouing of the Moone, which followed not the course of the Sunne, and vied not to rife and fall when the Sunne thin, but oft times in one day it doth both touch and passe the Sunne: he was the first that called the change of the Moone, Ene cai néa, as much to say, as old and new Moone. Allowing that which appeared before the conjunction, to be of the moneth past:and that which shewed it self after the conjunction, to be of the moneth following, And he was the first also (in my opinion) that vnderstood Homer rightly, when he said: Then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the change, he called Neomenia, as much to say, as the new moneth, or the new Moone. After the twentieth day of the moneth which they called Icada, he reckned not the rest of the moneth, as increasing, but as in the wane: and gathered it by seeing the light of the Moone decreasing, virtill the thirtieth day. Now after his lawes were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came some daily vnto him, which either praised them, or misliked them, and praied him either to take away, or to adde something vnto them. Many againe came and asked him, how he vnderstood some sentence of his lawes: and requested him to declare his meaning, and how it should be taken. Wherefore considering that it were to no purpose to refuse to doe it, and againe that it would get him much enuie and ill will to yeeld thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to winde himselfe out of these briers, and to flie the groanings, complaints, and quarrels of his citizens. For helaith himselfe:

Full bard it is, all minds content to have, And specially in matters hard and grave.

So, to conucy himself a while out of the way, he tooke vpon him to be master of a ship in a certaine voyage, and asked licence for ten yeares of the ATHENIANS to go beyond sea, hoping by that time the Athenians would be very wel acquainted with his lawes. So wer he to the leas, and the first place of his arrivall was in Ægypr, where he remained a while, as he himself saith. well.

Euenthere where Nilus, with his crooked crankes, By Canobe, fals into the fea bankes.

He went to his booke there, and did conferre a certaine time with Pfenophis Heliopolitan, and Sonchis Saitan, two of the wifest priests at that time that were in AGYPT: whom when he heard

rehearle the flory of the Iles Atlantides as Plato writeth, he proued to put the same into verse, & did send it abroad through GRECE. At his departure out of ÆGYPT he went into Cy-PRVS, where he had great courtefie and friendship of one of the Princes of that country, called Philocyprus, who was Lord of a prety litle citie which Demophon (The fus fonne) caused to be built vpon the river of Clarie, & was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane & barren countrey. Whereupon Solon told him, it would do better a great deale to remoue it out of that place. into a very faire and pleasant valley that lay vnderneath it, and there to make it larger & flatelier then it was: which was done according to his perswasion. And solons self being present at it was made ouerfeer of the buildings, which he did help to deuise and order in good fort, as wel in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: infomuch as many people came from other places to dwel there. And herein many other Lords of the country did follow the example of this Philocr. prus, who to honor Solon, called this city Soles, which before was called Apia. Solon in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words vnto Philocyprus, as followeth:

led Soles.

So grant the gods, that thou, and thine of - (pring May clime to great and passing princely state: Long time to line in Soles flourishing. And that they graunt, my Ship and me good gate, When I from hence by feas shall take my way: That with her harpe, dame Venus do wouch fafe To waft me still wntill she may conkey My felfe againe, into my countrey (afc. Since I have bene the onely meane and man, Which here to build, this citie first began.

And as for the meeting and talke betwixt him and king Crasus, I know there are that by distance of time will proue it but a fable, and deuised of pleasure: but for my part I will not reject, nor condemne fo famous an historic, received and approoued by fo many grave testimonies. Moreover it is very agreeable to solons manners and nature, and also not vnlike to his wisedome and magnanimitie: although in all points it agreeth not with certaine tales (which they call Chronicles) where they have bufily noted the order and course of times which evento this day, many have curioufly fought to correct, and could yet never difcuffe it, nor accord all contrarieties and manifest repugnances in the same. Solon at the defire and request of Cresus, went to see him in the circie of SARDIS, When Solon was come thither, he feemed to be in the felfe fame taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne and bred vpon the maine land, and had neuer seene the sea neither farre nor neare, did imagine euery river that hee faw had bene the fea. So Solon passing alongst Crasus pallace, and meeting by the way many of the Lords of his Court richly apparelled, and carying great traines of leruing men, and fouldiers, about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill he was brought vnto Crafus felfe. Who was passing richly arrayed, what for precions stones and iewels, and for rich coloured filkes, layed on with curious goldsmiths worke, and all to show himselfe to Solon in most stately, sumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiving by Solons repaire to his prefence, that he shewed no manner of signe, nor countenance of wondring, to fee fo great a state before him, neither had given out any word neare or likely to that which Crafus looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had deliueredspecches for men of judgement and vnderstanding to know, how inwardly he much did mislike Cress foolish vanity and base mind: then Cress commanded all histreasuries to bee opened, where his gold and filuer lay: next, that they should shew him his rich and sumptuous wardrobes, although that needed not: for to fee Crafus felte, it was enough to differen his nature and condition. After he had feene all ouer and ouer, being brought againe vnto the presence of the King: Crefus asked him, if ever he had seene any man more happy than himfelfe was ? Solon answered him, I have: and that was one Tellus a citizen of ATHENS, who was a maruellous honest man, and had left his children behind him in good estimation, and well to liue: and laftly, was most happie at his death, by dying honourably in the field, in defence of his countrey. Crafus hearing this answer, began to judge him a man of little wit, or of groffe vnderstanding, because hee did not thinke that to have store of gold and filter, was the onely joy and felicity of the world, and that he would preferre the life and death of a

Solon fam king Cr.efu of Sardis.

Crefus que-Stion to 30ching hapa happis

meane and private man as more happie, then all the riches and power of so mighty a king. Notwithstanding all this, Crasus yet asked him again: What other man beside Tellus he had seen happier then himfelf? Solon answered him, that he had feene Cleobis and Biton, which were both bre- cloobis and thren, and loued one another fingularly well, and their mother in fuch fort, that vpon a folemne py men. festivall day, when she should go to the temple of tune in her coach drawne with oxen: because they taried too long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoaked themselves by the necks, and drue their mothers coach in flead of the oxen, which maruelloufly rejoyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to have borne two such sons. Afterwards when they had done facrifice to the goddeffe, and made good cheare at the feaft of this facrifice, they went to bed-but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurt or forrow, after they had received fo much glory and honor. Crass then could no longer bridle in his patience, but breaking out in choler, faid vnto him: Why, doft thou recken me then in no degree of happy mene Solon would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but answered him thus: O king of Lydians, the gods have given vs GRECIANs all things in a meane, and solon comamongst other things chiefly, a base and popular wisdome, not princely nor noble: which consists mendeth dering how mans life is subject to infinite chaces, doth forbid vs to trust or glory in these worldly riches. Fortime bringeth daily misfortunes vnto man, which he neuer thought of, nor looked for. But when the gods have continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we think that man Noman happy and bleffed, and neuer before. Otherwife, if we should judge a man happy that liveth, confidering he is euer in danger of change during life; we should be much like to him, who judgeth him the victory before hand, that is still a fighting, and may be our come, having no furery yet to cary it away. After Solon had spoken these words, he departed from the kings presence, & returned back againe, leaving king Crasus offended, but nothing the wifer, nor amended. Now A. fope that wrote the fables, being at that time in the city of SARDIS, and ient for thither by the king, who entertained him very honorably, was very fory to feethat the king had given Solon no better entertainment: fo by way of aduice he faid vnto him: O Solon, either we must not come to princes at all, or elfe we must feeke to please and content them. But Solon turning it to the contrary, answered him: Either we must not come to princes, or else we must needs tell them truly, from Eand countell them for the best. So Crasus made light account of Solon at that time. But after he solon had lost the battell against Cyrus, and that his city was taken, himselfe become prisoner, and was bound fast to a gibbet, ouer a great stack of wood, to be burnt in the fight of all the Persians, and of Cyrus his enemie: he then cryed out as loud as he could, thrice together: O Solon. Cyrus being abashed, sent to aske him whether this Solon he onely cryed vpon in his extreme miscrie, was a god orman. Crefus kept it not fecret from him, but faid: He was one of the wife men of for rods GRECE, whom I fent for to come vnto me a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which of Soion I stood in need of, but only that he might witnesse my felicity, which then I did enjoy: the losse banging whereof is now more hurtfull, then the enioying of the same was good or profitable. But now betto bee (2las) too late I know it, that the riches I possessed then, were but words and opinion, all which burns. are returned now to my bitter forrow, and to present & remedilesse calamity. Which the wise GRECIAN confidering then, and forefeeing afarre off by my doings at that time, the instant mi- and spinion fery I suffer now : gaue me warning I should marke the end of my life, and that I should not too far prefume of my selfe, as puffed vp then with vaine glory of opinion of happinesse, the ground thereof being fo flippery, and of fo litle furetie. These words being reported vnto Cyrus, who was wifer then Crajus, and feeing Solons faying confirmed by fo notable an example: he did not only deliner Cr.esus from present perill of death, but ener after honored him to long as he lined. Thus had solon glory, for fauing the honor of one of these Kings, and the life of the other, by his graue and wife counsell. But during the time of his absence, great seditions rose at ATHENS a- Sedition at mongst the inhabitants, who had gotten them seuerall heads amongst them; as those of the vallie Soons about the second of the vallie Soons about the second of the second had made Lyeurgus their head. The coast men, Megaeles, the sonne of Alemaon, And those of the fonce. mountaines, Pyfiftratus: with whom all artificers & crafts men lining of their handy labour were ioyned, which were the stoutest against the rich. So that notwithstanding the city kept solons lawes & ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a change, & defired to fee things in another state:either parties hoping their condition would mend by change, and that enery of the should be better the their aduersaries. The whole comonweale broiling thus with troubles, solonta-Solon arrived at ATHENS, where every man did honour and reverence him: howbeit he was no dibras,

wicked and fubtil-

The spis for

more able to speake aloud in open assembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, because his age would not suffer him and therefore he spake with enery one of the heads of the seuerall factions apart, trying if he could agree & reconcile them together againe. Wherunto Pylistratus scemed to be more willing then any of the rest, for he was courteous, & maruel. lous faire spoken, and shewed himselfe besides, very good and pirifull to y poore, and temperate also to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he did so finely counterfeir itathat men imagined it was more in him, then in those that naturally had it in them indeed. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aspiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to change the present state of the common weale, and would practise any innovation. By this art and fine maner of his, he deceived the poore common people. Howbeir Solon found him ftraight, and faw the marke he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and fought still to win him, and bring him to reason, saying of times, both to himselfe and to other: That who fo could pluck out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he aspired to be the chiefest, and could heale him of his greedy desire to rule, there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen then he would proue. About this time began Thespis to set out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rarenesse therof, being not many Poets yet in number, to striue one against another for victory, as afterwards there were. Solon being naturally defirous to heare and learne, and by reason of his age seeking to passe his time away in sports, in musick, & making good cheare more then euer he did, went one day to see Thes. pa, who plaid a part himself, as the old fashion of the Poets was, and after the play was ended he called him to him, & asked him: If he were not ashamed to lye so openly in the face of the world. The spis answered him, that it was not materiall to do or say any such things, considering all was but in sport. Then Solon beating the ground with his staffe he had in his hand: But if we comend lying in sport (quoth he) we shal find it afterwards in good earnest, in al our bargains & dealings. Shortly after Pylistratus having wounded himself, and bloudied al his body over, caused his men to carry him in his coach into the market place, where he put the people in an vprore, & told the that they were his enemies that thus traiteroufly had handled and araied him, for that he flood with the about the gouerning of the common-weale: infomuch as many of them were maruelloufly offended, & mutined by and by, crying out, it was flamefully done. Then Solon drawing neere faid vato him: O thou fon of Hippocrates, thou dost ilfauouredly counterfet the person of Homers Vlyffes: for thou hast whipped thy self to deceive thy citizes, as he did teare & scratch him felf, to deceive his enemics. Notwichstanding this, the common people were still in vprore, being ready to take armes for Pyliliratus; and there was a generall councell affembled, in the which one Arefion spake, that they should grant siftie men, to carry halbards and maces before Pysistratus for guard of his person. But Solon going vp into the pulpit for orations, stoutly inueyed against it and perswaded the people with many reasons, like vnto these he wrote afterwards in verse:

Each one of you (o men) in prinate acts Can play the foxe, for flie and subtill craft: But when you come, yfore (in all your facts) Then are you blind, dull witted and bedaft: For pleasant speech and painted flattery Bequile you still the which you never spie.

But in the end, seeing the poore people did tumult still, taking Pysistratus part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way also, saying: He had shewed himselfe wiser then some, and hardier then other. Meaning, wifer then those which saw not Pysistratus reach and fetch: and hardier then they which knew very well he did afpire to be king, and neuerthelesse durst not refist him. The people went on with the motion of Ariston, and authorifed the same, touching the grant of halbarders: limiting no number, but suffered him to have about him, and to affemble as many as he would, vntil fuchtime as he had gotten possession of the castle. Then the city was maruelloufly afraid and amazed; and prefently Megacles, and all those which were of the house of the Alemeonides did flie. Solon, who for yeares was now at his last cast, and had no man to flicke vnto him, went notwithstanding into the market place, and spake to the citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beast linesse, and faint cowardly hearts, and encouraged them. notto lose their liberty. He spake at that time notably, and worthy memorie, which euer after was remembred. Before, said he, you might more easily have staied this present tyrany; but now

that it is already fashioned, you shall win more glory veterly to suppresse it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken vnto him, they were all so amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his house, and laid them before his gate in the middest of the street, saying: For my part, I have done what I can possible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my country. So from that time he betooke himselfe vnto his ease, and neueraster dealt any more in matters of state, or common weale. His friends did counfell him to flic but all they could not perfwade him to it. For he kept his house, and gaue himself solons 11. to make verses: in which he fore reproued the ATHENIANS faults, saying:

If presently your burden heavie be, Yet murmure not against the gods therefore. The fault is yours, as you your selues may see. Which granted have of mighty Mars the lore To fuch as now by your direction Do hold your neckes in this Subjection.

His friends hercupon did warne him, to beware of fuch speeches, and to take heed what he said: lest if it came to the tyrants cares, he might put him to death for it. And further they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He answered them; In my age. Howbeit Pysistratus after he had obtained his purpose, sending for him vpon his word and faith, did honour and entertaine him fo well, that solon in the end became one of his councell, and approoued many things which he did. For Pyfistratus himselfe did straightly keepe, and caused his friends to keepe Solons lawes. Infomuch as when he was called by proces into the court of the Areopagites for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrant, he presented himselfe very modestly to answer his accusation, and to purge himselse thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. Pyfiftratus himfelfe alfo did make new lawes, as this: That he that had bene maimed, a good law and made lame of any member in the wars, should be maintained all his life long at the common for reward charges of the citie. The felfe same was before decreed by Thersippus (as Heraclides writeth) by Solons perswasion: who did preferre it to the councell. Pysistratus afterwards tookehold of the motion, and from thenceforth made it a generall law. Theophrastus faith alfo, it was Pyfiftratus, and not Solon, that made the law for idlenesse: which was the onely cause that the countrey of ATTICA became more fruitfull, being better manured: and the citie of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But Solon having begunto write the storic of the Isles ATLANTIDES in verse (which he had learned of the wife men of the citie of SAIs in AGYPT, and was very necessary for the A-THENIANS) grew wearie, and gaue it ouer in mid way: not for any matters or bufinesse that troubled him, as Plato faid, but onely for his age, and because he feared the tediousnesse of the worke. For otherwise he had leysure enough, as appeareth by these verses, where he saith:

I grow old, and yet I learne still. And in another place where he faith:

Now Venus yeelds me sweet delights. And Bacchus lends me comfort still:

The Muses ekerefresh my sprights, And much releeve my weary will.

These be the points of perfect case, Which all mens minds oft times do please.

Plats afterwards for beautifying of the Hory and fables of the Isles ATLANTIDES, was defirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of speech haue broken vpa field or lay land of his owne, or that this gift had descended to him of right from Solon. He began to raise vp a stately front vnto the same, and enclosed it with high wals, and large squared courts at the entry thereof: such was it, as neuer any other worke, fable or poeticall invention had ever so notable, or the like. But because he began a litle too late, he ended his life before his worke, leaving the readers more forrowfull for that was left vnwritten, then they tooke pleasure in that they found written. For even as in the city of ATHENS, the temple of Iupiter Olympian only remained vnperfect: so the wisdome of Plato (amongst many goodly matters of his that have come abroad) lest none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Isles Atlantibes. Solon lived long time after Pysistratus had vsurped the tyranny, as Heraclides Ponticus writeth. Howbeit Phanias Ephesian writeth, that he lived not aboue two yeares after. For Pysistratus vsurped tyrannicall

power in the yeare that Comias was chiefe gouernor in ATHENS. And Phanias writeth, that So. lon dyed in the yeare that Hegestratus was gouernour, which was the next yeare after that. And where some say, the ashes of his body were after his death strewed abroad through the Isle of SALAMINA, that seemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuerthelesse it hath bene written by many notable Authors, and amongst others, by Aristotle the Philosopher.

The end of Solons life.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS Valerius Publicola.



The boufe of P.Vale

Tarquinius Superbus

Valerius.

the Kings.

OW we have declared what Solon was, we have thought good to compare him with Publicola, to whom the Romaine people for an honor gaue that furname: for he was called before Publius Valerius, descended from that ancient Valerius, who was one of the chiefest workers and meanes to bring the ROMAINES and the SABYNES, that were mortall enemies, to joyne together as one people. For it was he that most mooued the two Kings to agree, and iowne together. Publicola being descended of him, whilest the Kings did rule yet at Rome, was in very greate-

stimation, as well for his eloquence as for his riches: vsing the one rightly & freely for the maintenance of inflice, and the other liberally and courteously for the releefe of the poore. So that it was manifest, if the Realme came to be converted into a publike state, he should be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chanced that king Tarquine surnamed the proud, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarily by indirect and wicked waies, and behaving himselse not like a king, but like a cruell tyrant, the people much hated and detested him, by reafon of the death of Lucretia (which killed her felfe for that she was forcibly rauished by him) and fo the whole city arose & rebelled against him. Lucius Brutus taking vpon him to be the head & captaine of this insurrection and rebellion, did ioyne first with this Valerius: who did greatly fauour and affift his enterprise, and did helpe him to drive out king Tarquine with al his house and familie. Now whileft they were thinking that the people would choose some one alone to be chiefe ruler ouer them, in stead of a king: Valerius kept himselfe quiet, as yeelding willingly vn-

to Brutus the first place, who was meetest for it, having bene the chiefe author and worker of their recouered liberty. But when they faw the name of Monarchy (as much to fay, as four raignty alone) was displeasant to the people, and that they would like better to have the rule denided vnto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: Valerius then began to hope, he should be the second person with Brutus. Howbeit this hope failed him. For against Brutus will, Tarquinius Collatinus (the husband of Lucretia) was chosen Confull with him:not because he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation then Valerius but the noble men of nine collethe city fearing the practifes of those of the kings bloud, which sought by all the faire and flatte- tinus conring meanes they could to return eagaine into the citie, did determine to make fuch a one Confull, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heavie enemy, perswading themselves that Tarquinius Collatinus would for no respect yeeld vnto them. Valerius tooke this matter grienously, that they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: for that he had neuer any private injurie offered him by the tyrants. Wherefore he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for prinate men, and wholly gaue vp to meddle in matters of state: infomuch as he gaue many occasion to thinke of his absence, and it troubled fome men much, who feared left vpon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the kings fide, & so bring al the city in an vprore, confidering it flood then but in very tickle termes. But when Brutus, who stood in iclousie of some, would by oath be assured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day folemnly to take their oathes upon the facrifices: Valerous the with a good checreful countenance came into the market place, and was the first that took his oath he would leaue nothing vndone that might prejudice the Tarquines but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the liberty of the city. This oath of his maruelously rejoyced the Senate, and gaue great affurance also to the Consuls, but specially, because his deeds did shortly after performe his words. For there came ambaffadours to Rome which brought letters from king Tarquine, full of sweet and lowly speeches to win the fauor of the people, with commission of king to vse all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardned hearts of the multitude: largume who declared how the king had left all pride and cruelty, and meant to aske nought but reasonable things. The Confuls thought best to give them open audience, and to suffer them to speake Realme. to the people. But Valerius was against it, declaring it might peril the state much, and deliver occasion of new stir vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more afraid of wars, then of tyranny. After that, there came other ambassadours also, which said that Tarquine would from another thenceforth for euer giue ouer and renounce his title to the kingdome, and to make any more from Larwars, but befought them only, that they would at the least deliver him and his friends their mo- gunedeny and goods, that they might have wher withall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came by page and were very ready to yield to this request, and specially Callaring one of the Con on a pace, and were very ready to yeeld to this request, and specially Collations, one of the Confuls who did fauour their motion. But Brutus that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his heate, ran immediatly into the market place, crying out that his fellow Consul was a traitor, and contented to grant the tyrants matter and meanes to make war vpon the city, where indeed they deserved not so much as to be relieved in their exile. Hereupo the people assembled together, & the first that spake in this affembly was a prinat man called Gains Minutius, who speaking

to bring war vpon your felues. Notwithstanding the Romaines were of opinion, that having

gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrants, they should not disappoint the offred

peace with keeping back their goods, but rather they should throw their goods out after them.

Howbeit this was the least part of Tarquines intent, to seek his goods againe : but under pretence

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vnto Brut us, and to the whole affembly, faid vnto them: O noble Confull and Senate, handle for fell of Mithe matter, that the tyrants goods be rather in your custody to make war with the then in theirs """ """

of that demand, he fecretly corrupted the people, and practifed treason, which his ambassadors followed presending only to get the kings goods & his foregreeness that the first ambassadors ambassado followed, pretending only to get the kings goods & his fauorers together, faying, that they had dripped already fold some part, and some part they kept, and sent them daily. So as by delaying the time the tree.

in this fort with fuch pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and ancientest houses of the city:to wit, the family of the Aquilians, whereof there were three Senators: and the family of the Vitellians, whereof there were two Senators: all which by their mothers, were Conful collations and Pitellians nephewes. The Vitellians also were allied vnto Brutus, for he had maried their own sister, & had former, traismany children by her. Of the which the Vitellians had drawn to their string two of the eldest of them, because they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germains, who they had entised their countries.

deracie co -

Pindicius their srea

pato Vaic.

to be of their conspiracie, allying them with the house of the Tarquines, which was of great power, and through the which they might perswade themselues to rise to great honour and preferment by meanes of the king, rather then trust to their fathers wilfull hardnesse: for they called his seueritie to the wicked, hardnesse: for that he would neuer pardon any. Furthermore, Brutus had fained himself mad, and a foole of long time for safety of his life, because the tyrants should not put him to death: so that the name of Brutus only remained. After these two yong men had giuen their consentto be of the confederacie, & had spoken with the Aquilians: they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great and horrible oath, drinking the bloud of a man, & shaking hands in his bowels, whom they would facrifice. This matter agreed vpon betweene ari king of them, they met together to put their facrifice in execution, in the house of the Aquilians. They had fitly pickt out a dark place in the houseto do this facrifice in, & where almost no body came: yet it happed by chance, that one of the feruants of the house called Vindicius, had hidden himfelfe there, vnknowing to the traitors, and of no fet purpose, to spie and see what they did, or that he had any manner of inkling thereof before: but falling by chance vpon the matter: euen as the traitors came into that place with a countenance to do some secret thing of importance, fearing to be seene, he kept himself close, and lay behind a coffer that was there, fo that he saw al that was done, and what they faid and determined. The conclusion of their counsell in the end was this. The condo- that they would kil both the Confuls: and they wrote letters to Tarquinius aduertifing the fame. which they gaue vnto his ambaffadors, being lodged in the house of the Aquilians, and were prefent at this conclusion. With this determination they departed from thence, and Vindicius came out also as secrely as he could, being maruellously troubled in mind, and at a maze how to deale in this matter. For hethought it dangerous (as it was indeed) to go and accuse the two sonnes vnto the father which was Brutus of so wicked and detestable a treason, and the nephewes vnto their vnele, which was collatinus. On the other fide also, he thought this was a secret, not to be imported re any private person, and not possible for him to conceale it, that was bound in duty to reueale it. So he resolued at the last to go to Valerius to bewray this treason, of a speciall affection to this man, by reason of his gentle and courteous vsing of men, giving easie accesse and audience vnto any that came to speake with him, and specially for that he disdained not to heare poore mens causes. Vindicius being gone to speake with him, and hauing told him the whole conspiracie before his brother Marcus Valerius, and his wife, he was abashed and searefull withail: whereupon he stayed him less the should slip away, and locked him in a chamber. charging his wife to watch the doore, that no body went in or out vnto him. And willed his brother alfo, that he should go and beset the kings palace round about, to intercept these letters if it were possible, and to see that none of their servants fled. Valerius himself being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friends and people that waited on him, went straight vnrothe house of the Aquilians, who by chance were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he found the letters in the chamber, where king Tarquins ambaffadors lay. Whileft he was thus occupied, the Aquilians having intelligence thereof, ran home immediatly, and found Valerius coming out at their gate. So they would have taken those letters from him by force and strong hand : but Valerius and his company did refift them, and moreouer hooded them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought the (do what they could) into the market place. The like was done also in the kings palace, where Marcus Valerius found other letters also wrapt vp in certaine fardels for their more fafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place all the Kings feruants he found there. There the Confuls having caused silence to be made, Valerius sent home to his house for this bondman Vindicius, to be brought before the Consuls: then the traitours were openly accused, and their letters read, and they had not the face to answer one word. All that were present, being amazed, hung downe their heads, and beheld the ground, and not a man durst once open his mouth to speake, excepting a few, who to gratiste Brutus, beganne to say that they should banish them: and Collatinus also gaue them some hope, because he fell to weeping, and Valerius in like manner for that he held his peace. But Brutus calling his fonnes by their names: Come on (faid he) Titus and thou Valerius, why do you not answer to that you are accused of: and having spoken thrife vnto them to answer, when he saw they stood mute, and faid nothing: he turned him to the Sergeants, and faid vnto them: They are now Brutus sons in your hands, do instince. So soone as he had spoken these words, the Sergeants layed hold

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immediatly upon the two yong men, and tearing their clothes off their backs, bound their hands behind them, and then whipped them with rods: which was fuch a pitifull fight to all the people. that they could not find in their hearts to behold it, but turned them selues another way, because they would not fee it. But contrariwife, they fay that their own father had never his eye off them. neither did change his auftere and fierce countenance, with any pinie or naturall affection towards them; but fledfastly did behold the punishment of his owne children, vntill they were punished layed flat on the ground, and both their heads stricken off with an axe before him. When they were executed, Brutes arose from the bench, and left the execution of the rest vnto his fellow Confull. This was fuch an act, as men cannot fufficiently praife, nor reproduce nough. For either Brutus, it was his excellent vertue, that made his mind fo quiet, or else the greatnesse of his miserie that tooke away the feeling of his forrow: whereof neither the one nor the other was any small for the matter, but passing the common nature of man, that hath in it both divin nesse, and sometime death of his beaftly brutishnesse. But it is better the judgement of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their judgements should diminish his vertue. For the Romains holdopinion, it was not fo great an act done of Romalus first to build Rome, as it was for Brutus to recouer Rome, and the best libertic thereof, and to renew the ancient government of the fame. When Brutus was gone, all the people in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wonder, and a great while without speaking to see what was don. The Aquilians ftraight grew bold, for that they faw the other Confull Collations proceede gently collations and mildly against them: and so made petition they might have time given them to answer to the sessing and mildly against them: articles they were accused of, and that they might have their slave and bondman Vindicins deliuered into their hands, because there was no reason he should remaine with their accusers. The Confull feemed willing to yeeld thereto, and was ready to breake vp the affembly thereupon. But Valerius faid, he would not deliner Vindicius (who was among the affembly that attended vpon his person;) and staied the people besides for departing away, lest they should negligently let those escape that had so wickedly sought to betray their countrie; vntill he himself had layed Valering hands vpo them, calling vpon Bruius to ailist him, withopen exclamation against Collatinus, that peacheth he did not behave himselflike a just and true man, seeing his fellow Brutus was forced for justice collatinus fake to see his own sons put to death: and he in contrary manner, to please a few women, sought of ininstities. to let goe manifest traitours, and open enemies to their countrie. The Confull being offended herewith, commanded they should bring away the bondman Vindicius. So the sergeants making way through the prease, laid hands vpon him to bring him away with them, and began to strike at them which offered to result them. But Valerius friends stept out before them, & put them by. The people shouted straight, and cryed out for Brutus: who with this noise returned againe into the market place, and after filence made him, he spake in this wise: For mine own children, I alone haue bene their sufficient Iudge, to see them haue the law according to their deseruings: the rest I have left freely to the judgement of the people. Wherefore (said he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand vp, and perswade the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more words, but onely to harken what the people cried: who with one voice and confent condemned them, & cried execution, & accordingly they had their heads striken off. Now was Conful Collatinus long before had in some suspicion, as allied to the kings, & disliked for his sur- Collatinus name, because he was called Tarquinius: who perceiving himself in this case much hated and miftrusted of the people, voluntarily yeelded vp his Consulship, and departed the city. The people ship, and then assembled themselues, to place a succession in his roome: they chose Valerius in his stead, without the contradiction of any, for his faithful trauel & diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then Valerins judging that Vindicius the bondman had well deserved also some recompences caused him not onely to be manumissed by the whole grant of the people, but made him a free full in his man of the city befides: and he was the first bondman manumissed, that was made citizen of Place. Rome, with permission also to give his voice in all elections of officers, in any company or tribe the first he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, Appius to currie fauour with the bondman common people, made it lawful for bondmen manumifled, to give their voices also in elections, as other citizens did: and vnto this day the perfect manumiffing and freeing of bondmen, is called Vindicta, after the name of this Vindicius, that was then made a free-man. These things thus Vindicta so passed ouer, the goods of the kings were given to the spoile of the people, and their palaces were razed and ouerthrowne. Now amongst other lands, the goodliest part of the field of Mars was ridioing.

thousand and three hundred of the THYSCANES: and of the ROMAINES, so many fauing one.

bene fo, that custome had not bene followed with so good acceptatio, nor had continued so ma-

For to great purpose was it to praise Brutus in words, and to follow Tarquinius in deeds: having

borne before himselfe only all the maces, the axes & the rods, when he commeth abroad out of

his own house, which is farre greater, and more stately, then the kings palace which he himselfe

to see him come downe from so high a place, and with a traine after him, that caried the maiestic

fome of his friends, how the people milliked and complained of it, he stood not in his own con-

ceit, neither was angry with them: but forthwith fet a world of workmen vpon it, early in the

morning before breake of day, and commanded them to plucke downe his house, and to raze it

and stately a built house (which was an ornament to the city) ouerthrowne vpon a sodain. Much

like in comparison to a man, whom through spite and enuy they had vniustly put to death: and to see their chiefe magistrate also like a stranger and vagabond, compelled to seek his lodging in

another mans house. For his friends received him into their houses, vntill such time as the people

had given him a place, where they did build him a new house, far more orderly and nothing so

his Confulfhip, and also would frame himselfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people:

where before he seemed vnto them to be searefull, he put away the carying of the axes from the

10ds, which the sergeants vsed to beare before § Consul. Moreouer when he came into the mar-

ket place, wherethe people were assembled, he caused the rods to be borne downwards, as into-

ken of renerence of the foueraigne maiesty of the people, which al the magistrates observe yet at

this day. Now in all this humble flew and lowlines of his, he did not fo much imbase his dignity

and greatnes, which the common people thought him to have at the first: as he did therby cut off

enuy from him, winning againe as much true authority, as in femblance he would feeme to haue

no other name: for he was contented to fuffer any man that would, to offer himselfe to aske the

Confulship in Brutus place. But he yet not knowing what kind of manthey would joyne fellow

Tarquines Reld comsecrated to Mars.

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to wage

the Romaines.

belonging vnto king Tarquine: the same they consecrated forthwith vnto the god Mars, and not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The sheaues being yet in shocks in the field. they thought they might not grinde the wheat, nor make any commoditie of the profit therof: wherfore they threw both corne and sheaues into the riuer, and trees also which they had hewen downe and rooted vp, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god Mars, should be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. These sheaues thus throwne into the riuer, were caried downe by the streame not far from thence, vnto a foord and shallow place of the water, where they first did stay, and did let the other which came after, that it could goe no further: there these heapes gathered together, and lay so close one to another, that they began to sink and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the streame of the river brought downe continually such mud and granell, that it cuer increased the heape of come more and more, in such fort, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather foftly preffing and driving it together, did firme and harden it, and made it grow fo to land. Thus this heape rifing still in greatneffe and firmeneffe, by reason that all that came downe the river staied there, it grew in the endand by time to spread so farre, that at this day it is called the holy Iland in Rome: in which are wherefile many goodly temples of diverse gods, and fundry walkes about it, and they call it in latine, Inter duos pontes, in our tongue, Betweene the two bridges. Yet some write, that this thing fell not out boly !land at that time when the field of the Tarquines was confecrated vnto Mars: but that it happened afterwards, when one of the Vestall Nunnes, called Tarquinia, gaue a field of hers vnto the people, which was hard adiovning vnto Tarquins field. For which liberality and bounty of hers. they did grant her in recompence many primiledges, and did her great honour besides. As amongst others, it was ordained, that her word and witnesse should stand good, and be allowed in matters iudiciall: which priviledge neuer woman besides herselse did enioy. By speciall grace of the people allo, it was granted her, that the might mary if the thought it good : but yet the would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the report how this thing happened. Tarquinius then being pass hope of euer entring into his kingdome againe, went yet vnto the THYSCANES for fuccour, which were very glad of him: and so they leavied a great armie grest pow together, hoping to haue put him in his kingdome againe. The Confuls also hearing thereof. Thuscanes went out with their armie against him. Both the armies presented themselues in battell ray, one against another, in the holy places consecrated to the gods: wherof the one was called the wood battell with Arfia, and the other the meadow AFfunia. And as both armies began to give charge vpon each other, Arnus the eldest son of King Tarquine, and the Consul Brutus encountred together, not by Arfa Sylva chance, but fought for of set purpose to execute the deadly fode and malice they did beare each other. The one, as against a tyrant and enemie of the liberty of his country: the other, as against Arnsu and him that had benechiefe author and worker of their exile and expulsion. So they set spurres to Rrut HI CH their horses, so soone as they had spied each other, with more furie then reason, and fought so and fl.e each other. desperatly together, that they both fell starke dead to the ground. The first onset of the battell being so cruell, the end thereof was no leste bloudie: vntill both the armies having received and done like damage to each other, were parted by a maruellous great tempest that fellypon them. Now was Valerius maruellously perplexed, for that he knew not which of them wanne the field that day: feeing his fouldiers as forrowfull for the great loffe of their men lying dead The Victor men, whom the Romaines tooke prisoners every one, and had the spoile of their campe. The carkaffes were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were flaine in the battell, eleuen

before them, as they were glad of the flaughter and victory of their enemies. For, to view the multitude of the flaine bodies of either fide, the number was fo equall in fight, that it was very hard to judge, of which fide fell out the greatest slaughter: so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were perswaded in their opinion, that they had rather lost then won, coniecturing afar off the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fell out as may be looked for after fo terrible a battell. For when both campes were all laied to rest, they say the wood wherein they lay incamped, quaked and trembled; and they heard a voice fay, that only one man more was flaine on the THVSCANES fide, than on the ROMAINES part. Out of doubt this was some voice from heaven: for the ROMAINES thereupon gaue a shrill shout, as those whose hearts received a new quickning spirit or courage. The THYSCANS on the contrary part were so afraid, that the most part of the sole out of the camp, and scattered here and there: and there remained behind about the number of fine thousand

thouland

This battel was fought (as they fay) the last day of February, & the Conful Valerius triumpled, being the first of the Confuls that ever entred into Rome triumphing vpon a chariot drawne conful that with foure horses, which fight the people found honourable & goodly to behold, and were not eutriumoffended withal (as some seeme to report) nor yet did enuie him for that he began it. For if it had

ny veers as it did afterwards. They much commended also the honor he did to his fellow Confull Brutus, in fetting out his funerals and obsequies, at the which he made a funeral oration in his The field bei praise. They did so like and please the Romaine s, that they have over fince continued that cu- ginning of from at the buriall of any noble man, or great personage, that he is openly praised at his buriall, funerall by the worthing was the livest and the forestion as by the worthiest man that liueth among them. They report this funeral oration is far more ancient then the first that was made in GRECE in the like case: vnlesse they wil confirme that which Remaines.

the orator Anaximenes hath written, that the manner of praising the dead at their funerals, was Anaximenes first of all instituted by Solon. But they did most enuy Valerius, & beare him grudge, because Bru- nessaith, tus (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their liberty) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twife, that they should appoint Valerius fellow Confull with him. This that infliman in contrariwife (faid the people) taking vpon him alone the rule and four raignty, fleweth tuted praiplainely he wil not be Brutus fuccessour in his Consulship, but Tarquinius selfe in the kingdome.

ouerthrew. And to fay truly, Valerius dwelt in a house a litle too sumptuously built and seated, Valerius vpon the hanging of the hill called mount Velia; and because it stood high, it ouerlooked all the boule state market place, so that any man might easily see from thece what was done there. Furthermore, it ding on was very il to come to it: but when he came out of his house, it was a maruellous pompe & state mount

of a kings court. But herein Valerius left a noble example, shewing how much it importeth a no- Valerius ble man and magistrate, ruling weighty causes, to have his cares open to heare, and willingly to good exame receiue free speech in steed of flatterie, and plaine troth in place of lies. For, being informed by

to the ground. Infomuch as the next day following, when the Romaines were gathered together in the market place, and faw this great fodaine ruine, they much commended the noble act bu flately and mind of Valerius, in doing that he did:but fo were they angry, and forie both to fee fo faire house.

stately and curious as the first was, & it was in the same place, where the temple called Vicus Pub- The timple lieus standeth at this day. Now because he would not only reforme his person, but the office of called Pieus

lost. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to submit themselues vnto him: why Valeinsomuch as vponthis occasion he was surnamed Publicola, as much to say, as the people pleaser. Which furname he kept cuer after, & we from henceforthalfo writing the rest of his life wil vse Published.

Publice. laes acts

Confull with him, and fearing left through enuie or ignorance, the partie might thwart his purposeand meaning: employed his sole power and authority whilest he ruled alone, vpon high and noble attempts. For first of al he supplied up the number of the Senatours that were greatly decayed because king Tarquin had put some of them to death not long before, and other also had bene lately flaine in the wars, in whose places he had chosen new Senatours, to the number of a hundred threefcore and foure. After that, he made new decrees and laws which greatly did adnance the authority of the people. The first law gane liberty to all offenders, condemned by indgement of the Confuls, to appeale vnto the people. The fecond, that no man vpon paine of death should take upon him the exercise of any office, unlesse he had come to it by the gift of the people. The third was, all in fauor of the poore, that the poore citizens of Rome should pay no more custome, nor any impost whatsoever. This made every man the more willing to give himselse to some craft or occupation, when he saw his trauell should not be taxed, or taken from him. As for the law that he made against those that disobeyed the Consuls, it was found to be fo fauourable to the communaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the poore, then for the rich and great men. For the offenders and breakers of that law, were condemned to pay for a penaltie, the value of fine oxen and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, ten oboles, and of an oxe, an hundred oboles. For in those daies, the Roman Es had no store of coyned money: otherwise, they lacked no sheep, nor other rother beasts. Hereof it came, that to this day they call their riches or fubstance, Peculium, because Pecus signifieth sheepe and muttons. And in the old time the stumpe vpon their money was an oxe, a mutton, or a hogge: and some of them called their children Bubulei, which fignifieth cowheards: others Caprarii, to fay, goateheards: and other Porcij, as you would fay, swineheards. Now though in all his other lawes he was very fauourable and temperate towards the people: yet in that moderation, sometimes he did set grieuous paines and punishments. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accusation. that did aspire to the kingdome, and he did set the murderer free of all punishment so he brought forth manifest proofe, that the partie slaine, had practifed to make himselfe King. As being impossible a man should pretend so great a matter, and no man should find it: and contrariwise being possible, albeit he were spied, that otherwise he might attempt it, by making himselfe so ftrong, that he needed not paffe for the law. In this case he gaue every man liberty by such an act or meane, to preuent him if he could of differetion, who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to reigne. They greatly commeded him also for the law that he made touching the treasure. For being very necessarie that every private citizen should according to his ability, be contributor to the charges and maintenance of the wars: he himself would neither take such collection into his charge, nor fuffer any man of his to meddle with the same, nor yet that it should be laid in any private mans house, but he did ordaine that Saturnes temple should be the treasurie thereof. This order they keepe to this prefent day. Furthermore, he granted the people to chuse two young men Questores of the same, as you would say the treasurers, to take the charge of this money; and the two first which were chosen, were Publius Veturus, and Marcus Minutus, who gathered great fummes of mony together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirty thousand persons which had paied subsidie, not reckoning in this account, orphans, or widowes, which were exempted from all payments. After he had established all these things he caused Lucretius (the father of Lucretia) to be chosen fellow Confull with him, vnto whom, for that he was his ancient, he gaue the vpper hand, and commanded they should carrie before him the rods, which were the fignes of the chiefe magistrate: and euer fince they have giuen this honor vnto age. But Lucretius dying not long after his election, they chose againe in his place Marcus Horatius, who held out the Consulfhip with Publicola the rest of the yeare. Now about that time King Tarquine remained in the countrie of THYSCANE, where he prepared a fecond armie against the ROMAINS, and there fell out a maruellous strange thing thereupon. For when he reigned King of Rome, he had almost made an end of the building of the temple of Inpiter Capitolin, and was determined (whether by any oracle received, or vpon any fantafie, it is not knowne) to fet vp a couch of earth baked by a potter, in the highest place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certain Thyseans workmen of the city of Veies; but whilest they were in hand with the worke, he was driven out of his Realme. When the Workemen had formed this couch, and that they had put it into the fornace to bake it, it fell out contrary to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worke put into the fornace. For the

Peculium

The first Questores Weturius,

Minutius. Lucretius and Pub licola Con fuls.

Marcus

Pablicola & Marcu Horatius Confuls.

earth did not shut and close together in the fire, nor dryed vp all the moissure thereof: but rather to the contrary it did swell to such a bignesse, and grew so hard & strong withall, that they were drinen to break up the head and walles of the fornace to get it out. The foothfayers did expound this, that it was a celestiall token from aboue, and promised great prosperity and increase of power vnto those that should enjoy this coach. Whereupon the VEIANS resolued not to deliver it vnto the Romaines that demanded it, but answered that it did belong vnto King Tarquine, and not vnto those that had banished him. Not many daies after, there was a solemne feast of games for running of horses in the city of VEIES, where they did also many other notable acts, worthy fighraccording to their custome. But after the game was played, he that had won the bell, being crowned in token of victory, as they did vse at that time, brought his coach and horses faire and softly out of the shew place; and sodainely the horses being affraid vpon no present cause or occasion seene, whether it was by chance, or by some secret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their coach to the city of Rome. The coach driver did what he could possible at the first to stay them, by holding in the reines, by clapping them on the backes, and speaking gently to them; but in the end, perceiving he could doe no good, and that they would have their swinge, he gave place to their fury, and they never left running, till they brought him neare to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrew him and his coach, not farre from the gate called at this prefent, Ratumena. The VEIANS wondering much at this matter, and being afraid withall, were contented the workmen should deliuer their coach made of earth vnto the ROMAINES. Now concerning lupiter Capitolins temple, king Tarquin the first (which was the fonne of Demaratus) vowed in the warres that he made against the SABYNES, that he would build it. And Tarquin the proud, being the sonne of him that made this vow did build it: howbeit he did not consecrate it, because he was driven out of his Kingdome before he had finished it. When this temple was built and throughly finished, and set forth with all his ornaments: Pub. licola was maruellously defirous to have the honor of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours ennying his glory, being very angry that he could not content himselfe with all those honours that he had received in peace for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obtained and well deserved, but further that he would seeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing did pertaine vnto him: they then did egge Horarius, and perswaded him to make suite for the same. Occasion fell out at that time, that Publicola must have the leading of the Romaines army into the field: in the meane time while Publicola was absent, it was procured that the people gaue their voices to Horatius, to confecrate the temple, knowing they could not fowel haue brought it to passe he being preset. Other say, the Consuls drew lots between them, and that it lighted vpon Publicola to lead the army against his wil, and vpon Hovatius to confecrate this temple, which may be conicctured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication therof. For althe people being assembled together in the Capitol with great filence, on the 15. day of the moneth of September, which is about the new moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call Metagitnion: Horatius having done all the ceremonies needfull in fuch a cafe, & holding then the doores of the temple as the vse was, cuen to vtter the solemne words of dedication, Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, having stood a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunity to speake, began to say alowd in this wise: My Lord Consull, your fonne is dead of a sicknesse in the Campe. This made all the assembly sorie to heare it, but it nothing amazed Horatius, who spake onely thus much: Cast his body then where you will, for me the thought is taken. So hee continued on to end his confecration. This was but a deuice and nothing true, of Marcus Valerius, onely to make Horatius leave off his confectation. Horatius in this shewed himselfe a maruellous resolute man, were it that he straight found his deuice, or that he beleeved it to be true; for the fodainenesse of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in confecrating of the second temple. For this first which Tarquine had built and Horatius confecrated, was confumed by fire in the civill warres: and the fecond was built vpagaine by Sylla, who made no dedication of it. For Catulus fet vp the superscription of the dedi-tolin temcation, because sylla died before he could dedicateit. The second temple was burnt again enor ble was bornt again enor ble was burnt again enor burnt & long after the troubles and tumults which were at Rome, under Vitellius the Emperour. The bulle a. third in like manner was reedified and built againe by Vespasian, from the ground to the top. 34116. But this good happe he had aboue other: to see his worke perfected and finished before his death, and not overthrowne, as it was immediatly after his death. Wherein he did farre passe

the happines of Sylla, who died before he could dedicate that he had built: and the other decea. fed before he law his work ouerthrowne. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground inconti-Bow much nently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the first temple, cost Tarquinius fortie thousand Pondos of filuer. And to gild only the temple which we see now in our time, they say all the goods and fubstance that the richest citizen of Rome then had, will come nothing neare vnto it for it cost about 12. thousand talents. The pillars of this temple are cut out of a quarry of marble called pentlike marble and they were fquared parpine as thick as long: these I saw at A. THENS. But afterwards they were cut againe, & polished in Rome, by which doing they got not so much grace as they lost proportion: for they were made too flender, & left naked of their first beauty. Now he that would wonder at the stately building of the Capitol, if he came afterwards vnto the palace of Domitian, and did but see some gallery, porch, hall, or hot house, or his concubines chambers: he would fay (in my opinion) as the Poet Epicarmus faid of a prodigall man:

It is a fault, and folly both in thee, To lash out gifts and produgall rewards: For fond delights without all rule that bee.

ding hu-

Porfena proclaimeth wars with Rome. Publicol 1 and Titus Lucretius

Horatius

Regarding not what happens afterwards. So might they justly say of Domitian: Thouart not liberall, nor devout vnto the gods: but it is a vice thou haft to love to build, and defireft (as they fay of old Midas) that all about thee were turned to gold and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. Tarquin after that great foughten battell wherein he loft his fonne (that was flaine by Brutus in fighting together hand to hand) went to the city of CLvs IVM, vnto King Claras Por fena, the mightiest Prince that reigned at that time in all I TALIE, and was both noble and a courteous Prince. Porfera promifed him aide : and first of all he sent to Rome to summon the citizens to receive their King againe. But the Romaine's refusing the summons, he sent forthwith an Herald to proclaime open warres against them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwards immediatly with a great armie. Publicola now being absent, was chosen Confull the second time, and Titus Lucretius with him. When he was returned home againe to Rome, because he would exceed King Porfena in greatnesse of mind, he began to build a city called Siglive ta seven when the King with all his armie was not farre from Rome : and having walled it about to his maruellous charge, he fent thither feuen hundred citizens to dwell there, to shew that he made litle account of this warre. Howbeit Porfena at his comming did give such a lusty affault to the mount Ianiculum, that they draue out the fouldiers which kept the same, who flying towards Rome, were purfued so hard with the enemies, that with them they had entred the towne, had not Publicola made a fally out to refift them. Who began a hot skirmish hard by the river of Tyber, and there thought to have staied the enemies, to follow any further. which being the greater number did ouerlay the Romaines, and did hurt Publicola very fore in this skirmish, so as he was caried away into the citie in his souldiers armes. And euen so was the other Confull Lucretius hurt in like case: which so discouraged and frayed the Romanes, that they all took them to their legges, and fled towards the city. The enemies purfued them at their heeles, as farre as the woodden bridge: so that the city was in maruellous hazard of taking vpon the sedaine. But Horatius Cocles, and Herminius, and Lucretius, two other of the chiefest noble yong men of the citie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, and made head against the enemic. This Horatius was furnamed Coeles (as much to fay, as one eye) because he had lost one of the in the wars. Howbeit other writers fay, it was because of his flat nose, which was so sunke into his head, that they faw nothing to part his eyes, but that the eye browes did meete together by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him Cyclops, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they fay) Cocles. But how focuer it was, this Horatius Cocles had the courage to shew his face against the enemy, and to keep the bridge, untill such time as they had cut & broken it up hehind him. When he faw they had done that, armed as he was, and hurt in the hip with a pike of the Thyscanes, he leaped into the river of Tyber, and faued himselfe by swimming vnto the other fide. Publicola wondering at this manly act of his perswaded the Romaines straight, euery one according to his ability, to give him to much as he spent in a day: and afterwards also he caused the common treasurieto give him as much land as he could compasse about with his plow in a day. Furthermore he made his image of braffe to be fet vp in the temple of Vulcane, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Now whilest

King Porfena was hotly bent very straightly to besiege Rome, there began a famine among the ROMAINES: and to increase the danger, there came a new army out of Thyseane which ouerranne, burnt, and made waste, all the territorie of Rome. Whereupon Publicola being Publicola chosen Consult then the third time, thought hee should neede to do no more to resist Parjena comput. brauely, but to be quiet only, and to looke well to the fafe keeping of the city. Howbeit fpying his oportunity, he fecretly stole out of Rome with a power, and did set ypon the Thys canes that destroyed the countrey about; and ouerthrew and slue of them fine thousand men. As for the historie of Mutius, many do diversly report it: but I will write it in such fort, as I think shall best agree with the truth. This Auties was a worthy man in all respects, but specially for the warres. He denising how he might come to kill king parket dismised him take in True a dissimiled him take in warres. He denifing how he might come to kill King Porfena, difguifed himfelfe in THVS CANES tins Scanes apparell, and speaking Thyse ANE very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings In chaire, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durft not aske which was he, left he should be discouered, but drew his sword at aduenture, and slue him whom hee tooke to be King. Vpon that they layd hold on him, and examined him. And a pan full of fire being brought for the King that intended to do facrifice vnto the gods, Mutius held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King fall in his face, whileft the flesh of his hand did frie off, he neuer changed hew nor countenance: the King wondering to fee fo strange a fight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he himselfe did deliver him his sword againe, Mutius tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they fay afterwards, he had ginen him How Muthe furname of scauela, as much to fay, as left handed, and told him in taking of it: Thou couldest not Porsens with feare have overcomed me, but now through courtesie thou hast wonne of Seconds. me. Therefore for good will I will reucale that vnto thee, which no force nor excremitie could have made me vtter. There are three hundred Romains dispersed through thy campall which are prepared with like minds to follow that I have begunne, onely gaping for oportunitie to put it in practife. The lot fell on me to be the first to breake the ice of the enterprise: and yet I am not fory my hand failed to kill fo worthy a man, that deserueth rather to be a friend then an enemy vnto the Romatnes. Porfena hearing this, did beleeue it, and ener after he gaue the more willing care to those that treated with him of peace; not so much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the Ro-MAINE'S noble mind and great courage, All other writers call this man, Mutius Scenola: howbeit Athenodorus surnamed Sandon, in a booke he wrote vnto Octavia, Augustus sister, saith that he was also called Opfigonus, But Publicola taking king Porfena not to be so dangerous an enemy to Rome, as he should be a profitable friend and ally to the same, let him vnderstand that he was contented to make him judge of the controucifie betweene them and Tarquine: Publisha whom he did many times prouoke to come and haue his cause heard before king Porsena, where Porsena he would instifie to his face, that he was the naughtiest and most wicked man of the world, and indge bethat he was infly driven out of his countrie. Tarquine sharpely answered, that he would make with them no man his judge, and Porfena least of all other, for that having promised him to put him againe Farquines, in his Kingdome, he was now gone from his word, and had changed his minde. Perfena was very angry with this answere judging this a manifest token that his cause was ill. Wherefore Peace grant Porfena being folicited againe by his owne fonne Aruns, who loued the ROMAINES, did cafily grant them peace vpon condition: that they should redeliner backeagaine to him the lands Porfera. they had gotten before within the country of THVSCANE, with the prisoners also which they had taken in this warre, and in lieu thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the Romains, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the Romaines delinered him hostages, ten of the noblest mens sonnes of the city, and so many of their daughters: among which was Valeria, Publicolaes owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, Porfena brake his army, and withdrew his strength, trusting to the peace concluded. The Romaines daughters deliuered for hostages, came downe to the rivers side to wash them, in a quiet place where the ffreame ranne but gently, without any force or fwiftnesse at all. When they were there, and saw they had no guard about them, nor any came that way, nor yet any boates going vp nor downe the streame; they had a desire to swimme ouer the riuer, which ranne with a swift streame, and was maruellous deepe. Some fay, that one Clalia fwamme the river vpon her horse backe, and claliaco that she did embolden and encourage the other to swimme hard by her horse side: and recoucring the other banke, and being part all danger, they went and presented themselves before

The libera lity of king Porfena to the Komaines.

MATCHE Potthumi. us Tubertus Confuls. Marcus Valersus. the brother of Publico. la triumsheth of the Sabinet.

Publicola the Confull. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had played, but was maruellous forry, fearing left men would judge him leffe carefull to keepe his faith, then was king Porfena: and that he might suspect the boldnesse of these maidens was but a crastie fleight deuifed of the Romaine s: therefore hee tooke them all againe, and fent them immediarly vnto King Porfens. Whereof Tarquine having intelligence, he layed an ambush for them that had the conduction of them. Who to foone as they were past the river, did show themselves, and brake vpon the Romaines: they being farre fewer in number then the other, did yet very fromly defend themselves. Now whiles they were in earnest fight together. Valeria Publicolaes daughter, and three of her fathers feruants, escaped through the midft of them, and saued them. felues. The refidue of the virgins remained in the middeft among their fwords, in great danger of their lines. Aruns king Porfenas sonne advertised hereof, ran thither incontinently to the refcue: but when he came the enemies fled, and the Romains sheld on their journy to redeliver their hostages. Persona seeing them againe, asked which of them it was that began first to passe the river, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was Clelia. He looked upon her very earneftly, and with a pleafant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best horses in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the fame, and so he gaue it vnto her. Those which hold opinion that none but Claira passed the river on horsebacke, do alledge this to prove their opinion true. Other do deny it, faying that this THVSCANE king, did only honour her noble courage. Howfocuer it was, they fee her image on horsebacke in the holy streete, as they goe to the pallace; and some say it is the statue of Valeria other of Clalia. After Porferia had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking up his campe, he shewed his noble mind unto them in many other things, and specially in that he commanded his fouldiers they should cary nothing but their armour and weapon only, leauing his campe full of come, victuals, and other kind of goods. From whence this custome came, that at this day, when they make open fale of any thing belonging to the common-weale, the fergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king Porlenas goods, and taken of thankefulneffe and perpetuall memory of his bounty & liberality towards them. Further, Porfense image standeth adiovning to the pallace where the Senate is vsed to be kept, which is made of great antique worke. Afterwards the SABYNES invading the Romains territory with a great force. Marcus Valerius Publicolaes brother, was then chosen Confull, with one Posthumius Tubertus, Howbeit all matters of weight and importance patied by Publicolaes counfell and authoritie, who was present at any thing that was done: and by whose meanes Marcus his brother wan two great battels, in the laft whereof he flue thirteene thousand of his enemies, not losing one of his ownemen. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumph he had, the people also at their owne charges, built him a house in the street of mount Palatine, & granted him moreouer that his dore should open outwards into the street, whereas other mens doores did open inwards into their house: fignifying by grant of this honour and priviledge, that he should alwaies have benefit by the common-weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houses in old time, did all open outwards after that fashion: and they doe coniecture it by the comedies that are plaied: where those that would go out of their houses, did first knocke at their doores, and make a noise within the house, lest in opening their doore vpon a sudden, they might ouerthrow or hurt him that taried at the street doore, or passed by the way, who hearing the noise, had warning straight to avoid the danger. The next yeare after that, Publicola was chosen Conful the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the SARYNES and LATINES would ioyne together to make wars vpon them; befides all this, there was a certaine superstitious feare ran through the city, of some ill hap toward it, because most part of the women with child were deliuered of vnperfect children, lacking fome one lim or other, and al of them came before their time. Wherefore Publicula looking in some of Sybillaes bookes, made private sacrifice vnto Pluto, and did fet vp againe fome feafts and folemine games that were left off, and had bene commanded before time to be kept by the Oracle of Apollo. These meanes having a little reioyced thecity with good hope, because they thought that the anger of the gods had bene appealed: Publicola then began to provide for the dangers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in al places, and made great preparation to inuade them. Now there was at that time amongst the SABYNES, a great rich mā called Appius Clausurs, very strong and actine of body, and otherwise a man of great reputation and eloquence,

about all the rest of his country menibut not with standing he was much enuied, and could not anoide it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to stay those intended wars against the Romaines. Whereupon, many which before tooke occasion, to murmur against him, did now much more increase the same: with saying hee sought to maintaine the power of the Ro-MAINES, that afterwards by their aide he might make himfelf tyrant & king of the country. The comon people gaue casse care vnto such speeches, & Appias perceining well mough how the soldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine and accuse him. Wherefore being wel backed & flood to by his kinfemen, friends, and followers, he practifed to make a ftir among the SABYNS, which was the cause of staying the wars against the ROMAINES. Publicola also for his parewas very diligent, not only to vnderstand the original cause of this sedition, but to seede on further and increase the same, having gotten men meete for that purpose, which carried Appins fuch a meffage from him: That Publicola knew very well he was a just man, and one that would not be renenged of his citizens to the generall hurt of his countrey, although the iniuries he receined at their hands, delinered him inth occasion to do it : neuerthelesse if he had any desireto prouide for his fafety, and to repaire to Rome, leaning them which causelesse wished him so much cuill, they would both openly and privatly receive him with that due honour which his vertue descrued, and the worthinesse of the Romains people required. Clauses having long and many times confidered this matter with himfelf, refolued that it was the best way be could take, making vertue of necessity, and therefore being determined to do it, he did procure his friends to do as he did, and they got other also to them, so that he brought away with him out of the countrey of the SABYNES, fine thousand families with their wines and children (of the quietest and most peaceable people among the Sabynes) to dwell at Rome. Publicola being adnertifed thereof before they came, did receive them at their coming to Rome, with greatioy, and all manner of good courteous entertainement. For at their first coming, he made them all and their families free citizens, and officined with a profession of them. and their families free citizens, and affigned vnto enery person of them two ingera of land (which contained one acre, one rood, eleuen pole, and fixtie nine parts of a pole) by the riuer of Tyber : and vnto Appius selfe he gaue fine and twenty ingera (to wit, fixteene acres and a halfe, foure pole and seuenty sixe parts of a pole) and received him into the number of the Senatours. And thus came he first vnto the gouernement of the common-weale in Rome, where he did so wisely behaue himselse, that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignity and authority in Rome, folong as he lived. After his death he left behind him the family of the Clau The family dians, descending from him: which for honour, and worthinesse, gaue no place to the nobless family in Rome. But now the fedition amongst the SARYNES being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to Rome: the seditious gouernours would not suffer those that remained to line in peace, but fill cried out, it were too much shame for them, that Clausus being a fugitiue, and become an enemy, should honour their enemies abroad, that being present durst not shew fo much at home, and that the Romaines should escape vnreuenged, who had done them such apparant wrongs. So they raifed great force and power, and went and encamped with their army necre the city of FIDENES, and layd an ambush hard by Rome, incertaine hidden and hollow places, where they put two thousand choise footmen, very well armed, and did appoint the next morning to fend certaine light horsemen to runne and prey to Rome gates: commanding them, that when the Romains came out of the city to charge them, they should feeme leisurely to retire, vntill they had drawne them within danger of their ambush. Publicola receiving fall intelligence of all their intention, by a traitour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priny ambush, and so deuided his army into two parts: for he gaue his sonne in law Postbumius Balbus, three thousand footmen, whom hee sent away by night, commanding them the same night to take the hils, in the bottome whereof the SAEYNS were laid in ambush. Lucretius, fellow Confull with Publicola, liquing the lightest and lustiest men of the citie, was appointed to make head against the vanteurrers of the Sabynes that minded to approch the gates. And Publicola with the rest of the army, marched a great compasse about to inclose his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chance it was a thicke miste, and at that present time, Posthumius comming downe from the hilles, with great shoutes charged them that lay in ambash. Lucretius on the other side, set vpon the light horsemen of the SABYNES: and Publicola fell vpon their campe. So that of all fides the SABYNES enterprise had very ill successes for they had the worst in enery place, and the Romains skilled them flying,

Publicola the Confull. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had played, but was maruellous forry, fearing lest men would judge him lesse carefull to keepe his faith, then was king Porfena; and that he might suspect the boldnesse of these maidens was but a craftie fleight deuised of the Romain est therefore hee tooke them all againe, and sent them immediatly vnto King Porfens. Whereof Turquine having intelligence, he layed an ambush for them that had the conduction of them. Who so soone as they were past the river, did shew themselves, and brake vponthe Romaines: they being farre fewer in number then the other, did yet very fromly defend themselues. Now whiles they were in earnest fight together, Valeria Publicolaes daughter, and three of her fathers feruants, escaped through the midst of them, and faued them. sclues. The residue of the virgins remained in the middest among their swords, in great danger of their liues. Aruns king Porfenas fonne advertised hereof, ran thither incontinently to the rescue: but when he came the enemies fled, and the ROMAINES held on their journy to redeliver their hoftages. Por lena feeing them againe, asked which of them it was that began first to paffe the river, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was Clelia. He looked vpon her very earneftly, and with a pleasant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best horses in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gaue it vnto her. Those which hold opinion that none but Chelia passed the river on horsebacke, do alledge this to prove their opinion true. Other do deny ir, faying that this THVSCANE king, did only honour her noble courage. Howfocuer it was, they fee her image on horsebacke in the holy streete, as they goe to the pallace; and some say it is the statue of Valeria other of Clalia. After Porfena had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking vp his campe, he shewed his noble mind vnto them in many other things, and specially in The libera that he commanded his fouldiers they should cary nothing but their armour and weapon only, leauing his campe full of corne, victuals, and other kind of goods. From whence this custome came, that at this day, when they make open fale of any thing belonging to the common-weale, the sergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king Porfenas goods, and taken of thankefulnesse and perpetuall memory of his bounty & liberality towards them. Further, Porfenas image standeth adioyning to the pallace where the Senate is vsed to be kept, which is made of great antique worke. Afterwards the SABYNES invading the Romains territory with a great force, Marcus Valerius Publicolaes brother, was then chosen Consull, with one Posthumius Tubertus. Howbeit all matters of weight and importance paifed by Publicelaes counfell and authoritie, who was present at any thing that was done : and by whose meanes Marcus his brother wan two great battels, in the laft whereof he fluethirteene thousand of his enemies, not losing one of his ownemen. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumph he had, the people also at their owne charges, built him a house in the street of mount Palatine, & granted him moreouer that his dore should open outwards into the street, where all other mens doores did open inwards into their house: fignifying by grant of this honour and priviledge, that he should alwaies have benefit by the common-weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houses in old time, did all open outwards after that fashion: and they doe coniecture it by the comedies that are plaied: where those that would go out of their houses, did first knocke at their doores, and make a noise within the house, lest in opening their doore vpon a sudden, they might ouerthrow or hurt him that taried at the firect doore, or passed by the way, who hearing the noise, had warning straight to avoid the danger. The next yeare after that, Publicola was chosen Conful the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the SARYNES and LATINES would ioynctogether to make wars vponthem; besides allthis, there was a certaine superstitious feare ran through the city, of some ill hap toward it, because most part of the women with child were deliuered of unperfect children, lacking some one lim or other, and al of them came before their time. Wherefore Publicola looking in some of Sybillaes bookes, made private sacrifice vnto Pluto, and did fet vp againe some feasts and solemne games that were left off, and had bene commanded before time to be kept by the Oracle of Apollo. These meanes having a little reioyced thecity with good hope, because they thought that the anger of the gods had bene appealed: Publicola then began to prouide for the dangers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemics were vp in al places, and made great preparation

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Clauses having long and many times confidered this matter with himself, resolued that it was the best way becould take, making vertue of necessity; and therefore being determined to doit, he did procure his friends to do as he did, and they got other also to them, so that he brought away with him our of the countrey of the SABYNES, flue thousand families with their wives and children (of the quietest and most peaceable people among the Sabynes) to dwell at Rome. Publicola being adnertifed thereof before they came, did receive them at their coming to Rome, with greation, and all manner of good courteous entertainement. For at their first coming, he made them all their families from citizens and effected when purposes of them two instances of least them. and their families free citizens, and affigned vnto enery person of them two ingera of land (which contained one acre, one rood, cleuen pole, and fixtie nine parts of a pole) by the riner of Tyber : and vnto Appius selse he gaue fine and twenty ingera (to wit, fixteene acres and a halfe, foure pole and seventy fixe parts of a pole) and received him into the number of the Senatours. And thus came he first vnto the gouernement of the common-weale in Rome, where he did so wisely behaue himselse, that in the end he came to be the chiefest man of dignity and authority in Rome, folong as he lived. After his death he left behind him the family of the Clau The family dians, descending from him: which for honour, and worthinesse, gaue no place to the noblest family in Rome. 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Publicola receiving fall intelligence of all their intention, by a traitour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priny ambush, and so deuided his army into two parts: for he gaue his fonne in law Posthumius Balbus, three thousand footmen, whom hee fent away by night, commanding them the same night to take the hils, in the bottome whereof the SABYNS were laid in ambush. Lucretius, fellow Confull with Publicola, having the lightest and lustiest men of the citie, was appointed to make head against the vantcurrers of the Sabynes that minded to approch the gates. And Publicola with the rest of the army, marched a great compasse about to inclose his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chance it was a thicke miste, and at that present time, Posthumius comming downe from the hilles, with great shoutes charged them that lay in ambash. Lucretius on the other side, set vpon the light horsemen of the SABYNES: and Publicola fell vpon their campe. So that of all fides the SABYNES enterprise had very ill successe; for they had the worst in enery place, and the Romaines killed them slying,

PVBLICOLA.

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MATCHS Potthumi us Tubertus Confuls. the brother of Publico. la triumThe death of Publi

His fune

PVBLICOLA.

without any turning againe to make refistance. Thus the place which gaue them hope of best fafety, turned most to their deadly ouerthrow. For every one of their companies supposing the other had bene whole and vabroken, when a charge was given vpon them, did ftraight breake, & neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemy. For they that were in the camp, ran toward them that were in ambush: and those which were in ambush on the contrary side, ranne towards them that were in campe. So that in flying the one met with the other, and found those, towards whom they were flying to have bene safe, to stand in as much need of helpe as themselves. That which saucd some that were not slaine, was the city of Fidenes, which was neere the camp, and specially saued those which sled thither. But such as came short of the by mess faine city, and could not in time recourer it, were all slaine in the field, or taken prisoners. As for the glory of this honourable victory, albeit the Romaines were wont to afer ibe all fuch great notable matters to the speciall prouidence and grace of the gods, yet at that time not with standing, they did indge that this happy fuccesse fell out by the wise for elight and valiant ness that had ferued in this iourney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that Publicola had delinered their enemies into their hands, lame, and blind, and as a man might say, bound hand and fecte to kill them at their pleasure. The people were maruellously enriched by this victory, as well for the spoyle, as for the ransome of the prisoners that they had gotten. Now *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the government of the citie to those which were chosen Consuls for the years following, diedincontinently, having lined as honourably and vertuoufly all the dayes of his life, as any man living might do. The people then took order for his funerals, that the charges therof should be defrayed by the city, as if they had never done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene still debters vnto him for the noble service he had done vnto the state and common-weale whilest he liued. Therefore towards his funerall charges, enery citizen gauca peece of mony called Quatrine. The women also for their part to honour his funerals, agreed among themselves to mourne a whole yeare in blacke for him, which was a great and honourable memoriall. He was buried also by expresse order of the people, within the city, in the streete called Velia; and they granted priviledge also vnto all his posterity, to be buried in the selfe same place. Howbeit they do no more bury any of his there. But when any dye, they bring the corfe vnto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hand, doth put it vnder the place, and take it straight away againe, to shew that they

haue liberty to bury him there, but that they willingly refuse this

honour and this done, they cary the corfe away againe.

THE



THE COMPARISON OF

Solon with Publicola.



presently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not found in any other of their liues which we have written of before. And the same is, that the one hath bene a witnesse, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the fentence that solon spake to king Crasus, touching Tellus felicity and happinesse, might have bene better applyed vnto Publicola then to Tellins: whom he judged to be very happy, because Publicola he dyed honourably, he had lived vertuoufly, and had left behind him happy. goodly children. And yet solon speaketh nothing of his excellency or

vertue in any of his poems : neither did he euer beare any honourable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowneafter his death. Whereas Publicola fo long as he lined, was alwaies the chiefe among the ROMAINES, of credit and authority: and afterwards fince his death, certaine of the noblett families, and most ancient houses of Rome in these our daies, as the Publicoles, the Messales, and the Valerians, for fixe hundred yeares continuance, do referre the glory of the nobility and ancientry of their houses vnto him. Furthermore, Tellus was flaine by his enemies, fighting valiantly like a worthy honeft man. But Publicola died after he had flaine his enemies; which is farre more greater good hap, then to be flaine. For after he as Generall had honourably ferued his country in the wars and had left them conquerers, having in his life time received al honours and triumphs due vnto his feruice, he attained to that happy end of life, which Solon accompted and effeemed most happy and bleffed. Also in wishing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his praise, in a place where he confuteth Mimnermus, about the continuance of mans life, by faying:

Let not my death without lamenting paffe, But rather let my friends bewaile the same: Whose gricuous teares, and cries of out alas, May of tresound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good happe, then most happic maketh he Publicola: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsfolkes, but the whole citicalfo, and many thousand persons besides, didbitterly bewaile the losse of him. For all the women of Rome did mourne for him in blacke, and did most pitifully lament his death, as enery one of them had lost either father, brother, or hus-

> True it is, that I couct goods to have : But yet fo got as may me not deprane.

Solon faith this, because vengeance followed ill gotten goods. And Publicola tooke great heede, not onely to get his goods most instly, but had regard that those which hee had, hee

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Publicula

fpent most honestly in helping the needie. So that if solon was justly reputed the wifes man, we must needs confesse also that Publicola was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good a man can have in the world, the other hath wonne it, keps it, and vsed it all his life time, vntill the houre of his death. And thus hath Solon honoured Publicola, and Publicola hath done the like vnto Solon; thewing himielfe a perfect example & lookingglatse, where men may see how to gouerne a popular state: when he made his Consulship void of all pride and stately shew, and became himselfe affable, courteous, and beloved of every body. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes: as when he ordained, that the people onely should have authority to chuse and create all common officers and magistrates, and that they might appeale from any Judge to the people - as Solon when he suffered them to appeale vnto the judges of the people. Indeed Publicola did not create any new Senate, as Solon did: but hee did augment the first number, with as many persons almost as there were before. He did also first creet the office of Questiores, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Because the chiefest magistrate, if he were an honest man, should not for so light an occasion be taken from the care of better and more weighty affaires: and if hee were wickedly giuen, and ill disposed, that he should have no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treasure of the city in his hands, and to command what hee lift. Moreouer in hating the tyrants, Publicola therein was farre more sharpe and terrible. For Solon in his lawes punifhed him that went about to make himselse a tyrant, yet after he was convicted thereof by law: but Publicola ordained that they should kill him, before the law did passe vpon him, that sought to beking. And where Solon iustly and truly vaunteth himselfe, that being offered to be King and Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole consent of the citizens, yet he did not withftanding refuse it: this vaunt and glory is as due vnto Publicola; who finding the dignitic of a Consult tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauourable for the people, not taking vpon him all the authority he might lawfully have done. And it seemeth that solon knew before him, what was the true and direct way to gouerne a common-weale vpright. For he faith in one place;

Both great and small of power, the better will obay, If wee too little or too much supon them do not lay.

The discharging of debts was proper to Solon, which was a full confirmation of liberty. For little preuaileth law to make equality among citizens, when debts doe hinder the poore people to enjoy the benefit thereof. And where it feemeth that they have most libertie, as in that they may be chosen Judges and officers, to speake their opinion in the councell, and give their voyces also: there indeed are they most bound and subject, because they do but obey the rich in all they do command. But yet in this act there is a thing more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted: That commonly discharging of debts, was wont to breede great tumults and seditions in common-weales. And solon having vsed it in a very good time (as the Physition venturing a dangerous medicine) did appeafethe sedition already begun, and did viterly quench through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wisdome and vertue, all the infamy and accusation that might have growne of that act. As for their first entrie into the gouernement, Solons beginning was farre more noble: for he went before, and followed not another; and himselfe alone without any others helpe, did put in execution the best, and more part of his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was Publicolaes end and death much more glorious and happie: for solon before hee died, faw all his common-wealth ouerthrowne; but Publicolacs common-weale continued whole as he left it, vntill the broile of civill wars began againe among them. Solon, after he had made his lawes, and written them in wooden tables, leaving them without defence of any man, went his way immediatly out of the city of ATHENS. Pub. licola abiding continually in Rom E gouerning the state, did throughly stablish and confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore solon having wifely foreseene Pysistratus practises, aspiring to make himselse King, he could neuer let him for all that, but was himselse ouercome and oppressed with the tyranny he faw (tablished in his owne fight, and in despite of him: where Publicola ouerthrew and did put downe a mighty Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly stablished; his vertue and defire being equall with Solons, and having had besides fortune fauourable, and sufficient power to execute his vertuous and well disposed mind. But as for warres and martiall deeds, there is no comparison to be made betweene them. For Daimachus

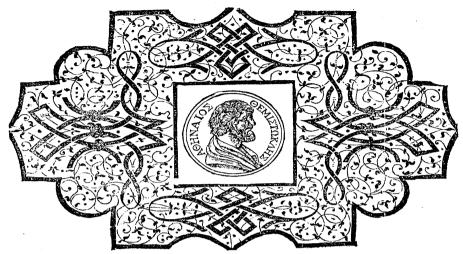
Plataian, doth not attribute the warres of the MEGARIANS vnto Solon, as we have written it: where Publicola being Generall of an army, and fighting himfelfe in person, hath wonne many great battels. And as for matters of peace and civill government, Solon neuer durst present himself openly to perswade the enserprise of SALAMINA, but vnder a counterfeit madnesse, and as a fooleto make sport: where Publicola taking his aduenture from the beginning, shewed himselfe without dissimulation, an open enemy to Tarquine, and afterwards he reuealed all the wholeconspiracy. And when he had bene the onely cause and author of punishing the travtours, he did not only drive out of Rome the tyrants selves in person, but tooke from them alfo all hope of returne againe. Who having alwaies thus nobly and valiantly behaved himselfe, without shrinking backe, or flying from ought that required force, a manly courage, or open refistance : did yet show himselse discreet, where wisedome was requisite, or reason and perswafion needfull. As when he cunningly wanne King Porfena, who was a dreadfull enemy vnto him, and innincible by force: whom he handled in fuch good fort, that he made him his friend. Peraduenture fome might stand in this, and fay: that Solon recoursed the Ile of SALAMINA VIto the Athenians, which they would have loft. Publicela to the contrary, restored the lands vnto Porsena againe, which the Romains had conquered before, within the country of Thys-CANE. But the times in which these things were done, are alwaies to be considered of. For a wife governour of a Realme, and politicke man, doth governe diversly according to the occafions offered, taking every thing in his time wherein he will deale and many times, inletting go pup. one thing, he faueth the whole; and in lofing a little, he gaineth much: as *Publicola* did, who lofing a litle peece of another mans countrey which they had vsurped, saued by that meanes all that was affuredly his owne. And whereas the Romaine's thought he should do very much forthem, to faue their city onely, he got them moreouer, all the goods that were in their enemies campe, which did befiege them. And in making his enemy judge of his quarrell, he wan the victorie: winning that moreouer, which he would gladly have given to have ouercome, and haue sentence passe on his side. For the King their enemy did not onely make peace with them, but did also leave them all his furniture, provision, and municion for the wars: even for the

vertue, manhood, and iustice, which the great wisdome of the Consul per-swaded Porsenato beleeue to be in all the other ROMAINES.

The end of Publicolaes life.



THE LIFE OF Themistocles.



HEMISTOCLES parentage did litle aduance his glory: for his father Neocles was of small reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of Phrear, and tribe of Leontis: of his mother an alien or stranger: as these verses do witnesse:

Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia, Andyet this high good hap I have, that into Grecia I have brought forth a sonne, Themistocles by name, The glory of the Greekish blouds, and man of greatest fame.

Howbeit Phanias writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN, but borne in the country of CARIA: and they do not call her Abrotonon, but Enterpé. And Neanthes faith furthermore, that the was of HALICARNASSVS, the chiefest city of al the Realme of Ca-RIA. For which cause when the strangers did assemble at Cynologos (a place of exercise without ý gate dedicated to Hercules, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortail woman:) Themistocles perswaded diverse youths of the most honourable houses, to go downe with him, and to anoint themselues at Cynolargos, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right & alien fort. But fetting apartal these circumstances, he was no doubt alied vnto the house of the Lycomedians: for Themistocles caused the chappel of this family, which is in the village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built up againe at his own charges: & as Simonides faith, he did fet it forth and enrich it with pictures. Moreouereuery man doth confesse it, that even from his childhood they did perceive he was given to be very hot headed, stirring wife, and of good spirit, and enterprising of himselfe to do great things, and borne to rule weighty causes. For at such daies and howres as he was taken from his book, and had leaueto play, hencuer played, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they alwaies found him conning some oration without booke, or making it alone by himselfe: and the ground of this matter was euer commonly, either to defend, or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his schoolemaster observing him, oft said vnto him: Sure some great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boy, for it cannot be chosen but that one day thou shalt do some notable good thing, or some extreme mischiefe. Therefore when they went about to teach him any thing, onely to checke his nature, or to fashion him with good manners and civility, or to study any matter for pleasure or honest pastime, he would slowly and carelestly learne of them

Cyrolargos. aplace of to Hercules.

Themifo wardneffe,

But if they delinered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state, they saw he would beate at itmaruelloufly, and would understand more then any could of his age & cariage, truffing altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the caufe, that being mocked afterwards by fome that had fludied humanity, and other liberall feiences, he was driven for revenge & his own defence, to answer with great and flour words, faying, that indeed he could not skill to tune a harpe, nor a viol, nor to play on a pfalterion; but if they did put a city into his hands that was of finall name, weake, and litle, he knew waies inough how to make it noble, firong, and great. Nenertheleffe, Stefimbrous writeth, how he went to Anaxagorus fehoole, and that vnder Melifus, he thomile. fludied naturall Philosophy. But herein he was greatly deceived, for that he took no great heed do was vnto the time. For Melifius was captaine of the Samians against Perteles, at what time he did lay fiege vitto the city of Samos. Now this is true, Pericles was much yonger then Themifleoles, and ly on good Anaxagerus dwelt with Pericles in his own house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion ler. to believe those that write, Themissocles did determine to follow Atnesiphilus Phrearian. For he Mussolis was no professed orator, nor natural Philosopher, as they termed him in that time but made pro- lim breafession of that which then they called wisdome. Which was no other thing, but a certaine knowledge to handle great causes, and an indeuor to hauc'a good wit & judgement in matters of flate dome mas &gouernement; which profession beginning in solon, did continue, & was taken up from man to man, as a feet of Philosophy. But those that came sithence, have mingled it with art of speech, & by litle and litle have translated the exercise of deeds, vnto bare and curious words; who reupon they were called sephifiers, as who would fay counterfeit wife me. Notwithflanding, when The Howths militales began to meddle with the gouernment of the common-weale, he followed much uneff philus. In the first part of his youth, his behaulour & doings were very light & vnconstant, as one caried away with a rash head, & without any order or diference, by reason whereof his maners Them to and conditions feemed maruelloufly to change, and oft times fell into very ill fauored euents, as himself did afterwards cofesse, by faying that a ragged colt oft times proues a good horse, specially if he be wel ridde, & broke as he should be. Other tales which some wil seeme to ad to this, are in my opinion but fables. As, that his father did difinherit him, and that his mother for very care & forow she took to see the lewel life of her son, did kill her selfe. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being defirous to take him from dealing in government, did go and shew him al along the sea shore, the shipwracks and ribs of old galleys cast here & there, whereof no reckoning was made, and faid to him thus the people vietheir gouernours, when they can ferue no loger. Howfocuer it was, it is most true that Themistock's earnestly gaue himself to state, & was fuddenly taken with defice of glory. For even at his first entry, because he wold set foot before the proudest, he stood at pike against the greatest & mightiest persons that bare the sway and gouernment, and specially against Aristides, Lysimachus son, who cuer encountred him, and was still his aduerlary opposite. Yet it seemeth the cuil will be conceined toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loued Stesslaws, that was borne in the city of TEOs, as Ariton the Philosopher writeth. And after this icloufie was kindled betweene them, they alwaies took cotrary part one against another, not only in their private likings, but also in the government of the common-weale. Yet I am perswaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much increase the gradge and discord betwixt them. For Arifides being by nature a very good Arifides a man, a inft dealer, and honeft of life, and one that in all his doings would never flatter the people, inft man. nor ferue his own glory, but rather to the contrary would do, fay, and counfell alwaies for the most benefit & commodity of the common weale) was oft times enforced to refult Themstocles, & disappoint his ambitio, being ever busily moving the people, to take some new matter in had. For they report of him, that he was enflamed with defire of glory, and to enterprise great matters, that being but a very yong man at the battel of MARATHON, where there was no talke but Themillo of the worthinesse of captaine Miltiades that had won the battellthe was found many times solitary alone deuifing with himself:besides, they say he could take no rest in § night, neither would go to playes in the day time, nor would keepe company with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withal before. Furthermore, he would tell the that wondred to fee fo great alteratio in his manners, and asked him what he ailed: that Miltiades victory would not let him fleepe: because other thought this ouerthrow at Marathon, would have made an end of al wars. Howbeit Themistocles was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daily studied how to preuent the & how to see to the safety of GR BC E3& before

The Athe

to lea, by Themilto-

Themifo-

profit.

Themifto-

ing the same Simonides another time, he told him he was but a foole to speake ill of the Co-

RINTHIANS, confidering they were lords of fo great and strong a city:and that he was not wife

tomake himfelfto bedrawne, being fo deformed and ill fauoured. But being growne in credit,

GRECIANS: the ATHENIANS confulted whom they should make their Generall. And it is reported, that all their common counsellers which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the da-

man to be Generall of the army, he bought out Epicydes ambition with ready money, and fo

made him let fall his fuite. It fell out Themistecles was greatly commended, about that was done

to the Interpreter, that came with the king of Persias ambaffadors, and demanded the empire

of the GRECIANS both by sea and land, that they should acknowledge obedience to the king.

For he caused him to be taken, and put to death by a common consent, for vsing the Greek tong

rity after him, because he brought gold from the king of Persia, to corrupt & win the Gre-

CIANS. But the greatest and worthiest act he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all civill

wars among the GRECIANS, perfwading the cities to leave off their quarrels vntill the warres

were done, in the which they fay Chileus Arcadian elid helpe him more then any other man. He

MONIANS, to keepe the passage & entry into Thessaly, against the barbarous people, which

country frood yet found to GRECE, and not revolted to the MEDES. Afterwards y GRECIANS

coming from thence without any act done, & the THESSALIANS also being won somwhat on

the kings fide, for that al the whole country vnto Bo For TA was at the denotio & good wil of y barbarous people, the ATHENIAN's began then to find, how Themsfleeles opinion to fight by sea

was very good. Wherupon they fent him with their nauy to the city of ARTEMISIVM, to keepe

the straight. There the other GRECIANS Would have had the LACED AMONIANS & their Ad-

mirall Eurybiades to have had the authority and commandement of the rest. But the Atheni-

Ans would not set saile under any other Admiral then their own, because theirs were the grea-

test number of ships in the army, & aboue all the other GRECIANS. Themistocles foreseeing the

danger that was likely to fall out amongst theselues, did willingly yeeld y whole authority vnto

Eurybiades, and got the ATHENIANS to agree vnto it : afforing them, that if they behaued them-

felues valiantly inthese wars, the other GRECIANS of their ownaccord wold afterward submit

themselues vnto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the original cause of the sauing of GRECE, & did most advance the honor & glory of y ATHE-

NIANS, by making them to ouercome their enemies by force, and their friends & allies, with li-

berality. In the meane time, Eurybiades feeing the barbarous fleete riding at anker, al alongst the

He of Apheres, with such a great number of ships in the vaward, he begato be affraid. And vn-

derstäding moreouer, there were other two hundred faile that went to cast about the Ile of Se1-

ATHE, and so to come in the presently would have retired further into GRECE, & would have

drawn neerer vnto PELOPONNESVS, to the end their army by sea might be neeretheir army by

land, as thinking it vnpoffible to fight with king Xerxes power by fea. Wherupon the inhabitants

of the Ile of Eve of A, fearing lest the Grecians wold leave the to the spoile of the enemy, they

caused Themistocles secretly to be spoken withall, and sent him a good summe of money by one

called Pelagon. Themistocles tooke the money, as Herodoius writeth, and gaue it to Eurybiades. But

there was one Architeles amongst the Athenians, Captaine of the galley called the holy

galley, that was much against Themistocles intended purpose: who having no money to pay

and having won the favour of the people, he was such an enemy to Aristides, that in the end he Thimiston made him to be expulsed & banished Athens for five yeares. When newes were brought that the king of Person was onwards on his journy, and comming downsto make warres were that diffidute. the king of Persia was onwards on his journy, and comming downero make warres vpon the be banfind

ger, drew back, faue an orator called Epicydes, Euphemides fon, very eloquent in speech, but somwhat womanish from hearted & greedy of many who offered him suffere for five this shower enterings. what womanish, faint hearted, & greedy of mony, who offered himselfe to sue for this charge, & sole gene. had some hope to obtaine it. Wher fore Themistocles fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this rate.

in the service & commandement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion, Arthmim borne at Zelba, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, and all his poste-

being now chosen General of the ATHENIANS, went about presently to imbark his citizens into gallies, declaring to them they should leave their city, & go meet with the barbarous king by of the Athofea, fo far fro the coast of GRECE as they could: but the people did not think that good. Whereforche led great numbers of souldiers by land, into the country of TEMPES with y LACEDE- Saint

occasió offered, he did exercise his ciry in feats of war, foreseeing what shold follow after. Wherfore, where the citizens of Athen's before did vie to deuide among themselues the reuenue of their mines of filter, which were in a part of Attica called Lav Rion, he alone was y first that durst ipeake to the people, & perswade the, that from thenceforth they should ceasse that distribution among themselues, & employ the mony of the same in making of gallies, to make wars against the ÆGYNETES. For their wars of al GRECE were most cruel, because they were lords of the fea, & had fo great a number of ships. This perswasion drew the citizens more casily to The missecles mind, than the threatning them with king Darens, or the Persians would have done; who were far from them, and not feared that they would come necre vnto them. So this opertunity taken of the hatred & icloufic between the Athenians & the Ægynetes, made the people to agree, of the faid mony to make an 100 galleys, with which they fought against king Xerxes, and did ouercome him by sea. Now after this good beginning & successe, he wan the citizens by degrees to bend their force to sea, declaring vnto them, how by land they were scant able to make nians bent head against their equals, whereas by their power at sea they should not only defend themselues their force from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to comand al GRECE. Hercupon he made the good mariners, & passing sea me, as Plato saith, where before they were stout & valiant souldiers cles parsma by land. This gaue his enimies occasion to east it in his teeth afterwards, that he hadtaken away from the Athenians the pike & the target, and had brought them to the banke and the owen and so he got the upper hand of Militades, who inneighed against him in that, as Stessim bretus writeth. Now after he had thus his wil, by bringing this lea feruice to passe, whether there by he did ouerthrew the inflice of the comon weale or not, I leave that to the philosophers to dispute. But that the preferuation of all Grece stood at that time upon the sea, and that the galleys only were the canfe of fetting vp ATHENS againe Xer xes himfelf is a furficient witnes, be fides other proofes that might be brought therof. For his army by land being yet whole, and vnfet on, when he faw his army by sea broken, dispersed, & sunk, he fied straight vpon it, cofessing as it were that he was now too weake to deale any more with y GRECIANS, & left Mardonius his lieutenat in GRECE of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the GRECIANS should not follow him, then for any hope he had to our come them. Some write of Themissocles, that he was a very good husbad for eles a good his own profit, and carefull to looke to his things for he did fpend liberally, & loued of to make facrifices, and honorably to receive & entertaine strangers: wherfore he had good reason to be looketobs careful to get, to defray his charges. Other to the cotrary, blame him much that he was too neere & miscrable: for some say, he wold sell presets of meat that were given him. He did aske one Philides on a time, we had a breed of mares, a colt of gift: who denying him flatly, he was so angry, that he threatned him ere it were long he wold make his house the horse of wood, with y which TROIA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him understad, that he wold shortly set strife & quarrel betwix: him, & his nearest kinsme & familiar frieds. It is true that he was the most ambicious man of the world. For when he was but a yong man, & feantly known, he earnestly intreated one Fpicles borne at Hermionna, an excellent player of the citerne, & counted at that time the cuning if man in al Athens at that instrument, that he wold come & teach his art at his house:& all was no more, but that many people being defirous to heare him play, shold ask for his house, & come thicher to him. And one yeare when he went vnto the feast and assembly of the player Olympicall, he would needs keepe open house for all comers, have his tents richly furnished,& a great craine of fernants and all other furniture, only to contend with Cimon. This marueloufly spited the GRECIANS, who thought Themistocles expences fit for Cimons countenace & ability, because he was a yong gentleman, & of a noble house: but for him that was but a new come ma & would beare a greater port then either became his calling or ability, they thought it not only vnallowable in him, but meere prefumption & vainglory. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedy which was played openly. & being fet out therein to have won the prife. & the ATHENIANS being maruellous defirous of the honour in fuch playes, he caused this victor of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate and fet vp in a temple, with this inscription Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus was chiefe ruler. Yet not. withstanding he was wel taken of the common people, partly because he would speake to every citizen by his name, no man telling him their names: & partly also because he shewed himself an vpright judge in private mes causes. As one day he answered the Poet Simoides, borne in Chio, who did request an vnreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernour of the

his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with speed from thence. The mifteeles stirred vp then his fouldiers more against him then before, infomuch as they went aboord his gally and tooke his supper from him. Architeles being maruellous angry and offended withall, Themi. focles sent him both bread & meate in a pannier, and in the bottome thereof he had put a talent of filter, bidding him for that night to suppe with that, and the next morning he should prouide for his mariners, or else he would complaine, and accuse him to the citizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by Phanias Lesbian. Moreover the first fights in the fraite of EVEOEA, betweenethe GRECIASS and the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the wars between them. For it was but a taste ginen vnto them, which served the GRECIANS turne very much, by making them to fee by experience, and the maner of the fight that it was not the great mulcitude of ships, nor the pomp & sumptuous setting out of the same. nor the proud barbarous shouts and songs of victory, that could stand them to purpose, against noble hearts, and valiant minded fouldiers, that durft grapple with them, and come to handftrokes with their enemies; and that they should make no reckening of all that brauery & brags, but should sticke to it like men, and lay it on the jackes of them. The which (as it seemeth) the poet Pindarus understood very well, when he faid touching the battell of ARTEMISIUM: The fout Athenians have now foundationlayed

The coaff of Artein

Themilto.

cles firata-

Vinto the libertie of Greece, by these assaults assayed. For out of doubt the beginning of victory, is to be hardy. This place ARTEMISIUM is a part of the He of Evenera, looking towards the North, about the citie of Esti Ea, lying directly ouer against the country which sometimes was under the obedience of the Philoetete's. & fpecially of the city of OLIZON. There is a little temple of Diana; furnamed Orientall, roundabout the which there are trees, and a compasse of pillars of white stone, which when a man rubs with his hand, they shew of the colour and sauour of saffron. And in one of those pillars there is an infcription of lamentable verses to this effect:

When boldest blonds of Athens by their might, Had overcome the numbers infinite Of Alia: they then in memory Of all their deeds, and valeant victory. Began to build this roble monument, And to Diane the funce they did prefent, For that they had the Medes likewife fubdued, And with their bloud their hardy hands embrued.

There is a place seene also vpon that coast at this day, a good way into the land, in the midst whereof are great funds follof blacke dust like ashes: and they thinke that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and old shipwrackes. Newes being brought what had bene done in the countrey of THERMOPYLES, how that king Leonidas was dead, and how that Xerxes had won that entry into GRECE by land: the GRECIANS then brought their whole army by fea more into GRECE, the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retraite, as men whose harts were life up with the glory of their former valiant decdes. Now Themistocles paffing by those places where he knew the enemies must of necessity fall vpon the lee shore for harbour: hee did ingraue certaine words spoken vnto the Ionians, in great letters in stone, which he found there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbour for ships, and fit places also to lye in. These were the words: that the Ionian's should take the GRECIANS parts being their founders and ancestors, and such as fought for their liberty: or at the least they should trouble the army of the barbarous people, and doe them al the mischiefe they could, when the GRECIANS should come to fight with them. By the words he hoped either to bring the Ionians to take their part, or at the least he should make the barbarous people icalous & mistrustfull of them Xerxes being already entred into the vpper most part of the province of Dorlica, into the country Phocida, burning and destroying the townes and cities of the Phocians: the other Grecians lay still & suffered the invasion notwithstanding the Athenians did request them to meete with the barbarous army in BOEOTIA, to faue the country of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they went by feate ARTEMISIUM. But they would not hearken to it in no wife; and all was because they were de firous they should draw to the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and there they should affemble the

whole strength and power of Grece within the bar of the same, and make a strong substantial! wall from the one sea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angry at this deuice, and were halfe discouraged and out of heart, to see themselves thus for saken and cast off by the rest of the GRECIANS. For it was out by all speech that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies: and therefore their only remedy was, to leave their city, and to get them to the sea. The people were very vnwilling to liften hercunto, making their reckening it was needleffe to be carefull to ouercome, or to faue themselues, having once for faken the temples of their gods, and the graues of their parents. Wherefore Themistocles seeing that neither reason nor mans perfwafion could bring the peopleto like his opinion: he began to frame a deuice (as men do vse fometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the ATHENIANS with fignes from heauen, with oracles and answers from the gods. And the occasion of Minernaes dragon served his turne for a celestiall figne and token, which by good fortune did not appeare in those daies in the temple as it was wont to do : and the priests found the facrifices which were daily offered to him, whole and vntouched by any. Wherefore being informed by Themistecles what they should do, they spread a bruite abroadamongst the people, that the goddesse Minerua, the protector & defendor of the city, had for faken it, pointing them the way vnto the sea. And againe he wan them by a Prophecie, which commanded them to faue themselues in wals of wood: saying that the wals of wood did fignific nothing else but ships. And for this cause he said, Apollo in the oracle called Sala-MINA divine, not miserable nor unfortunate, because it should give the name of a most happy victorie which the GRECIANS should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this decree, that they should leaue the city of Athens to the custody of the goddesse? 1.1. las, that was lady and gouernor of the country, and that all those which were of age to carie any weapon should get them to the gallies : and for the rest, that every man should see his wife, children, and bondmen placed in some sure place as well as he could. After this decree was past and authorized by the people, the most part of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their sales wives & little children, into the city of Troezen, where the Troezen in an sreceived them very between the country of themselves and a state of the country for the city of the city o louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they should be entertained of the common charge, Inchange allowing them a peece, two oboloes of their mony a day, and suffered the yong children to gate the ther fruit where foeuer they found it: and furthermore did hire schoolemasters at the charge of feat the commonwealth, to bring them vp at schoole. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called Nicagoras. The Athenians at that time, had no common mony, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle faith) furnished enery souldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallies were armed. Yet clidemus writeth, that this was a craft denifed of Themiflocles. The ATHENIANS being come downe vnto the hauen of PIR ÆA, he made as though Pallas target(on the which Medufaes head was grauen) had bene loft, and was not found with the image of the goddefle : and faining to fecke for it, he ranfacked eucry corner of the gallies, and founda great deale of filuer which private persons had hidde amongst their fardels. This mony was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the fouldiers that were shipped had wherwithall to provide them of necessary things. When time came that they were to depart the hauen, and that all the city of Athens had taken sea, one way it was a pitie to behold them: another way it made all forts to wonder, that confidered the boldnesse and courage of those men, which before fent away their fathers and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at their teares, cries, shrikes, and embracings of their wines, their children, and departures, but stoutly and resolutely held on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding, there were many old citizens left still of necessity in ATHENS, because they could not be remoued for very extreme age, which stirred many with compassion toward them. There was besides, a certaine pity that made mens hearts to yerne, when they faw the poore dogges, beafts, and cattell runne vp and downe bleating, lowing, and howling out aloude after their masters, in token of sorrow, when they did imbarke. Amongst these, there goeth a strange tale of Xanthippus dogge, who was Pericles Xanthippus father: which for forrow his mafter had left him behind him, did cast himselfe after into the fea, and fwimming still by the gallies fide whercin his master was, he held on to the Isle of Sa-LAMINA, where fo foone as the poore curre landed, his breath failed him, and he died prefently. The dogger They say, at this day the place called the dogs graue, is the very place where he was buried. These were strange acts, of Themistocles, that beholding the ATHENIANS sory for the absence of Ariftides, and fearing lest of spite he taking part with the barbarous nation, might have bene

Ariflider returneth from ba-Themilto . cles decree.

Notable answers of Themiflo.

Chioned like a [word.

> cles ftratageme, by the which be wan the battell at Salamina.

the ruine and destruction of the state of G_{RECE} , being banished fluc yeares also before the wars by Themistocles procurement: that he did set forth a decree, that all those which had bene banifhed for a time, might returne home againe, to doe, to fay, and to give counfell to the cirizens in nilbment by those things, which they thought best for the preservation of GRECE. And also where Eurybiades being General of the GRECIANS whole army by featfor the worthines of the city of Spar-TA, but otherwise a rank coward at time of need, would in any case depart from thence, and retire into the gulfe of PELOPONNESUS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by land assembled: that Themistocles withstood im, and did hinderitall he could. At that time also it was, that Themistocles made so notable answers, which specially are noted & gathered together. For when Eurybiades faid one day vnto him: Themistocles, those that at playes and games do rise before the copany, are whistled at. It is true, said Themistocles: but those also that tary last, do neuer win any game. Another time Eurybiades having a staffe in his hand lift it vp, as though he would have stricken him: Strike and thou wilt, said he, so thou wilt heare me. Eurybiades wondring to see him so patient, suffered him then to say what he would. Then Themistocles began to bring him to reason: but one that stood by, said vnto him: Themistocles, for a man that hath neither city nor house, it is an ill part to will others that haue, to for sake all. Themissocies turning to him, replied: We have willingly for faken our houses and wals, said he, cowardly beast that thou art, because we would not become slaues for feareto lose things that haue neither soule nor life. And yet our city I tell thee is the greatest of all GRECE for it is a fleet of 200 galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to faue you if you lift. But if you will needs go your wayes and forfake vs the second time, you shall heare tell ere it belong, that the ATHENIAN'S haue another free city, and have possessed againe as much good land, as that they have already lost. These words made Eurybiades presently thinke, and feare, that the Athenians would not goe, and that they would for fake the. And as another Eretrian was about to viter his reason against Themisseles opinion, he could not but answer him: Alas, and must you my masters talke of wars too. that are like to a Sleeue: Indeed you have a fword, but you lacke a heart. Some write, that whilft Themistocles was talking thus from his galley, they spied an owle flying on the right hand of the ships which came to light on one of the mast's of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other GRECIANS did agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by fea. But when the fleet of their enemies ships shewed on the coasts of Attica, hard by the hauen Phalericus, and couered all the rivers thereabouts, as farre as any body could fee, and that king Xerxes himselfe was come in person with all his army by land, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by land and sea might be seene in sight then the GRECIANS had forgotten all Themistocles goodly perswasions, and began to incline againe to the Peloponnesians, considering how they might recouer the gulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they did grow very angry, when any man went about to talke of any other matter. To be short, it was concluded that they should saile away the next night following, and the mafters of the ships had order given them to make all things ready for them to depart. Themistocles perceiuing their determination, he was maruellous angry in his mind, that the GRECIANS would thus disperse themselues asunder, repairing euery man to his owne citie, and leauing the aduantage which the nature of the place, and the straight of the arme of the sea, where they lay in harbour together, did offer them: and so he bethought himselse how this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practise of one sicinus came into his mind, who being a Persian borne, and taken prisoner before in the warres, loued The. missiocles very well and was schoole-master to his children. This Sicinus he secretly sent vnto the king of Persia, to aductife him that Themistocles (Generall of the Athenians) was very defirous to become his Maiesties servant, & that he did let him understand betimes, that the GRE-CIANS were determined to flie; and therefore that he wished him not to let them escape, butto fet vpon them, whilest they were troubled and afraid, and far from their army by land, to the end that vpon a sudden he might ouerthrow their whole power by sea . Xerxes supposing this intelligence came from a man that wished him well, received the messenger with great ioy, and thereupon gaue present order to his captaines by sea, that they should imbarke their mentionto the other ships at better leisure, and that presently they should put out with all possible speed, two hundred faile to follow the GRECIANS in the taile, to shut vp the foreland of the straight, and to compasse the Isles all about, that not one of his enemies ships might escape: and so it fell out, Then Aristides (Lysimachus sonne) being the first that perceiued it, went to Themisto-

cles tent, though he was his enemy, & through his only meanes had bene banished before, as ye have heard : and calling him out, rold him how they were environed. Themstocles, who knew well inough the goodnes of this man, being very glad he came at that time to feeke him out, declared vnto him the policie he had vsed by the message of sicinus, praying him to put too his helpe to flay the GRECIANS, and to procure with him, confidering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the straight of SALAMINA. Aristides commending his great wisedome, went to deale with the Captaines of the other gallies, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credite that he faid, vntill fuch time as there arrived a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one Panetius was captaine, who being stolne out of the host of the barbarous armie, brought certaine newes, that the straight out of doubt was shut vp. So that besides the necessity which did vrge them, the spite which the GRECIANS conceived thereof, did pronoke them to hazard the battel. The next morning by breake of day, King Xerxes placed himselse on a maruellous steepe high hill, from whence he might discerne his whole sleete, and the ordering of his army by sea, about the temple of Hercules, as Phanodemus writeth. Which is the narrow way or channell betwixt the Isle of SALAMINA, and the coast of Attica:or as Acestodorus saith, upon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the point which they commonly call the Hornes. There Xerxes fet vp a throne of gold, and had about him many fecretaries to write all that was done in the battel. But as Thems focles was facrificing vn: o the gods in his galley that was Admirall, they brought to him three yong prisoners, faire of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and iewels, whom they faid were the children of Sandace the Kings fifter, and of Prince Autaretus. So soone as Euphrantides the soothsayer had seene them, and at their arrivall observed there rose a great bright flame out of the sacrifice, and at the very felfe same instant that one on his right hand had sneezed: he tooke Themistocles by the hand, and willed him to facrifice all those three prisoners vnto the god Bacchus, surnamed Omestes, as much to fay, as the cruell Bacchus: for in doing it, the GRECIANS should not onely be faued, but they should have the victory over their enemies. Themistocles wondred much, to heare so strange and terrible a commandement of the Soothsayer. Neuerthelesse, the common fort following their custome, which is, to promise safety sooner in the greatest dangers and most desperate cases, by strange and vnreasonable, rather then by reasonable and ordinary meanes: they began to call vpon the god with one voice, and bringing the three prisoners neare vnto the altar, they compelled him to performe the facrifice in that fort as the Soothfayer had appointed. Phanias Lesbian, an excellent Philosopher, and well seene in stories and antiquities, reporterh this matter thus. As for the number of the ships of the barbarous nauie, Æschilus the poet, in a tragedie which he intituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainely the troth, faith thus:

King Xerxes had a thousand Thips I know, Amongst the which, two hundred were (I trow) And lenen: which all the rest did ouer-faile With swifter course. This is withouten faile.

The ATHENIANS had nine score, in enery one of the which there were eighteene souldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the rest armed men. Themistocles also did with no lesse skill and wisedome choose his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntill the howre was come, that of ordinarie custome the sea wind arose, and brought in a rough tide within the channell, which did not hurt the GRECIAN gallies, being made low and fnug, but greatly offended the PERSIAN gallies, being high cargued, heavy, and not yare of steredge, and made them lye fidelong to the GRECIANS, who fiercely fet vpon them, having alwaies an eye to Themistocles direction, that best foresaw their aduatage. At the same time, Arramenes, Xer- Ariamenes xes Admirall, a man of great valour and worthieft of the Kings brethren, bestowed arrowes and darts as it were from the wals of a castle, charging the galley of Aminias Decelian, and Sosicles Pedian, which were iouned and grapled with him, and fiercely entring the same, was by them valiantly received vpontheir pikes, & thrust over boord into the sea. Whose body storing amongst other shipwrackes Artemisia knowing, caused to be carried to king Xerxes. Now whilest this battell stood in these termes, they say that there appeared a great slame in the element toward the city of ELEVSIN, and that a loud voice was heard through all the plaine of THRACIA VINTO the sea, as if there had bene a number of mentogether, that had song out aloude the holy song of Iacchus. And it seemed by litle and litle, that there rose a cloud in the ayre from those which

of Perfia Sand Ships.

fang, that left the land, and came and lighted on the galleys in the sea. Other affirmed, that they faw armed men, which did reach out their hands from the Isle of ÆGINA, towards the GRE-CIAN gallies: and they thought they were the ÆACIDES, for whose helpe they all prayed before the battell was begunne. The first man of the ATHENIANS that tooke any of the enemics ships, was Lycomedes, a captaine of agalley: who having taken very rich furniture and slags, did afterwards confecrate them to Apollo laurell: as ye would fay, victorious. The other GRECI-Ans in the front being equall in number with the barbarous ships, by reason of the straightnesse of the arme of the sea wherein they fought, and so straightned as they could not fight but by one and one, whereby the Barrans diforderly laied one another aboord, that they did hinder themselues with their ouer multitude : and in the end were so fore pressed upon by the GRE-CIANS, that they were constrained to flie by night, after they had fought and maintained battell The Gree. Vntill it was very darke. So that the GRECIANS wan that glorious and famous victory: of the which may truly be affirmed that, as Simonides faith:

Gani nanie by fea.

Was never yet, nor Grecke nor barbarous crew, That could by fea fo many men subdew: Nor that obtained fo famous victorie, In any fight against their enemie.

Thus was the victorie won through the valiantnesse and courage of those that fought that battell, but especially through Themistocles great policy and wisdome. After this battell Xernes being mad for his loffe, thought to fill vp the arme of the fea, and to paffe his army by land, vpon a bridge, into the Isle of SALAMINA. Themistocles, because he would feele Aristides opinion, told him as they were talking together, that he thought best to go and occupie the straight of HEL-LESPONT with the army by fea, to breake the bridge of shippes which Xernes had caused to be made: to the end, said he, that we may take As IA into Evrop E. Aristides liked not this opinion: for we have (faid he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to play with vs: but if we shut him within GRECE, and bring him to fight of necessity to saue his life: fuch an enemy that commandeth so great an army, wil no more stand still, as a looker on, and sit at his ease vnder his golden pauillion, to see the pastime of the battell, but wil proue euery way, and be himself in cuery place at all assaies to saue himself from such a straight and danger. Thus with politike care and forefight, he may eafily amend his former fault committed by negligence, and do well enough, when he shall see his life and kingdome both depend vpon it. Therefore Themistecles, I would thinke best not to breake his bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made; but rather if we could, to build another to it, to drive him out of Evrope as soone as we could. Themistocles then replyed: Seeing you think this were good to bee done, wee must all lay our heads together, to deuise how he may be forced to come out as soone as we could. They breaking off with this resolution, Themistocles sent immediatly one of the Kings Eunuches, called Arfaces that was one of the groomes of his chamber, whom he found out amongst the prifonces, and by him he fent this meffage vnto the king: That the GRECIANS having won the battell of him by sea, had decreed in their counsell, how they would go to the straight of HELLEspont, to break the bridge of the ships he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him for the good will he did beare him, and to the end he might bethink him betimes, to get him away to the sea within his own dominion, & so passe back againe into Asia as foone as he could, whilest he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to stay following him at the poope. The barbarous king vnderstanding these newes, was so afraid that he hoissed away with all possible speed. The further foresight and great wisdome of Themistocles, and Aristides, in marine causes, did manifestly appeare afterwards in the battell the GRECIANS fought before the citic of PLATEA, against Mardonius, king Xerxes Lieutenant: who having but a small power of the King his foueraignes there, did yet put the GRECIANS to great diffresse, and in hazard to haue lost all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in this battell, Herodotus writeth, that the city of ÆGINA wanne the fame for valiantnesse about the rest: and of private men, among the GRECIANS, Themistocles was judged the worthiest man: although it was fore against their willes, because they enuied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and having swornevpen the altar of their sacrifices, that they would give their voices after their consciences, to those they thought had best deserued it : euery one gaue himselfe the first place for worthinesse, and the second vnto Themi-

flocles. The LACED EMONIANS caried him into Sparta, where they judged the honour and dignity of valiantnesse to their Admirall Eurybiades: but the wisedome and poli- Thimistonia cie they attributed vnto Themissocles. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue branch, and the goodlieft coach that was in their citie: and moreoner they tent three hundred of their luftic the Greeiyouths to accompany him, and couducthim out of their countrey. And they fay, that at the ani. next feafts and affemblies of the playes Olympicall which were made after this victorie, when Themistocles was once come into the shew place where these games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the strangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their hands did witneffe how much they efteemed him. Whereat he himfelfe tooke fo great delight, that hee confessed to his familiar friends, he then did reape the fruite and benefit of his sundrie and painefull services hee had taken in hand, for the preservation of GRECE: so ambitious was Themistohe of nature, and couetous of honour, as we may eafily perceiue by certaine of his deedes tis ambiand notable fayings they have noted of him. For being chosen Admirall of ATHENS, hee neuer dispatched any causes prinate or publike, howfocuer they fell out, vntill the very day of his departure, and taking shippe: and all because that men seeing him dispatch much bufineffe at once, and to speake with so many persons together, they should esteeme him to be the notablerman, and of the greater authority. Another time he walked vpon the fands by the sea side, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the sea had cast vp vpon the shore; and seeing some of them that had on still their chaines of gold, and bracelets, hee paffed by on his way, but shewed them yet to a familar friend of his that followed him, and faid vnto him: Take thou those, for thou art not Themisocles. And vnto one Antiphates, who in his youth had bene a goodly young boy, and at that time did scornefully behaue himselfe vnto him, making no reckening of him: and now that he saw him in great authority came to fee him, hee faid: O my young fonne, and friend: wee are both euen at one time (but too late) growne wise. He said the ATHENIANS did not esteeme of him nor honour him in time of peace: but when any stormes of warres were towards, and they stood in any danger, they ranne to him then, as men runne to the shadow of a Plane tree, vpon any fodaine raine: and afterwards when faire weather commeth againe, they cut away the branches, and boughes thereof. There was a man borne in the Isle of Serr-PHA, who being fallen out with him, did cast him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthinesse, but for the noble citie wherein he was borne, that hee had wonne such glory: Thou fayefitrue faid he: but neither should I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a SERIPHIAN, nor thou also if thou hadst bene an Athenian. Another time one of the captaines of the citic, having done good feruice vnto the commonweale, made boaft before Themistocles, and compared his feruice equall with his. Themistocles to answer him, told him a pretie Apretie tale. That the working day brauled on a time with the holy day, repining against her, that he laboured for his living continually and how she did nothing but sill her belly, and spend that they den. had gotten. Thou hast reason, said the holy day. But if I had not bene before thee, thou haddest not bene here now. And fo, if I had not bene then: where had you my masters bene now? His own fon was a litle too fawcie with his mother, and with him also, bearing himselfe ouer-boldly ofher good wil, by meanes of her cockering of him. Wherupon being merily disposed, he wold Themillofay that his son could do more then any man in al GRECE. For, faith he, the ATHENIANS command the GRECIANS, I command the ATHENIANS, my wife commanderh me, and my fon commandeth her. Moreouer because hee would be singular by himselfe about all other men: hauing a peece of land he would fell, he willed the crier to proclaime open fale of it in the market place, and withall he should adde vnto the sale, that his land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being suiters to his daughter, he preferred the honester before the richer, faying: He had rather haue to his fonne in law a manthat lacked goods, then goods to lacke a man. These were Themistecles pleasant conceipts and answers. But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before, he took in hand to build againe the city and wals of ATHENS, Themiston and did corrupt the officers of LACED ÆMONIA with mony, to the end they should not hinder the built his purpose, as Theopompus writeth. Or as all other say, when he had deceived them by this subtiltie, he went vnto Sparta, as ambaffadour, sent thither of purpose vpon the complaints of the LACED EMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS did inclose their citie againe with wals, who then.

Arillides eounsell vn to Themi-Stacles, for the break ing of Xerxes bridge. Themistocles firata.

Alubeill fetchof Themillo-The batters fortified.

ther from the Æ GINETES, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the ATHENIANS. Themistocles stoutly denved it to them, and prayed them for better understanding of the troth, they would fend fome of their men thither to fee it. This was but a fetch, only to winne by this delay, the Athenians fo much more time to raife vp their wals, and that the Athenians should keepe as hostages for furety of his person, those they should send to Athens, to bring backe the report thereof: and fo it fell out. For the LACED EMONIANS being enformed of the troth as it was, did him no hurt, but distembling the, misliking they had to be thus abused by him, fent him away fafe and found. Afterwards he made them also mend and fortifie the hauen of PIR AA, having confidered the fination of the place, and all to encline the city to the fea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counsell of the ancient Kings of Athens: who feeking (as they fay) to withdraw their people from the fea, and to accustome them to line vpon the land, by planting, fowing, and plowing their grounds, did denife and give out abroad, the fable they tell of the goddeffe Pallas. And that is this, how the contending with Negtune about the patronage of the country of Athens, brought foorth and shewed to the Judges the olive tree, by meanes whereof the prenailed and obtained the preheminence. Euen to Themistocles did not ioune the hauen of PIR EA unto the city of ATHERS, as the Comicall poet Ariflopha. nes faith: but rather joyned the city vnto the hauen Piran, and the land vnto the fea. By this meanes he made the people strong against the nobility, and brought the communal tie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authority fell into the hands of saylers, marines, pilots, flip-mafters, and fuch kind of feafaring men: To as the pulpit where all the orations were made, stood in the market place of Payx, and did looke towards the sea. But the thirty tyrants that came in afterwards, did remoue it, and turne it towards the land: holding opinion to be firong by sea, was it that did maintaine the authority of the popular state: and that contrariwise they which line by the labour and toile of the earth, do more willingly like the gonernement of Nobility. Themistocles called to mind another matter also of greater importance, to make the city of Athens of greater power by sea. For after the retire of Xernes, and that all the flecte and nauie of the GRECIAN's wintred in the hauen of PEGASES: he faid one day in an open affembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable & beneficiall for them, but it was not to be told openly. The people willed him then to impart it to Arifides: and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedily. Themistocles then told Ariftedes the thing he had confidered of, was to burne the Arcenall where the GRECIANS nauie lay, and to fet on fire all their shippes. Aristides hearing his purpose, returned to the people, and told them: how nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vniust, then that which Themissecles had deuised. The ATHENIAN's then willed Aristides it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibited their petition to the councell of the Amphictions (that is, the generall councell of all the states of Grece, assembled) how the townes and cities of GRECE which had not bene parties with the GRECIANS in the league, against the barbarous people, should be put off wholly from this counsell, Themssteeles doubting that if the Argives, the Thessalians, and the Therans also should by this meanes beexempted, that the LACED ÆMONIANS would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might do what they would in this councell: he spake so considerately for the cities which they would have thus discharged, that he made the petitioners in the assembly vtterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirtie cities comprised only in the league, and yet that some of them were very weake and small and how it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of GRECE, the greatest authority of this councell should fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefest cities alone. For this cause chiefly the LACED A-MONIANS did cuer beare him extreme hatred, and did stir vp Cimon all they could, to be alwaies aduersarie opposite vnto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of state, and the gouernment of Athens. They procured him besides the ill will and displeasure of all the friends and confederates of the Athenians, for that he went fayling still too and fro alongst the Isls, exacting money of the inhabitants of the faine. And this is to be knowne by the matter propounded by him to the Andrians (of whom he would have had money) and by the answer they made him, as Herodotta writeth. Which was, how he had brought them two mightie gods: Lone and Force. And they answered him againe, that they also had two great goddesses, which

kept them from gluing of him any money: Pouertie and Imposibilitie. And to make this good alfo, Timocreon the Rhodian Poet galled him to the quicke, when he sharply taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were banished: and how for the couctousnesse of money he had betraied, and forfaken his host and friend. The verses wherein this matter is mentio-

Who list commend worthy Paufanias. Zanthippus or good Leotychides, Yet hall I feeme but light thereof to paffe, Compar'd with valiant Aristides. For yet was nay the like in Athens towne, Nor never shall come none of like renowne. Themistocles by right and due desert, Is hated of Latona, for his lies, And for he bare a traiterous wicked heart. Who like a wretch, and niggard did denife. For small reward his bost Timocreon To hold out of his countrey lalifon. He tooke for bribe (uniuftly yet therewhile) Ofready coine three talents faire and bright, Renoking such as pleas'd him from exile. And banishing full many a worthy wight. Or put ting them to death, without cause told, He gate thereby great heapes of coyne and gold. But in the end (oright reward for (uch) This bribing wretch was forced for to hold A tipling booth, most like a clowne or (nuch, At holy feasts and pastimes manifold, Which were among ft the people in those dayes, Istmiciane folke, did vse the like alwayes. And there he feru'd his quests with cold meate still, Whilst they that tasted of his cookerie. Gan wish that they (to ease their weary will) Had neuer lined, to see the treacherie Of false Themistocles, and that he might No longer line, which wrought them fuch despight.

After this, he did more openly blase him to the world, when he was banished and condemned, in a fong that had beginning thus:

O Muse, let these my verses be disperst Throughout all Greec, since they deferne no lese: And fince the truth which is in them rehearft, Descrueth fame, whom no man should suppresse.

They fay the cause why this Timocreon was banished, was, the friendship which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giving them intelligence. Whereof Themsfocles was one that indicially condemned him. Wherefore when Themistocles himselfe was accused afterwards of the fame fault, Timocreon then made these verses following against him:

> Timocreon was not without his pheere, Which did conferre with Medes privily, Since others mo, the felfe same blame might beare, Mo foxes lurke in dennes, as well as I.

Besides these verses, Themistocles owne citizens for ill will they bare him, beganne now with great contentment and applause, to harken to those that gaue out cuill speeches and slanders of him. Therefore while he fought wayes to redresse all this, he was driven to vie such meanes, which more increased their hatred towards him. For in his orations to the

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Paulanies venealeth histreason Pato Themistocles.

Themifto-

people, he did oft remember them of the good feruices he had done them: and perceiuing how they were offended withall, he was driven to fay: Why, are ye wearie so often to receive good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed Diana (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) Aristobule, as much to fay, as the good counseller: meaning thereby, how hee had given grave and wife counsell, both vnto his city and to all the rest of the Grecians. He built this temple also neare his house, in a place called Melita, where the hang-men did cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throw the ragges and haulters ends of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by law. There was also in our dayes in the temple of Diana Aristebule, a little image of Themistocles, which shewed plainely, that he was not onely wife, and of a noble minde, but also of a great maicstie and countenance in the face. In the end the ATHENIANS banished him Athens for fine yeares, because they would plucke downe his oner great courage and authority, as they did vie to ferue those, whose greatnesse they thought to be more, then common equality that ought to be among citizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, called Offracismon, was no punishment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the enuie of the people, which delighted to plucke downe their stomackes that too much seemed to exceed in greatnesse: and by this meanes they tooke away the poylon of his malice, with diminishing his glory and honour. So Themistocles being banished from ATHENS, went to dwell in Argos. In this meane scason, Panfanias treacherie fell out, which gaue his enemies occasion to lie heavie on his backe. But hee which became his accuser, and was partner of the treason, was one called Leobetes (Alemeens sonne) berne in a village called A GRAVLA. Besides this, the Spartans also did fit on his skirts, and charged him forely. For Paufanias neuer before renealed to Themistocles the treason he had purposed, although hee was his very familiar friend. But after hee faw Themistecles was banished, and did take his exile very unpatiently : then Paulanias was bold to open his treason vnto him, to procure him to take his part, and shewed him the letters the King of PERSIA had written to him, and all to stirre him vp against the GRECIANS, as against vngratefull and vnnaturall people. Howbeit Themistocles shooke him off, and told him plainely he would bee no partner of his treason. Notwithstanding, he neuer reuealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practise hee intended : hoping either hee would haue giuen it ouer, or that shortly it would appeare by some other meane, considering he so fondly aspired to things of great daunger, and without purpose or possibility. After Paularias was condemned, and had suffered paines of death for the fame: they found amongst his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made Themifocles to beevery fore suspected. Whereupon the LACED EMONIANS on the one fide Etedofired cryed out of him, and his enemies and ill willers at Athens accused him on the other fide. To the which hee made answere by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people; that it was not likely that he (who fought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to ferue, neither had any mind thereto) would euer haue thought in his head, to fell his owne libertie, and the Grecians also voto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithflanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, fent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the states of all GRECE, to be judged by that counsell. Whereof Themissocles having intelligence in time, hee did convey himselfe into the Ile of Corphy, because the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certaine pleasure he had done them in times past. For they being at suite and strife with the Corin-THIANS he tooke up the matter betweene them, and gaue judgement on their fide, and condemned the Corinthians to pay them twenty talents damages: and did fet downe an order, that they should occupie the Ilc of Levende in common together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, as well of the one citie, as of the other. From thence he fled to Epirus, whither being followed by the Athenians and the Laced Emonians, he was compelled to venter himselfe vpon a doubtfull and very dangerous hope. For hee went to yeeld himselfe into the hands of Admetus, King of the Molossians. Who having heretofore made certaine requests vnto the ATHENTANS, and being shamefully denied them by meanes of Themistocles (who then was at his chiefest height and authority) the King was maruellously offended with him: and it was a cleere case indeede, that if hee could then have layed

hands on him, he would have bene reuenged of him throughly. How beit feeling the prefent miferie of his exile, he thought he might lefte feare the Kings old quarrell and displeasure, then the The maner ferie of his exite, he thought he might lene reare the Kings of quarter and completating to of species fresh hate and enuie of his country men. Whereupon he went vnto King Admetus, trusting to tron among his mercy, and became an humble fuiter to him in a strange extraordinarie fort. For he took the the Mo-Kings little yong fon in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappel: 10 flant. which humble manner of fluing the Molossians take to be most effectuall, and such as they dare not denie nor refuse. Some fay that Queene Phthia her selfe, the Kings wife did enforme him of this their country custome and maner, and brought her little sonne also neare vnto the altar. Other write also, that it was Admetes himself that taught and shewed him this enforcing maner of petition; only for a cloke to excuse himself to those that should come to demand Themisto. cles of himsthat by duty of religion he was fo straightly bound and restrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protectio. In this mean time Epicrates Acharnian found the meanes feet etly to conuey Themistocles wife & children out of ATHENS, and did send them privily vnto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, and put to death, vpon Cimons accusation and motion. as Stesimbrotus writeth. Who not remembring those matters I know not how, or making as though Themistocles had not remembred himself doth fay, that Themistocles sailed into Sigile. where he fought to marie Hierons daughter, the tyrant of Syracvsa: promiting him if he wold lethim have her, he would affure him to conquer al GRECE for him, & to bring them under his obedience. But Hieron refusing this offer, Themistocles went from thence into Asia: but that is not likely. For Theophrasius writeth in his book intituled of Kingdomes, that Hieron having sent certaine running horses, to the seast of the games Olimpical, and having set vp a maruellous rich and fumptuous tent there: Themistocles made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they should teare the tyrants tents in peeces, and not to suffer his horses to run with other fwift & light horses, and to carie away the prise in those holy games. Thurydides again declareth how he went vnto the other fea, and imbarked in the city of Pydne, being not knowne of neuer a man in the ship, vntill such time as the wind began to carie them into the Ile of Naxos, which y ATHENIANS by chance did befiege at that time, where being afeard to be fet on land, he was forced to bewray himselfe to the master of the ship, and the masters mate, and wrought them, what with faire words and what with threates (by faying he would accuse them to the A-THENIANS, that they did not ignorantly receive him in, but hired for mony) fo as he compelled them to faile no further, and to carrie him into As TA. As for his goods, his friends faued the most part of them, and sent them into As 1 A to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate vnto the state, Theopompus writerh, they did amount to the value of one hundred *talents; and Theophrastus faith, but to fourescoretalents only whereas all his goods was not worth fad crownes three * talents, when he beganne to gouerne the state of the common-weale. When he came Lighteene vnto the city of Cv MA, he perceived that all the coasts by sea were layed for him to apprehend travers. him, and that he had many spials vpon him: among the which, these were two special noted men, Ergoteles, and one Pythodorus, the reward being very great, for men that fought their gaine any way they could. For the King of Persia had proclaimed by found of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him Themistocles. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of ÆOLIA, called ÆGES, where no living body knew him, but his host only, called Nicogenes; who was the richest man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knew all the noble men of authority that were about the King of Persia. Themistocles continued hidden certaine daies in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of a facrifice, one olbius, schoolemaster to Nicegenes children, by fome fecret working of the gods, fuddenly fell befides himfelfe, and began to fing these verses out aloud:

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Do thou believe what so the night thee tels. And give thy voice, thy counsell and conceits Vnto the night, in dark somenesse that dwels, Thereon also thy victorie awaits.

The next night following, Themistocles being fast assecte in his bed, dreamed that a snake Themistocles wound it selfe round about his belly, and glided vpwards to his necke, vntil it touched his face, sles dreame. and fuddenly then it became an Eagle, and imbraced him with his wings: and fo at length did lift him vp in the aire, and caried him a maruellous way off, vntill hee thought hee faw a golden rodde (fuch as Heralds vse to carie in their hand) whereupon the Eagle did set him, and

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fo was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought himself in. The troth was, Nicogenes had this device in his head, how he might bring him fafe to the king of PBRSTABS court. The barbarous nations for the most part (and specially the Persians) are of a very stange nature, and maruellous icalous ouer their women, and that not only of their wives, but a fo of their bondwomen, and concubines: which they keepe fo straightly locked vp, that no man ener feeth them abroad at any time, but are alwaies like house-doues kept within doores. And when they have any occasion to go into the country, they are caried in close coaches couered all about, that no man can look into them. Themistocles was couved into one of these coaches drest after this maner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they cariedithat it was a yong GRECIAN gentlewoman of the country of IONIA, which they caried to Aing of Per. the court for a noble man there. Thus ydides, and Charon Lampfacenian fay, he went thither after the death of xernes, and spake with his sonne there. But Ephorus, Dino, Cletar, bus, Heraclides, and many other write, that he spake with himselfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that Thucydides words do best agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the succession of times, although they be of no great certainty. Thems stockes being come now to the swords point (as it were) and to the extremity of his danger, did first present him vnto one Artabanus, Colonell of a thousand footmen, and faid vnto him: Sir, I am a GRECIAN borne, and defire to speake with § king: I have matters of importance to open to his Maiesty, and such as I know he will thankfully receive. artabanus answered him in this manner: My friend fir stranger, the lawes and customes of men are diverfe, and fome take one thing for honest, other some another thing; but it is most honesty for all men, to keepe and observe the lawes and manners of their owne countrey. For you GRECIANS have the name to love liberty, and equality above all things: and for vs, amongst all the goodly lawes and cuftomes we have, we effect this about the reft to reverence and ho-The Perfits nour our king, as the image of the God of nature, who keepeth al things in their perfect life and flate. Wherefore, if thou wilt fashion thy selfe after our manner to honour the king, thou maiest both see him, and speake with him; but if thou have another mind with thee, then must thou of necessity vse some third person for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrey: the King neuer giueth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. Themistocles hearing what he faid, answered him againe: My Lord Artabanus, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the defire I hauc to aduance his glory and power, is the onely cause of my present repaire vnto his court: therefore I meane not onely to obey your lawes (fince it hath to pleafed the gods to raife up the noble empire of Persia vnto this greatnesse) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there do at this present. Therefore let there be no flay, but that my felfe in person may deliner to the King that I haue to say vnto him. Well, sayd Artabanus: whom then shall we say thou art? For by thy speech it seemeth; thou art a man of no meane state and condition. Themistocles answered him: As for that Artabanus, none shall know before the king himfelfe. Thus doth Phanias report it. But Eratofthenes, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: how Themistocles had accesse vnto this Artabanus, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. Themistocles being brought to his presence after he had presented his humble duty and reuerence to him, stood on his seete, and faid neuer a word, vntill the King commanded the interpreter to aske him what he was and he answered: May it please your Maiesty, O noble King, I am Themistocles the ATHENIAN, a bani shed man out of my countrey by the GRECIANS, who humbly repaireth to your Highnesse. knowing I have done great hurr to the Pers 1 ANS, but I perswade my self I have done them far more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIAN'S backe they did not follow you whethe state of GRECE was deliuered from thraldome, & my native country from danger, & that I knew I flood in good flate to pleafure you. Now for me, I find al mens good wills agreea bleto my prefent mifery and calamity: for I come determined, most humbly to thanke your Highneffe for any grace and fauour you shall shew me, and also to craue humble pardon if your Maiesty be yet offended with me. And therfore licece me (most noble king) to be seech you, that taking mine enemies the Grecians for witnesses of the pleasures I have done the Persian nation, you wil of your princely grace vie my hard fortune as a good occasion to shew your honourable vertue, rather then to fatisfie the passion of your heat and choler. For in fauing my life, your Maiesty faueth an humble surer that put himself to your mercy; and in putting me to death, you shall rid away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Having spoken thus these words, he said fur-

ther: That the gods by diverse fignes and tokens had procured him to come to submit himselfe vnto him, and told the king what vision he had scene in his dreame in Nicogenes house: and declared also the oracle of Inpiter Dodonian, who had commanded him that he should go vnto him that was called as a god, and how hee thought it was the person of his Maiesty, because that god and he introth were called both great Kings. The King having thus heard him speake, gaue him then no prefent answere againe, notwithstanding he maruellously wondred at his great wisedome and boldnesse. But afterwards amongst his familiars the King said, he thought himselfe very happy to meete with the good fortune of Themistocles comming to him: and so befought his great god Arimanius, that he would alwaics fend his enemies such minds, as to banish the greatest and wisest men amongst them. It is reported also he did facrifice vnto the gods. to give them thankes therefore, and dilposed himselfe presently to be merie. Insomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middest of his dreame he cried out three times together for ioy: I have Themistocles the Athenian. The next morning the King having fent for the chiefest Lords of his Court, he made Themistocles also to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnesse at all, specially when he saw the souldiers warding at the Court gates, give him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and vnderstood his name. Moreouer, Raxanes, one of the captaines, as Themistocles passed by him going to the King, (who was set in his chaire of state, and euery man keeping filence) foftly fighing, faid vnto him: O thou Greekish serpent, subtile &malicious, the kings good fortune hath brought thee hither. Neuertheleffe when he came to the king, and had once againe made him a very humble and low reuerence: the king faluted him, & spake very courteously to him, saying: I am now your debter of two hundred talents, for prefenting your felf. It is good reason I should deliner you the mony promised him that should have brought you:but I give you a further warrant, be bold I charge you, and speake your minde freely, say what youthink of the state of GRECE. Themistocles then answered him: That mes words did properly resemble the stories and imagerie in a peece of arras: for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are vnfolded and laid open. riemilio-Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut vp, and close folded: whereupon els. he faid to the king: he must needs require some further time of answer. The king liked his comparison passing well, and willed him to appoint his ownetime. Themistocles asked a yeare: in which time having pretily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the king himselfe without any interpreter. So, such as were no Courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of GRECE. But because the change and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noblemen imagined he had bene so bold to common with the king of them also. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, and afterwards murmured much against him, For indeed the King did honour Themissocles aboue al other strangers whatsoeuer they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him feehis mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the Kings own commandement he was to heare the disputations of the wise men of Persia tou- Persia. ching secret philosophie, which they call magicke. Demaratus the LACED EMONIAN being at pemaratus that time in the court of Persia, the king willing him to aske what gift he would, he befought find demad the king to grant him this fauour to licence him to go vp & downe the city of SAR DIS with his royall hat on his head as the kings of Persia do. Mithropaustes, the kings cosin, taking him by the hand, faid vnto him: Demaratus, the Kings hat thou demandest, and if it were on thy head, it would couer but little wit: Nay though Inpiter did give thee his lightning in thy hand, yet that would not make thee Iupiter. But the King gaue him to sharpe a repulse for his vnreasonable request, and was soangry with him for it, that it was thought he would never have forgiven him: howbeit Themisseeles was so carnest a futer for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the report goeth, that the Kings successours which have bene since that time, under whom the PERSIANS have had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great state or personage of GRECE into their seruice, they wrotevnto him, and promifed him they would make him greater about them, then euer was Themistocles about Xerxes. That which is written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept vp to great countenance & authority, and followed with great traines of suiters after him by reason of his greatnessfecing himself one day very honorably served at his table, & with all sorts of dainty meats, he turned him to his childre, & said vnto them: My sons, we should have bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone. The most writers do agree, that he had giue him the reuenue of 3. cities for his-

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Themiftocles escaped murder by he had in his sleepe.

allowance of bread, wine, and victuals: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, and MYVNTA. But Neanthes Cyzicenian, and Phanias do adde two other cities more, PERCOTA, and PALES CEPSIA: the one to defray his charges of apparell, and the other for his lodging. Afterwards Themilto. cles going into the low countries towards the sea, to take order against the practites of the GRE-CIANS: there was a Persian Lord called Epixies (gouernour of the high Phrygia) that had laid a traine to kil him (hauing of long time hired certain murderers of Pisidia to do it) fo foon as he should come into a town of his gouernement, called the Lions head. But as he slept on a day in his house in the after noone, the mother of the gods appeared vnto him, and said: Themi. feeles, go not to the Lions head, for feare thou meete with the Lion and for this warning, I do ask thy daughter Mnesiptolema for my fernant. Themistocles waking fodainely out of his dreame. made his prayer vnto the goddeffe, and turning out of the high way, fetched another compaffe about. Afterwards having passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beafts which caried his tent, fell by the way unfortunatly in a riner, & all his arras & tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his feruats were driven to lay them out a drying by moon light. The Pifidians that lay in waite, and could not discerne by Moone light that they were hangings layed out to dry, thought it had bene the very tent Themistocles selfe did lie in: whereupon they went vnto it with their swords drawne in their hands, hoping to haue taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and began to lift vp a peece of the hangings, some of the people of Themistocles (which kept watch) perceiuing them, ran vpon them, and took them. So Themi. focles houing escaped this danger, wondered greatly at the favour of the goddesse which had appeared vnto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the city of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto Dindymena, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema priorcise of the same. As he passed by the city of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to visit the temples, & offerings that had bene giuen there. So he faw an image of a maide in copper, in the temple of the mother of the gods, being two yards high, which they called the Hydrophora, as much to fay, as the watercarier. And it was a statue, which himselfe had heretofore dedicated and caused to be made with the fines of those that had paid forseitures, for stealing or turning away the water course at ATHENS, at fuchtime as he was master surveyer of the water workes & conduits there. Wherfore, whether Themistocles was fory to see this goodly image a prisoner in the hands of the barbarous people, or that he would shew vnto the ATHENIAN's the greatnesse of his credit and authority through all the Kings dominions: he spake to the governor of Lydia, and prayed him for his sake that he would fend this image againe to Athens. But this barbarous gouernour was very angry with his request, and told him he would aduertise the King thereof. Then Themistecles beganto be afeard, and was driven to seeke to the governours women and concubines, whom he got for mony to intreat him, and so made faire weather againe with the gouernour. But from thenceforth, he took better gard of him in all his doings, greatly fearing the enuy of the barbarous people. For he progressed not up and downe As 1A, as Theofompus writeth, but lay a long time in the citie of MAGNESIA, quietly enioping the Kings gracious gifts bestowed on him: where he was honoured and reuerenced for one of the greatest persons of Persia, whilest the King was elsewhere occupied in the affaires of the prouinces of Asia, and had no leisure to thinke vpon those of GRECE. But when newes was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour and affiftance of the Athenians, and that the Grecians gallies did scowrethe feas even ynto the Ile of Cyprvs, and vnto the coasts of Cilicia, and that Cimon had all the fea in subjection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to resist the GRECIANS, that their greatnesse might not turne to his harme. Then commissions went out to leauie men; to affemble captaines, and to dispatch postes vnto Themistocles at MAGNESIA, with the Kings letters, straightly charging him to have an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreover that he should faithfully keepe his promise he had made to him. But he, to shew that he neither maliced his citizens, nor was moued with the defire of greatnesse and authority he might have growne vnto in those warres, or else for that he thought the Kings expectation would producto a greater matter then he could end or wade through, confidering GRECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that Cimon amongst the rest had maruellous good fortune, and that it should be a reproch to him to staine the glory of so many noble acts, so many triumphs, and so great victories as Cimon had done and wonne: he tooke a wife resolution with himselfe, to make fuchan end of his life, as the fame therof deserved, for he made a solemne sacrifice vnto the gods and

and feasted at the same all his friends. And after he had taken his leave of them all, he drank buls Theman bloud as most men thinke, or (as other say) poyson, which dispatcheth a man in 24. houres, and ner of the. founded his daies in the citie of Magnes 1A, after he had lived threescore and five yeares, and y death. most part of them alwaics in office, and great charge. It is written that the King of Persia vnderstanding the cause and maner of his death, did more esteeme him afterwards, then he did before, and that ener after he continued to vse his friends and familiars in very good sort. For he left children behind him, which he had of Archippa (Lyfanders daughter) of the towns of ALORE- Themillec 1A: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus, of whom Plato the Philosopher maketh mention, slevelidre. faying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwise that there was no goodnesse in him. His other sonnes that were elder, as Neocles, died being bitten with a horse; and as for Diocles another sonne, his grandfather Lysander did adopt him for his son. He had many daughters, of the which Mnesiptolema (which he had by a second wife) was maried vnto her halfe brother Archeptolu-for they were not both of one venter: another called Italia, was maried vnto one Panthides of Chio: Sybaris, vnto Nicomedes an ATHENIAN: and Nicomacha, vnto Pharsicles, Themistocles nepnew; vnto whom her brethren did marry her within the city of MAGNESIA, after the death of their father. This Pharficles did bring vp Afia, which was the yongest of al his daughters. Furthermore his sumpruous rombe standeth yet in the market place of MAGNESIA. But that Andocites Writeth of his bones, in a book he made to his friends, is not to be credited, which was: that the A-THENIANS having found the ashes of his bones, did cast them vp into the aire, as a device to stirre vp the noble men against the people. And Phylarchus in his history (much like vnto the fained subtilities of a tragedie) bringeth in I cannot tell what Neocles and Demopolis, for Themistocles fonnes, to moue the readers with compassion. Howbeit no man is so simple, but will judge it ftraight a very faining and deuice. Diodorus the cosmographer also in a book he hath written of tombes and monuments faith, by coniecture, rather then of any certaine knowledge: that along the hauen of PIR EA, coming towards the head of Alcimus, there is a foreland in forme of an elbow, within the which when they have doubled the point, the sea is alwaies calme, and there they find a great and long foundation or base, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (faith he) Themistocles tombe. And he supposeth that Plate the comicall Poetdoth witnesse it in these verses:

Thy grave is fet and plac't commodiously, Where passengers and merchants that come by May visite thee, and where it may regard All such as seeke that port to be their ward. Sometimes alfo, it may reloyce to fee,

The bloudy fights upon the feathatbe. And furthermore, those of MAGNESIA did institute certaine honours vnto the issue of Themi- Honor done focles, which continue yet vnto this day. And in my time, another Themefocles also of ATHENS didenioy the same honours, with whom I was familiarly

conversant in the house of Amonius the Philosopher.

The end of Themistocles life.

Aocles after

the continuall wars, about the which the common-weale sustained great charges, but specially

mor, and number of fouldiers, was nothing inferior to the city of Rome. For the VEIANS being growne to stomacke and courage in time, by reason of their wealth and prosperity, and for the fundry great battels they had fought against the Romaines, that cotended with them for glory and empire: and now it fell so out, that they finding themselues weakned by many great ouerthrowes, which they had received of the Romaines, they did let fall their former peacockes brauery and ambition, to bid them battell any more in the field. Howbeit the inhabitants of the city of VEIES hauing raised the wals, & made very great high rampiers, began to fortifie themfelues, and made good prouision for armour and munition, besides store of corne, shot, and other necessary things: they valiantly, and without feare of any thing, defended the siege of the Romaines, that continued a long time, and was no lesse hard and painefull vnto them that did besiege, then it was vnto those that were besieged. For where y Romaines were wont beforetime to keepe their houses in the Winter season, and the field only in the Sommer time: that was the first time they were compelled by the captaines and Tribuni militares, to build forts, and to intrench their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies countrey, and to winter abroad as they

was in the later end of Autumne, and Somer was ended, & that there had not bene much raine,

nor notable South-winds. And although there are many lakes, many brookes, and rivers, many

fprings, and other waters in ITALY: yet some of them dried vp altogether, other ran but faintly

by reason of the drought, & all the rivers then were (as they are wont to be comonly in Somer)

very low, and there was scant any water. But the lake ALBANYS contrariwise, that cometh from

no other place, neither runneth any whither out of it selfe, being enuironed al about with hils &

mountaines, and where the earth is good: began to fwell, and rife to enery mans fight without

any cause at all (but secret and hidden vnto the gods alone) and went alwaies increasing along

those hils sides, vntill such time as it came to be euen with the height of the highest mountaine,

gathering vpwards still without any waves or tempest of weather at all. This at the first, made poore sheephcards and heardmen keeping their cattell thereabouts, maruellously afraid: but at

the length when the earth and the weight of one of the hils (which kept in the lake as a wall,

from running ouer into the field) began to breake by reason of the weight and great quantity of

water, that ran straight with a maruellous extreme force and violence ouer all the arable lands

and grounds planted with trees, and so tooke his course into the sea: the Romaines then not

alone, but the whole inhabitants of Iraly were wonderfully afraid, and judged that it was

fome figne and prognostication of some wonderfull thing to come. And there was no other

newes currant in the campe, which lay at siege of the citie of VEIEs: in so much as the very

brute of it fled ouer the wals of the city, vnto them that were befieged. And as it happeneth very

oft in long fieges, that those which lie in campe do oftentimes talke with them that are befieged:

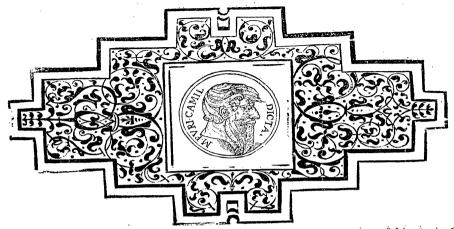
there was a Romaine who fell acquainted, and commonly vsed to talke familiarly with one

of the city, who could tell of many old and strange things done and happened, and was very

were wont to lye in the campe in Sommer. Now this fiege had continued feuen yeares toge- The fiege ther. The captaines were burthened that they did not their duties, nor flood manfully to their continued

the time the Thus cane wars were greatest, did maruellously amaze the Romains, being no derfall our flowing leffe wonderful, then the most strange and vncredible thing that could be told by man. For they of the leve could not find out the cause of it by common reason, nor any naturall ground: considering it Albanus.

THE LIFE OF Furius Camillus.



MONGST many great matters which are spoken of this Furius Camil. lus, this feemeth most strange and wonderfull about the rest: that hee having borne the chiefest offices of charge in his countrey, and hauing done many notable and worthie deedes in the same, as one that was chosen frue times Dictator, and had triumphed foure times, and had won himselfe the name and title of the second founder of Rome, and yet neuer came to be Confull. But the onely cause thereof was, that the common-weale of Rome flood then in such state and fort. The people were then at diffention with the Senate: they would chuse

The author rit'e of a

mon prople.

Why Camil lunever

be Confull. no more Confuls, but other kind of gouernours whom they call Tribuni militares: these did all things with like power and authority as the Confuls, yet were they nothing so odious vnto the people, by reason of the number that was of them. For it was some hope to them that could il beare y rule of the small number of nobility, that the gouernmet of the state being put into six, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eafier, and tollerabler. Now Camillus being at that time in his best credit and authority, and in the prime and glory of his doings, did not defire to be made Conful without the goodwil of the people, although whilest he was in authority, there were many times Confuls created. But being called and chosen to all other offices & dignities, he behaued himselfe in such fort, that when he was alone, he made his authority common to other : and when he had companions and affociates, the glory of all redounded to himfelfe alone. The cause whereof, was his modesty on the one side, for he commanded euer without enuie and his great wisedome and sufficiencie on the other side, for the which al others willingly gaue him place and yeelded to him. The house of Furians being at that time of no great fame, he was the first that began to set himself forwards. For in a great battell which was fought against the Aques and Volfces, he being but a private man at armes vnder the Distator Posthumius Tubertus, was the first that riding out of the army, advanced himselfe and gave the charge. And being runne into the thigh at that time with a staffe broken vpon his thigh, he plucked the trunchen out, and retired not for all that: but giving charge againe vpon the stoutest of the enemies, he fought it out so valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chiefe cause they turned their backs. Whereupon, to requite his seruice done at that time (besides other honors they did him; they made him Cenfor: an office at that time of great prcheminence and dignity. In his office of Cenforship, he did two notable acts. The one very honest: when he brought men that were not maried, to marry the women whom the wars had left widowes, which were in number

Camillus wisdome and made

Camill:4 hurt

charge: whereupon in the end they were discharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to follow the siege. Among those Carrillo was one whom the siege. to follow the siege. Among those, Camillus was one, whom then the second time they created Tribunus militaris. Who notwithstanding did nothing then in that siege, because it was his hap camillus by lot, to make wars upon the Phalerians, and the Capenates. These people whilest the Romanness were occupied otherwhere, had inveded their course by department of the state ROMAINES were occupied otherwhere, had inuaded their country & done them great harme, of the soilduring the time of their warre with the THYSCANES. But Camillus having overthrownea great dies. number of them in the field, had the rest in chase, and draue them to take their city, and did shut them vp within their owne walles. The chance that happened at the lake of Albanys, about The won.

The craft of

Camilles

Clator.

skilfullaboue any other in the city, in the art of divination, or foothfaying. The Romaine then told him one day the violent breaking out of the lake ALBANYS, and perceiuing that the other after he had heard him, was as merrie as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their fiege: he told him further, that this wonderfull chance was not onely happened vnto the ROMAINES at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more strange then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common-weale had but hard fuccesse, yet he would procure that his own private matters might prosper well with him. The VE IAN answered him, hee would heare him with a goodwill, and gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard some great secret. So the Ro-MAINE training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his way, vntill he saw he was a good diffance off from the gates of the city, he fuddenly caught hold on him, and by ftrong hand caried him away with him, and with helpe of other fouldiers which came running out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the Captaines. The VEIAN feeing himselfe thus forcibly vsed, and knowing also that fatall destiny cannot be avoided, began to declare Vnto the ROMAINES, the ancient Oracles and prophefies touching the fortune of their city:by which it was reported vnto them, that the city of VEIEs should neuer be taken, vntil the enemy had caused the water of the lake ALBANYS (which should break out) to be brought back againe, and to turne it some other way from thence, that it shold not fall into the sea. This was caried Vnto the Senate at Rome, to be consulted of in the councell: and there it was determined they should fend to the Oracle of Apollo at the city of DELPHES, and aske him what they should do therein. So thither were fent great and notable men, Cossus Licimus, Valerius Politus, and Fabius Ambustus: who having ended their journey by sea, and received answer of that they demanded, An Oracle returned home againe, & among ft other oracles they brought one that faid thus: That through negligence they had omitted some ancient ceremonies in the holy daies of the LATINES. And another willed them, that they should by all possible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake ALBANYs that it fell not into the fea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be drunke vp in the middest of the field. When these oracles were vnderstood, the priests prepared allthings for divine service, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After the se things were done, the Senate in the tenth yeare of the warres against the VEIANS, put off all those which did beare office, and created Camillus Dictator, who named for generall of the horsemen, Cornelius scipio. And before he went in hand with any thing, chafen Di he made a vow vnto the gods, that if it pleased the to grant a happy end of these wars, in honor of them he would celebrate great playes, and build atemple vnto the goddesse which the Ro-MAIN Es call Matuta which scemeth to be her whom we cal Leucothea, confidering the ceremonies done in these sacrifices. For they cause a chambermaide to enter into her temple, and there Matuta, they box her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, & do embrace their brothers children rather then their own. They make many other ceremonies, & they are much like vnto those that are done vnto Bacchus nurces, and to the misfortunes that chanced vnto Ino, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all their vowes & prayers made, he entred with his army into the FALICIANS territories, who he ouerthrew in a great battell, together with y CAPENATES alfo, which came to aide the. From thence he went to the fiege of the city of Veies, where perceiuing to take it by affault, was not to be done without great danger: he began to vndermine it (finding the earthall about very minable) and withall so deepe, that the enemies could perceiue nothing. Now when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an affault to the wals in all places alike about the city at one instant, to bring out all the inhabitants of the city to manthe wals. Whilest they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence, Camillan fouldiers entred fecretly through the mines within the castell, hard by the temple of Iuno: The city of which was the chiefe Church of all the city, and whereunto the citizens had most denotion, They fay that cuen at that present time the Generall of the THYSCANES did sacrifice vnto the gods, and that his foothfayer having confidered the intrails of the beafts offered up in facrifice, cried out aloud, that the gods gaue the victory vnto him, which should happen to come vppon them in this facrifice. The ROMAINES which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noyse with their weapons: where with the enemies were so astonied, that they fled vpon it, and so the ROMAINES tooke the

intrails and caried them vnto Camillus. And these be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit Camillus having by this meanes taken the city, and seeing from the top of the castell the infinite goods and riches within the citie, which the fouldiers spoyled and made hauock of, he wept for very pitie. And when those that were about him told him he was a happie man, he lift vp his hands vnto heauen, and made this prayer: O mighty god Iupiter, and you ô gods, continued which see and judge mens good and ill workes: you know right well, that we have not willing. ly (without wrong and cause offered vs) begun this warre, but instly, and by compulsion, to be reuenged of a city our enemy, which hath done vs great injuries. But if to counteruaile this our great good prosperity and victory, some bitter adversitie and overthrow be predestinated vnto vs: I beseech you then (most mercifull gods) in sparing our citie of Rome, and this her army, you will (with as litle hurt as may be) let it all fall & light vpon my person alone. And as he had spoken these words, and was turning on his right hand (according to the manner of the Ro-MAINES after they have prayed vnto the gods) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somewhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he told them that the thing he requested of the gods was happened vnto him; and that was, a little hurr, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole city being spoiled and rifled, he was also desirous to carry Junes image to Rome, to accomplish the vow he had made. And having sent for workmen for this purpose, he did facrifice first vntothegoddesic, beseeching her to accept well of the Romaines goodwill, and that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the city of Rome. Some fay, that the image answered, we was contented. But Livins writeth, that Camillus, made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the affistants answered, she was contented, and would go with a good will. Yet they which do affirme, it was the image felf that spake, do fauor this miracle, grounding their proofe vpon the opinion of the fortune of Rome: the which, from fo base & meane beginning had impossibly attained vnto so high glory & power as it had, without the fingular fauour of the gods; and that hath manifestly appeared vnto the world, by sundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders; as, that images have Fained wy. heretofore let fall drops of swet from the : that they have bene heard to sigh: that they have turned; and that they have made certaine fignes with their eyes, as we find written in many ancient flories. And we could our sclues also tell such like woders, which we have heard me of our time affirme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for fuch matters, it is as dagerous to giue too much credit to them, as also to discredit the too much, by reason of the weaknesse of mans nature, which hath no certaine bounds, nor can rule it selfe, but runneth sometimes after vanity & superstition, and otherwhile also despiseth and contemneth holy and divine matters and therforethe meane is the vertue, and not to go too farre in this, as in all other things befides, it is the best. Now Camillus, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a citie that flood out with Rome, and held flege with them ten yeares together, had put him into an ouerweening or conceipt of himselfe: or that the words of the people, which did blesse and praise him, had made him looke high, and presume vpon himselfe, more then became the modesty of a ciuill magistrate and gouernour of the common-weale, and one that was subject to the law: he shewed a stately triumph, set forth with all rich furniture, & specially for that himself was caried camilland through Rom E vpo his triumphant chariot drawne with foure faire white coursers. This, neuer captaine nor generall before him durst vndertaketo do, neither any euer after him attempted it. Piats. for they think it as a facred cariage, and only meet for the king, and father of the gods. This bred him much enuy amongst the citizens, which had not bene acquainted with so great statelinesse. There was another occasion also that made the mislike him much: which was, because he stood against the law put forth that they should deuide the city of Rome. For the Tribunes of the people did fet out an Edict, that the Senate and people of Rome should be deuided into two parts: Alw for the people of Rome should be deuided into two parts: and that those on whom the lot should fall, should abide still in Rome, and the other should go of some so dwell in the new wonne city of VEIEs. These were the reasons to perswade this: that both the one & the other fort should be richer then they were before, and should more easily keepe their lands & goods from the inuation of their enemies, by meanes of thefetwo great cities. The peo-

ple which were multiplied now into great numbers, and had served dutifully and dangerously, thought it the best way in the world: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumult, about their pulpet for orations, praying that this law might be put vnto the voyces

The chiefest caufe of the Camilie.

138 of the people. But the whole Senate and wifest citizens among them, judging this motion of the Tribunes would be the destruction, and not the division of the city of Rome, could in no wife abide it should go any further. Whereupon they went and prayed Camillus helpe:who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the law should passe or no, did alwaies seeke new occasions and lets, still to delay and put off the matter, and stay the confirmation of this law. For these causes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall and apparant cause of the peoples ill wil towards him, was for taking from them the tenth part of their spoiles; and it was not altogether without sonte reason, and to say truly, the people did him much wrong to beare him such malice forthat. For before he went to the city of VEIEs, he made a folemne vow to offer the tenth part vnto the gods, of the spoiles of the city, if he wan the same. But when it was taken and facked, whether it was that he was loth to trouble the citizens, or having a world of be finesse in his head, that he easily forgat his vow, he suffered the souldiers to deuide the spoile amongst them, and to take the benefit to themselves. Shortly after he was discharged of his charge, he did enforme the Senate of his vow. Furthermore, the soothsayers made report at that very time how they knew by certaine fignes & tokens of their facrifices, that the god's were offended for somewhat, and how they must of necessity be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate presently made an order, where it was vnpossible euery man should bring in againe the selfe same things he had gotten, to make a new denision of every mans share: that every one therefore vpon his oathshould present the tenth part of his gaines he had gotten by that booty. There was great trouble about it. They were driven to vse great extremity to the poore fouldiers (which had trauelled fore, and taken great paines in the wars) to make them to restore backe such a collop out of their gaine, and the rather because many of them had already spent it enery penny; and for this trouble, they all cryed out with open mouth against Camillus. But he (not knowing otherwise how to excuse himselse) was forced to bring foorth as cold and as vnreasonable an excuse as he could make, which was: for sooth that hee had forgotten his vow he had made. The people notwithstanding were eager still against him, saying: how he had vowed then to offer the tenth part of the enemies goods to the gods, and that now he would performe it with the tenths of the citizens goods. Neuerthelesse, euery man having brought that he should for his part, it was thought good they should cause a massie cup of gold to be made, to send to the temple of Apollo at DELPHES. And small store of gold being in the city of Rome, as the officers of the city were fearching vp and downe to get ir, the women of Rome of their owne voluntarie wils without motion, agreed among themselves, that they would depart withall the iewels they had towards the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them withall, the Senate ordained that they should be praised openly with funerall orations at their buriall, as they did vse at honourable and noble mens obfequies. For before that law, it was not the manner to praise women openly at their funerals. Now there were appointed there of the noblest men of the city to go to carie this offcring, and they sent them out in a galley well manned, stored also with good mariners, and trimly set forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in storme, and calme weather, they were in danger of their liues. For after that they had scaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the wind was downe againe, they fell into another danger, which they escaped also beyond all hope. For hard by the Illes of Eorvs, the galleys of the Liparians fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the LIPARIANS faw they made no relistance, and intreated them, holding vp their hands, they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only fastened their galley vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were pirats, and offered to make port sale of the men and goods, as if they had bene a lawfull prise; and had sold them indeed, had not the wisdome and authority of Timesitheus letted them, who was governour at that time of the city, and had great ado to perswade them to let them go. And he did not so leave them, but fent out certaine of his owneships to accompany them in their iourney, who did helpe them to go and performethe offering. For which curtefie of his, the ROMAINES afterwards did him great honour at Rome, according to his weldeferuing. The Tribunes of the people began now to set a foot against the law for the dividing of the inhabitants of Rome vnto the city of VE-IES. But the wars of the Falisces, fell out happily at that time, whereby the noble mendid chuse such officers as they would. So they chose Camillus, Tribunus militaris of the souldiers,& fine others to affift him, the feruice in that case requiring a Generall that caried both authority

gold fent to Delphas The Ladies of Rome gaue sheir iewels to. wards the making of What time praises be. gan at funerals in Reme.

CAMILLVS. and reputation among them, as an old experienced fouldier in the wars. When the people had confirmed the election, Camillus immediatly entred the territories of the Falisces with the Romains army, where he layd fiege to the city of the Falbrians, being very well fortified, Camillus victualled, and stored with all other munition of war. Knowing therefore that it was no small the Faleriattempt to win this city, and that it would not be done in a shorttime, he politickely sought am. (what soener came of it) to keepe his countrey men occupied about some thing, and to stay them for going home, left by repairing to Rome, they should have many occasions to rebell, and raise fome civill diffention. For the ROMAINES did wisely vie this remedy, to disperse abroad like good phy sitios, the humors which troubled the quiet state of their commonweale at home. But the FALERIANS trusting in the situation of their city, which was very strong in al parts, made so little account of the fiege, that those which kept no watch vpon the wals, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the city, without any weapon about them, and their children went to schoole, the schoole master also would commonly leade them abroad out of the city a walking, to play and passe the time by the towne wals. For the whole city had one common schoole-master, as the GRECIANS also have, which do bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, because one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This schoole-master spying his time to do the Falerians a shrewd turne, did accustomably take alhis scholers out of the city with him, to play not far from the wals at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the city againe after they had played their fill. Now after he had led the abroad thus once or twife, hetrained them out every day a litle further, to make them to be bold, perswading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day having gotten all the citizens children with him heled them within the watch of the ROMAINES campe, and there deliuered all his scholers into their hands, and prayed them they would bring him vnto their Generall. So they did. And when he came before Camillus, he began to tell him that he was schoole-master vnto al these childre, neuerthelesse thathe did more esteeme to haue his grace and fauor, the regard his office he had by this name and title. Camillus hearing what he said, and beholding his treacherous part, he said to the those that were about him: Warre of it self surely is an enill thing, for in wars many injuries and mischieses are done: neuerthelesse, among good menthere is a law and discipline, which doth forbid them to seeke victory by wicked & traiterous meanes, and that a noble & worthy generall should make war, and procure victory by trusting to his owne valiantnesse, and not by anothers vilenesse & villany. Therfore he commanded his sergeants to teare the cloths off the back into section into section in the back in the back into section in the back in the b of this vile schoole-master, and to bind his hands behind him: and that they should give the children rods & whips in their hands, to whip the traitor back againe into the city, that had betraied them. & oriened their parents. Now whathe Fax rouses heard newes there is though a reprint them, & grieued their parents. Now whethe Falerians heard newesthat the schoole-master war. had thus betrayed them, all the city fell a weeping (as every man may think for fo great a losse) and men & women ran together one in anothers necke, to the towne wals, and gates of the city, like people out of their wits, they were fo troubled. Whethey came thither, they faw their chil- fore villany dren bringing their schoole-master backe againe, starke naked and bound, whipping of him, and The Falifcalling Camillus their father, their god, and their fauiour: fo that not only the fathers & mothers cians by of the children, but all other the citizens also in generall, did conceiue in themselues, a wonderfull admiration and great loue, of the wisedome, goodnesse, and instice of Camillus. So that even do yeeld presently they called a councell, & there it was concluded they should send ambassadors forthwith vnto him, to put their lines and goods to his mercy & fauor. Camillus fent their ambaffadors with Royal who and in a single property of the control of Vnto Rome, where audience being giuen vnto the by the Senate, the ambassadors said: Because milio. the Romains preferred inflice aboue victory, they taught them to be better contented to submit themselves vnto them, then to be their own men at liberty: confessing their vertue did more ouercome them then any force or power could do. The Senate dispatched letters vnto Camillus, giuing him commission to do and determine as he thought good. So he having taken a certaine finn of mony of y FALERIANS, did furthermore make peace & league with all y rest of the FA-LISCES: and therupon returned backe againe to Rome. But the fouldiers grudged maruelloufly at it. For they flood in hope to have had the facking of the city. When there was no remedy, but of mony of they must needes returne home empty handed, they began to accuse Camillus to the rest of the citizens, as foone as they came to Rome, faying: he loued not the common people, and how for made pear spite he disappointed their army of the spoile. On the other side, the Tribunes of the people with all began to remine the law for the deniding of the inhabitants of Rome, and were ready to passe therefore the Fallice

and do in open presence, all he could against it. So that plainely he was the chiefest cause, that

the people against their wils (intreate what they could) were driven to let it alone. But withall

they were so spiteful against him, that notwithstanding his sorrow and missortune for the death

of his sonne (dying of a sicknesse) was great, they would not of malice once take pitic or com-

passion of him. The lotse whereof (albeit he was of a very good and courteous nature) was so

grieuous, and made him so vnquiet, that being accused before the people, he stirred not once out

of his house, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his son departed. He that

did accuse him, was one Lucius Apuleius, burthening him that he had stolne and taken away part

of the spoile of the THYSCANES: and said they had seene certaine brasen gates at his house.

which had bene brought out of THVSCANE. Now the people were so maliciously bent against

him, that every man might see, if they could once take him in a trip, vpon any advantage what so-

euer, they would doubtlesse haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friends and

fouldiers that had served vnder him in the wars, or that had taken charge with him, which were

of silver: for an As was a pecce of mony, whereof ten of them made a Romaine peny. How-

would be quickly requited, with some most sharpe and terrible reuenge, not only vnpleasant to

think vpon, but further most notable to be spoken of through the world. There fel out so sudde-

ly vpon it, such mischiefe towards the city of Rome, & the present time also brought forth such

occasion of danger and destruction thereof, to their shame and infamy: that it was vncertaine

whether it happened by chance, or else it was the handy work of some god, that would not suf-

continued a long time, untill they fortuned in the end to tafte of the wine, which was first brought out of ITALY vnto them. Which drink they found fo good, and were fo delighted with it, that suddenly they armed themselues, and taking their wines and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe feeke out the country that brought forth such fruit, indging all other countries in respect of that, to be but wild & barren. It is said, that the first man Thusane which brought wine vnto them, and that did procure them to passe into ITALY, was a nobleman the procus. of Thyscan called Arron, and otherwise of no ill disposed nature : howbeit he was subject to this misfortune following. He was tutor to an orphan child, the richest that was at that time in minginto all the countrey of Thys can, and of complexion was wonderfull faire: he was called Lucumo, Italy. This orphan was brought vp in Arrons house of a child, and though he was growne to mans ftate, yet he would not go from him, faining he was well, and to his liking. But indeed the cause was, that he loued his mistresse (Arrons wife) whom secretly he had enioyed a long time, and she him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the end, loue having so possessed them both, that neither party could withdraw from other, much lesse conceale it: the yong man stole her away from him, and kept her still by force. Arron put him in suite, but he prevailed not: for Lucumo ouerweyed him with friends, money gifts, and charges. But he rooke Lackof in it so grieuously, that he left his countrey : and having heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto fire the them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALY. So they conquered at their first comming destruction all that country which the THYSCANES held in old time, beginning at the foote of the moun. taines, & stretched out in length from the one sea vnto the other, which enuironeth ITALY, as y of thuseane by the names themselues do witnesse. For they call yet that sea which looketh vnto the North, the A- Gaules, driatick sea: by reason of a city built sometime by the THVS CANES which was called Adria. The other, which lieth directly ouer against the South, is called the THVSCANE sea: All that country is well planted with trees, and hath goodly pleasant pastures for beasts & cattell to feed in, & is notably watered with goodly running rivers. There was also at that time eighteene faire great cities in that country, all of them very strong and well seated, as well for to enrich the inhabitants of the rhast causin old thereof by trafficke, as to make them liue delicately for pleasure. All these cities the GAVLES time. had won, and had expulsed the THYSCANES, but this was done long time before. Now the GAVLES being further entred into THVSCAN, did befrege the city of CLVSIVM. Therupon the Cluftum a CLYSIANS feeking aid of the ROMAINES, befought them they would lendletters & ambassadors vnto these barbarous people in their fauour. They sent vnto them three of the best & most besteed by honorable persons of the city, all three of the house of the Fabians. The GAVLES' received them very courteoufly, because of the name of Rome: and leaving to affault the city, they gaue them audience. The ROMAINE ambassadours did ask them, what injury the CLVSIANS had done vnto them, that they came to make warres with them. Brennus king of the Gavles, hearing this question, smiled and answered them thus: The CLVS IAN'S doe vs wrong in this they being but Gaules. few people together, and notable to occupy much land, do not with standing possesse much, and will let vs haue no part with them, that are itrangers, and out of our country, and stand in need of seat and habitation. The like wrong was offered vnto you Romaines in old time, by those of ALEA, by the FIDENATES, and the ARDEATES: and not long fithens, by the VEIANS, and the CAPENATES: and partly by the FALISCES and the Volsces: against whom ye have taken, and do take armes at all times: and as oft as they will let you have no part of their goods, ye imprison their persons, rob and spoile their goods, and destroy their cities: and in doing this, ye do them no wrong at all, but follow the oldest law that is in the world, which ever leaveth vnto the stronger, that which the weaker cannot keepe and enioy : beginning with the gods, and ending with beafts: the which have this property in nature, that the bigger and stronger have ever the vantage of the weaker and leffer. Therefore, leave your pity to see the Civsians befreged, lest you teach vs Gav L Es to take compassion also of those you have oppressed. By this answer the Romaines knew very well, there was no way to make peace with king Brenniu. Wherfore they entred into the city of CLVSIVM, and incouraged the inhabitants to fallie out with them vponthese barbarous people: either because they had a desire to proue the valiantnesse of the GAVLES, or else to shew their own courage and manhood. So the citizens went out, and skirmifhed with them hard by the wals: in the which one of the Fabians, called Quintus Fabius Ambus breaketh flus, being excellently well horfed, and putting spurs to him, did set vpon a goodly bigge personage of the GAVLES, that had advanced himselfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. nations.

Lacina Apuleins accufed

> many in number: he earnestly befought them, that they would not suffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through false and vniust accusations layd against him, nor to be so scorned and defamed by his enemics. His friends having laid their heads together, and consulted thereupon, The equity madehim answer: that for his judgement they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned of the Romaines who they would alioyne together with a very good wil, to helpe to pay his fine. But he being of mind would not law though not to beare such an open shame & ignominy, determined in choler to leaue the city, & to exile himself from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife & children bidding them farewell, shey dear ely he went out of his house to the gates of the city, and said neuer a word. When he came thither. loved Cahe stayed suddenly, and returning backe againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and millus; but willingly
> offered to made his prayers vnto the gods: that if it were of very spite and malice, and not of iust deserning, that the common people compelled him thus shamefully to for sake the city, that the Romaines pay bu fine. might quickly repent them, and in the face of the world might wish for him, and have need of Camillus prayed behim. After he had made these prayers against the citizes (as Achilles did against the GRECIANS) fore hu dehe went his way, and was condemned for his contempt, in the summe of fifteene thousand Asparture out of Rome. Gs of the Romaine counc, which make of Greekish mony, a thousand five hundred Drachmas Camillu Extleth bir beit there was not a Romaine of any vinderstanding but beleeved certainly that some great pufelfe from Rome. nishment would follow them incontinently, and that the wrong and iniury they had done him

Tokensof

Theorigi-

fer vertue recompensed with ingratitude, to passe vnreuenged. Their first token that threatned fome great mischiese to light vpon them, was the death of Iulius, one of the Censors: for the Ro-MAINS do greatly reuerence the Office of a Cenfor, and efteeme it as a facred place. The second token that happened a liele before Camillus exile, was, that one Marcus Caditius, a man but of meane quality, and none of the Senators (but otherwife a faire conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) told the Tribum militares of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he faid that the night before, as he was going on his way in the new streete, he heard one call him aloud: and returning backe to see what it was, he saw no liuing creature, but only heard a voice bigger the a mans, which faid vnto him, Marcus Caditius, go thy way to morrow morning to the Tribuni militares, and bidthem looke quickly for the GAVLES. The Tribunes were merry at the matter, and made but a least at his warning, & straight after followed the condemnation of Camillus. Now astouching the GAVLES: they came (as they fay) of the CELTE, whose country not being able to maintaine the multitudes of them, they were driven to go feeke other countries to inhabit in: and there were amongst them many thousands of yong men of service and good souldiers, but yet more women & litle children by a great number. Of these people some of them went towards the North sea, passing the mountaines RIPHEI, and did dwell in the extreme parts of EVROPE. Other of them remained betweene the mountaines PIRENEI, and the greatest mountaines of the ALPES, necrevato the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they

Brennsts veprougth Labins for breaking

142

Numa Pö Eled the Colledge of the Faciales

wards Roe.

The Romaines di wywere 40000. footmen.

rulers of an army do all order. and putteth perill.

Allia ft.

The battell at the river of Allia maines.

He was not knowne at the first encounter, as well for the sudden meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his gliftering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had flaine the GAVLE, and came to ftrip him, Brennus then knew him, and protested against him, calling the gods to witnesse, how he had broken the law of armes, that coming as an ambassadour, he had taken vpon him the forme of an enemy. Hercupon Brennus forthwith left skirmishing, and raifing the fiege from CLVSIVM, marched with his army vnto ROME gates. And to the endthe ROMAINES might know, that the GAVLES were not well pleased for the iniury they had receiued : to haue an honest colour to begin wars with the Romaines, he sent an Herald before to Rome, to demand linerie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meane time, he himselfe came marching after, by small journeys to receive their answer. The Senate hereupon assembled, and many of the Senatours blamed the rashnesse of the Fabians: but most of all, the prices called Faciales. For they followed it very earnessly, as a matter that concerned religion, and the honour of the gods: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the refidue of the city of the offence committed, should lay the whole weight and burthen of it vpon him alone, that onely had done the fact. Numa Pompilius, the instell and most peaceable of al the Kings of Rome that had bene, was he that first erected the Colledge of these F.eciales, and did ordaine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the judges to heare and allow all the causes, for the which they should justly beginning warres. Neuerthelesse, the Senate in the end turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the will and judgement of the whole people, before whom the priests Faciales did also accuse Fabius Ambustus. The people made folitle account of their propounded religion, and honour of the gods in that case that in stead of delinering of this Fabius vnto the enemy, they did chuse him for one of the Tribunes of the fouldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so furious & angry thereat, that they would no longer linger their iournies, but marched with al speed vnto Rome. The people that dwelt by the high wates where they should passe by, were maruellously affraid to see the multitude of them, and their braue and vniuerfall furniture: and beginning to doubt the fury of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroy all the champion countrey before them, & afterwards would take all the ftrong cities. They contrariwife did take nothing at al out of the fields, neither did any hurt or displeasure vnto any body but passing by their cities, cried out they went to Rome, and would have no wars but with the Romaines, and how otherwise they defired to be frieds with althe world. These barbarous people marching on in this wise to wards Rome, the Tribunes of the fouldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them. They were no leffe in number then the GAVLES, for they were 40000. footmen: howbeit most part of them were raw foldiers, that had neur ferued in the wars before. They were very careles of the gods, and diffolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their facrifices, neither to aske counfell of their foothfayers, which the Romaines were religiously wont to do, before they gaue any battel. To make the matter worse, the number of the captaines having power & authority alike, did as much (or more then the rest) disorder & confound their doings. For oft times before, in farre leffer matters and dangers then these, they did vie to chuse speciall officers that had sole & soueraigne authority, which they called Distators: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in dangerous times to haue but one head & general, to command all, and to have supreme authority of instice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliver account of his doings to any. The iniury also which they had too vngratefully done to Camillus, brought great mischiefe & inconvenience then vponthem. For the captaines after him, durst no more command the people roughly, but euer after did flatter them much. When their army was now brought into the field, they encaped the selues by a litle river called Allia, about the eleventh from RomE, and not far from the place where the same river falleth into Tyber. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who ouerthrew them in battell, by their disorder & lack of gouernment. For the left point or wing of their battel was broke off at the first by the GAVLES. who charged them fo furioufly, that they draue them headlong into the river. The right wing then retiring out of the plaine, before they had any charge given, & having gotten certaine hils hard by them: they had litle hurt, & most of them sauing themselues, did recouer Rome agains. The rest that escaped after the enemies were wearie of killing, sled by night vnto the citie of VEIEs, thinking Rome had bene loft, and all the city put to the fword. This ouerthrow was on the longest day in Sommer, the Moone being at the full: and the day before fortuned the

great flaughter of the Fabians, of the which were flaine by the THYSCANES in one day 300. all of aname. The very day it felf was afterwards called Alliade, of the name of the litle river, by the which the fecond ouerthrow was given. But for the difference of daies, that fome of them are na. in one stay. turally vnfortunate, or that Heraclitus the Philosopher had reason to reproue the Poet Hesiodus, for making fomedaies good & fome daies ill, as though he vnderstood they were not all of one nature: we have written and declared our opinion thereof in other places. Yet, because the matter deliuereth present occasion to speake of the same, peraduenture it wil not be amisse alledge a few examples of it onely. It fortuned the Bosorians on a time to win two honorable victories, on the first day of the moneth they call Hippodromus (& which the ATHENIANS call Hecatembeon) that is now the moneth of June, by either of the which they did still restore the GR E-CIANS to their liberty. One was the battell of LEVETRES: the other was the battell of GE-RAST E, which was 200. yeares before, when they ouercame Lattamias, and the THESSALIANS in battell. The Persian's contrarily were ouercome in battell by the Grecians the 6.day of August, at the iorney of MARATHON; the third day, at the battell of PLATRES: and on the selfe fame day, neere vnto Mycala. On the fine and twentieth day, at the fight of AREBLES, the A-THENIANS wan the battel by fea, neere vnto the He of Naxos, vnder the charge & government of Chabrias, about the full of the Moone, in the moneth of August. And on the twentieth of the fame moneth, they wan the battell of Salaminas we have written more amply in our history of difference of daies. The moneth of April also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For Alexander the great, ouercame the general of the king of Persia, at the field of Gra-NICA, in the faid moneth. The CARTHAGINIAN'S also were vanquished in CICILE by Timolean, on the feuen and twentieth day thereof. On which day also it is thought the city of Trox was taken: as Ephorus, Califthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus, have written in their histories. Now contrariwise: the moneth of July, which the Bofotians call Panemus, hath not bene gracious to the GRECIANS. For on the feuenth day of the fame, they were ouerthrowne by Antipater at the battell of CRANON, which was their viter destruction. They had before also lost a battell the fame moneth, necre vnto the city of CHERONEA, by king Philip. On the fame day also, and in the very selfe moneth & yeare, those which came into ITALY with king Archidamus were slaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the country. The CARTHAGINIANS also feare the 27.day of the same moneth, as y day which had before time brought them into many great & sorowfull calamities. Contrarily also, I know very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the city of THERES was destroyed by Alexander, and that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receiue a garifo of fouldiers into their citie, about the 20. day of August, at which time they made the holy procession of the mysteries of Iacebus. And on the felf day the Romaine's lost their army, and their Generall Cepio, who was flaine by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards under the leading of Lucullus, they ouercame king Tigranes, & the ARMENIANS. And that Attalus, & Pompey also, died both on the selfe same day they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of me might be brought, vnto whom after like revolutions of time, there happened notable chances of good or ill. But to returne againe vnto our historic. The day of this ouerthrow, is one of those which the ROMAINES take for one of the vnfortunatest daies that ever came vnto them. And by The Ro. reason of that day, they reckon two other daies of enery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred mains sa through feare and superstition, which spreadeth farr (as commonly it doth) vpon such finisher persistent missorrupes Burson by the property with the propert misfortunes. But for this matter, we have written it more largely and exquifitely in the book we wing of made, of the ceremonies & customes of the Romains. Now after this battel lost, if & GAVLES dayes. had hotly purfued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could have saved Rome from being taken, and the inhabitants thereof from being put vnto the sword: for the Romaines that Acd from the battel, brought such a feare upon those that received them, & filled the whole city of Rome with such grices & trembling, that they wist not what to do. The barbarous people againe, beleeuing litle their victory was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a ioy received,& devided among the the spoile of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaue they time & leisure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of Rome, to feek them some place of safety: & to such as remained still, they left good hope to saue the selues, and to make some prouision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified themselves within mount Capitoll, & storing it with al kind of victuall, armor, and munition, they wholly did for fake the rest of the city. But the first worke they tooke in hand was this: They did bring into their sayd

CAMILLVS.

Theholy

The forse

Fabius

Shop of

fort, part of their facred reliques: and the professed Vestals brought thither also their holy fire and all other their holy monuments. Some writers fay, that they had nothing else in keeping, but the sempiternall fire, and were so consecrated by king Numa, who did first institute, that the fire should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most motive and quickest fubstance that is of all naturall things:notwithstanding, that generatio also is a mouing, or at the least not done without motion. For we see, that all other substance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, and without action, and ftirreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craucth the force and heate of fire: as the foule it felfe recouering heate, beginneth fomewhatto moue. and disposeth it selfe to do, and suffer something. Wherefore Numa being (as they say) a man of great learning and understanding, who for his wisdome was reported to talke many times with the Muses, did consecrate the same as a most facred thing, and commanded that they neuer should suffer that fire to go out, but to keepe it, as they would preferre the linely image of the eternall God, the onely King and maker of the world. Other fay, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and facred things, fignifying a kind and maner of purification; which opinion the Grecians hold also: howbeit behind the fame fire, there were certaine hidden things, which in no cafe any might fee, but those holy Vestall Nuns. Many also hold an opinion, that the Palladium of Troy (as much to fay as Pallas image) is hidden also there, which was brought by Aneas into ITALIE. Other do report also, that Dardanus, at that time when he first began to build the city of TROY, brought thither the holy images of y gods of SAMOTHRACIA. and he did offer them vp there: and how Ameas after the city was taken, did steale them away. and kept them untill he came to dwell in ITALY. Some other also, that take upon them to know more therein then the common fort doe, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is empty and standeth open, the other is full and fast locked vp, howbeit they are not to be seene but by these holy Numes. Other thinke also, that these imaginers invented that they spake of their owne heads, because the Vestall Nuns did cast all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the temple of Quirinus: & therfore that very place carieth the furname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the most precious things they had, and fled along the river. Where one Lucius Albinus (one of the common people) flying also, and having brought away his wife and litle children, & other houshold stuffe he had in a cart, by chance he lighted vpon the Vestall Nunnes in the way. But so soone as he perceived these holy Nunnes (carying the blessed reliques and iewels in their armes, dedicated vnto the service of the gods all alone, and that they were weary with going on foot he caused his wife and his children to come out of the cart, and tooke downe all his goods alfo, and willed them to get vp, and flye into some citie or towne of GRECE. Thus, methought, I could not wel passe ouer with silence, Albinus reverence & devotion he shewed vnto the gods, in fo dangerous a time and pinch of extremity. Furthermore the priefts of other gods, and the most honourablest old men of the city of Rom E (that had bene Consuls before time, or had past the honour oftriumph) had not the heart to forfake Rome: but putting on all their most holy robes & vestments, did vow, and as it were willingly facrificed themselves vnto the fortune that should befall them for the safety of their country. And vfing certaine words and prayers which their high Bishop Fabius had taught them, they went euen thus apparelled into y great market place, and did fit them downe there, in chaires of iuory, expecting the goodwil & pleasure of the gods what should become of them. But within three daies after, Brenus came to Rome with his army: who finding the gates of the citie all open, and the wals without watch, he doubted some deuice in it, & feared some privie ambush had bene layed, as one hardly beleeuing to have found the ROMAINES of so base a mind, as to for sake their city. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into Rome by the gate Collina, and tooke the fame little more then 360. yeares afterit was first builded: if it be true at the least that there hath remained any certaine chronicles of those things vnto this present day, considering the trouble & consussion of that time hath made many things more certaine then that, doubtfull vntovs. But fo it was, that the rumour ran to GRECE incontinently how Rome was taken, but yet withall fomewhat doubtfully and vncertainly. For Heraclides Ponticus (who was about that time) faith in a certaine booke he wrote of the foule, that there was newes come from the West part, that an army which came from the Hy-PERBORIANS had taken a city of GRECE called Rome, fituated in that country neare the great sea. But I wonder not that Heraclides (who hath written so many other fables and lyes) did

amplific the true newes of the taking of Rome, with adding too of his owne deuice, of the Hr-PERFORIANS, and by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that Anssorbe the Philosopher had certaine knowledge it was taken by the GAVLES: howbeit he faith allo it was reconcred againe the taking afterwards by one called Lucius: where indeed it was, by Marcus Camillus, and not by Lucius. of Rome But all this in manner is spoken by consecture. Moreover Brennus being entred Rome, did appoint part of his fouldiers to beliege those which were gotten into mount C. pitol. And he with the refidue of his army, marched on towards the market place, where when he faw the ancient of the old of the Senators fet so grauely in their chaires, and spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though senators they faw their enemies come armed against them, neither changed countenance nor colour at founts all, but leaned fortly on their staues they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing afraid nor aplace of place of bashed, but looked one vpon another, he maruellously wondred at it. This their so strange maner at the first did so dampe the GAV LBS, that for a space they stood still, and were in doubt to come neare to touch them, fearing left they had bene fome gods: vntill fuch time as one of them went boldly vnto Marcus Papyrius, & laid his hand faire and loftly vpon his long beard. But Papyrius gaue him such a rap on his pate with his staffe, that he made y bloud run about his ears. This barbarous beaft was in such a rage with the blow, that he drew out his sword and slue him. The other fouldiers also killed all the rest afterwards and so the GAV LES continued many day spoiling and facking all things they found in the houses, and in the end did set them all on fire, & deftroyed them enery one, for despite of those that kept the fort of the Capitoll, and would not yeeld vpon their fummons, but valiantly repulfed them whe they fealed the wals. For this caufe they razed the whole city, and put all to the fword that came in their hands, yong and old, man, The dip of woman and child. Now this fiege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very floutly, victuals began to grow feant in the campe of the GAVLES, infomuch as they were dri- Gaules. uen of force to feeke it abroad without the city. Hercupon they denided themselues, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging and spoiling all the champion countrie and villages thereabouts, scattered as it were by bands and companies, some here some there, searing nothing, nor passing upon watch or ward, they lived in such security of their victory. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them, went by fortune towards the city of Arden where Camillus dwelt, liuing like a prinate man, medling with no drden. matters of state from the time of his exile, vntill that present time. But then he began not to bethink himselfe as a man that was in safetic, and might have escaped the hands of his enemics, but rather fought to deuise and find out all the meanes he could to subdue them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, confidering that the inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in number to fet vpon them, although faint hearted and cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their gouernours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the wars: he began to cast out these words among the yong men: That they should not thinke the Romaines missor-words with the words with the words with the same words with the words w tune fell vponthem, through the valiantnesse of the GAVLES, northat their calamity (who had the Ardeas refused good counsell) had hapned vito them by any work or act of the Gavles, having done the Ros nothing for their part to make them carry away y victory: but that they should think it was no maines. other thing, but Fortune alone, that would needs shew her power. Therefore, that it were now a notable and honourable enterprise (although somewhat dangerous) to drive these strangers and barbarous people out of their country: confidering that the only end of their victory was, but to destroy and consume as fire, al that fell into their hands. Wherfore if they would but only takea good lufty heart and courage vnto them, he would with opportunity and space affure them the victory without any dense. The vote and a second land, and the delast the delast the delast. them the victory without any danger. The yong men were pleased with these words of life and to take comfort. Whereupon Camillus went to breake the matter also vnto the magistrates and counsellers: and having drawne them by perswasion vnto this enterpise, he armed all that were of age to Gaules. cary armour, and would not suffer a man to go out of the city, for feare left the enemies (which were not farre off)should have intelligence of the same. Now after the GAVLES had run over al the champion country, & were loden with al forts of spoiles, they did encampe themselves negligently in open fields, and neuer charged watch nor ward; but having their full carriage of wine laid them down to fleepe, & made no noise at all in their campe. Camillus being advertised therof by his seueralskouts, caused the Andeans with as litle noise as might be, forthwith to go out into the fields: and having marched somewhat roundly the distance betweene the city and the campe of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his fouldiers

@amillus flue the Gaules hard by Ar

make great flouts and cries, and the trumpets to be founded on every fide, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the loud noise they made, could hardly be made to wake they were so deadly drunk. Yetthere were some notwithstanding, that for seare to be taken tardy, did bustle vp at this sudden noise: and coming to themselves, fell to their weapons to resist Camillus, which were flaine by and by. The rest and the greatest number of them lay here and there scattered in the midst of the field without any weapon dead asleepe, starke drunk with wine, and were put to the fword and neuer strake stroke. Those that fled out of the campet hat night (which were but few in number) were ouerthrowne also the next day, by the horsemen that followed and killed them, as they tooke them stragling here and there in the fields. The bruite of this victory was blowne abroad incontinently through all the towns & villages therabouts, which caused many yong men to come and ionne themselues to Camellus: but specially the Romaines desired the fame, that had faued themselues in the city of VEIES, after the battell lost at ALLIA, who made their mones among themselues there, saying: O gods, what a Captaine hath Fortune taken from the city of Rome? What honour hath the city of Ardea by the valiantnesse & worthy deeds of Camillus: and in the meane scason his naturall city that brought him forth, is now lost and vtterly destroyed? We, for lack of a captaine to leade vs, are shut vp here within others wals, & do nothing but fuffer ITALY in the meane space to go to ruine and vtter destruction before our eyes. Why then do we not fend to the Ande Ande for our Captaines or why do we not arme our felues to go vnto him? For he is now no more a banished man, nor we poore citizens: since our city is possessed with the foraine power of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counfel, & fent vnto Camillus to befeech him to be their captaine & leade them. Bur he made answer, he would in no case consent vnto it, vnlesse they that were besieged in the Capitoll had lawfully first confirmed it by their voices. For those (faid he) so long as they remaine within the city, do represent the state & body therof. Therfore if they comanded him to take this charge vpo him, he would most willingly obey the if otherwise they misliked of it, that then he would not meddle against their goodwils & commandement. They having received this answer, there was not a Romaine amongst the, but greatly honoured & extolled the wiscome & instice of camillus. But now they knew not how to make them priny vnto it, that were befieged in the Capitoll: for they saw no possibility to conucy a messenger to the: considering the enemies were lords of the Ponting Co- city, and laid fiege to it. How beit there was one Pontins Cominius among the yong men (a man of a meane house, but yet desirous of honor and glory) that offered himself very willingly to venter to get in it he could. So he took no letters to cary to them that were befreged, for feare lest they Capitoll at might be intercepted, and so they should discouer camillus intention: but putting on an ill fauored gown vpon him, he conueyed certain peeces of corke vnder it and trauelling at noone daies kept on his way without feare vntill he came to Rom B, bringing darke night with him. And because he could not passe by the bridge, for that y barbarous people kept watch vpo it, he wrapped such clothesas he had about his necke (which were not many nor heavy) & tooke the river, & fwimming with these corkes he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other side where the city flood. The taking vp those lanes alwaies where he thought the enemies were not, seeing fire, & hearing noise in other places, he went to the gate Carmetal, where he found more silence then in other places: on the which side also, the hil of the Capitol was more steepe & vpright, by reason of the great rocks that were hard to clime vp vpon. But he digged and crept vp so long amongst the, that he got vp with great pain vnto the wal of the fortres, on the which fide also the enemy kept no watch: and faluting the watch of the Capitol, he told them what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magistrats that ruled then who caused the Senate to affemble prefently, to whom he told the newes of Camillus victory, which they had not heard of before: & therwith also he did declare vnto the, y determinatio of the Romaine fouldiers that were abroad, which was, to make Camillus their captain & generall, and did perswade them also to grant him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whom the citizes gaue their consents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitol, consulted thereupon amongst themselues, and so did chuse Camillus Dictator, & returned the messenger Pontius Cominius backe againe the felfe same way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe was like vnto his coming thither: for the enemies neuer faw him. And fo he brought report to them that were abroad, of the Senates decree & consent, wherof they were al maruellous glad. Thus came Camillus to take this charge of generall vpon him, & found there were twenty thou-

Camillus chofen Di Lator the fecond

fand good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aide also of their allies & confederates, and prepared daily to go and fet vpon the enemies. So was Camillus chofen now Dittator the second time, and went into the city of VETES where he spake with the ROMAINE fouldier that were there, and leauied agreat number of the allies besides, to go fight with the enemies as fooneas he could. But whileft Camillus was thus a preparing, certaine of the barbarous people in Rome, walking out by chance on that fide of the Capitoll where Pontius Cominius had gotten vp the night before: fpied in divers places the prints of his fecte and hands, as he had griped and gotten hold, ftill digging to get vp, and faw the weeds and herbes also growing vpon the rockes, and the earth in like maner flat troden downe. Whereupon they went prefently vnto the king to let him understand the same: who forthwith came to view the place. And having confidered it well, he did nothing at that time: but when darke night was come, he called a company of the lightest GAVLEs together, and that vsed most to dig in mountaines, and said vnto them: Our enemies themselves do show vs the way how to take them, which we could not have found out but by themselues. For they having gone vp before vs. do give vs easily to vnderstand it is no impossible thing for vs to clime vp also. Wherefore we were vtterly shamed having already begun well, if we should faile also to end well: and to leaue this place as vnuincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to clime up to the height thereof, much leffe is it hard for many to get up one after another, to that one do helpe another. Therfore Sirs, I affure you, those that do take paines to get vp, shall be honourably rewarded according to their just defert. When the King had spoken these words vnto the Gavis, they fell to it lustily enery man to The Gaules get vp:and about midnight, they began many of them to dig, and make steps vp to the rocke one the capital after another, as foftly as could possibly, with catching hold the best they could, by the hanging inthe night of the rocke, which they found very steepe, but neuerthelesse casier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formost of them being come to the top of the rock, were now ready to take the wall, and to fet vpon the watch that flept: for there was neither man nor dog that heard the. It chanced then there were holy geefe kept in the temple of Iuno, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: but victuals being very straight and scant at that time euen to find the men, the poore geese were so hard handled and so litle regarded, that they were in maner starued for lacke of meate. This fowle indeed naturally is very quick of hearing, and so is she also very fearful by nature: and being in maner famished with their hard allowance they were so much the more waking and easier to be afraid. Vpon this occasion therefore, they heard the coming of the GAVLES, and also began to run vp and downe and cry for feare : with Theboh which noise they did wake those that were within the castle. The GAVIES being bewrayed by these foolish geese, left their stealing upon them, and came in with all the open noise & terrour they could. The Romaine s hearing this larum, every man tooke such weapon as came first to his hand, and they ran suddenly to rescue that place from whence they vnderstood the noise:among those, the formost man of all, was Marcus Manlius, a man that had bene Consul, who had a lufty body, and as flout a heart. His hap being to meet with two of the GAVLEs together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knock him on the head, he preuented him, & strake off his hand with his fword, and clapt his target on the others face fo fiercely, that he threw him backeward from the downe the rocke; and coming afterwards vnto the wall with others that ran thither with him, capitol. he repulfed therest of the GAVLES that were gotten vp, who were not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the ROMAINE's having escaped this danger, the next morning they threw the captaine downe the rocks from the castle, who had charge of the watch the night before:and gaue Manlius in recompence of the good service he had done, a more honourable then profitable reward, which was this: Euery, man of them gave him halfe a pound of the countrey wheat, which they call Far, and the fourth part of the measure of wine, which the GRECIANS call Cotile: and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the day. After this repulse, the GAV LES began to be discouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them, and durst no more forage abroad in the fields for feare of Camillus and parily also for that the plague came amongst them, being lodged amongst heapes of dead bodies, lying in cue- The Gaules. ry placeaboue ground without burial, and amongst burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes being blowne very high by the wind and vehemency of heat, did giue a drie piercing aire, that did maruelloufly poyfon their bodies when he was a Reme. maruellously poyson their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greatest cause of all their mischiese was, the change of their wonted diet. Who coming out of a fresh

The Remaines went about on and some abeir libertie of the Gaules with gold.

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country, where there were excellent pleasant places to retire vnto, to avoid the discommodity of the parching heat of the former, were now in a naughty plaine country for them to remaine in. in the latter season of the yere. All these things together did heape diseases upon the besides the long continuance of the fiege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the feuenth moneth) by reason wherof there grew a maruellous death in their campe, through the great numbers of the that died daily, and lay vnburied. But notwithstanding al the death and trouble of the GAVLES. the poore befreged ROMAINS were nothing holpen the more, the famine did ftill grow fo fast vpon them. And because they could heare nothing of Camillus, they were growne almost vnto 2 despaire; and send vnto him they could not, the GAVLES kept so straight watch you them in the city. Whereupo both parties finding themselues in hard state, first the watch of either side began to cast out words of peace amongst themselves: and afterwards by consent of the heads. Sulpi. Tribune of the fouldiers, came to parle with Brennus. In which parle it was articled: that the ROMAINES should pay athousand pound weight of gold, and that the GAVLES should incontinently after the receipt of the same, depart out of their city, & all their territories. This decree being passed by oath from both, the gold was brought. And when it came to be weyed, the GAVLEs at the first privily began to deale falsly with them: but afterwards they openly staved the ballance, and would not let them wey no more, whereat the ROMAINE s began to be angry with them. Then Brennus, in scorne and mockerie to despite them more, pluckt off his sword. girdle and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was weyed. Sulpitius feeing that, asked him what he meant by it. Brennus answered him: What can it fignifie else, but forrow to the vanquished? This word cuer after ran as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouths. Some of the ROMAINES tooke this vile part of theirs in fuch fcorn, that they wold needs take the gold from them againe by force, and so returne into their hold, to abide the siege still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it best with patience to put up this scorne of theirs, and not to thinke it was a shame to pay more then they had promised but onely to pay it by compulsion as they did, by misfortune of time, was to think it rather necessary, then honourable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aswell amongst themselues, as with the GAVLES, Camillus came to Rome gates with his army, and vnderstanding all what had passed betweene them, he commanded the rest of the army to march faire and softly after him in good order, and he in the meane feason with the best choise men he had, went before with all speed. Affoone as the other ROMAINE: within the city had spied him, they shouted out for ioy, and received him every one with great reverence, without any more words, as their foueraigne cap. taine and prince, who had power over them all. And Camillus taking the gold out of the scales. gaue it vnto his men, and commanded the GAVLES presently to take vp their scales, and to get them going: for, faith he, It is not the ROMAINE's maner to keepe their countrey with gold, but with the fword. Then Brennus began to be hot, and told him, it was not honourably done of him, to breake the accord that had passed between them before by oath. Whereupon Camillus froutly answered him againe, that accord was of no validity: for he being created Distator before, all other officers & magistrates whatsoeuer, and their acts, by his election were made of no authority. And seeing therefore they had dealt with men that had no power of themselues to accord to any matter, they were to speake to him, if they required ought: for he alone had absolute authority to pardon them if they repented, and would aske it: or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the dammages and losse his country had by them sustained. These words made Brennus mad as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their fwords of all fides, and laid luftily one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could fet no battel in order. But Brennus suddenly remembring himself, that it was no cuen match for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had lost many of his people. The next night following, he departed out of Rome with all his army, and went to encampe himself about a threescore furlongs from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the city of the GARIANS. Camillus with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, and shewed at his camp by the breake of day. The Romain Es hauing taken heart againe vnto them, did luftily give them battell: the same continued long, very cruell and doubtfull, vntill the GAVLEs at the length were ouerthrown, & their campetaken with great flaughter. As for those that did escape the fury of the battell, they were killed, some by the Romaines selues. who hotly followed the chase after the battell broken the residue of them, and the greatest part,

were flaine by those of the cities & villages nere abouts, that did set vpon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the city of Rome strangely againe recovered that was before strangely won and lost, after it had continued seuen moneths in the hands of the barbarous people. For they entred Rome about the fifteenth day of July; and they were driven out againe, about the thirteenth day of February following. So Camillus triumphed as beseemed of the him, and as one that had faued and deliuered his country out of the hands of their enemies, and fet Ком в againe at liberty. Those that had bene abroad all y time of this siege, came into Rome triumphed againe, following his triumphing chariot: and those that had bene besieged within the Capitoll of the (looking for no other but to haue died by famine) went and presented themselues before him. and each one embraced other, in weeping wife for ioy. The priefts & ministers of the temples alfo, prefented their holy iewels, whole and vndefaced, which fome of them had buried in the ground within the city felfe; and other some had carried away with them, when they fled out of Rome. All these the people did as gladly see, as if the gods themselves had returned home again into their city. After they had facrificed vnto the gods, and rendred them most humble thankes, and had purged their city, as they had bene taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the gods, Camillus began againe to build vp the temples that were there before, hard by the which he built another new one also to the god Ains Locutius, in that very place where Marcus Caditius heard the voice warne him of the coming of the GAVLES. So by Camillus good diligence, and the priefts great paine and trauell, the fituations of these temples were with much ado found out againe. But when they were to build againe all the rest of the city, that was wholy burnt and destroyed to the ground, the people had no mind to it, but ener shrinked backeto put any hand to the worke, for that they lacked all things necessarie to begin the same. Furthermore, weighing their late and long fustained trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to begin new labour and toyle, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reach to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their minds to dwell in the city of VEIES, which remained whole, vntouched, and furnished of all things to receive them, they delivered to the pratting Orators (whose The base tongues did neuer ceasse to speake placentia to the people) trim occasion to set this matter abeaded
Oracours broach. So they gaue good care, and were willing to heare certaine feditious words spoken a- Hir the peo. gainst Camillus, which were these: That for his private ambition he would deprive them of a pie so in. city well furnished already, and would against their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houses, wholly burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, that he would make them to raise vp milin. againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the end the people might call him, not onely Captaine and Generall of the Romaines, but the founder of Rome alfo, and so drowne Romulus honourable titlethereof. The Senate confidering of this matter, and fearing fome tumult among the people, they would not suffer Camillus to leaue the Dictatorship before the end of the yeare, notwithstanding no man cuer enjoyed that office aboue fixe moneths. Then Camillus for Popprore his part did much indeuour himselse, to comfort and appealethe people, praying them all he sed could to tarie and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their auncestours, and pur them in mind also of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and fanctified by King Numa, or by the peo-Romulus, or by other Kings. But amongst many other tokens drawne out of holy and dinine things, he forgat notto bring for example, the head of a man found new and fresh, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as if that place by fatall destinic had bene once chosen to be the Rome and head and chiefe of all ITALY. And moreouer, that the holy fire of the goddesse Vesta (which fince the wars had bin kindled againe by the holy Vestal Nuns) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did for fake their naturall city; befides the great shame and dishonor it would be vnto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by vnknowne strangers, or else to be left a common field and pasture, for beasts and cattell to graze in: Such forrowfull examples and griefes, the honest naturall borne citizens, did euer blow into the peoples eares, aswell prinarly as openly. The people agains to the contrary, did make their hearts to yerne for pitie, when they laid before their eyes their penury & pouerty they fultained: and befought them also not to enforce them to gather and iowne together againe the broken pecces of a spoiled city (as of a shipwrack that had cast them naked into the sea, having only saued bare life & persons) since that they had another city neare at hand and readie to receive them. So Camillus counsell was, that the Senate should confult vpon this matter, & deliuer their absolute opinion herein; which was done. And

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in this counsell, he himselfe brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leave in any case, the place of their naturall birth and countrey; and so did many other Senatours in like case, fauouring that opinion. Last of all, after these perswasions, he commanded Lucius Lueretius (whose manner was to speake first in such assemblies) that he should stand up and deliner his opinion, and that the rest also in order as they fate, should say their minds. So every mankeeping filence as Lacretius was readie to speake, at the present time there passed by their councell house, a captaine with his band that warded that day, who spake aloud to his ensigne bearer that went formost to stay and set downe his ensigne there for faid he, here is a very good place for vs to dwell in. These words being heard vp into the Senate house, euen as they stood all in a doubt & maze what would be the refolution of this matter, Lucretius began to say, that he most humbly thanked the gods and allowed of the captaines judgement, and so every one of the rest in their order, faid as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull change and alteration of mind fodainly among the common people: for every man did perswade and encourage his fellow lively to put his hand to this work. Infomuch as tarying for no division or appointing out of streets. nor setting out every man his place he should build in, they fell to work of all hands, every one chusing that place he liked best, & was most commodious for their building, without anyother order or division amongst them. Wherupon, they running to this building on a head, the streets were confused on heaps together, and their houses all built out of order & vniformity. For the report goeth, that the whole city (aswell common as private buildings) was built vp new againe in a yeare. But the surveiors, to whom Camillus had given charge to find out all the holy places where the temples had bene ouerthrowne, as they went about mount Palatine, they came by chance to the place, where the chappel of Mars had flood, which the GAVLE's had wholy burnt and deftroyed as they had done all the reft. They making cleane the place, and furueying energy corner, did find by chance Romalus augures crooked ftaffe hidden under a great mount of afhes. This staffe is crooked at one of the ends, & they call it Litus, which soothsayers do vseto quar-This state is crooked at one of the ends, at they can it Lines, which too that yet at over to quarwhole after ter out the regions of the element, when they will be hold the flying of birds to tell of things to come. Romulus that was very skilfull in this art, did vie this staffe: and after he was taken away from all mens fights, the priefts took it, and kept it as a holy relique, suffering no creature to lav hands on it. Now when they found this staffe whole & vnbroke, where al things else were costimed and perished by fire, they were in a maruellous ioy thereat: for they interpreted this to be a figne of the euerlasting continuance of the city of Rome. But before they could make an end of all their building, there grew a new war againe vpon them. For at one very instant, all the Æ-QVES, the Volsces, and the LATINES, entred with all their might & maine into the territories of the Romaines. The Thyscane's also went then and besieged Sytrium, that was in league and amity with the Romains. The Tribuni militares got them straight to the field with their army, & encamped about mount Martian. The LATINES befieged them fo straightly, that their army stood in great danger to be ouerthrowne, & they were driven to send to Rou E for a new fupply. Therupon the ROMAINES did choose Camillus Distator againe the third time. The occasion of this war is reported two maner of waies: whereof I will declare the first, which I do concciue to be but a tale. They fay the LATINES fent vnto the ROMAINES, to demand some of their free maides in mariage; which they did either to make a quarrell of war, or elfe as defirous indeed to ioyne both the peoples againe by new mariages. The Romaines were amazed very much at this, and fore troubled, as not knowing how to answer them, they were so a fraid of wars. For they were yet scant new setled at home, and dreaded much lest this demand of their daughters, was but a fummons made to give them hostages, which they finely cloaked vnder the name of alliace in mariage. Some fay that there was at that time a bond maid called Tutola, or as some say, Philotis, that went vnto the Senat, & counselled them they should send her away with fome other faire maide flaues, dreffed up like gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuice, and chose such a number of bond maids as she defired to haue, and trimming them up in fine apparell, begawded with chaines of gold and iewels, they sent them forth to the LATINES, who were encamped not far from the city. When night was come, the other maids hid their enemies fwords. But this Tutola, or Philotis (call her as you wil) did clime vp to the top of a wild figtree, from which she shewed a burning torch vnto the Romains, hauing made shift to hang somwhat behind her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For this fignall the Senate of Rome had fecretly appointed herto fet vp, which was the cause that the iffuing

issuing out of the souldiers, being commanded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being pressed by their captains, they called one another, & there was great ado to put thế in order of battel. Thus they went to take their enemies fleeping, who nothing mistrusting Reme delithe same, were slaine the most part of them within their campe. This was done on the fift day of wered from the moneth called then Quintilis, and now is named Iuly: at which time they do yet celebrate a Thiolathe certain feast in remembrance of that act. For first of al, going out of y city, they cal aloud many bondmaids. of their fellowes names which are most common: as Cains, Marcus, and Lucius, shewing thereby how one of them called another after that fort, as they went in great hafte out of the city. Afterwardsall the maid-fernants of the city being trimly apparelled, goe playing vp and downe the The maides towne, pleasantly iesting with those they meet: and in the end they make as though they fought together, in token that they did helpethe Royal Var at they rive as the rive as they rive as they rive as they rive as they rive as the rive as they together, in token that they did helpe the Romaines at that time to destroy y Latines. Then pratine. they are feasted, sitting under bowers made with wild sigtree boughes: and this feast is called None Capratina, by reason of the wild figge tree (as some thinke) from the top whereof, the bond maid shewed to the Romaines the burning torch. For the Romains call the wild figgetree, Caprificus. Other say, that all these things are done and spoken in remembrance of the mischance that happened vnto Romulus, whiche was taken out of their fight, the same day without the gates of the city, at which time there arose a sodain mist & dark cloud. Or as some other say, that then was the eclipse of the Sun: and they hold opinion that the day was named None Capratine, because Capra in the Romaine tongue, signifieth a goate. Romulus vanished out of mens sights, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neare vnto the place which is called goat marsh, as we have mentioned more at large in his life. The fecond occasion and beginning of this war(according to the opinion of most writers) was, that Camillus being chosen Distator the third time, and knowing that the Trib, militares with their army were straightly besieged by the LATINES and Volsces, he was enforced to arme all the old men, who for very age were priviledged from further service inwars. And having fetched a great compasse about mount Martian, because he would not be seen of his enemies, he came to lodge his camp behind them, where he raised fires, tomake the Romaines know that were befieged, that he was come: which as foone as they perceiued, they tooke to them courage againe, and determined to fight. But the LATINES and Volsces, kept within their camp, & did intrench & fortifie themselues with a wall of wood, which they laid acrosse, because they saw they were befet both before and behind and determined to tarie the reliefe of a new supply, as well of their own, as of some further aide besides from the THVSCANS: which thing Camillus perceiuing, and fearing lest they should serue him, as he had already handled them, by compaffing of him againe behind, he thought it necessarie to preuent this. So considering the inclosure and fortification of their camp was all of wood, and that enery morning commonly, there came a great wind from the fide of the mountaines, he made camillus provision of a number of fire brands. And leading out his army into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one part of them to give charge vpon the enemies on the one fide, with great lating and houring and h noise and shouting and he with the other part determined to raise fire on the contrary side, from Police. whence the wind should come, looking for oportunity to do the same. When he saw the Sunne vp, and the wind beginning to whiftle, blowing a good gale from the fide of the hils, & that the skirmish was begun on the other side: then he gaue a signall vnto the company he led with him, to set vpon the enemies, and made them throw into the inclosure of their campe, diverse pots and darts with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in this inclosure of wood, and trees laid ouerthwart, did raise straight an exceeding great stame in the aire, and still got way inwards into the LATINES campe. Whereupon the LATINES being unprovided of present remedy to quench the flame, and feeing their camp a fire al about their eares, they gathered themfeluestogether at the first in a very small roome. Neuerthelesse, they were enforced in the end to getthem into the field, and there they found their enemies ready armed, and in battell ray. So as few of those escaped that came into the field, and their fellowes that remained within their camillas campe, were burnt to death with fire, vntill the Romains themselves came to quench it for fusther greedinesse of their spoile & goods. When all this was done, Camillus left his son in the camp, to keepe the prisoners and spoiles: & he himself, with the rest of the armie, went to inuade his enemies country, where he took the city of AQVES. Then after he had ouercome the Volsces, he camillus led his army presently from thence vnto the city of Svrrivm. For he had not yet heard of their missortile. Therefore he had a him self-resident heard of their side in the heard of the heard of their side in the heard of t misfortue. Therfore he hasted himself to aid the because he thought they were yet besieged by Agus.

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the THYSCANS, But fuch was their hard fortune, that they had already yeelded up their city by composition, and saued no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backes. So being turned out of all they had, they met Camillus by the way as they were wandring abroad. lamenting their misery with their wines and litle yong children: whose misery went to the very heart of Camillus, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he saw the Ro-MAINES weepe for pitic alfo, to fee the mone that these vnfortunate people made vnto him,& that it grieued them heartily to behold their great mischance:he determined with himselfe not to deferre reuenge, but presently to go the selfe same day before the city of Sytriva, imagining that he should find the THYSCANS out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good cheere, because they had newly taken a wealthy rich city, where they had left neuer an enemy in the same to hurt them, neither feared any abroade to come neare to affault them. And in deed it fell out rightly as he geffed. For he had not only paffed through the territories of the citie, without any intelligence given to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles before they heard any thing of his coming by reason they neither kept watch nor ward, but were dispersed abroad in the city, in every house, cating and drinking drunke together. Infomuch as when they knew their enemies were already within the city, they were so full fraught with meate and wine, that the most of their wits serned them not fo much as to flie, but taried vntill they were flaine or taken, like beafts in the houses. Thus was the city of Syrrivm twife taken in one day. And it chanced that those which had won it, loft it:and those which had lost it, recourred it againe by Camillus meanes; who deserued both the honour and entrie of triumph into Rome: the which wan him no lefte good will and glory, then the two first before had done praise, and gotten fame. For euch his greatest enemies that most spited and enuied his former noble acts, alcribing them rather to fortune that fauoured him, then to his valiant neffe or worthines, were forced now by this deed of his to confesse, that his wisdome and valiantnesse deserved praise and commendation to the skies. Camillus of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was Marcus Manlius, that was the first man that gaue the GAVLES the repulse that night they had entred the walles of the Capitoll, and had thought to haue taken it: whereupon they gaue him the furname of Capitolinus. He aspiring to be the chiefe of the city, and finding no direct way to exceed the glory of Camillus, took the broad high way of them that practife tyranny. For he began to flatter the common people, and specially those that were indebted; he tooke you him to defend their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours hands, and caried them away by force, that for lacke of ability to pay were by rigour of the law condemned to be bondflaues. But by this practife, in short time he got him amaruellous number of fuch needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest citizens were afraid of the infolent parts they played, and of the continuall troubles & tumults they daily flirred vp in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they did chuse Quintus Capitolinus Dictator: who caused the said Manlius immediatly to be apprehended, and comelapsingri- mitted him to prison. Whereupon the people began to change their apparell: which they were neuer wont to do but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing left fome commotion would rife hereupon, they did fet him at liberty againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wifer thereby, but did ftill ftirre vp the commons, more boldly and feditiously then before. Then was Camillus chosen againe Tribunus militaris, and Mantius was accused in his time of office. But when the matter came to pleading, the fight of the Capitoll troubled his accusers much. For the very place it selfe where Manlius had repulsed the GAVLES by night, and defended the Capitoll, was eafily feene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing; and he himfelfe pointing with his hand, shewed the place vnto the gods, and weeping tenderly, he laid before them the remembrance of the hazard of his life, in fight for their safetie. This did moue the judges hearts to pitic, so as they knew not what to do, but many times they did put ouer the hearing of his case vnto another day, and neither would they give judgement, knowing he was condicted by manifelt proofes; neither could they vie the federity of the law vpon him, because the place of his so notable good service was euer still before their eyes. Wherefore Camillus finding the cause of delay of instice, did make the place of judgement to be remound without the cry, into a place called the wood Petelian, from whence they could not fee the Capitoll. And there the accusers gave apparent evidence against him: and the judges confidering

confidering all his wicked practifes, conceined a inflicante to punish him, as he had deferred. So they gave sentence of death against him:that he should be caried to the mount Capitol, & there to be throwne downe headlong the rockes thereof. Thus, one and the felfe place was a memory Manlim both of his notable good fertice, and also of his miserable and vnfortunate end. Besides all Capitolium this, they razed his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call Moneta: and made a law also, that no Patrician from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitol. Camillus after this, being called again to take the office of tribunus militaris the fixt tinge. he thought to excuse himself, aswel for that he saw he was wel stept in yeares, as also for that he feared Fortunes spite, or some mishap after he had obtained such glory for his noble actes and feruice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sicknesse; which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allow no excuse by any meanes, but cried out, they did not defire he should fight on foote nor on horseback, but that he should only give counsell, and command: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named Lucius Frurius, against their enemies the PRENESTINES, & the Volsces, who ionning together, did inuade the confines of the Romaines friends. So he led his army out immediatly to the field, and camped as neere the enemie as he could: being minded for his part to draw the wars out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if need required) whe he had recoursed strength. But Frurius cotrarily counting glory, was wholy bent to hazard the battell, what soeuer perill came of it: and to this end he stirred vp and incouraged the Captaines of euery prinat band. Wherfore Camillus fearing lest they should think, for ill wil he bare the yong men, that he went about to hinder and take away the meane to win their honor, and to do some noble act: suffered Frurius against his will to put his men in order of battel, and he in the meane scason by reason of his sicknesse, remained with a few about him in the campe. So went Lucius vpon a head to present battell to the enemie, and so was he as headily also overthrowne. But Camillus hearing the Romaine's were overthrowne, fick as he was vpon his bed, got vp.& taking his houshold servants with him, he went in haste to the gates of the campe, and passed through those that fled, vntill he came to meete with the enemies that had them in chase. The Polices, and ROMAINES seeing this that were already entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they saw him, they gathered together and put themselues againe in array before him, and perswaded one another not to forsake their Captain. So their enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would pursue no further that day. But the next morning, Camillus leading his army into the field, gaue them battell, and wanne the Camillus field of them by plaine force: and following the victory hard, he entred amongst them that fled into their camp pelmell, or hand ouer head, and flue the most part of them euen there. After this Prangines victory, he was aductifed how the THVSCANS had taken the city of SVTRIVM, and had put to and voltees. the fword all the inhabitants of the fame, which were ROMAINE citizens. Whereupon he fent to Rour the greatest part of his army, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went & gaue affault vnto the THVSCANES, that now were harbored in the city of SVTRIVM. Which Comillus when he had won again, he flue part of them, & the other faued themselues by flight. After this, The state of he returned to Rome with an exceeding spoile, confirming by experience, the wisedome of the at Sustrium ROMAINS, who did not feare the age nor ficknesse of a good captaine that was expert and valiant, but had chosen him against his will, though he was both old and sicke and preferred him far before the yonger and luftier that made sute to have the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THVSCVLANIANS were revolted, they fent Camillus thither again, willing him of fine other companions to take out one he liked best, energy of the which desired to be chosen, fine against and made their fute vnto him for the same. But he refusing al other, did chuse againe Lucius Frue the Thusturius beyond all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needes would against his will ha- lan'ans, zard battell, in which he was ouerthrowne. Howbeit Camillus, having a desire (as I thinke) to hide his fault and shame he had received, did of courtesse preferre him before all other. Now the Thys cylanians hearing of Camillus coming against them, subtilly sought to colour the Theoretical fault they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the Thusenthe fields, some to plough, other to keepe the beasts, as if they had bene in best peace: and landam. did set the gates of the city wide open, sent their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupations in their shops, the men of behaviour and honest citizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, and the officers and governours of the city went vp and

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downe to every house, commanding them to prepare lodgings for the Romains, as if they had stood in no feare at al, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit al these fine setches could not make Camillus beleeve, but that they had intent to rebell against the ROMAINES! Vet they made Camillus pitie them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to do. So he commanded them to go to Rome to the Senate, to craue pardon for their fault: and he himfelfe did helpe them, not only to purge their city of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the priviledge and freedome of Rome. And these be the chiefest acts Camillus did in the sixttime Great fedi- of his Tribuneship. After this, one Licinius Stolo moued great fedition in the city, betweene the common people and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which were chosen yearely, the one of them should be a commoner, and not that both of them should be of the ancient noble families, called Patricians. The Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the election of the Confuls, the people staied: so that the common-wealth went to decay, and declined to greater troubles, then euer it did before, for lacke of gouernement. But to suppresse this. the Senate created Camillus the fourth time Dictator: but this was foreagainst his will, because it misliked the people much. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing ferued him in many wars and battels, might boldly and truly fay vnto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the warres, then he had done by the Patricians in peace. Yet was he created Dictator in despite, to rule the people, and of enuie in the noble mentowards them. This necessity did vrge him, either by force to suppresse the people, if he were the stronger in this diffention: or else that he himselse should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. C. millus notwithstanding, preparing to preuent this mischiefe, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the paffing of their law by voices of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations set vpon posts, that the same very day he would muster the people: & all was but to draw them from the market place into the field of Mars, & did fet great penalties vpon those that should be lacking at the musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrary part did withstand his threats, & sware they would condemne Camillus self in fiftie thousand Drachmas of silver, if he did not let the people alone, but would goe about to disturb the forgining their voices to such a law as they liked of. Camillus perceiving this, & fearing to be condemned and banished once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being now an old man, & one that had done so many great & notable acts, or els for that he thought himself not strong enough to withstand the force of the people: he kept his house that day, fay. ning himfelfe to be fick, and certaine other dayes following, and in the end he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another Dictator, who named the same Licinius Stoli Generall of the horsemen, that was the author and furtherer of all this sedition : and besides did fuffer him to preferre another law, and to passe it by voices of the people, that aboue all other lawes, did most trouble the Patricians. Which law did forbid any citizen of Rome, to haue, or occupy aboue fine hundred ingera, which amount to 330 acres & a halfe, 12 . pole, and 121 . parts Siolo made of a pole. Then was this Stolo aloft, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite enso; ing of of the Senat established this law. Howbeit shortly after it was found out, that himself had more number of acres then his owne law permitted: by reason whereof, he received the iust punish firit offenment of his own deuised forfeiture. Yet the most weighty matter of al this dissention that began first, & most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained still vadetermined. But while these matters were thus in talk, the ROMAINES had certaine intelligence, The Gaules how the GAVLES were departed once againe from the Adriaticke sea, and were coming with come againe great power straight vnto Rom E:vpo report of which news, the wars followed immediatly. For the GAVLES destroyed the champion countrey as they went: and the poore country menthat chosen Dic. could not recouer Rome, were scattered here and there amongst the mountaines. The scarces fift time. this did somewhat appease the dissention. The people then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sort with the noble, did all with one voice and assent chuse Camillus Dielater the fifttime his fooddiers He was now a very old man, lacking litle of fourefcore yeares: but neuertheleffe, confidering the necessity and present danger, without framing any excuse, or starting as he had before, hevndertooke the charge. Now that he had taken it vpon him, he presently leanied men, & prepared his army. And knowing very well how the fierceneffe of these barbarous GAVLES confisted in fight with downe right blowes with their fwords, with which they would strike off heads and should ders ofmen at a blow, mangling them like butchers, without any art or skill of fight: hee

raused yron fallets, & morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the outfide as could be, that their fwords lighting on them, should either slide off, or breake. Moreoner, he caused their shields to have barres made about them of copper, because the wood selfe was not able to abide their blowes. Furthermore, he did teach his fouldiers to cary long lauelins or punchion staues, wherewith they might wound their enemies lifting vp their swords to strike them. Now when the GAVLES were come neare Rome, having pitched their campe ypon the river of Anian, and being full loden and stuffed with all kinds of ipoile and booties: then Camil- Aniu & lus brought his army also into the field, and went to lodge on a little hill which was easie to get vpon, where there were many little caues, fo that the most of his army was all hidden and couered, and those that were seemed to be retired thither into those high places for anadnantage, and of feare. Camillus to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder, did fuffer them to come and spoile even to the foot of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept himself quiet in his campe and well fortified: untillsuch time as he spied occasion of aduantage, that the best part of their army were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fields: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drinking as they vsed carelesly at al houres. Then Camillus sent very early before day, his lightest armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in coming out of their camp, and to let them in any case from putting their men in order of battell: and he in the break of day came downe into the plaine, and did fet his other menbeing well armed, in good array, which were a great number, and lufty fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, few, & fearefull. This at the very first discouraged the hearts of the GAVLES maruellously, because they thought themselves dishonoured, that the Romaines should charge them sirst. Afterwards also Camillus vaunt-guard did set vpon the GAVLES, and that on a sodaine, beforethey had leifure to put themselues in battel, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chance. In the end also, Camillus came vpon the neckes ofthem, with all his whole force and army together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding vp their naked fwords aloft in their hands. But the Romaines thrusting with their armed Jauelins, received their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their swords (their blades being very sharpe and thinne ground, and of so soft a temper) that they bowed againe, and stood crooked vnreasonably and furthermore, having pierced their shields through with their punching staues, the GAVLE's armes were so clogd and wearied with them, the Romaines plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their fwords and shields, and slying in, closed with the Romaines and caught hold of their iauelins, thinking by plaine force to have wrested them out of their hands. Howbeit they perceiuing then the GAVLES were naked, fell straight to their swords: and so was the slaughter of their first comillus ranks very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the plaine; because Camil-Ins had caused all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither egains. did they retire towards their camp, for that it was unfortified, & also knew well inough it would becasily taken. This battel (as they say) was thirteene yeares after their taking of Rome before. Butafter that field, the Romaines courages were good enough against these barbarous GAVLES, whomthey stood in feare of before: thinking the first time they came, that they had not ouercome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongst them, or through some other strange chance. For they did so feare them at that time, that they made a law, that The Rotheir priests should be exempted from warres, so it were not against the GAVLES. This ouerthrow was y last martiall act Camillus did in the wars. For, the taking of the city of VELITRES, ted prifts was an accident depending vponthis iourney : because they yeelded straight vnto him, without from the firiking any stroke. But the feditionsnesse of the people of Rome about government, and the chusing of the yeare Confuls, was the hardest matter he euer had in hand. For they returning home to Rome strong and of great power, by their late obtained victory, would in any case haue one of the Confuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their ancient custome. But the Senate stoutly withstood it, and would not suffer Camillus to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authority, which was great then, that they should maintaine and continue their ancient dignity, and prerogative of their nobilitie. But as Camillus was fet in his chaire in the market place, where he heard and dispatched causes, there came a Sergeant to him, fent from the Tribunes of the people, who commanded him to follow him,

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Camillus died of the plague.

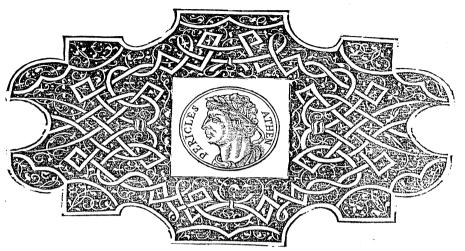
and therewithal layd violent hands upon him, as he would have caried him away by force. This made such a terrible tumult and vprore, that the like was neuer seene before in the market place. For Camillus friends draue the sergeant backe behind the chaire. The common people cried out againeto the forgeant from beneath, Pull him out of his chaire. This fo amazed Camillus, that he knew not well what to say to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne vp his of fice, but taking those Senators he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept: and there, before he would go into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, and made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would please them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vow and promise (if these tumults and troubles might be pacified) that he would build a temple of Concord. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and diversitie of opinions among them: yet in the end, the casiest way did carrie it, and that was, to grant the common peoples desire, that a commoner should be chosen Consull with anoble man. The Dictator having openly published to the people the Senates decree, confirming their desire: the common people were so ioy full, that at that present they let fall all their malice against the Nobility and Senate, and brought Camillus home to his house, with great shouts of joy and clapping of hands. The next morning all the people being assembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of Concord should be built at the common-wealths charge (according to the vow Camillus had made) in fuch a place, as it might be seene from the market place self, where all the assemblies for matters of counsell were made. And further, it was ordered that one day more should be added to the feasts of the LATINES: and that from thenceforth they should solemnize foure festivall daies, and should presently make great sacrifices vnto the gods, in every temple of the city, to give them thanks: and in token of ioy they should al weare garlands vpon their heads for this reconciliation. So Camillus proceeding to election, there were chosen two Consuls, Marcus Æmilius of the noble Patricians, and Lucius Sextus of the Plebeians or comoners. And this was the last ad that ever Camillus did. For the next yeare after the plague was in Rome, and took eaway an infinite number of the people that died, belides many Magistrates and Officers of the city that departed:among whom, Camillus also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had lived a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life, and was ripe for death: yet the Romaines made more mone and lamentation for his death alone, then for all therest the plague had alreadie

confumed. The end of Furius Camillus life.

THE



THE LIFE OF Pericles.





ÆSAR feeing in Rome one day certaine rich and wealthy strangers. hauing litle dogs and monkies in their armes, and that they made maruellous much of them, heasked the if the women in their country had no children: wisely reprouing them by this question, for that they bestowed their naturall loue and affection vpon brute beasts, which they should with all kindnesse and loue bestow vpon men. Nature in like case also, having planted in our minds a naturall defire to learne & vnderstand, we are in reason to reproue those that vainly abuse this good defire, fondly disposing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable; and

to cast behind them in the meane season things honest and necessary to be learned. For as touching our outward sense, which with passion receiverh impression of the thing it seeth, peraduenture it will be necessary to consider indifferently the thing scene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtfull vnto him: but fo fareth it not with our vnderstanding, for every man may at his pleasure turne and dispose that to the thing he taketh delight in the reason whereof we must alwayes employ to the best part, and that not only to consider and look vpon the thing, but also to reape the benefit & commodity of the thing we fee. For like as the eye is most delighted with wir abrates the lightest and freshest colors:euen so we must give our minds vnto those sights, which by looking vpon them do draw profit and pleasure vnto vs. For such effects doth vertue bring that cither to heare or reade them, they do print in our hearts an earnest loue & desire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we esteeme, neither are we alwaies disposed to desire to do y things we see wel done: but contrarily oftentimes, whe we like the work, we mislike the workman, as commonly in making these perfumes and purple colours. For both the one and the other do please vs well: but yet we take perfumers & dyers to be men of a meane occupation. Therfore Antisthenes answered one very wisely, that told him Ismenias was an excellent player of the flute: But yet he is a naughty man, said he: otherwise he could not be so cuning at the flute flute flute player. as he is. Euen fo did Philip king of MACEDON fay to his sonne Alexander the Great on a time: that at a certaine feast had fung passing sweetly, and like a master of musicke: Art thou not ashamed son to sing so well: It is enough for a king to bestow his leasure sometimes to heare mufixians fing, & he doth much honor to the Muses to heare the masters of the science otherwhile, when one of them fingeth to excell another. But he that perfonally shall bestow his time, exer-

PERICLES. 158 cifing any meane science, bringeth his paines he hathtaken in matters vnprositable, a witnesse against himselfe, to prooue that he hath bene negligent to learne things honest and profitable.

Pericles

Pericles dreame. Tericlet. had a long

And there was neuer any yong gentleman nobly borne, that seeing the image of Inpiter (which is in the city of PISA) defired to become Phidias nor Polycletus, for feeing of Iuno in the city of Ak Gos: northat defired to be Anacresn, or Philemon, or Archilochus, for that they tooke pleasure fometime to reade their works. For it followeth not of necessity, that though the work delight, the workman must needs be praised. So in like case, such things do not profit those which behold them, because they do not moue affection in the harts of y beholders to follow them, neither do stir vp affection to resemble them, and much lesse to conforme our selues vnto them. But vertue hath this singular property in all her actions, that she maketh the man that knoweth her, to affect her fo, that straight he liketh all her doings, and desireth to follow those that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only defire to have them in possession: but of vertue, we chiefly loue the deeds. Wherfore we are contented to have goods from other men: but good deeds we wold other should have fro vs. For vertue is of this power, that she allureth a mans mind presently to vse her, that wisely considereth of her, and maketh him very desirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only vnderstäding and knowledge of vertuous deeds, which suddenly bringeth vnto him a resolute desire to do the like. And this is the reason, why me thought I should continue still to write on the lives of noble men, and why I made also this tenth booke; in the which are contained the lines of Peri. cles, and Fabius Maximus, who maintained wars against Hannibal. For they were both men very like together in many fundry vertues, and specially in curtesse and inflice and for that they could patiently beare the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were maruellous profitable members for their country. But if we have forted them well together, comparing the one with the other you shall easily judge that reade our writings of their liues. Pericles was of the tribe of the Acamantides, of the town of Cholar Gvs, and one of the best and most ancient families of the city of ATHENS, both by his father & mother. For Xantippus his father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of Persia in the iourny of Mygala) maried Agarifte that came of Clifthenes, he who draue out of Athens Pyfiftratus of-spring, & valiantly ouerthrew their tyranny. Afterwards he established lawes, & ordaineda very graue forme of gouernment, to maintaine his citizens in peace and concord together. This Agariste dreamed one night that she was brought to bed of a Lion: and very shortly after she was delivered of Pericles, who was so well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, fauing that his head was somewhat too long and out of proportion to the rest of his body. And this is the only cause why all the statues and images of him almost, are made with a helmet on his head: because the workmen as it should seeme (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the blemish of his deformity. But the Artican Poets did call him Schinocephalos, as much to say as, headed like an onion. For those of Attica do sometime name that which is ealled in the vulgar tongue Scilla, that is to fay, an onion of Barbarie, Schines. And Cratinus the comicall Poet in his Comedy he intituled Chirones, faid:

Old Saturne he, and dreadfull dire Debate, Begotten have betweene them carnally, This tyrant here, this heavy iolting pate, In court of gods fo termed worthily.

And againe also in that which he nameth Nemesis, speaking of him, he saith:

Come Inpiter come Inpiter, Come iolt head, and come inkeeper. And Teleclides mocking him also, saith in a place: Sometimes he stands amaz'd when he perceiues, That hard it were sufficiently to know,

In what estate his gouernment he leanes, And then will he be seldome seene below, Such heavie heapes within his braines do grow. But yet sometimes out of that monstrous pate, He thundreth fast and threatneth enery state.

And Eupolis in a Comedy which he intituled Demi . being very inquifitiue, and asking particu-

Iarly of euery one of the Oratours (whom he fained were returned out of hell) when they named Pericles the last man vnto him, he said:

Truly thou hast now brought vnto vs here that dwell,

The chiefe of all the captaines that come from darkfome hell. And as for musick, the most authors write, that Damon did teach him musicke, of whose name fluidies of (as men say) they should pronounce the first fillable short. Howbeit Aristotle saith, that he was seathers. taught mufick by Pythoclides. Howfocuer it was, it is certain that this Damon was a man of deepe vnderstanding, and subtill in matters of gouernement: for, to hide from the people his sufficiencietherein, he gane it out he was a musitian, and did resort vnto Pericles as a master wrestler or fencer:but he taught him how he should deale in matters of state. Notwithstanding, in the end he could not fo cunningly conney this matter, but the people faw his harping and musicke was only a vizard to his other practife: wherefore they did banish him ATHENS for fine yeares, as a man that builly tooke vpon him to change the state of things, and that fauoured tyranny. And this gaue the comicall Poets matter to play vpon him finely, among which Plate in a Comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him:

O Chiron, tell me firft : art thou indeed the man,

Which did instruct Pericles thus? make answer if thou can. He was sometime also scholer to the Philosopher Zenon, who was borne in the city of ELEA, Zenon Elez and taught naturall Philosophie, as Parmenides did: but his profession was to thwart and contraricall men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his disputation, which were so intricate, that his aduersary replying against him, knew not how to answer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which Timon Phliasius witnesseth in these words:

Zenon was subtill sure, and very eloquent, And craftily could wind a man by way of aroument. If so he were disposed, his cunning to descrie, Or shew the sharpnesse of his wit to practise pelicie.

But Anaxagoras Clazomenian was he that was most familiar and conversant with him, and did put in him the maiesty and grauity he shewed in all his sayings, and doings, who did sarre excell the common course of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be short, he it was that did fashion his manners, altogether to carie that graue countenance which he did. For they called Anaxagoras in his time, Mus, as much to fay; as vnderstanding. Either because they had his fingular wit and capacity in fuch great admiration, being grownero fearch out the cause of naturall things: or that he was the first man, who did ascribe the disposition and governoment of this world, not vnto Fortune or fatall necessitie, but vnto a pure, simple, and vnderstanding mind, which doth separate as the first mouing cause, the substance of such like parts as are medled and compounded of diverse substances, in all other bodies through the world. Pericles made maruellous much of Anaxagoras, who had fully instructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of those specially that worke about in the aire and firmament. For he grew Perider not only to have a great mind and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or groffe countrey termes: but to a certaine modest countenance that scantly smiled, very sober in his gate, hauing a kind of found in his voice that he neuer lost nor altered, and was of very honest behauiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that croffed him, and many other fuch like things, as all that faw them in him, and confidered them, could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughtie busie fellow on a time, that a whole day together did nothing but raile vpon Pericles in the market place, and reuile him to his face, with all the villanous words he could vse. But Pericles put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a word againe, dif- Poiles patching in the meane time matters of importance he had in hand, vntill night came, that he patients. went fortly home to his house, shewing no alteration nor semblance of trouble at al, though this lewd varlet followed him at § heeles, with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owndores being dark night, he commanded one of his men to take a torch, and to bring this man home to his house. Yet the Poet Ion faith, that Pericles was a very proud man, and a stately, and that with his grauity and noble mind, there was mingled a certaine scorne and contempt of other: and contrarily, he greatly praiseth the civility, humanity and courtese of Cimon, because he could fashion himselfe to all companies. But letting passe that which the Poet Ion said: who would that vertue should be full of tragicall discipline, bringing in with

of naturall Philosophy.

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it, a certaine satyricall discourse to moue laughter. Now Zenon contrariwise did counsel althose that faid Pericles gravity was a prefumption, and arrogancie: that they should also follow him in his presumption. For to counterfeit in that fort things honest and vertuous, doth secretly with time breed an affection and desire to loue them, and afterwards with custome euen effectually to vse and follow them. So Pericles by keeping Anaxagor as companie, did not onely profite himselse inthese things, but he learned besides to put away all superstitious seare of celessials fignes and impressions seene in the ayre. Forto those that are ignorant of the causes thereof, such fights are terrible, and to the godly also fearefull, as if they were vtterly vndone; and all is, because they have no certaine knowledge of the reason that naturall Philosophie yeeldeth, which in stead of a fearefull superstition, would bring a true religion accompanied with affured hope of goodnesse, some say a man brought Pericles one day from his farme out of the countrey, a Rainmes head that had but one horne, and that the Prognosticator Lampon considering this head, that had but one strong horne in the middest of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the fignification thereof; That being two tribes and feuerall factions in the city of ATHENS touching gouernement, the one of Pericles, and the other of Thucydides: the power of both should be brought into one, and specially into his part, in whose house this signe did happen. Further, it is faid that Anaxagoras being prefent, did cause the Rammes head to be clouen in two peeces, and shewed vnto them that stood by, that the braine of this Ramme did not fill the pan of his natural place, but inclosed it selfe in all parts, being narrow like the point of an egge, in that part where the horne tooke his first roote of budding out. So Anaxagoras was maruellously esteemed at that present by all those that stood by: but so was Lampon, soone after that Thucydides was driuen away, and that the gouernment of the whole common-weale fell into the hands of Pericles alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall Philosopher and the Prognosticator did rightly meete together in troth: the one directly telling the cause, and the other the end of the euent as it fell out. For the profession of the one, is to know how it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to fortell what it betokeneth. For where some say, that to shew the cause, is to take away the fignification of the signe: they do not consider that in seeking to abolish by this reason the wonderfull tokens and signes in the ayre, they do take away those also which are done by art; as the noise of basons, the lights of fire by the sea side, and the shadowes of needles or points of dyals in the Sunne: all which things are done by some cause and handy-worke, to be a figne and token of some thing. But this argument peraduenture may scrue better in another booke. And now againe to Pericles. Whilest he was yet but a yong man the people stood in aw of him, because he somewhat resembled Possifiratus in his countenance: and the ancientest men of the city also were much afeard of his soft voice, his eloquent tongue, and ready vtterance, because in those he was Pysistratus vp and downe. Moreouer he was very rich and wealthy, and of one of the noblest families of the city, and those were his friends also that caried the only sway and authority in the state: whereupon, fearing lest they would banish him with the banishment of Oftracismon, he would not meddle with gouernement in any case, although otherwise he shewed himselfe in wars very valiant and forward, and seared not to venter his person. But after that Aristides was dead, that Themistocles was driven away, and that Cimon being euer in service in the wars as Generall in forraine countries, was along time out of GRECE: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of the poore communaltie, aboue the small number of Nobility and rich men, the which was directly against his nature. For of himselse he was not popular, nor meanely given: but he did it (as it should seeme) to avoid suspition, that he should pretend to make himselfe King. And because he saw Cimon was inclined also to take part with the Nobility, and that he was singularly beloued and liked of all the honester fort: heto the contrary inclined to the common people, purchasing by this meanes safety to himselfe, and authority against Cimon. So hee presently beganne a new course of life, fince he had taken vpon him to deale in matters of state: for they neuer sawe him afterwards at any time go into the city, but to the market place, or to the Senate house. He gaue vp going to all feasts where he was bidden, and left the entertainement of his familiarity friends, their companie and familiarity. So that in all this time wherein he governed the common weale, which was a long time, he neuer went out to supper to any of his friends, vnlesse it were that he was once at a feast at his nephew Euryptolemus mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremony was a doing, when they offer wine to the gods, and so hee rose from the table. For these friendly meetings at such feasts, do much abase any counterfeit majesty or set countenance; and he shall have much ado to keepe gravity and reputation, shewing familiarity to euery knowne friend in such open places. For in perfect vertue, those things truely are euer most excellent, which be most common; and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto strangers, then their daily convertation is to their friends. Pericles now to preuent that the people should not be glutted with seeing him too oft, nor that they should come much to him: they did see him but at some times, and then he would not talke in cuery matter, neither came much abroad among them, but referued himselfe (as Critolaus said they kept the Salaminian galley at Athens) for matters of great importance. And in the meane season, in other matters of small moment, he dealt by meanes of certaine Oratours his familiar friends, amongst whom Ephialtes (as they say) was one: he who tooke away the autho- Ephialtes rity and power from the court of Areopagus, and did give too much liberty to the people, as Pla- an Oratonr to faid. Vpon which occasion, as the Comicall Poets say, he became so stout and head frong, that they could no more hold him backe, then a yong vnbridled colt: and tooke fuch a courage vpon him, that he would obey no more, but inuaded the Isle of EVBOEA, and set vpon the other Ilands. Pericles also because he would fashion a phrase of speech, with a kind of stile altogether agreeable to the manner of life and grauity he had taken vpon him:he gaue himself to all matters which he had learned of Anaxagoras, shadowing his reasons of natural Philosophie, with artificiall Rhetorick. For having obtained a deepe vn lerstanding by studying of Philosophie, and a ready way effectually to end any matter he vndertooke to prooue, (befides that nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacity, as the divine Plate doth write, to bring any thing to serue his purpose) he did so artificially compasse it with eloquence, that he farre passed all the Orators in his time. And for this cause was he (as they fay) surnamed olympius, as much why Perito fay, as heavenly or divine. But fome are of opinion hee had that furname, by reason of the furnamed common buildings and stately workes he raised up in the city of ATHENS, that did much set Olympine. forth the fame. Other thinke it was given him for his great authority and power he had in gouernement, as wel in wars as in peace. But it is no maruell that his glory was given him, confidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the Comedies the Poets caused to be played in those times (in which there were many words spoken of him, some in earnest, fome in sport and least) do witnesse that he had that surname given him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundered and lightned in his orations to the people, and that his tong was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an answer Thucy dides, Milestus son, should pleasantly make concerning the force of Pericles eloquence. Thucydi- adversary. des was a noble man, and had long time contended against Pericles in matters of the commonweale. Archidamus, king of LACED AMON, asked Thucydides on a time: whether he or Perioles wrestled best. Thueydides made him answer: When I have given him an open fall before the face of the world, he can so excellently denie it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all, and perswadeth them the contrarie of that they saw. Notwithstanding hee was ener very graue and wife in speaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to speake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the gods, that nothing might escape his mouth, but that he might confider before, whether it would serue the purpose of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnleffe it be some few lawes he made, and but very few of his notable fayings are brought to light, faue onely thefe. He faid on a time, that they must take away the city of ÆGINA, because it was a straw lying in the eye of the hauen Poilers PIREA. And another time, he faid that he faw the warres afarre off, comming from Pelo- faing. PONNESUS. Another time, as he tooke shippe with Sophocles (his companion in commission with him as Generall of the army) who commended a faire young boy they met as they came to the hauen: sophocles, faid he, a gouernour must not onely haue his hands, but also his eyes cleane. And Stefimbrotus writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the praise of those that were flaine in the warre of Samos, he faid they were immortall as the gods. For we do not fee thegods (faid hee) as they bee, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happineffethey enioy, we do coniecture they are immortall; and the same things are in those that dye in service and defence of their country. Now where Thueydides doth write the gouerne- Tericles ment of the common-weale vnder Pericles to be as a gouernment of Nobility, and yet had apparence of a popular state: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdome, because one alone did wealth.

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rule and gouerne the whole state. And many other say also, he was the first that brought in the custome to deuide the enemies lands wonne by conquest among the people, and of the common mony to make the people see playes and pastimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this custome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got their liuing paincfully with fweat of their browes, became now to be very vaine, fumptuous, and riotous, by reason of these things brought vp then. The cause of the alteration doth easily appeare by those things. For Pericles at his first comming, sought to winne the fauour of the people, as we have faid before, onely to get like reputation that Cimon had won. But comming farre short of his wealth and ability, to carie out the port and charge that Gimon did, entertaining the poore, keeping open house to all commers, clothing poore old people, breaking open besides all inclosures and pales through all his lands, that every one might with more liberty come in, and take the fruits thereof at their pleasure: and seeing himselfe by these great meanes out-gone farre in goodwill with the common people, by Demonides counsell and procurement (who was borne in the Islc of Ios) he brought in this distribution of the common money, as Aristotle writeth. And having wonne in a short time the fauour and goodwill of the common people, by distribution of the common treasure, which he caufed to be deuided among them, afwell to have place to fee thefe playes, as for that they had reward to be present at the judgements, and by other such like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, did inucigh against the court of the Areopagites, whereof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his happeto be yearely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the facrifices, nor mafter of the warres: all which were offices chosen in ancient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued themselues wel in their office, they were called forwards, and raised to be of the body of this court of the Areopagites. Pericles now by these meanes having obtained great credit and authority amongst the people, he troubled the Senate of the Arcopagites in such fort, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by Ephialtes helpe: and in time made Cimon to be banished ATHENS, as one that fauoured the LACE-D. EMONIANS, and contraried the common wealth and authority of the people. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest person of all the citie, and one that had won so many glorious victories, and had so replenished ATHENS with the conquered spoiles of their enemies, as we have declared in his life: so great was the authority of Pericles amongst the people. Now the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called Ofracismon) was limited by the law for ten yeares. In which space the LACED ÆMONIAN'S being come downe with a great army into the country of Tanagra, the Athenians fent out their power presently against them. There Cimon willing to flew the ATHENIANS by his deeds, that they had falfly accused him for fauouring the LACED EMONIAN sidid arme himselfe, & went on his countrey mens side to fight in the company of his tribe. But Pericles friends gathered together, and forced Cimon to depart thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that Pericles fought that day more valiantly then ever he did, and he wanne the honour and name to have done more in the person of himselfe that day, then any other of all the armie. At that battell also, all Cimons friends, whom Pericles had burdened likewise to fauourthe LACED EMONIANS doings, died euery man of them that day. Then the ATHENIANS repented them much that they had driven Cimon away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this battell vpon the confines of the countrey of ATTICAL because they feared sharpe wars would come upon them againe at the next spring. Which thing when Pericles perceived, he fought also to further that the common people desired:wherefore he straight caused a decree to be made, that Cimon should be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when Cimon was returned, he aduifed that peace should be made betweene both cities: for the Laced Amonians did loue Cimon very well, and contrarily they hated Pericles, and all other gouernours. Some notwithstanding doe write, that Pericles did neuer passe his consent to call him home againe, before such time as they had made a secret agreement amongst themselues (by meanes of Elpinice, Cimons sister) that Cimon should be fent out with an army of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of Persia his dominions, and that Pericles should remaine at home with the authority of government within the city. Thus Elpinice (Cimons fifter) had once before intreated Pericles for her brother, at fuch time as he was accused before the Judge of treason. For Pericles was one of the committies, to whom this accusation was referred by the people. Elpinice went vnto him, and befought

him not to do his worst vnto her brother. Pericles answered her merily: Thou art too old Elpinice. thou art too old to go through with these matters. Yet when this matter came to judgement, and that his cause was pleaded, he rose but once to speake against him (for his owne discharge as it Perietes were) and went his way when he had faid, doing leffe hurt to Cimon then any other of his accu-moderation fers. How is Idomeneus to be credited now, who accuseth Pericles that he had caused the orator Ephialtes to be flaine by treason (that was his friend, and did alwaics counsell him, and take his part in all kind of gouernement of the comon weale) only for the ielousie and enuy he did beare to his glory? I can but muse why Idomeneus should speake so flanderously against Perioles, vnlesse it were that his melancholy humor procured fuch violent speech; who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameleffe, yet he was euer nobly minded, and had a natural defire of honor. in which kind of men such furious cruel passions are seldom seeneto breed. But this orator Ebbialter being cruell to those that took part with the Nobility, because he would spare or pardonno man for any offence whatfocuer committed against the peoples authority, but did follow and perfectite them with all rigour to the vttermost; his enemies laid waite for him by meanes of one Ariflodicus TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treason, as Ariflole writeth. In the meane Cimon The mura died in the Ile of Cyprvs, being Generallof the army of the Athenians by fea. Wherefore those that tooke part with the Nobility, seeing Pericles was now growne very great, and that he went before all other citizens of ATHENS, thinking it good to have some one to sticke on their fide against him, and to leffen thereby somewhat his authority, that he might not come to rule allas he would: they raised vp against him, one Thucydides, of the towne of ALOPECIA, a grave Periodo ada wife man, and father in law to Cimon. This Thucydides had leffe skill of wars then Cimon, but vnderstood more incluill gouernement then he, for that he remained most part of his time within the comthe city: where continually inucighing against Pericles in his pulpit for orations to the people. inflort time he had flirred up a like companie against the faction of Pericles. For he kept the gentlemen and richer fort (which they call Nobility) from mingling with the common people as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their efface and dignity was obscured, and trode vnder foot. Moreouer he did separate them from the people, and did affemblethem all as it were into one body, who came to be of equall power with the other faction. and did put (as a man will fay) a counterpoise into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a little secret grudge only betweene these two factions, as an artificial flower set in the blade of a fword, which made those shew a little, that did leane vnto the people; and the other also somwhat that fauoured the Nobility. But the contention betweene these two persons, was as a deep cut, which decided the city into two factions: of which the one was called the Nobility, and the other the communalty. Therefore Pericles giving the more liberty vnto the people, did all things that might be to pleafe them, ordaining continuall playes and games in the city, many feafts, bankets, and open pastimes to entertaine the commons with such honest pleasures and deuices and befides all this, be fent yerely an army of threefcore gallies vnto the wars, into the which he put a great number of poore citizens that tooke pay of the state for nine moneths of the yere, and therby they did learne together, and practife to be good fea men. Furthermore he fent into the countrey of CHERRONESVS, a thousand free men of the citie to dwell there, and to deuide the lands amongst them: five hundred also into the He of NAXOS: into the He of Andros, two hundred and fiftie: into Thracia, athousand to dwell with the Br-SALTES: and other also into ITALY, when the city of Sydaris was built againe, which afterwards was furnamed the city of the Thyrians. All this he did to rid the city of a nuber of idle A politicle. people, who through idlenesse began to be curious, and to desire change of things, as also to person. prouide for the necessity of the poore townes-men that had nothing. For, placing the naturall citizens of Athens necre vnto their subjects and friends, they served as a garrison to keepe them vnder, and did suppresse them also from attempting any alteration or change. But that which delighteth most, and is the greatest ornament vnto the city of ATHENS, which maketh strangers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the ancient power, riches, and great wealth of GRECE, to be true and not false : are the stately and sumptuous buildings, which Pericles made to be built in the city of A- Sumptuous THENS. For it is the only act of all other Pericles did, and which made his enemies most to spite buildings erefted by him, and which they most accused him for, crying out vpon him in all Councels and assemblies: that the people of Athens were openly defamed, for carying away the ready mony of al

GREEE, which was left in the Ile of DELOS to be fafely kept there. And although they could with good honestie haue excused this fact, saying, that Pericles had taken it from the, for feare of the barbarous people, to the end to lay it vp in a more strong place, where it should be in better fafety; yet was this too ouer great an iniury offered vnto all the rest of GR ECE, and too manifest a token of tyranny also, to behold before their eyes, how we do employ the mony, which they were enforced to gather for the maintenance of the wars against the barbarous people, in eilding, building, and fetting forth our city, like a glorious woman, all to begawded with gold and precious stones, and how we do make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull and infinite charge. Pericles replied to the contrary, and declared vnto the ATHENIANS, that they were not bound to make any account of this money vnto their friends and allies, confidering that they fought for their fafety, and that they kept the barbarous people far from GRECE without troubling them to fet out any one man, horse or ship of theirs, the mony only excepted, which is no more theirs that paid it, the theirs that received it, so they bestow it to that vse they received it for And their city being already well furnished, and prouided of all things necessary for the wars. it was good reason they should employ & bestow the surplus of the treasure in things, which in time to come (and being throughly finished) would make their fame eternall. Moreouer he said that whilst they continue building, they should be presently rich, by reason of the diversity of works of all forts, & other things which they should have need of and to compasse these things the better, and to fet them in hand, all maner of artificers & workme (that would labour) should be fet awork. So should all the townsmen and inhabitants of the city, receive pay and wages of the common treasure: and the city by this meanes should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintaine it selfe. For such as were strong and able men of body, and of yeares to carv weapon, had pay and entertainment of the common wealth, which were fent abroad vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as crafts-men, and labourers, hee would also they should have part of the common treasure, but not without they carned it, and by doing somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie the common people with great buildings, and deuices of workes of diuerfe occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the end that the citizens remaining at home, might have a meane and way to take part of the common treasure, & enrich themselves, as well as those that went to the wars, & serued on y sea, or els that lay in garison to keepe any place or fort. For some gained by bringing stuffe:as stones, brasse, iuory, gold, chany, and cypres. Other got, to work & fashion it: artificers at Athens. as carpéters, grauers, fouders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, diers, goldsmiths, iovners working in iuory, painters, methat fet in fundry colours of peeces of stone or wood, & turners. Other gained to bring stuffe, and to furnish them, as merchants, mariners, and shipmasters. for things they brought them by sea. And by land other got also: as cart-makers, cariers, carters. cord-makers, fadlers, coller-makers, and pyoners to make waies plaine, and miners, & fuch like. Furthermore enery science & crast, as a captain having souldiers, had also their army of y workmen that served them, labouring truly for their living, who served as aprentises and journeymen vnder the workmasters: so the worke by this meanes did disperse abroad a common gaine to all forts of people and ages, what occupation or trade focuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnesse and sumptuousnesse, being of excellent workmanship, and for grace and beauty note mparable: because every workman in his science did striue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in fight, and to be most workemanly done in shew. But the greatest thing to be wondred at, was their speed and diligence. For where every man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens liues and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one onely gouernement continued still in credit and authority. And yet they fay, that in the same time, as one Agatarchus boasted himselfe, that he had quickly painted certaine beasts, Zeuxis another painter hearing him, answered: And I contrarily do reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly flight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe colours, nor give perfect beauty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the colours to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes of Pericles made, are more wonderfull because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and have continued so long a feafon. For every one of those which were finished vp at that time, seemed then to bee very ancient touching the beauty thereof: and yet for the grace and continuance of the same,

it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done & finished, there is such a certain kind of flourishing freshnesse in it, which letteth that the iniury of time cannot impaire the fight therof. As if euery of those foresaid works, had some living spirit in it, to make it seems yong and fresh; and a foule that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chiefe surveyour general of al these works, was Phidias, albeit that there were many other excellent workmasters in every science and occupation. For the temple of Pallas, which is called Parthénon (as a man would fay, the temple of the virgine, and is furnamed Hecatompedon, for that it is a hundred foote euery way) was built by IEtinus and Callicrates: and the chappell of Eleusin (where the fecret caremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by Corabus, who raised up the first pillars in order, francing beneath on the ground, and did fet them up unto the mafter chaptrels. But after he was dead, Metagenes, borne in the towne of XYPBTA, turned the arches over, and then did set the pillars in order also which are aboue; and Xenocles of the towne of Cholargea. was he that made the lanterne or top of the steeple which couereth the sanctuarie: but the long wall which Socrates heard Pericles himfelf give order for the building of it, was done by Callicra. tes, who vindertooke the worke. Cratinus the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this work. to see how flowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, saying:

Pericles long ago, did end this worke begunne, Andbuild it high with glorious words, if so it had bene done. But as for deeds (indeede) he built nothing all, But let it stand : as yet it stands, much liker for to fall.

And as for the Theater or place appointed for muficke, where they heate all mufitions play, and is called odeon: it is very well made within with diverse seates and degrees, and many ranges of The Odeon. pillars, but the top of the roofe is altogether round, which is somewhat hanging downeward round about of it selfe, coming together into one point. And it is said that this was made after the patterne and fashion of King Xerxes royall paulion, and that Pericles was the first deuiser & maker of it. Wherfore Cratinus in another place of his comedie he maketh of the Thracians. doth play very pretily vpon him, faying:

Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter furnamed, (And onions head) which bath in his great noddle finely framed The plot of Odeon, when he delinered was

From banishment, and dangers deepe, wherein he long did passe. Pericles was the first that made maruellous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the feast called Panathenaa, they would set up games for musicke. And he himselfe being chosen ruler of those games, as judgeto reward the best descruer, ordained the manner the musicion should ever after keepe in their singing, playing on their flutes, or same for vpon the citherne, or other instruments of musick. So the first games that ever were for musick. "musick." were kept within the Odeon: and so were the other after them also, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the castle was made and finished within the space of flue yeares, under the charge of Memficles, that was master of the workes, and whilest these gates were a building, there happeneda wonderfull chance, which declared very well that the goddeffe Minerus did not missike the building, butthat it pleased her maruellously. For one of the most painefullest workmen that wrought there, fell by mischance from the height of the castle to the ground, which fall did fo fore bruife him, & he was so sicke withall, that the physicions and surgeons had no hope of his life. Pericles being very fory for his mischance, the goddesse appeared to him in his fleepe in thenight, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did cafily heale the poore brused man, and that in short time. And this was the occasion why he caused the image of the goddesse Minerna (otherwise called of health) to be cast in brasse, and set vp within the temple of the castle, neare vnto the altar which was there before, as they say. But the golden image of Minerua was made by Phidias, and grauen round about the base: who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reason of the good will Pericles bare him, he commanded all the other workmen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that Phidias received the gentlewomen of the city into his The Poets house, vnder colour to go see his works, and did conuey them to Pericles. Vpon this bruite, the raise p Comicall poets taking occasion, did cast out many slaunderous speeches against Pericles, ac- standard cusing him that he kept one Menippus wife, who was his friend and Lieuetenant in the wars: Perioles,

specially peacockes, which he secretly sent vnto the women that Pericles kept. But we must not

wonder at those Satyres, that make profession to speake slanderously against all the world as it

were to facrifice the iniuries and wrongs they cast vpon honourable & good men, to the spite & enuic of the people, as vnto wicked spirits: considering that Stesimbrotus Thas ian durst falsly accuse Pericles of detestable incest, and of abusing his owne sons wife. And this is the reason, in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of ancient things, by the monuments of historiographers: considering long processe of time, doth vtterly obscure the truth of matters, done in former times. For euery written historic speaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention; fometime for hate & enuy, fometime for fauour or flatterie, doth disguise and corrupt the truth, But Pericles perceiuing that the orators of Thucydides faction, in their common orations did still cry out vpo him, that he did vainely waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed vpon the workes, al the whole reuenue of the city: one day when the people were affembled together, before them al he asked them, if they thought that the cost bestowed were too much. The people answered him:a great deale too much. Well, faid he then, the charges shall be mine (if you think good) and none The noble of yours:prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely. When Perifaying of Perieles. eles had said so, the people cried out aloud, they would none of that (either because that they wondred at the greatnesse of his mind, or else for that they would not give him the only honour and praise to haue done so sumptuous and stately works) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any cost. But in the end, falling out openly with Thucydides, and putting it to an adventure which of them should banish other, with the banishment of ofracismon: Pericles got the upper hand, and banished Thucydides out of the city. and therewithal also ouerthrew the contrary faction against him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the city agains to vnity and concord, he found then the whole power of Athens in his hands, and all the Athenians matters at his disposing. And having all the Pericles treasure, armour, galleys, Iles, and the sea, and a maruellous seigniorie and kingdome (that did enlarge it selfe partly ouer the GRECIANS, and partly ouer the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subject vnto them, with the friendship of Kings, and with the alliance of divers other Princes and mighty Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to change his manners towards the people, and not so easily to gine place and frame himselfe to the peoples wils and defires, no more then as it were to contrary winds. Furthermore he altered his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernement which he vsed vntill that time, as too delicate and too effeminate an harmony of musicke, and did conuert it vnto an imperious gouernement, or rather to a kingly authority: but yet held still a direct course, and kept himselfe euer vpright without fault, as one that did, said, and counselled that, which was most expedient for the common-weale. He many times brought on the people by perswasions and reasons, to be willing to grant that he preferred vnto them: but many times also, he draue them to it by force, & made them against their wils do that, which was best for them. Following therein the deuice of a wife physition: who in a long and changeable disease, doth grant his patient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sort:& another time also, he doth give him a sharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For (as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enion fo great an empire) many times misfortunes did chance, that filled the full of fundry passions, y which Pericles alone could finely steere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope; brideling with the one, the fierce and infolent rashnesse of the common people in prosperitie, and with the other comforting their

griefe and discouragement in aduersitie. Wherein he manifestly proued, that Rhetorick and E-

loquence(as Plato faith) is an art which quickneth mens spirits at her pleasure, & her chiefest skil

is, to know how to moue passions and affections throughly, which are as stops and sounds of the

exceeded many Kings and tyrants, yea even those which by their willes and testaments might

have left great possessions to their children: he never for all that increased his fathers goods and patrimony lefthim, the value of a groate in filter. And yet the historiographer Thuesdades doth fet forth plainely inough, the greatnesse of his power. And the Comicall poets also of that time do report it maliciously vnder couert words, calling his familiar frieds, the new Pylistratides, saying, that they must make him sweare and protest he would never be King; giving vs thereby to vinderstand, that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular gouernement. And Teleclides (amongst other) faith, that the ATHENIAN'S had put into his hands the reuenue of the towns and ciries vnder their obedience, and the towns themselves, to bind the one, and loose the other, and to pull downe their wals, or to build them againe at his pleafure. They gaue him power, to make peace and alliance they gaue all their force treasure & authority and all their goods wholv-into his hands. But this was not for a little while, nor in a geere of fauour, that should cotinue for a time: but this held out forty years together, he being alwaies the chiefe of his city among st the Ephialtes, the Leocrates, the Mironides, the Cimons, the Tolmedes, and the Thucydides. For after he had prevailed against Thurydides, and had banished him, he yet remained chiefe about all o. ther, the space of fifteene yeares. Thus having attained a regall dignity to command all, which continued as aforefaid, where no other captaines authority endured but one years: he cuer kept Perioles himselfe vpright from bribes and mony though otherwise he was no ill husband, & could warily look to his own. As for his lands and goods left him by his parents, that they miscaried not was by negligence, northat they should trouble him much, in busying himself to reduce the to a valuche did fo husband them, as he thought was his best and easiest way. For he sold in grosse ener Pergles the whole yeares profit & comodity of his lands, & afterwards fent to the market daily to buy the cates, and other ordinary provision of houshold. This did not like his sonnes that were men growne, neither were his women contented with it, who would haue had him more liberall in his house: for they complained of his overhard and straight ordinary, because in so noble and great a house as his, there was neuer any great remaine left of meare, bur all things received into the house, ranne under accompt, and were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his, was kept vpright in this good order, by one Euangelus, steward of his house, a man very honest and skilfull in al his houshold proussion and whether Pericles had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not knowne, But these thing were force contrary to Ana. xagoras wisedome. For he despising the world, and casting his affection on heavenly things: did willingly forfake his house, and suffered all his land to run to layes & to pasture. But (in my opi-thematicinion) great is the diversity betweene a contemplative life, and a civil life. For the one employeth all his time vpon speculation of good and honest things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he unstitute be. hath no need of any exteriour helpe or instrument. The other applying all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men, he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an instrument templature not only necessary but also honest. As, look vpon the example of Pericles, who did refeeue many poore people, and Anaxagoras specially among other: of whom it is reported, that Pericles being occupied about matters of state at that time, having no leisure to think vpon Anaxagor as, he seeing himselfeold and forsaken of the world, laid him downe, and concred his head close, radges, determining to starue himself to death with hunger. Pericles vnderstanding this ran presently to mine to him as a man halfecast away, & prayed him as earnestly as he could, that he would dispose himfelfe to liue, being not onely fory for him, but for himfelfe alfo, that he should lose to faith- death. full and wife a counseller, in matters of state and gouernement. Then Anaxagoras shewed his face, and told him: O Pericles, those that will see by the light of a lampe, must put oyle to it, to make the light burne. Now began the LACED EMONIANS to grow icalous of the greatnesse of rasfaying the ATHENIANS; wherfore Pericles to make the ATHENIANS hearts greater, and so draw their minds to great enterprises, set downe an order they should send ambassadors to perswade at the GRECIANS (in what part socuer they dwelt in EVROPE, or ASIA, as well the litle as the great cities) to fend their deputies vnto ATHENS, to the general affembly that should be holden there Pointes to take order for the temples of the gods which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching appointed the fraction of the fra the facrifices they had vowed for the prescruation of GRECE, when they gave battel vpon the connection and touching sea matters also, that every man might faile in safety where he would, and that all metall might liue together in good peace and loue one with another. To performe this commission, den as twenty persons were sent of this ambassiate, every one of them being fifty yeares of age and vpward. Wherof flue of them went to the Dor IAN's, dwelling in As IA, and to the inhabitants of

The force of eloquence

foule, that would be plaied vpon with a fine fingered hand of a cunning mafter. All which, not the force of eloquence only brought to passe, as Thucydides witnesseth: but the reputation of his commended life, and the opinion & confidence they had of his great worthinesse, because he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetouines in him. For, when he had brought worthinesse, his city not only to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authority

ued the

WATTES.

Timethe

beff coan

Telmides

Pericles

feller.

field

the Iles, eue vnto the Iles of Lesbos & of the Rhodes. Fine other went through all & country of HELLESPONT, & of THRACIA, unto the city of BIZANTIVM. Other flue were commanded togo into BOEOTIA, into PHOCIDES, and through al PELOPONNESVS, & from thence by the courtry of the Lockians, into the vpland country ionning to it, vntil they came into the country of Acarnania, and of Ameracia. And the other five went first into the Ile of Eve o Ea. and from thence vnto the Obt EIANS, and through all the gulfe of MALEA, vnto PHTIO-TES, vnto the Achaians, and the Thessalians: declaring to all the people where they came, the ATHENIANS commission, perswading them to send vnto ATHENS, to be presentate the councell which should be holden there, for the pacification and vnion of all GRECE. But when all came to all nothing was done, and the faid cities of GRECE did not affemble, by pra-Ctise of the Laced Monians (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refufall that was made of their fummons, was at PELOPONNESVS. This haue I writte to make Pericles noble courage to be knowne, and how profound a wife man he shewed himselfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen General in the wars, he was much esteemed, because Perlales tohe euer took great regard to the fafety of his fouldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he saw might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing dangerous : and moreouer. fafery of his he neuer praised them for good Generals, neither would he follow the that had obtained great victories by hazard, howfocuer other did esteeme or commend them. For he was wont to say, that if none but himselfe did leade them to the shambles, as much as lay in him, they should be immortall. And when he saw Tolmides, the sonne of Tolmaus (trusting to his former victories. and the praise and commendation of his good fernice) did prepare vpon no occasion, and to no purpose to enter into the country of Bo EOTIA, and had procured also a thousand of the lusticst and most valiant men of the citie, to be contented to goe with him in that journey, ouer and aboue the rest of the army he had leuied: he went about to turne him from his purpose, and to keepe him at home, by many perswasions he vsed to him before the peoples face, and spake certaine words at that time, that were remembred long after, and thefe they were: That if he would not beleeue Pericles counsel, yet that he would tary time at the least, which is the wifest counsel. ler of men. These words were pretily liked at that present time. But within sew daies after, when news was brought that Tolmides felf was flaine in a battel he had lost, neare vnto the city of Co-RONEA, wherein also perished many other honest and valiant men of ATHENS: his words spoflaine in the ken before, did then greatly increase Pericles reputation and goodwil with the common people, because he was taken for a wife man, and one that loued his citizens. But of all his journeys he made, being Generall ouer the army of the ATHENIANS, the iourney of CHERRONESY'S Was best thought and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefit and preservation of all the GRECIANS inhabiting in that country. For besides that he brought thither a thousand citizens of ATHERS to dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the cities with so many good men) he did fortifie the barre also, which did let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drew from one fea to another: so that he defended the country against all the inuasions and piracies of the THRACIANS inhabiting thereabouts, and deliuered it of extreme war, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them who only lived upon piracie and robbing on the feas. So was he likewife much honored and efteemed of strangers, when he did enuiron all PELOPONNESVS, departing out of the hauen of PEGES, on the coast of MEGARA, with a fleet of a hundred gallies. For he did not only spoyle the towns allalong the sea side, as Tolmides had done before him: but going vp further into the maine land, farre from the sea, with his souldiers he had in the gallies, he draue some of them to retire within their walles, he made them so afraid of him: and in the country of NEMBA, he ouercame the Sicyonians in battel, that taried him in the field, & did crect a pillar for a notable mark of his victory. And imbarking in his ships a new supply of souldiers which he took vp in ACHAIA, being friends with the ATHENIAN'S at that time, he passed ouer to the firme land that lay Attelous f. dire Etly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the river of Achelous, he invaded the country of ACARNANIA, where he shut up the Obneades within their walles. And after he had laid wafte and destroyed all the champion country, he returned homeagaine to ATHENS: having shewed himselfe in this journey, a dreadfull Captaine to his enemies, and very carefull for the fafety of his fouldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iourney (by chance or otherwise) vnto the souldiers vnder his charge. And afterwards, going with a

PERICLES.

great nauy maruellous well appointed vnto the Realme of PONTVS, he did there gently vie and intreate the cities of GRECE, and granted them all that they required of him, making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great force and power of the Athenians, who failed without feare all about where they thought good, keeping all the coasts of the sea under their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the SINOPIANS thirreenegallies, with certaine number of fouldiers under captaine Lamachus, to defend them against the tyrant Timesiteus, who being expulsed and driven away with those of his faction, Pericles caused proclamation to be made at ATHENS, that fixe hundred free men of the citie, that hadany defire togo, without comp illion, might go dwel at Stnora, where they should have devided among them the goods and lands of the tyrant and his followers. But he did not follow the foolish vaine humors of his citizens, nor would not yeeld to their vusatiable Periods couetousnesse, who being set on a iolitic to see themselves so strong and of such a power, and would not besides, to have good lucke, would needs once againe attempt to conquer Ægypt, and tore- follow the uoltall the countries vpon the fea coasts, from the empire of the king of Persia fortherewere of the people many of the whose mindes were maruellously bent to attempt the infortunate enterprise of entring Sicilia, which Alcibiades afterwards did much pricke forward. And tome of them dreamed besides, of the conquest of Thys can, and the empire of Carrhage. But this was not altogether without some likelihood, nor without occasion of hope, considering the large bounds similar. of their kingdome, and the fortunatestate of their affaires, which fell out according to their own defire. But Perioles did hinder their going out, & cut oif altogether their curious defire, employing the most part of their power and force, to keepe that they had already gotten indging it no fmall matter to keepe downe the LACED #MONIANS frogrowing greater. For he was alwaies an enemie to the Laced MONIANS, as he shewed himselfe in many things, but specially in the warre he made, called the holy warre. For the LACED EMONIANS having put the PHOCIANS the Lacede. from the charge of the temple, of Apollo, in the city, of DELPHES, which they had vourped, and mouses. having restored the DELPHIAN's again vnto the same so some as they were gone thence Perieles went also with another army, and restored the Phocrass in againe. And whereas the La-CEDEMONIANS had caused to be grauen in the forehead of a Wolfe of brasse, the priviledge the Delphians had gräted the to be the first that should make their demands of the oracle: he pullonar having attained the like priviledge of the Phocians, made his image also to be graven on the knows. right fide of the same image, of the brasen Wolfe. Now how wisely Perioles did gouern Gares by the power of the ATHENIANS, his deeds do plainly thew. For first of all, the country of Ev-BOEA did rebell, against whom he brought the army of the ATHENIANS. And suddenly in the necke of that, came newes from another coast, that the MEGARIANS also were in armes against them, and how they were already entred into the country of ATTICA with a great army, led by Plistonax King of LACED EMON. This occasion drew him homeward againe, and so he marched backe with speed into his country, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entred into the teritories of Arrica. He durst not offerthem battell, being fo great a number of valiant foldiers: but hearing that king Pliftonax was yet but a yong man, and was ruled altogether by Cleandrides counsell and direction (whom the Ephores had placed about him to counfell and direct him he fought privily to corrupt Gleandrides. When he had won him soone with his money, he perswaded him to draw backe the Peloponnesians out of their corrupted country of ATTICA and To he did. But when the LACED EMONIAN'S faw their army caffed, by Periles. and that the people were gone their way, every man to his own city or town, they were so mad at it, that the king was codemned in a great form. The king being vnable to answer his fine, which was fo extreme great, he was driven to absent himselfe from LACED #MON. Cleandrides on the other fide, if he had not fled in time, even for spile had bene codemned to death. This Cleandrides was Gylippus father, that afterwards overcame the Athenians in Sicilia, in whom it Gylipbus. seemed nature bred couetousnes, as a disease inheritable by succession from the father to the son. Athenians For he being shamefully connected also, for certain vile parts he had plaid, was likewise banished at Syracusa from Sparta: as we have more amply declared in the life of Lyfander. And Pericles delivering Gylipus vp the account of his charge, and fetting downe an article of the expence of tenne talents he had robbed pare employed, or should imploy in needfull causes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking quefive treafive Lyanftion how, nor which way, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are cer- der fent taine writers (amongst whom the Philosopher Theophrastus is one) who write that Pericles sent him withall

Perieles wije policie entertain-

Peri:les affe in Fa-

Pericles maketh war wil the Sam:ans.

Aspasia a

palling wife

wooman. The descrip-Alpafia.

Thargelia.

yearely vnto Sparta ten talents, with the which he entertained those that were in authoritie there, because they should make no wars with them; not to buy peace of them, but time; that he might in the meane feafon, with better commodity, and that ley fure, prouide to maintaine the wars. After that, as the army of the Peloponnesians were out of the country of Attica, he returned against the rebels, and passed into the Ile Evbora with fifty saile, and fine thousand footmen well armed and there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes against him, and draue away the Hyppobotes, who were the most famous men of all the Chalcidians, as well for their riches, as for their valiantnes. He draue away alfoall the HESTI ÆIANS, whom he chafedcleane out of all the country, and placed in their city, only the citizens of Athens. And the cause why he dealt so rigorously with them was, because they having taken a galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being cocluded afterwards betweene the Athenians and Laced Emonians forthirty yeares: he proclaimed open wars against those of the Ile of Samos, burthening them, that they being commanded by the Athenians, to pacifie the quarrels which they had against the Milesians, they would not obey. But because some hold opinion, that he tooke vpon him this warre against Sa. Mos, for the loue of Aspasia, it shall be no great digression of our story, to tell you by the way. what manner of woman she was, and what a maruellous gift and power she had, that she could entangle with her loue the chiefest rulers and gouernors at that time of the common weale, and that the Philosophers themselues did so largely speake and write of her. First of all, it is certaine that she was borne in the city of MILETVM, and was the daughter of one Axiochus: she following the steps & example of an old curtifan of Ionia, called Thargelia, gaue her selfe only to entertaine the greatest persons and chiefest rulers in her time. For this Thargelia being passing faire; and carying a comely grace with her, having a sharpe wit & pleasant tong, she had the acquaintance and friendship of the greatest of all GRECE, and wanne all those that did haunt her company to be at the king of Persiaes commandement. So that she sowed through all the cities of GRECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MEDES: for they were the greatest men of power and authority of every city that were acquainted with her. But as for Apalia, fome fay that Perceles reforted vnto her, because she was a wife woman, and had great vnderstanding in matters of state and government. For Socrates himselfe went to see her sometimes with his friends: and those that vsed her company also, brought their wives many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine were, to entertaine such as would warmethem by her fire. Alfobines writeth, that Lysicles a grasier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbishnature, came to be the chiefe man of ATHENS, by frequenting the company of Aspassa. after the death of Pericles. And to Platoes booke intituled Menexenus, although the beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in that, this story is written truly: that this Aspassa was repair red vato by divers of the AHENIANS, to learne the art of rhetoricke of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection Pericles did beare her, grew rather of loue, then of any other cause. For he was maried vnto a kinsewoman of his own, and that before was Hipponicus wife, by whom she had Callias, surnamed the rich and had afterwards by Pericles, Xantippus and Paralus. But not liking her company, he gaue her with her owne good will and confent vnto another, and maried Afpassa whom he dearely loued. For euer when he went abroad, and came home againe, he faluted her with a kiffe. Whereupon in the ancient Comedies, she is called in many places, the new Omphale, and sometimes Desanira, and sometimes Iuno. But Cratinus plainly calleth her whore in these verses: His Iuno she him brought, Aspasia by name,

PERICLES:

Callias the rich.

ried _4[p4sa the fa-2710WT CMTtisan.

Which was indeed an open whore, and past all kind of shame.

And it seemed that he had a bastard: for Eupolis in a Comedie of his called Demosis, bringeth him in , asking Pironides thus :

I pray thee is my bastard sonne yet aline ?

And then Pironides answered him: I perfect man long since, he surely had bene found,

If that this lewd and naughty whore his vertue had not drownd.

To conclude, this Aspassa was so famous, that Gyrus (he that fought against king Artaxerxes his brother, for the empire of PERSIA) called Aspassa his best beloued of all his concubines, which before was called Milito, and was borne in Procines, being Hermotimus daughter. And Cyrus being flaine in the field, Aspasia was carried to the King his brother, with whom afterwards the was in great fauour. As I was writing this life, this ftory came in my mind: and me thought I should have dealt hardly, if I should have left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe. Pericles was charged that he made warres against the Samians, on the behalfe of the MILESIANS, at the request of Aspasa: for these two cities were at wars together, for the citie of PRIENA, but the Samians were the stronger. Now the Athenians commanded them to lay aside their armes, and to come and plead their matter before the, that the right might be decided : but they refused it vtterly. Wherefore Perselès went thither and tooke away the government of the small number of Nobility, taking for hostages, fifty of the chiefest men of the city, and so many children besides, which helest to be kept in the Ile of LEMNOS. Some say every one of these hostages offered to give him a talant: and be fides those, many other offered him the like such as wold not have the soueraigne authoritie put into the hands of the people. Moreover Pissuthnes the Pissuthnes PERSIAN, lieutenant to the king of PERSIA, for the goodwil he bore those of Samos, did send the Persian Pericles ten thousand crownes to release the hostages. But Pericles neuer tooke penny : and hauing done that he determined at SAMOs, and established a popular gouernement, he returned a- Perioles gaine to ATHENS. Notwithstanding, the SAMIANS rebelled immediatly after, having recovered their hostages againe by meanes of this Pissurbnes that stole them away, and did furnish them also with all their munition of warre. Whereupon Persoles returning against them once more, he found them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receive him, and to fight for the seigniory by sea. So there was a great battell fought between them, neare the Ile of THRACIA. And Pericles wan the battell: having with 44. faile only nobly overcome his ene- Pericles vimies, which were three-score & ten in number, whereof twenty of them were ships of war. And thrie afo following his victory forthwith, he wan also the port of Samos, and kept the Samians befieged within their owne city: where they were yet fo bold, as they would make fallies out many times, and fight before the wals of the city. But when there arrived a new supply of shippes bringing a greater aide vnto Pericles, then were they shut vp on all sides. Pericles then taking threefcoregalleyes with him, lanched out into the fea, with intent (as some say) to go meete certaine ships of the Phoenicians (that came to aide the Samians) as far from Samos as he could: oras Stefimbrotus faith, to go into Cyprvs, which methinketh is not true. But what soeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For Meliffus (the fon af Ithagenes, a great Philosopher) be- Meliffus ing at that time generall of the SAMIANS, perceiving that few ships were left behind at the fiege Philosoof the city, and that the captaines also that had the charge of them were not very expert men of the ral of the war, periwaded his citizens to make a fallie vponthem. Wherupon they fought a battel, and the samians. Samian's ouercame: the Athenian's were taken prisoners, and they funke many of their ships. Now they being lords againe of the sea, did furnish their city with all manner of munition for wars, whereof beforethey had great want. Yet Aristotle writeth, that Pericles selfe was once ouercome in a battell at sea by Melissus. Furthermore the Samians, to be euen with the A-THENIANS for the iniury they had received of them before, did brand them in the forehead The owle with the stampe of an owle, the owle being then the stampe of their coine at ATHENS, euen as the stampe the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN prisoners before with the stampe of Samana. This of the toyne Samana is a kinde of ship amongst the Samians, low afore, and well laid out in the mid-ship, Samana a so that it is excellent good to rise with the waves of the sea, and is very swift under saile: and it find of this. was fo called, because the first ship that was made of this fashion, was made in the Ile of Samos, by the tyrant Polycrates. It is faid that the Poet Aristophanes, couertly conueying the stampe of Thewistie the Samians, speaking merily in a place of his Comedies, saith:

The Samians are great learned men. Pericles being aduertised of the overthrow of his army, returned presently to the rescue. Mes Samians. liss went to meete him, and gaue him battell but he was ouerthrowne, and driven back into his city, where Pericles walled them in round about the citie, defiring victoric rather by time and charge, then by danger, and losse of his fouldiers. But when he saw that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withhold them : he then deuided his army into eight companies, whom he made to draw lots, and that company that lighted vpon the white beane, they should be quiet, and make good cheere, while the other feuen fought. And they fay that from thence it came, that when any haue made good cheere, & taken pleature abroad, they do yet cal it a white day, because of the white

Arteman Peribbere

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The Sami ans do yeeld

beane. Ephorus the historiographer writeth, that it was there, where first of all they begun to vie engines of warre to plucke downe great wals, and that Pericles vsed first this wonderfull inuention: and that Artemon an enginer was the first deuiser of them. He was caried vp and downe in a chaire, to set forward these workes, because he had a lame legge; and for this cause he was called Periphoretos. But Aeraclides Ponticus confuteth Ephorus therein, by the verses of Anacreon in the which Artemon is called Periphoretos, many yeares before this warre of Samos began: and faith, this Periphoretos was a maruellous tender man, and so foolishly afeard of his owneshadow that the most part of his time he stirred not out of his house, and did sit alwaies having two of his menby him, that held a copper target ouer his head, for feare least any thing should fall vpon him, And if you any occasion he were driven to go abroad out of his house : he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neare the ground, and for this cause he was surnamed Periphoretos. At the last, at nine moneths end, the Samian's were compelled to yeeld. So Pericles tooke the city & razed their wals to the ground: he brought their ships away, and made the pay a maruellous great tribute, whereof part he received in hand, and the rest payable at a certaine time, taking ho stages with him for affurance of payment. But Duris the Samian dilateth these matters maruellous pittifully, burthening the ATHENIANS, and Persoles felfe with vnnatural cruelty: whereof neither Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Ariflotle himselfe maketh mention. And fure I cannot beleeue it is true that is written. That he brought the captaines of the gallies, and the fouldiers thefelues of Samia, into the market place of the citic of MILETVM, where he made them to be bound fast vnto boords for the space of tenne dayes, and at the end of the same, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads pashed in peeces; and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crowes, and would not burie them. So Duris being accustomed to ouerreach, and to lye many times in things nothing touching him, feemeth in this place out of all reason to aggravate the calamities of his countrey, onely to accuse the Athenians. and to make them odious to the world. Pericles having won the city of Samos, he returned againeto ATHENS, where he did honourably burie the bones of his flaine citizens in this warre and himselfe (according to their manner and custome) made the funerall oration, for the which he was maruelloufly effeemed. In fuch fortathat after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration, the ladies and gentlewomen of the citie came to falute him, and brought him garlands to put your his head, as they do to noble conquerers when they returne from games, where they have wonne the prize. But Elpinice coming to him, faid : Surely Pericles, thy good feruice done deferueth garlands of triumph; for thou haft loft vs many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people, as my brother Cimon did, but for destroying a cirie of our ownenation and kindred. Pericles to these words, fofely answered Elpinice, with Anchilochus verse, smiling:

Perisles taunt to an eld woman.

When thou art old paint not this felfe. But Ion writeth, that he greatly gloried, and Rood mute in his owne conceit, after he had subdued the Samians, faying: Igamemnon was ten yeeres taking of a city of the barbarous people; and he in nine months only had won the strongest city of the whole nation of Ion ta. Indeed he had good cause to glory in his victories: for truely (if Thucydides report be true) his conquest was no lesse doubtfull, then he found it dangerous. For the Samian's had almost bene lords of the fea, and taken the feignoric thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the wars of PELOPONNESUS being hote againe, the Corinthians inuading the Ilanders of Corphy: Pericles did perswade the ATHENIANS to send aide vnto the CORPHIANS, and to joyne in league with that Iland, which were of great power by fea, faying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would have war with them. The ATHENIAN'S consented to his motion, to aide those of Corphy. Whereupon they fent thither Lacedemonius (Cimons son) with ten gallies only for a mockerie: for all Cimons familie and friends, were wholly at the LACED & MONI-ANS devotion. Therefore did Pericles cause Lacedamonius to have so few ships delivered him, and further, fent him thither against his will, to the end that if he did no notable exploit in this feruice, that they might then the more inftly suspect his goodwill to the LACED EMONIANS. Moreouer whilest he lived, he did cuer what he could to keepe cimons children backe from rifing: because that by their names they were no naturall borne Athenians, but strangers. cimins four. For the one was called Lacedamonius, the other The faulus, and the third Ælius: and the mother to all them three, was an Arcadian woman borne. But Pericles being blamed for that he

fent but ren galleys only, which was but a flender aide for those that had requested them, and a great matter to them that spake ill of him: he sent thitlier afterwards a great number of other galleys, which came when the battell was fought. But the Corinthians were maruellous angry, and went and complained to the councell of the Laced AMONIANS, where they laid open many grieuous complaints and accusations against the Athenians, and so did the ME - nians accus GARIANS also: alledging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauens, their staples fed at Laand all trafficke of merchandife in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly a cedemon. gainst the common lawes and articles of peace agreed upon by oath among all the Grecians. Moreover, the AGINETES finding themselves very ill and cruelly handled, did send secretly to make their mone and complaints to the Laced Amonians, being afraid openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While these things were a doing, the city of Potidea, subject at that time vnto the Athenians (and was built in old time by the Corinthians) did rebell, and was befreged by the ATHENIANS, which did haften on the warres. Notwithstanding this, ambassadors were first sent vnto Athens vpon these complaints: and Archidamus king of the LACED EMONIANS did all that he could to pacifie the most part of these quarrels and complaints, intreating their friends and allies. So as the Athenians had had no wars at all, for any other matters, wherewith they were burthened, if they would have granted to have revoked, the decree they had made against the MEGARIANS. Whereupon Pericles, that about all other ftood most against the renocation of that decree, and that did stir vp the people and made them fland to that they had once decreed and ordered against the MEGARIANS: was thought the Originall cause and author of the PELOPONNESIAN Warres. For it is said that the LACED &MO- there of the NIANS fent ambassadors vnto ATHENS for that matter only. And when Pexicles alledged alaw marges that did forbid them to take away the table whereupon before time had bene written any common law or edich Poliarces, one of LACED EM ON ambaffadors, faid vnto him: Well faid he. take it not away then, but turne the table onely: your law I am fure forbiddeth not that. This was pleafantly fpoken of the aimbaffadour, but Pericles could never be brought to it for all that: And therefore it feemeth he had fome feeret occasion of grudge against the MEGARIANS: yet Pericles MA as one that would finely conucy it vnder the common cause and cloke he tooke from them the lie against hely lands they were breaking vp. And to bring this to passe, he made an order, that they should the Megafend an herauld to fummon the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, and that the fame herauld should go also vnto the Laced Emonians to accuse the Megarians vnto them. It is true that this ordinance was made by Pericles meanes, as also it was most just and reasonable; but it fortuned to, that the meffenger they fent thither died, and not without suspition that the ME-GARIANS made him away. Wherfore Charinus made a law presently against the MEGARIANS: that they should be proclaimed mortal enemies to the ATHENIANS for ever, without any hope of after reconciliation. And also if any MEGARIAN should once put his foote within the territories of Attica, that he should suffer the paines of death. And moreover, that their captaines taking yearely their ordinary oath, should fweare among other articles, that twife in the yeare they should go with their power, and destroy some part of the MEGARIAN's land. And lastly, that the herauld Anthemocritus should be buried by the place called then the gates Thriagenes, and now called Dipylon. But the MEGARIAN's stoutly denying, that they were any cause of the death of this Anthemocritus, did altogether burthen Aspassa and Pericles with the same, alleadging for proofe thereof, Aristophanes verses the Poet, in his Comedie he intituled the Archarnes. which are fo common, as every boy hath them at his tongues end.

The yong men of our land (to drunken bibbing bent) Ran out one day unrulily, and towards Megara went: From whence in their outrage, by force they tooke away, Simethanoble curtifan, as she did sport and play. Wherewith enraged all (with pepper in the nofe) The proud Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes, And tooke by stealth away of harlots eke a paire. Attending on Aspasia, which were both young and faire.

But in very deed, to tell the originall cause of this warre, and to deliuer the troth thereof, it is very hard. But all the historiographers together agree, that Pericles was the chiefest author of the warre: because the decree made against the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe.

Phidias the image maker.

Pritani.

of the cons

mon fines.

Yet some hold opinion, that Pericles did it of a noble mind and judgement, to be constant in that he thought most expedient. For he judged that this commandement of the LACED EMO-NIANS was but atriall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would grant them: and if they yeelded to them in that, then they manifestly shewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarily say, that it was done of a selfe-will and arrogancie, to shew his authoritic and power, and how he did de. fpife the LACED EMONIANS. But the shrewdest proofe of all, that bringeth best authoritie with it, is reported after this fort. Phideas the image-maker (as we have told you before) had vndertaken to make the image of Pallas: and being Pericles friend, was in great estimation about him but that procured him many ill willers. Then they being defirous to heare by him what the people would judge of Pericles, they inticed Menon, one of the workmen that wrought vnder Phidias, and made him come into the market place to pray affurance of the people that he might openly accuse Phidias, for a fault he had committed about Pallas image. The people received his obedience, and his accusation was heard openly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all, because that Phidias (through Pericles counsell and deuice) had from the beginning so laid on the gold vpon the image, that it might be taken off and weyed enery whit. Whereupon Pericles openly said vnto his accusers, take of the gold and wey it. The glory of his works did purchase him this enuy. For he hauing grauen vpon the scutchion of the goddesse. the battell of the AMAZONS, had cut out the portraiture of himselfe maruellous lively, vnder the perso of an old bald man, lifting vp agreat stone with both his hands. Further, he had cut out Pericles image excellently wrought and artificially, feeming in manner to be Pericles felfe, fighting with an Amazon in this fort: the Amazon's hand being lift vp high, holdeth a dart before Pericles face, to passing cunningly wrought, as it seemed to shadow the likenesse and refemblance of Pericles: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainely to be Pericles selfe on either fide of the portraiture. So Phidias was clapt vp in prison, and there died of a ficknes, or els of poifon (as some fay) which his enemies had prepared for him: and all to bring Pericles into further fuspition, and to give them the more cause to accuse him. But how socuer it was, the people gaue Menon his freedome, and fet him free from paiment of all fubfidies, following the order Glycon made, and gaue the captaines charge they should see him safely kept, and that he tooke no hurt. And about the same time also Aspassa was accused, that she did not beleeve in the gods: and her accuser was Hermippus, maker of the Comedies. He burdened her further, that she was a bawd to Pericles, and received citizens wives into her house, which Pericles kept. And Diephites at the fametime made a decree, that they should make search and enquirie for heritikes that did not beleeue in the gods, and that taught certaine new doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things aboue in the element, turning the suspicion vpon Pericles because of Anaxagoras. The people did receiue and confirme this inquisicion; and it was moned also then by Dracondites, that Pericles should deliuer an account of the mony he had spent, vnto the hands of the Prytanes, who were treasurers of the common fines and reuenues; and that the Judges deputed to give judgement, should give fentence within the citic vpon the alter. But Agnon put that word out of the decree, and placed in stead thereof, that the cause should be judged by the 15. hundred Judges, as they thought good, if any man brought his action for theft, for battery, or for iniuftice. As for Aspasia, he saued her, euen for the very pity & copassion the judges took of him, for the teares he shed in making his humble suit for her, all the time he pleaded her case as A. fehines writeth. But for Anaxagoras, fearing that he could not do so much for him, he sent him out of the city, & himsclife did accompany him. And furthermore, seeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for Phidias fact, and for this cause fearing the issue of the judgment: he set the wars a fire againe, that alwaies went backward, and did but fmoke a litle, hoping by this means to weare out the accusations against him, & to root out the malice some did beare him. For the people having weighty matters in hand and very dangerous also, he knew they wold put all into his hands alone, he hauing won already fuch great authority & reputation among them. And these bethe causes why he would not (as it is faid) fuffer the ATHENIANS to yeeld vnto the LAGED ÆMONIANS in any thing: howbeit thetruth cannot certainely be knowne. But the LACED EMONTANS knowing well, that if they could weed out Pericles, and ouerthrow him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS: they commanded them they should purge their city of Gylons rebellion, because they knew well inough that Pericles kin by the mothers side were to be touched withall, as Thucydides declareth. But this practife fel out contrary to their hope and expectation,

that were fent to Athens for this purpose. For, weening to have brought Pericles into further furbition, & displeasure, the citizens honored him the more, and had a better affiance in him then before because they saw his enemies did so much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before King Archidamus entred with the army of the PELOPONNESIANS into the country of ATTICA-he told the ATHENIANS, that if King Archidamus fortuned to wast and destroy all the country about, and should spare his lands and goods for the old love and familiaritie that was betweene them, or rather to give his enemies occasion falfly to accuse him: that from thence forth, he gave all the lands and tenements he had in the country, vnto the common wealth. So it fortuned that the LACED EM ONIANS with all their friends and confederates, brought a maruellous army into the country of Arrica, vnder the leading of King Archidamus: who burning and spoiling all demonians the country he came along, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, where they encamped, inuale Assupposing the ATHENIANS would neuer suffer them to approch so neere, but that they would gue them battell for the honour and defence of their countrey, and to shew that they were no cowards. But Pericles wifely confidered how the danger was too great to hazard battell, where the loss of the citie of Athens stood in perill seeing they were threescore thousand footmen of the Peloponnesians, and of the Boeotians together: for fo many was their number in the first voyage they made against the ATHENIANS. And as for those that were very defirous to fight, and to put themselves to any hazard, being mad to see their country thus wasted & destroyed before their cies, Pericles did comfort & pacific them with these words: That trees being Anexelcut and hewne downe, did fpring againe in fhort time: but men being once dead, by no possibi- lent compalitic could be brought again. Therefore he neuer durft affemble the people in councell, fearing flating flat the left he should be enforced by the multitude, to do something still against his will. But as a wife foulding Pilote, when he feeth a storme coming on the sea, doth straight give order to make all things fight. fafe in the shippe, preparing enery thing ready to defend the storme, according to his art and skill, not hearkening to the paffengers fearefull cries and pitifull teares, who thinke themselues cast away : euen so did Pericles rule all things according to his wisdome, having walled the city substantially about, and set good watch in cuery corner and passed not for those that were angry and offended with him, neither would he be perswaded by his friends earnest requests & intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threats nor accusations against him, nor yet reckoned of all their foolish scoffing songs they sung of him in the city to the shame and reproch of his government, faying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for dastardlinesse he let the enemies take all, and ipoile what they would. Of which number Clean was one that most defamed him, and be- clean accugan to enter into some pretie credite and fauour with the common people, for that they were subsenangry, and misliked with Pericles: as appeareth by these standerous verses of Hirmippus, which were then abroade:

PERICLES.

O King of Satyres thou who with such manly speech. Of bloudy warres and doughty deeds, dost dayly to ws preach: Why art thou now afraid to take thy lance in hand, Or with thy pike against thy focs, couragiously to stand?

Since Cleon flont and fierce, doth dayly thee prouoke With biting words with trenchant blades, and deadly dannting froke.

All this not with filence did patiently beare all iniuries and fcoffings of his enemies, and did fend for all that, a nauy of a hundred faile vnto Peroponnesvs, whither he would not go in person, but kept himselfe at home, to keepe the people in quiet, vntill fuch time as the enemies had raifed their campe, and were gone away. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angry at this war, he com- Note Periforted the poore people againe, with caufing a certaine distribution to be made among it them eliminated the policies of the common treasure, and division also of the lands that were got by conquest. For after he had driven all the ÆGINETES out of their countrey, he caused the whole He of ÆGINA to be denided by lot amongst the citizens of ATHENS. And then it was a great comfort to them by the A. in this aduerfity, to heave of their enemies hurt and loffe in fuch manner as it did fall out. For thenians. their army that was fent by feavnto Peloponnesvs, had wasted and destroyed a great part of the champion country there, and had facked befides many finall cities and townes. Pericles felfe alfochtring into the Megarians country by land, did wafte the whole country all afore him. Sothe PELOPONNESTANS receining by sea as much hurt and losseat the ATHENIANS hands,

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Perieles

prined of his charge.

Pericles home trou

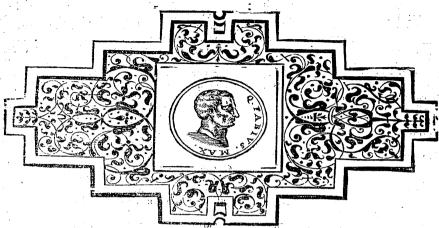
as they before had done by land vnto the Athenian sithey had not holden out warres folong with the ATHENIANS, but would foone have given over (as Pericles had told them before) had not the gods aboue secretly hindred mans reason & policie. For first of all there came such a fore plague among the ATHENIANS, that it tooke away the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the force of the whole city besides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infected with this disease, their hearts also were so sharpely bent against Pericles, that the ficknesse having troubled their braines, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the patient a. gainst his physitian, or children against their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocati. on of his enemies: who bruited abroade, that the plague came of no cause else, but of the great multitude of the country men that came into the city on heapes, one vpon anothers necke in the heate of the summer, where they were copelled to lie many together, smothered vp in litle tents and cabines, remaining there all day long, cowring downewards, and doing nothing, where before they lived in the countrey in a fresh open ayre, and at liberty And of all this (fay they) Peri. cles is the only cause, who procuring this war, hath pent and shrouded the country mentogether within the wals of a city, employing them to no manner of vse nor service, but keeping them like sheep in a pinfold, maketh one to poison another with the infectio of their plague fores running vpon them, and giving them no leave to change aire, that they might fo much as take breath abroad. Pericles to remedy this, and to do their enemies a litle mischief, armed a hundred & fifty ships, and shipped into them a great number of armed footmen and horsemen also. Hereby he put the citizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, seeing so great a power. But when he had shipped all his men, and was himselfe also in the admirall ready to hoise sayle: sodainely there was a great eclips of the Suffine, and the day was very dark, that all the army was stricken with a maruellous feare, as of some dangerous and very ill token towards them. Pericles seeing the master of his gally in a maze withall, not knowing what to do, cast his cloak ouer the masters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harme or no. The mafter answer red him, he thought it none. Then faid Pericles againe to him: There is no difference betweene this and that, fauing that the body which maketh the darkneffe is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eies. The fethings are thus disputed of in the schooles of the Philosophers. But Pericles hoifing faile notwithstanding, did no notable nor speciall service, answerable to so great an army and preparation. For he laying fiege vnto the holy city of EPIDAVRVM, when every man looked they should have taken it, was compelled to raise his siege for the plague that was so vehement that it did not only kill the Athenians themselves, but all other also (were they never so few) that came to them or neere the campe. Wherefore perceiuing the Athenians were maruellously offended with him, he did what he could to comfort them, and put them in heart againe; but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them: for by the most part of voices, they deprived him of his charge of Generall, and condemned him in a maruellous great fine and fumme of money the which those that tell the least, do write, that it was the summe of fifteene talents; and those that fay more, speake of fiftie talents. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was Cleon, as Idomeneus, or Simmias fay, or as Theophrastus writeth: yet Heraclides Ponticus faith, one Lacratidas. Now his common griefes were soone blown ouer: for the people did easily let fall their displeafures towards him, as the waspe leaueth her sting behind her with them she had stung. But his owne private affaires and houshold causes were in very ill case: both for that the plague had taken away many of his friends and kinfmen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in difgrace. For Xantippus (Pericles sonne and heire) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and having maried a young woman very prodigall and lauish of expence, the daughter of Isander, sonne of Epylichus, he grudged much at his fathers hardnesse, who scantly gaue him mony and but a litle at a time. Whereupon he sent on a time to one of his fathers friends in Pericles name, to pray him to lend him fome money, who fent it vnto him. But afterwards when he came to demand it againe, Pericles did not onely refuse to pay it him, but further also he put him in suite. But this made the young man Xantippus so angrie with his father, that he spake very ill of him in euery place where he came: and reported in way of mockery, how his father ipent his time when he was at home, and what talke he had with the Sophisters, and the master Rhetoricians. For a mischance fortuning on a time, at the game of thethrowing of the dart, who should throw best, that he that threw, did vafortunately kill one Epitimeus a Thessalian: Xantippus went pratting vp and downe the towne, that his

father Pericles was a whole day disputing with Protagoras the Rhetorician to know which of the three by law and reason should be condemned for this murther. The dart the that threw the darts or the deuiser of the game. Moreouer Stefimbrotus writeth, that the bruite that ranne thorough the citie, that Pericles did keepe his wife, was fowne abroade by Xantippus himselfe. But to it is, this quarrell and hate between the father and the fonne continued without reconciliation vnto the death. For Xantippus died in the great plague, and Pericles owne fifter also: moreouer he lost at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinsfolkes, and those specially that did him greatest pleasure in gouerning of the state. But all this did neuer pul down his countenance, nor any thing abate the greatnesse of his mind, what misfortune soeuer he had sustain ned, Neither faw they him weep at any time, nor mourne at the funerals of any of his kinfmen or friends, but at the death of Paralus, his yongest and lawfull begotten sonne: for, the losse of him a. lone did onely melt his heart. Yet he did ftriue to shew his naturall constancie, and to keepe his accustomed modestie. But as he would have put a garland of flowers vpon his head, sorrow did fo pierce his heart when he faw his face, that then he burft out in teares and cried amaine; which they neuer faw him do before all the dayes of his life. Furthermore the people having proved other Captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgement & authority sufficient, for so great a charge; in the end, of themselues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counfels, and to the state of a captaine also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept himselfe close in his house, as one bewailing his late grieuous losse and forrow. Howbeit Alcibiades, and other his familiar friends, perswaded him to hew himself vnto the people: who did excuse theselues vnto him, for their ingratitude towards him. Pericles then taking the gouernement againe vpon him, the first matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to reuoke the statute he had made for base borne children, fearing left his lawful heires would faile, and so his house and name should fal to the ground. But as for the law, thus it flood. Pericles when he was in his best authoritie, caused a law to be made, that they onely should be counted citizens of Athens, which were natural Athenians borne by father and Athensor mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of Æ GYPT having fent a gift vnto the peo. baje barne ple of ATHENS, of 40 thousand bushels of corne, to be distributed among the citizens there: many by occasion of this law were accused to be base borne, and specially men of the baser sort ofpeople, which were not knowne before, or at the least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were fallly and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon so it fellout, that there were no leffe then fine thousand of them connicted and fold for flaves: and those that remained as free men, and were judged to be naturall citizens, amounted to the number of fourteene thousand, and fortie persons. Now this was much misliked of the people, that a law enatted, and that had bene of fuch force; should by the selfe same maker and deuiser of the same be againe reuoked and called in. Howbeit Perisles late calamitie that fortuned to his house, did break the peoples hardened hearts against him: who thinking these forrowes smart to be punishment enough vnto him for his former pride, and judging that by Gods divine justice and permiffion this plague and loffe fell upon him, and that his request also was tollerable: they suffered him to enrole his base borne sonne in the register of the lawfull citizens of his family, giving him his owne name, Pericles. It is the felfe fame Pericles, who after he had ouercome the PELO-Ponne sians inagreat battell by sea, neere unto the Iles of Arginuses, was put to death Perioles the by sentence of the people, with other captaines his companions. Now was Pericles at that time base borne infected with the plague, but not fo vehemently as other were, but more temperatly: which by long space of time, with many alterations and changes, did by little and little decay and confume the strength of his body, and ouercame his senses and noble mind. Therefore The ophrastus in his Moralls declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners doe change appliedwith their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions do foalter men, that third quethey forget vertue, and abandon reason: that Pericles in his sickenesse showed a friend of his shing the that came to fee him, I cannot tell what a preferuing charme, that the women had tied (as a car-change of kanet) about his necke, to let him vnderstand he was very ill, fince he suffered them to apply meniman fuch a foolish bable to him. In the end Pericles drawing fast vnto his death, the Nobilitie fortunes. of the citie, and such his friends as were left aliue, standing about his bed, beganne to speake Perists of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, considering the greatnesse of his noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten

nour of his countrey) they reckened vp among themselues all these matters, as if he had not vn-

Fabius Maximus.

FABIVS.



MING AVING already declared vnto you fuch things worthy memory as we could collect and gather of the life of Pericles: it is now good time we should proceed to write also of the life of Fabius Maximus. It is faid the first Fabius, from whom the house and family of the Fabians did descend, (being the effeatest and noblest house of all other in Roma) was begotten by Hercules, whom he got of a Nymph or (as other say) a woman of the country by the river of Tyber. And some fay, that the first of this house, were called at the beginning Fodians, because they did hunt wild beafts, with pitfals and ditches. For vnto this present the

ROMAINES cal ditches, Fosse: and to dig Fodere. Since that time, the two second letters have bene changed and they have called them Fabians. But how soeuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that house; and among other, there was one of that house called Fabius Rullus, whom the ROMAINES for his noble acts did furname Maximus, very great. Afterhim Fabius Maximus, whose life we have now in hand, was the fourth lineally descended lus. of the same line, and he was surnamed Verrucosus, because of a certaine birth-marke he had vpon one of his lips, like a litle warr. And he was also surnamed ouicula, a litle lambe, for his softnesse, alled Perflownes, and gravity of his doings whileft he was a child. But because of nature he was dull, ftil, rucofus and and very filent, and that he was feldome feene to play at any pastime among the boyes, and for Ouicula. that they faw he was but of flow capacitie, and hard to learne and conceiue, and withall that the boyes might do to him what they would, he was so lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked not into him, that he would proue a very foole and idiot. Yet other were incontrary opinion of him: who confidering more deeply the man, perceived in his nature a certaine secret constancie and the maiestie of a lion. But Fabius selse when he was called to serve the common-weale, did quickly shew to the world, that which they tooke for dulnesse in him, was his grauity, which neuer altered for no cause or respect; and that which other judged searefulnesse in him, was very wisedome. And where he shewed himself not hastie nor sodaine in any thing, it was found in him an affured and fetled constancy. Wherefore when he came to consider the great foueraignty of their common-weale, and the continuall warres it was in, he did vie his body to all hardnes, and brought vp himfelf therewithall, that he might be the betterable to ferue in the field: and he gaue himselfe much to eloquence also, as a necessary instrument to perswade souldiers vnto reason. His tongue likewise did agree with his conditions, and manner oflife. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeire finenes in his speech, but his words

fasting of Persoles at

Pericles de **Feruedly** called O. lympines.

mians las mented the

derstood them, imagining his senses had bene gone. But he contrarily being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had faid, and thus he began to speake vnto them: That he maruelled why they had so highly praised that in him, which was common to many other captaines, and wherin fortune dealt with the in equalitie alike, & all this while they had forgotten to speak of the best & most notable thing that was in him, which was, that no ATHENIAN had ever worne blacke gowne through his occasion, And fure so was he a noble and worthy person. For he did not onely flew himfelfe mercifull and courteous, euen in most weightie matters of gouernment among so enuious people and hatefull enemies: but he had this judgement also to think, that the most noble acts hedid were these, that he neuer gaue himselfe to hatred, enuy, nor choler, to be reuenged of his most mortal enemy, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had comir. ted vnto him such absolute power & sole gouernment among them. And this made his surname be Olympius (as to fay divine or celestiall) which otherwise for him had bene too proud and arrogant a name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great libertie he had kept cleane hands and videfiled: euen as we esteeme the gods authors of all good, and causers of no cuill, and so worthy to gouerne and rule the whole monarchy of the world. And not as Poets say, which do confound our wits by their follies, and fond fainings, and are also contrary to themselues, considering that they call heauen (which containeth the gods) the euer. lasting seate, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moved with winds, neither is darkned with clouds, but is alwayes bright and cleare, and at all times shining equally with a pure bright light, as being the onely habitation and mansion place of the eternal God, only happie and im. mortall: and afterwards they defcribe it themselves, full of diffentions, and enmities, of anger, and passions, which do nothing become wise and learned men. But this discourse peraduenture would be better spoken of in some other booke. Now the troubles the ATHENIANS felt imme. diatly after Pericles death, made them then lament the losse of so noble a member. For those who vnpatiently did brooke his great authority while he liued, because it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other speakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confesse, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor grave, with lenitie and mercy, then was his. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, did then most plainely appeare vnto them, to have bene the manifest rampire and bulwarke of the safety of their whole state and common weale: such corruption and vice in gouernment of the state did then spring vp immediatly after his death, which when he was aliue, he did

euer suppresse and keepe vnder, in such sort, that either it did not appeare at all, or at the least it came not to that head and libertie that such faults were committed, as were vnpossible to be remedied.

The end of Pericles life.

THE

Fabius fine simes Con.

Hannibal de :ropeth of Thuscan

Wonders.

Flominists

of Chrast

were every grave and profound, and his fentences even grafted in him by nature, and (as fome fay) were much like Thueydides fayings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praise of his sonne; who died when he came out of his Consulship, which is yet extant to be seene. Now as for him, having bone fluetimes chosen Consull, in his first yeare of his Confulship, he triumphed ouer the LIGVRIANS (which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coast of Genva) who being overthrowne by him in a great battell, where they had loft many men, they were compelled to go their way, and to take the ALPES for their fuccour and durft no more appeare vpon the borders of ITALY, whereupon they did confine. Hannibal entring ITALY afterwards with a great army, and having wonne the first battell necre vnto the river of TREBIA: he passed further, and went through THVSCAN, wasting and destroying all the country as he paifed by. This made Rome quake for feare. Besides they saw many signes and token's force common vito them, as thundring, lightning and fuch other like: but other also morestrange, neuer seene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certain targets were wa xen all bloudy of themselues, and that about the city of Antium they found wheate eares. which were all bloudy when they were reaped: that there fell from heaven burning stones, all in a flame of fire: and in the countrey of the PHALERIAN'S how the element seemed to open and many little written icroles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written these words, word for word: Mars doth now handle his weapons. But all these fignes and wonders did nothing appalle nor daunt the boldnesse of Caius Flaminius, Consult then: who besides the naturall great courage, and aspiring mind he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderf. It good successe he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his feilow Confail stood against his intent: he for all that did giue battell to the GAVLEs, in despight of them all, and wanne the victory. Likewise, though all these fignes and wonders in the ayre, did greatly trouble & amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble Fabius, for he faw no apparant cause to be troubled withall. But he vnderstanding the small number of his enemies, and Jacke of mony that was among them: gaue counfell, & was of opinion that they should pariently for beare a litle, and not to hazard battell against a man, whose army had bene long trained in wars, and by many foughten fields was grown valiant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they should send aide to their subjects, and other their allies and confederates, as need required, to keep their cities still vnder their obedience: in themeane season by tract of time, to weare out Hannibals force and power, which was like straw set on fire, that straight giueth forth a blase, and yet hath no substance to hold fire long, When Fabrus had thus faid inough to perswade Flaminius, yet it would not finke into Flaminius head: for faid he, I will not tarie vntill the wars come to Rome gates, neither will I be brough to fight vpon the walles of the city to defend it, as Camillus did, that fought within the city him felse in old rim. Wherupon he commanded his captaines to set out their bands to the field and he himselfe tooke his horse-backe: which vpon the suddaine, without any cause was so affeard and took fo on with himselfe, that he cast the Consult to the ground with his head forward. For all this fall he would not change his mind, but held on his journey toward Hannibal, and present ted him battell in THUSCAN, by the lake called Thrasimena, which is the lake of PERVSIA. This battell was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwith standing there was such a terrible earthquake therewhile, that some cities were ouerthrowne and turned topsie turuie, some rivers had their streames turned against their course, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in sunder & broken open yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any fuch thing at all. Flaminius the Consul selfe was slaine at that battel, after he had in his own person done many valiant acts, and many of the worthiest gentlemen and valiant souldiers of his army lay dead about him: there sidue being fled, the slaughter was great, for the bodies slaine were fifteene thousand, and some ny prisoners left aliue. After this ouerthrow, Hannibal made all the search he could possibly to find the body of Flaminius, to bury him honourably, because of his valiant nesses but he could ne uer be found amongst the dead bodies, neither was it euer heard what became of it. Now as touching the first overthrow at TREBIA, neither the General that wrote it, nor the post that brought the first newes to Rome, told the troth of it as it was, but fained that the end was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of this battel, so soone as the Prator Pomponius had received the newes, he called all the people to counfell, where without difguifing or diffembling at all, he plainly faid thus vnto them: My Lords, we have lost the battel, our army is ouerthrow

FABIVS.

and the Confull himselfe is flaine in the field: wherefore, consider what you have to do, and provide for your fafety. These words spoken to the people, as it had bene a boysterous storme of weather that had fallen on them from the sea to put them in danger, did so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole citie for feare, that they were all in amaze, and knew nor what to determine. Yet in the end they all agreed that it stood them upon to have a chiefe magistrate, called in Latine Dictator, that should be a man of courage, and could stoutly vse it without sparing or searing any person. And for this, Fabius Maximus was thought the onely man meete to be chosen, as he, whose noble courage and graue behauiour was answerable, to the dignitie and foueraigntie of the office; and moreover, that to his gravitie and wifedomethere was joyned (by reasonable age) strength of body, and valiantnesse with experience. This counsell being confirmed by them all, Fabius was chosen Dictator, who named Lucius Fabius Di. Minutius Generall of the horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would grant chair. him he might have his horse in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the Dictator, but expreffely forbidden by an ancient order. Either because they thought the chiefest force of their armie did confist in their footemen, which caused the making of this law: whereby the Generall should be amongst them in the day of the battell, and in no wife should for sake them. Or els because the authority of this magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King: Yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing thereunto, and the warres, that the Dictator should have absolute power over the people. Fabius at his first coming, because he would shew the maiestie and dignitie of his office, that every man should be the more obedient and ready at his commandement: when he went abroade, he had foure and twenty The Mafergeants before him, carying the bundels of rods, and axes. And when one of the Confuls bins the came to him, he sent a sergeant to command his bundell of rods that were caried before him, to Diffator. be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layd aside: and that he should come and speake with him, as a private man. And first to make a good foundation, and to begin with the Fabius reliferuice of the gods, he declared vnto the people, that the losse they had received, came through the rashnesse and will full negligence of their captaine, who made no reckning of the gods nor religion: and not through any default and cowardline se of the souldiers. And for this cause he did perswade them not to be affraid of their enemies, but to appeale the wrath of the gods, and to serue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but did confirme their valiancie with true religion and godlinesse: and besides did vtterly take away and asswage their feare of their enemies, by giving them certaine hope and affurance of the aide of the gods. Then were the holy bookes of the sibylles prophefies perufed, which were kept very fecret, and there. The sibylles in they found certaine ancient prophefies and oracles, which spake of the present missortunes propheses. of the time. But what was contained therein, it is not lawfull to be vttered to any person. Afterwards the Dictator, before the open affembly of the people, made a folemne vow vnto the gods, Fabius 200 that he would facrifice all the profits & fruits that should fall the next yeare, of sheep, of sowes, of milch-kine, and of goats in all the mountaines, champion countrey, rivers or medowes of I-TALLE. And he would celebrate playes of musicke, and shew other fights in the honour of the gods, and would bestow upon the same the summe of three hundreth three and thirtie Sestercians, and three hundreth three and thirtie Romains pence, and a third part ouer. All which fum reduced into Grecian mony, amounteth to fourescore & three thousand, five hundreth. and fourescore and three silver drachmaes, and two oboles. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this summe so precisely, and why he did deuide it by three. vnlesse it were to extoll the power of the number of three: because it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of divers numbers, and containeth in it selfethe first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So Fabius having brought the people to hope and trust to have the ayde and fauour of the gods, made them in the end the better disposed to line well afterwards. Then Fabius hoping after victorie, and that the gods would fend good lucke and prosperity vnto men through their valiantnesse and wildome did straight set forwards vnto Hanibal, not as minded to fight with him, but fully refolued to weare out his strength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increase his pouertie by the long spending of his owne money, and to Fabina do confume the finall number of his people, with the great number of his fouldiers. Fabius camped ingreguing the high places of the mountaines our of all denotes of his enemies boyle. alwaies in the strong and high places of the mountaines, out of all danger of his enemies horse-

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> fell into great error.

Valturnia

men, and coasted still after the enemies so that when Hannibal stayed in any place, Fabius also stayed: if Hannibal remoued, he followed him straight, and would be alwayes necrehim, but neuer forfooke the hils, neither would he come so neere him, as that he should be enforced to fight against his will. Yet alwayes he followed the enemy at his taile, and made him cuerafeard of him, thinking still that he sought to get the vantage, to give the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this fort, he became difliked of enery body: for enery man both in his owne campe, and abroad, spake very ill of him openly and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better then a rancke coward, Hannibal onely excepted. But he perceiuing his great reach and policy, and forefeeing his manner of fight, faw there was no remedy, but by plaine force or flight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delay would ouerthrow the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein onely confisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his souldiers should fall away and dye, and his money wax scant, and himselfe should grow the weaker. Thereupon Hannibal began to bethinke him, and deuise all the stratagemes and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wreftler, to feeke out all the trickes he could to give his adversarie the fall. For suddenly he would go and giuealarum to his campe: by and by againe he would retire, Another time he would remoue his campe from one place to another, and give him fome aduantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring deuice out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for Fabius, he continued fill resolute in the first determination : that delay of fight was the best way so to ouerthrow him. Howbeit Minutius, Generall of his horsemen, did trouble him much: for he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and brauing of a lustie courage crept into opinion with the fouldiers, by his hote fury and defire to fight. Which wrought much in them, and fo firred vp their courages, that they mocked Fabius altogether. and called him Hannibals schoole-master: and contrariwise they commended Minutius, for a valiant captaine, and worthy Romaine. This made Minutius looke high, and have a proud opinion of himselfe, mocking Fabius because he ever-lodged on the hils, with saying the Dictator would make them goodly sports, to see their enemies waste and burne ITALIE before their faces. Moreouer he asked Fabius friends, whether he would in the end lodge his campe in the skie, that he did climbe vp so high vpon mountaines, mistrusting the earth: or else that he was so affraide, his enemics would find him out, that he went to hide himselfe in the cloudes. Fabrus friends made report of these iests, and aduised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare fuch reproachfull words as were spoken of him. But Fabius answered them: If I should yeeld to that you counsell me, I should shew my selfea greater coward then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and spightefull words. For it is no shame for a man to stand searefull and icalous of the welfare and safety of his countrey: but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of euery straw, or to regard enery common prating, it is not the part of a worthy man of courage, but rather of a base minded person, to seeke to please those whom he ought to command and gouerne, because they are but fooles. After this, Hannibal chanced to fall into a great errour: for intending to leaue Fabius to bring his armie into the plaines, where there was plenty of victuals, and store of pasture to feede his horse and cattell : he commanded his guides to bring him straight after supper, into the plaine of CASINVM. They mistaking his words, and not vnderstanding well what he said, because his ITALIAN tongue was but meane, tooke one thing for another, and so brought him and his army to the end of a field neere the citic of CASILINVM, through the middest of the which runneth a river, the Romaines call Vulturnus. Now the countrey lying by it, was a valley compassed in with mountaines round about, sauing that the river went to the sea: where leauing his owne bankes, it spreadeth abroad into the marrishes, and bankes of fand very deepe, and in the end fell into that part of the sea which is most dangerous, and where was neither fuccour nor couert. Hannibal being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a facke, Fabius that knew the countrey, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereabouts, followed him steppe by steppe, and stopped his passage, where they should have come out of the valley, with foure thousand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the straight, and disposed the rest of his army vpon the hangings of the hilles, in the most apt and sit places all about. Then with his light horsemen he gaue a charge vpon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all Hannibals army by and by out of order, and so there were

flaine eight hundreth of his men. Whreupon Hannibal would haue remooued his campe thence immediatly: and knowing then the fault his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the danger wherein they had brought him, he roundly truffed them vp, and hung them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the tops of the hils, and to win them from their strength, he faw it was impossible, and out of all hope. Wherfore perceiuing his fouldiers both affraid and difcouraged, for that they faw themselves hemmed in on all sides. without any order to escape, Hanibal determined to deceive Fabius by a device. He caused Hannibals fraight two thousand oxen to be chosen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their fraigeme. fpoiles, and tied to their hornes light bundels of reedes, and fallow faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commanded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they saw any signall or token lift up in the aire in the night, they should then straight set fire on those bundels and bunches, and drive vp the beasts to the hils, towards the waies where the enemies lay. Whilest these things were a preparing, he on the other side ranged his army in order of battell, and when night came, caused them to march faire and softly. Now these beasts, whilest the fire was but little that burnt vpon their hornes, went but faire and softly vp the hill from the foore of the mountaines from whence they were driven: in fo much as the heardmen that were on the top of the mountaines, wondered maruellously to see such flames of fire about the hornes of fo many beafts, as if it had beene an army marching in order of battell with lights and torches. But when their hornes came to be burne to the stumpes, and that the force of the fire did frie their very flesh, then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to sinke their heads, whereby they did fet one another on fire. Then left they their foft pace, and went no more in order as they did before, but for the extreme paine they felt, began to runne here and there in the mountaines, carying fire still about their hornes, and in their tailes, and set fire or all the boughes and coppefies they passed by. This was a strange sight to look vpon, and did much amaze the Romaines that kept the passages of the mountaines, for they thought they had beene men that ranne here and there with torches in their hands. Whereupon they were in a maruellous feareand trouble, supposing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuiron them on all fides, to as they durft no more keepe the paffages which they were commanded, but forfaking their straights, began to flie towards their maine and great campe. Thereupon Hannibals light horfemen immediatly possessed the straights that were kept; by reafon whereof, all the rest of his army marched out at their ease and leisure, without seare or danger, norwith standing that they were loden and troubled with maruellous great spoiles, and of all kind of forts. Fabius then perceived very well the fame nigh , that it was but a fleight of Hannibal; for some of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his army. Whereupon fearing to fall vpon some ambush by reason of the darke night, he kept his men in battell ray, without stirring, or making any noyse. The next morning by breake of day, he began to follow his enemies by the tracke, and fell vpon the taile of the rereward, with whom he skirm shed within the straights of the mountaines, and so did distresse somewhat Hannibals army. Hannibal thereupon fent out of his vauntgard a certaine number of Spaniards (very lufty and numble fellows that were yied to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who coming downe, and fetting vpon the Romaines that were heavie armed, flue a great number of them, and made Fabius to retire. Thereupon they despised Fabius the more, and thought worse of him then they did before, because his pretence and determination was, not to be brought to fight with Hannibal, but by wisedome and policie to ouerthrow him, whereas he himselfe by Hannibal was first finely handled and deceived. Hannbial then to bring Fabius fur- Hannibal ther in diffiking and fuspition with the Romaines, commanded his fouldiers when they came stationally neare any of Fabrus lands, that they should burne and destroy all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wife to medle with Fabius lands, nor any thing of his, and did purpofely appoint a garifon to feethat nothing of Fabius should miscary, nor yet take hurt. This was straight caried to Rome, which did therby the more incense the people against him. And to help it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceased crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by Metellus speciall procurement and perswasion: who of himselse had no cause to mislike with F4bius, but onely because he was Minutius kinsmen (generall of the horseman) and thought that the ill opinion they beare to Fabius, would turne to the praise and advancement of Minutius. The Senate also were much offended with Fabius, for the composition he made with Hannibal, R 2

Fabius prisoners

Fabiss redeemeth the prifoners with

the field.

Minutius rashnesse.

Fabius actreafon by the Tribise.

touching the prisoners taking of either side. For it was articled betweene them, that they should change prisoners, deliuering man for man, or else two hundreth and fiftie filuers drachmas for a man, if the one chanced to have moe prisoners then the other. When exchange was made betweene them, it appeared that Hannibal had left in his hands of Romaine prisoners, two hundred and fortie moe then Fabius had to exchange of his. The Senate commanded there should be no money sent to redeeme them, and greatly found fault with Fabius for making this accord : because it was neither honourable, nor profitable for the common-weale; to redeeme men that cowardly suffered themselues to be taken prisoners of their enemies. Fabius vnderstanding it, did patiently beare this displeasure conceiued against him by the Senate. Howbeir hauing no mony, and meaning to keep his word, & not to leaue the poore citizens prisoners behind him he fent his fon to Rome, with commission to fell his lands, and to bring him money immediatly. The yong man went his way to Rome, and fold his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: Fabius therewith redeemed the prisoners, and sent their ransome vnto Hannibal. Many of the prisoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay him their ransome:but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ransome freely. Afterwards being called to Rome by the priests to do certain solemne sacrifices, he lest the ar-Falimilea. my in charge with Minutius to gouerne the fame in his absence, with condition not to set vpon the enemy, nor to fight with him at all: the which not only by his authoritie he did expressely forbidhim, but also as his very friend, he did warne and intreat him in no wise to attempt. How. beit Minutum litle regarding his commandements or requests, so soone as Fabius backe was turned, began to be somewhat lustie, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongst the rest. Minutius perceiuing Hamibal had sent a great part of his army abroade to forrage and get vi-Etuals, came and fer your them that remained behind, and draue them into their campe, with great flaughter, and did put them in a maruellous feare that were faued, as men that looked for no lesse, but to haue bin besieged in their campe. Afterwards also, when their whole army came together againe, he retired backe in spight of them all, and lost not a man. This exploit set Mi. metrus in a pride, and brought the fouldiers to be more rash then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrow went with speed to Rome, and therethey made it a great deale more then it was. Fabius hearing of it, faid : he was more afeard of Minutius prosperity, then of his owne aduersitie. But the common people reioyced maruellously, and made great shew of ioy vp and downe the market place. Whereupon Metellus one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highly magnified Minutius, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged Fabius no more of cowardlinesse, but with slat treafon. Furthermore, hedid accuse the Nobility and greatest men of Rome, saying: that from the first beginning they had laid a plot to draw these warres out at length, onely to destroy the peoples power and authority, having brought the whole common weale to the state of a monarchie, and into the hands of a private person: who by 1 is remissenesse and delayes, would giue Hannibal leysure to plant himselse in ITALY, and by time giue open passage to the Car-THAGINIANS, at their pleasure to send Hannibal a second aide and armie, to make a full conquest of all ITALIE. Fabius hearing these words, rose vp straight, and spake to the people, and taried nor about the answering of the accusations the Tribune had burthened him withall, but prayed them they would dispatch these facrifices and ceremonies of the gods, that he might speedily returne agains to the campe, to punish Minutius, for breaking his commandement, in fighting with the enemy. He had no fooner spoken these words, hut there arose a maruellous tumult and hurley burley presently among the people, for the danger Minutus stood in then, because the Dictator had absolute power and authoritie to imprison and put to death whom he thought good, without ordinarie course of law or araignement. Moreouer, they did iudge, since Fabius had of late left his accustomed mildnesse and affabilitie, that he would grow to such seueritie in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appeale him. Wherefore every man held their peace for feare, fauing only Metellus the Tribune: he having authority by vertue of his office, to fay what he thought good, and who only of all other kept still his place and authority, when any Distator was chosen. Then all the officers that were put down, instant-The crue tv ly befought the people not to forfake Minutius, nor to fuffer the like to be done to him, as Manlius Torquatus did of late to his sonne, who strook off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and ouercome them, for breaking his commandement. And began to perswade them

further, to take this tyrannicall power of the Dictatorship from Fabius: and to put their affaires into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them fafely to paffe. The people were tickled maruellously with these seditions words, but yet they durst not force Fabius to refigne his Dictatorship, though they bare him great grudge, and were angry with him in their hearts. Howbeit they ordained that Minuteus thenceforth should have equall power and autho- The Differity with the Dictator in the warres; a thing that was neuer seene nor heard of before, and yet the tor and gevery same done in that fort againe, after the battell of CANNES. For Marcus Iunius being at that borfomen time Dictator in the campe, they did chuse another Dictator at Rome, which was Fabius Buteo, made equal to name and create new Senators in the place of those that were slaine in the battell. But after he in authorihad named them, and restored the full number againe of the counsell of the Senate, he discharged the selfe same day the sergeants that caried the axes before him, and sent away the train that waited vpon him, and did so put himselfe in prease of the people in the market place, and followed his own peculiar bufineffe as a private perfon. Now the Romaines imagined, that when Fabius should see how they had made Minutius equall in authoritie with him, it would grieve him to the heart for very anger: but they came short to judge of his nature, for he did not thinke that their folly should hurt or dishonour him at all. But as wise Diogenes answered one that faid Diogenes vnto him, looke, they mocke thee : tush (faid he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby that he words, tooke them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus Fabius took enery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and did comfort himselfe with the Philosophers rules and examples: who did maintaine, that an honest and wise man, can no way be injured nor dishonored. For all the displeasure he received by the peoples folly, was in respect of the commonwealth: because they had put a sword into a mad mans hand, in giving Minutius authoritie to follow his rash humor, and fond ambition in the wars. Wherefore, fearing lest he being blinded with aine glory, and prefumptuous opinion of himselfe, should rashly (and vpon a head) hasten tod some great hurt before he came to the campe, he departed suddenly out of Rome without any mans knowledge, to return eagaine to the campe, where he found Minutius fo proud and Minutius four, that he was not to be dealt with. For he would needs haue the authority to command the pride. whole army when it came to his turne. But Fabius would not confent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the army betweene them thinking it better he should alone command the one half. then the whole army by turnes. So he chose for himselfe, the first and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the fecond and fourth, and deuided also betweene them the aide of their friends. And when Minutius made his boast, that the maiesty of the highest magistrate was brought lower for his fake, Fabius told him that he might thinke, if he were wife, he had not to fight with him, but with Hannibal: and if he would needes contend against his companion, yet he should have a special! regard and confideration, that having wonne now the citizens good wils, by whom he was fo much honored, he should have no lesse care of their health and fafety, then he had, who was now troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. Minutius tooke his lefton for a counterfeit mock, after old mens maners and fashion; and so taking the one half of the army vitto him, went and lodged alone by himselse. Hannibal hearing of their jarre and squaring together, sought straight oportunity to make their discord finely to serue his turne. Now there was a hil between both their campes not very hard to be won, & it was an excellent place to lodge a campe fafely in, and was very fit and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, did feeme afar offto be very plaine and euen ground, because they had no couert of wood to shadow them, yet were there many ditches and little vallies in them wherefore Hannibal though he might eafily haue taken it at his pleasure if he had listed, did let it alone in the middest betweene them, for a baite to draw out his enemies to battell. Now when Hannibal faw Fabius and Minutius Hannibal lodged afunder, he placed certaine bands in the night among those ditches and vallies. After-laid ambush wards the next morning by breake of day, he fent a small number of men openly to winne this for Minuhill:hoping by this policy to traine Minutius out to the field, as it fell out indeed. For first Minutius fent thither his light horsemen, & afterwards all his men at armes: and lastly perceiving that Hannibal himselfe came to releeue his menthat were vponthe hill, he himselfe marched forward also with all the rest of his army in order of battell, and gaue a hot charge vpon them that defended the hill, to drive them thence. The fight continued equall agood space betweene them both, vntill such time as Hannibal saw his enemie come directly within his danger, and shewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had laid in

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ambush:he straight raised the signall he had given them. They vpon that discovered all together. and with great cries did fet vpon the rereward of the Romaines, & flue a great number of them at the first charge; and did put the rest in such a seare and disorder, as it is vnpossible to expresse in Then was Minutus rash brauery and fond boasts much cooled, when he looked first vpon one captaine, then you another, and faw in none of them any courage to tary by it, but rather that they were all ready to run away. Which if they had done, they had bene cast away every man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the stronger, did disperse theselues all about the plaine, killing all straglers that fled. Minutius souldiers being brought to this danger and distresse, which Fabius foresaw they would fall into; and having vpon this occasion his army ready ranged in order of battel, to see what would become of Minutius, not by report of messengers, but with his own eyes: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he saw Minutius & all his men compaffed about on every fide, and even ftaggering & ready to flie, and heard befides their cries not like men thathad harts to fight, but as men scared, & ready to flie for feare to saue theselues: he clapped his hand on his thigh, and fetched a great figh, faying to those that were about him: O gods, how Minutius is gone to cast himselfe away, sooner then I looked for, and later then he defired. But in speaking these words, he made his ensignes march on in haste, crying out aloud; O my friends, we must dispatch with speed to succour Minutius: for he is a valiant man of person, and one that loueth the honour of his country. And though with ouermuch hardinesse he hath ventured too farre, and made a fault, thinking to have put the enemies to flight: time serueth not now to accuse him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he presently brake the Nomines, and disperfed them, that lay waiting in the fields for the Romaines, which they thought would have fled. Afterwards he went further, & did fet vpon them that had given charge vpon the rereward of Minutius battel, where he flue them that made head against him. The residue, searing lest they should falinto the danger they had brought the Romaines vnto before they were enuironed in of all sides, did turne taile straight to Fabius. Now Hannibal seeing this charge, and considering how Fabius in person, with more courage then his age required, did make a lane in the middest of those that fought against the side of the hill, to come to the place where Minutius was the made the battell to ceasife, and commanded to found the retreate, & fo drew backe his menagain into his campe, the Romaines being very glad alfothey might retire with fafety. They say Hamibal in his retiring, said merrily to his friends: Haue not I told you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hanging cloud we saw on the top of the mountaines, how it wold breake out in the end with a tempest that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, Fabius having stript those that were left dead in the field, retired agains to his owne campe, and spake not an ill word of Minutius his companion. Minutius then being come to his campe, affembled his fouldiers, and spake thus to them: My friends, not to erre at all, enterprifing great matters, it is athing passing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faults that are pail and done, it is the part of a wife & valiant man. For my selie, I acknowledge I haue no lesse occasion to praise fortune, then I haue also cause to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I have learned by experience in one litle pecce of a day; and that is this, That I am not able to command, but am my selfe fitter to be gouerned and commanded by another; and that I am but a foole to stand in mine own conceipt, thinking to ouercome those, of whom it is more honour for me to confesse my selfe to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the Dictator Fabius henceforth shall be he, who alone shall command you in all things. And to let him know that we do all acknowledge the fauour which we have prefently received at his hands, I will leade you to give him thanks, and will my felfe be the first man to offer to obey him in all that he shall comand me. These words being spoken, he commanded his enfigne-bearers to follow him, & he himself marched formost towards Fabius campe. When he came thither, he went directly to the Dictators tent: whereat enery man wondered, not knowing his intent. Fabius came out to meete him, Minutius after he had fet down his enfignes at his feete, faid with a loud voice; ô father: and his fouldiers vnto Fabius fouldiers; ô masters: which name the bondmen that are infranchised, do vse to them that have manumissed them. Afterwards every man being filent, Minutius began aloud to fay vnto him: My lord Dictater, this day you have won two victories: the one of Hannibal, whom valiantly you have overcome the fecond, of my felfe your companion, whom also your wisdome and goodnesse hath vanquished, By the one, you have faued our lives and by the other, you have wisely taught vs. So haue we also bene ouercome in two forts: the one by Hannibal to our shame, and the other by

vour selfe, to our honor and preservation. And therefore do I now call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honor you acknowledging my selfe more bound vnto you for the present grace and fauour I haue received of you, then ynto my naturall father that begot me. For by him only I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all these honest citizens littes have bene saued. And having spoken these words, he embraced Fabius: and so did the souldiers also, heartily embrace together, and kitse one another. Thus the joy was great through the whole campe, and one was so glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their cheekes for ioy. Now when Fabius was afterwards put out of his office of Dictatorthip, there were new Confuls chosen againsthe two first followed directly Fabius former order he had begun: for they kept themselves from giving Hannibal any battell, and did alwayes send aid to their subjects & friends, to keep them from rebellion, vntill that Terentius Varro (a man of Therashness meane birth, and known to be very bold and rash) by flattering of the people, wan credit among of terentia them to be made Confull. Then they thought that he by his rashnesse and lacke of experience, Terenting would incontinently hazard battel, because he had cried out in al the assemblies before, that this Parro, war would be cuerlasting, so long as the people did chuse any of the Fabians to be their generals; Panlas Aand vanted himselfe openly, that the first day he came to see his enemies, he would ouerthrow fuls. the. In giving out these brave words, he affembled such a power that the ROMAINES never saw so great a number together against any enemy that they euer had: for he put into one campe 88000 fighting men. This made Fabius and the other ROMAINES, men of great wisedome and indgement, greatly affraid because they faw no hope for Rome to rise againe, if it fortuned that maines they should lose so great a number of goodly youth. Therefore Fabius talked with the other campe you Consul, called Paulus Æmilius, a man very skilfull & expert in wars, but ill beloued of the common people, whose fury he yet feared, for that they had condemned him a litle before to pay a 88000. great fine to the treasury; and after he had somewhat comforted him, he began to perswade and encourage him to refift the fond rafhnesse of his companion, telling him, that he should have afmuch to do with Terentius Parro for the preservation and safety of his country, as to fight with Paulus, Hannibal for defence of the same. For they were both Martiall men, and had a like desire to fight, the one because he knew not wherein the vantage of his strength consisted, and the other because he knew very well his weaknes. You shall have reason to beleeue me better, for matters touching Hannibal, then Terentius Varro: for I dare warrant you, if you keepe Hannibal from battell, but this yeare, he shall of necessity, if he tarry, consume himselfe, or else for shame be driven to flie with his army. And the rather, because hitherto (though he seeme to be lord of the field) neuer one yet of his enemies came to take his part; and moreouer because there remaines at this day in his campe not the third part of his army, he brought with him out of his countrey. Vnto these persivasions, the Consull(as it is reported) answered thus: When I looke into my selfe, my lord Fabins, me thinks my best way were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once again to light into the hands & voices of our citizens. Therfore, fith the efface of the common wealth fo requireth it, that it behoueth a man to do as you have faid, I will do my best endeuor to shew my selfe a wise captain, for your sake only, rather then for all other that should aduise me to the contrary. And so Paulus departed from Rom E with this mind. But Terentius his copanion would inany case they should command the whole army by turnes, each his day by himselfe; and went to encampe hard by Hannibal, by the river of AVFIDE, neere vnto the village called CANNES. Now when it came to his day to comand by turnes, early in the morning he caused the fignallof Aufdin Re battelto be set out, which was a coate-armour of skarler in graine, that they did lay out vpon the pauilió of the generall: so that the enemics at the first sight, began to be affraid, to see the lustines of this new come generall, and the great number of fouldiers he had also in his hoast, in comparison of them that were not halfe so many. Yet Hannibal of a good courage, commanded every man to arme, and to put themselues in order of battell: and himselse in the meane time taking his horse backe, followed with a few, gallopped vp to the top of a litle hill not very steep, from whence he might plainly discerne all the ROMAINE's campe, and saw how they did range their men in order of battell. Now one Gifcon(a man of like state and nobility as himselfe) being with him at that time, told him, that the enemies seemed afarre off to be a maruellous number. But Hannibal rubbing his forchead, answered him: Yea said he, but there is another thing more to be wondred at then you thinke of Gifcon. Gifcon straight asked him: What: Marry faith he, this: that of all the great number of fouldiers you fee yonder, there is not a man of them called Gifeon as

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you are. This merry answer deliuered contrary to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great weighty matter, made them all laugh agood. So down the hill they came laugh ing aloud, and told this prety iest to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ran ouer all the campe, in so much as Hannibal himselfe could not hold from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN fouldiers perceiuing this, began to be of a good courage, imagining that their Generall would not be so merily disposed as to fall a laughing, being so neere danger, if he had not perceived himselfe a great deale to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore, he shewed two policies of a skilfull Captaine in the battel. The first was, the cituation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, so as they had the wind on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raifed a sharpe dust out of the open fandy vally, and paffing ouer the CARTHAGINIAN'S fquadron, blew full in the Ro-MAINES faces, with fuch a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne rankes, The second policy was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either fide of his wings, the best and valiantest souldiers he had in all his army: and did fill vn the middest of his battell with the worst of his men, which he made like a point, and was farther out by a great deale, then the two wings of the front of his battell. So he commanded those of the wings, that when the ROMAINES had broken his first front, and followed those that game backe, whereby the middeft of his battell should leave an hollow place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compasse of his two wings: that then they should set vpon them on both fides, and charge their flankes immediatly, and fo inclose them in behind. And this was cause of greater slaughter. For when the middle battell began to give backe, and to receive the Romaines within it, who purfued the other very hotly, Hannibals battell changed her forme; and where at the beginning it was like a point, it became now in the middest like a cressant or half Moone. Then the captaines of the chosen bands that lay out in both the wings, made their mento turn, some on their left hand, & some on the right, & charged the Romaines on the flanks, and behind, where they were all naked fo they killed all those that could not save themselues by slying before they were enuironed. They say also, that there fel out another mischiefe by misfortune vnto the horfemen of the Romaines, and by this occasion. The horfe of Paulus Émilius the Consull being hurt, did throw his maister on the ground: whereupon those that were next him, did light from their horse backs to helpe him. The residue of the horsemen that were a great way behind him, seeing them light, thought they had bene all commanded to light: hereupon euery man forsooke their horse, and fought it out on soote. Hannibal when he faw that, faid: yea mary, I had rather haue them fo, then deliuered me bound hand and foote. But for these matters the historiographers do dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Consuls, Paulus E- Varro faued himselfe by his horse, with a few following him, within the city of VENVSA. Paulus being in the middest of the throng of all the army, his body full of arrowes that stucke fast in his wounds, and his heart fore loden with grieuous forrow and anguish, to see the ouerthrow of his men:was fet downe by a rocke, looking for fome of his enemies, to come and rid him out of his paine. But few could know him, his head and face was on fuch a gore bloud: infomuch as his friends & servants also passed by him & knew him not. And there was but one yong gentleman of anoble house of the Patricians, called Cornelius Lentulus, that knew him, who did his best endeuour to faue him. For he lighted on foot presently, and brought him his horse, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could faue himselfe for the necessity of his country, which now more then ever had need of a good and wife captaine. But he refused the gentlemans offer & his intreatie, & compelled him to take his horse back againe, though the teares ran down his cheeks for pity; and raifing himselfe up to take him by the hand, he said unto him: I pray youtell Fabins Maximus from me, & witnesse with me, that Paulus Amilius even to his last house hath followed his counfell, and did neuer swarue from the promise he made him: but that first he was forced to it by Varro, and afterwards by Hannibal. When he had deliuered these words, he bad Lentulus farewell:and running againe into the fury of the flaughter, there he died among his flaine com-50000 Romain Es, and 4000 taken priso ners: and other 10000 that were taken prisoners in two campes after the battell. When this noble victory was gotten, Hannibals friends gaue him counfell to follow his good fortune, andto enter Rome after the scattered number that fled thither: so as within few dayes following he might fup in their Capitoll. 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he went not, vnlesse it was (as I thinke) some good fortune, or fauourable God toward the Ro-MAINES that withstood him, and made him afeard and glad to retire, Whereupon they say, that one Barca a CARTHAGINIAN, in his anger faid to Hannibal: Sir, you have the way to overcome, but you cannot vievictory. Notwithstanding, this victory made a maruellous change for him: for hereupon, all ITALY in maner came in to submitthemselves to him, where before he had no rown at commandement, nor any storehouse or port through all ITALY: yea he did maruellous hardly, and with much ado victuall his army with that he could daily rob and spoile, having no certaine place to retire vnto, nor grounded hope to entertaine these wars, but kept the field with his army, remouing fro place to place, as they had bin a great number of murtherers & theeues seathers. together. For the most part of the courty, did yeeld immediatly vnto him; as the city of CAPVA being the chiefest and greatest city of all ITALY but ROME, and did receive Hannibal, and were at his devotion. Thus we may plainly fee, that as the poet Euripides faith: It is a great mischiefe not onely to be driven to make triall of friends, but proofe also of captaines wildome. For that which before they accounted cowardlinesse and faint heart in Fabius, immediatly after the battell they thought it more then mans reason, and rather an heauenly wisdome & influence that follong forefaw the things to come, which the parties felues that afterwards felt the gaue litle credit vnto before. Vpon this occasion, Rome reposed incontinently all their hope and trust in Fabius, & they repaired to him for counfel, as they would have ran vnto some teple or altar for fanctuary. So as the first and chiefest cause of staying the people together from dispersing themfelues abroad as they did when Rome was taken by the GAVLES, was the only opinion & confidence they had in Fabius wildome. For where before he feemed to be a coward and timerous, when there was no danger nor misfortune happened; then when every man wept and cried out for forow, which could not helpe, & that all the world was so troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the city very modeftly, with a bold contenance, speaking courteously to every one, & did appease their womanish cries & Fabius conlamentations, & did forbid the common affemblies and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead flames after corfe at their burials. Then he perfwaded the Senate to affemble in counfell, & did comfort vp those that were magistrates, and he alone was the only force & power of the city; for there was cannet. not aman that bare any office, but did cast his eye vpon Fabius, to know what he should do. He it was that caused the gates of the city straight to be warded, & to keepe those in for going their way that would have for faken the city. He moreover did appoint the time & place of mourning and did command who foeuer was disposed to mourne, that he should do it privately in his own dee for house, and to continue only but 30 daies. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, & that the mourning. city might be cleane from fuch vincleane things. So the feast of ceres falling about that time, he thought it better to leave off the facrifices and procession they were wont to keepe on Geres day: then by their small number that were left, and forow of those that remained, to let their enemies vnderstand their exceeding great losse. For the gods delight to be served with glad & reioycing hearts, and with those that are in prosperity. But all this not with standing, what so cuer the priests wold haue done either to pacifie the wrath of the gods, or to turne away the threatnings of thefe finister signes, it was forthwith done For they did send to the oracle of Apollo, in the city of DE L PHE stone of Fabius kinfinen furnamed Pictor, And two of the Westall Nuns being defloured the onewas buried aliue according to the law and custome, and the other made her felfe away. But herin the great courage and noble clemency of the ROMAINES, is maruelloufly to be noted and The may regarded. For the Confull Terentius Varro returning backe to Rome, with the shume of his ex-naminal treme misfortune & ouerthrow, that he durft not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwithstanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the city to meete him, & did hono- werthrows rably receive him Nay furthermore, those that were the chiefe magistrates & Senators, among Cannes. whom Fabius was one, when filence was made, they commended Varro much because he did not dispaire of the preservation of the common-weale after so great calamity, but did return againto the city, to helpe to reduce things to order, in vsing the authority of the law, & the seruice of the citizens, as not being altogether under foot, but standing yet in reasonable termes of good recourry But when they vinder frood that Hannibal after the battell was gone into other parts of Maximus. Iral v, then they began to be of good cheere again, & fent a new army and generals to the field, and claude among which the two chiefe generals were Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus, both which lusgenerals

by contrary means in maner, wan alike glory and reputation. For Marcellus (as we have declared

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in his life) was a man of speedy executio, of a quick hand, of a valiant nature, and a right martiall man, as Homer calleth them that valiantly put themselues in any danger: by reason whereof ha uing to deale with another captaine alike venturous and valiant as himselfe, in all service and execution, he shewed the selfe boldnesse and courage that Hannibal did. But Fabius persisting still vpon his first determination, did hope that though he did not fight with Hannibal, nor stirre him at all, yet continual warres would confume him and his army in the end, and bring them bothm nought, as a common wrettler that forceth his body aboue his naturall strength, doth in the end become a lame and brused man. Hereupon Posidonius writeth, that the one was called the Ro-MAINES fivord, and the other their target. And that Fabius constancy and resolutenes in wars to fight with security, and to commit nothing to hazard and danger, being mingled with Marcellus heate and fury, was that only which preserved the ROMAINES empire. For Hannibal meeting alwaies in his way the one that was furious as a ftrong running ftreame, found that his army was continually turmoyled & ouerharried and the other that was flow as a litle prety river, he found that his army ran foftly under him without any noise, but yet cotinually by litle & licle it did fil confirme & diminish him, until he saw himself at the last brought to that passe, that he was wear of fighting with Marcellus, and affraid of Fabius, because he fought not. For during all the time of their, wars, he had euer their two captaines almost against him, which were made either Pre. tors, Confuls or Proconfuls, for either of them both had bene five times before chosen Conful Yet us for Marcellus, Hannibal had laid in ambush for him in the fifth & last yeare of his Consul ship, where he fet you him on a sudden, and flew him. But as for Fabius, he layd many baites for him, and did what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambushes, and other warlike pol licies to entrap him, but he could never draw him within his danger. Howbeit at one time he but him to a little trouble, and was in good hope then to have made him fall vpon his ambush he had laid for him, and by this policy. He had coun erfeited letters written & fent vnto him from amb shlaid the city of Metapont to pray him to come to them, and they would deliuer their city into his liands: and withall, that fuch as were privy to the contents of the fame, defired no other thing but his repaire thither. These letters pretily quickned Fabius, infomuch as he was determined on night to haue taken part of his army, & to haue gone to them. But because the fignes of the birds did promise him no good successe, he left off his purpose. Soone after he vnderstood they wen counterfeit letters, made by Hannibals fine device to have drawn him out, and to have entrapped him, for whom himselfe lay in person in ambush neare the city, looking and waiting for his com ming: but the gods who would have him faued, were onely to be thanked for his happy feare Furthermore concerning the revolt of the cities that were subject vnto him, & the rising of their allies and friends against them: Fabius thought it farre better to intreat them curteously making them assamed without occasion to rebell against them, rather than openly to suspect them, and to deale straightly with those that were so to be suspected. Now for this matter, it is reported that Fabrus had a fouldier in his campe that was a Mars: An borne by nation a valiant man of his per. fon, & alfo of as noble a house, as any that were of all the allies of the Romarnus: who had practi fed with other his fellowes of the band he ferued in to go ferue the enemy. Fabius hearing of this practife he went about, gaue him no ill countenance for it, but calling him to him, he faid: I mult confesse there is no reckoning made of you, as your good service doth deserve, wherefore for this time (faith he)I blame the pety captaines only, which in such fort do bestow their goodwill and fauor rat adventure, and not by defert. But henceforth it shall be your owne fault if you'de not declare your minde vnto me, and betweene you and me make me priuy of your lacke and no ceffity. When he had spoken these words to him, he gaue him a very good horse for service, and did reward him with other honourable gifts, as men of good feruice and defert haue commonly bestowed on them. And this did so incourage his souldiers thenceforth, that he became a very fai hfull and feruiceable fouldier to the ROMAINES, For Fabius thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horses, and such like as take vpon them to tame bruit beasts, should sooner make them leaue their fauage and churlish nature by gentle v sage and manning of them, then by beating, shackling of them. And so a gouernour of men, should rather correct his souldiers by patience gentlenetie, & clemency, then by rigor, violence, or feuerity. Otherwife he should handle them more rudely and sharpely then husbandmen doth fig-trees, oliue-trees, and wilde pomegarnats: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, do alter their hard and wild nature, and cause them in the end to bring forth good figs, oliues and pomegarnets. Another time certains

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captaines of his brought him word, that there was one of their fouldiers which would ever co our of the campe, and leave his enfigne. He asked them, what manner of man he was. They anfwered him all together, that he was a very good fouldier, & that they could hardly find out fuch another in all their bands as he and therewithall they told him of some notable service they had feene him do in person. Wherupon Fabius made a diligent enquirie to know what the cause was that made him go fo off out of the campe: in the end he found he was in loue with a young woman, and that to go fee her was the cause he did so oft leave his ensigne, and did put his life in so great danger, for that the was fo farre off. When Fabius understood this, he fent certain fouldiers (ynknowing to the fouldier to bring the woman away he loued, and willed them to hide her in his tent, and then called he the fouldier to him, that was a Lvean tan borne, & taking him afide, faid vnto him thus: My friend, it hath bene told me, that thou hast lyen many nights out of the campe, against the law of armes, and order of the Romain Bs, but therwithall I vnderstand also that otherwise thouart an honest man, and therefore I pardon thy faults past, in consideration of thy good feruice but from henceforth I will give thee in cuftody to fuch a one as shall make me accompt of thee. The fouldier was blanke when he heard these words. Fabrus with that, caused the woman he was in loue with to be brought forth, and deliucred her into his hands, faying ynto him: This woman hereafter shall answer me thy body to be forth coming in the campeamongst vs: and from henceforth thy deeds shall witnesse for the rest, that thy love vnto this woman, may be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked practife or intent. Thus much we find written concerning this matter. Moreouer, Fabius after fuch a fort, recoursed a- How Fabius gaine the city of TARENTYM, & brought it to the obedience of the ROMAINES, which they had wan Tarenoftby treason. It fortuned there was a yong man in his campe, a TAR ENTINE borne, that had a fifter within TARENTYM, which was very faithfull to him, and loued him maruellous dearely: nowthere was a captain, a Brytian borne, that fell in loue with her, & was one of those to who Hannibal had committed the charge of the city of TARENTVM. This gaue the yong fouldier the TARENTINE, very good hope and way, to bring his enterprise to good effect: wherupon he renealed his intent to Fabius, and with his privity fled from his campe, and got into the city of TA. RENTYM, giving it out in the city, that he would altogether dwell with his fifter. Now for a few daies at his first coming the BRVTIAN captaine lay alone by himselfe, at the request of the maid his fifter, who thought her brother had not known of her loue: & shortly after the yong fellow took his fifter afide, and faid vnto her: My good fifter, there was a great speech in the Romains campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefest captaines of the garison: I pray thee if it be so, letme know what he is: for so he be a good fellow, and an honest man (as they say he is) I care nonfor wars that turneth all things topfi-turney, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of. and still maketh vertue of necessity, without respect of shame. And it is a special good fortune, at suchtime as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His fifter hearing him speake these words, sent for the BRVTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loucs, and indeuored himfelfe to frame his fifters loue in better fort towards him, then it was before: by reason wherof, the captaine also began to trust him very much. So this yong TARENTINE saw it was very easie to win and turne the mind of this amorous and mercinary man, with hope of great gifts that were promifed him, and Fabius should performe. Thus do the most part of writers set downe this story. Howbeit some writers say, that this woman who wan the BRVTIAN captain, was not a TARENTINE, but a Brytian borne, whom Fabius it is faid, kept afterwards for his concubine, and that the underflanding the captain of the Brytians (who lay in garison within the city of Tarentym) was alfoa Brytian borne, and of her own native country, made Fabius privy to her intent, and with his consent, she coming to the walles of the city, spake with this BRVTIAN captaine, whom she was by a handled in fuch fort, that she wan him. But whilest this geare was a brewing, Fabius, because he womans would traine Hannibal out of those quarters, wrote vnto the souldiers of RHEGIO, which belonged to the Romain Bs, that they should enter the borders of the Bryrians, and lay siege to the city of CAVL ON IA, and raze it to the groud. These RHEGIAN souldiers were about the nuber of 8000, and the most of them traitors, and runagates from one campe to another: and the worst fort of them and most defamed of life, were those that Marcellus brought thither out of SICILE, so that in losing them all, the losse were nothing to the common-wealth, & the forrow much lesse. So Fabius thought, that putting these fellowes out for a prey to Hannibal (as a stale to

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draw him from those quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from Tarentym and so it came to passe. For Hannibal incontinently went thence with his army to intrap them; and in the meane time Fabius went to lay fiege to TERENTVM, where he had not lien fixe daies before it, but the yong man (who together with his fifter had drawn the BRYTIAN captain to this trea. fon) (tole out one night to Fabius, to enforme him of all, having taken very good markes of that fide of the wall the BRYTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promifed him to keep it fecret, and to fuffer them to enter, that came to affault that fide. Yet Fabius would not ground his hope altogether upon the BRUTIANS executing this treason, but went himself in person to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time; and in the meane feafon, he gaue a general affault to all parts of the city (as well by fea as by land) with great shouts & cries. Then the BRVTIAN captain feeing all the citizens and garifons run to that part wherethey perceined the noise to be greatest, made a signall vnto Fabius, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought apace, wherupon himselfe with his copany scaled the wals and so wan the city. But it appeared here, that ambition ouercame him: for first he commanded they should kill all the BRYTIANS, because it should not be knowne he had won the city by tree son. But this bloudy policy failed him: for he missed not only of the glory he looked for but most deservedly he had the reproch of cruel: y and falshood. At the taking of this city, a marvel. lous number of the TARENTINES were flaine, besides there were sold 30000 of the chiefest of them, and all the city was facked: and of the spoile thereof was carried to the common store treat fure at Rome, 2000 talents. It is reported also, that when they did spoile and cary away all other spoiles lest behind, the recorder of the city asked Fabius, what his pleasure was to do with the gods, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that Fabius answered him: Let vs leave the Ta RENTINES their gods that be angrie with them. This notwithstanding, he caried from theme Hercules statue, that was of a monstrous bignesse, and caused it to be set vp in the Capitoll, and withall did fet vp his owne image in braffe on horsebacke by him. But in that act he shewed him felfe farre harder hearted then Marcellus had done, or to fay more truly, thereby he made the world know how much Marcellus curtefie, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at: as we haue written in his life. Newes being brought to Hannibal, that TARENTYM was befieged, h marched presently with all speed possible to raise the siege; and they say he had almost comein time, for he was within fortie furlongs of the city when he understood the troth of the taking of it. Then faid he out aloud, Sure the ROMAINES haue their Hannibal too; for as we wan TAREN TVM, so have we lost it. But after that, to his friends he said plainely (and that was the first time they ever heard him speake it) that he saw long before, and now appeared plainly, that they could not possibly with this small power keepe ITALY. Fabius made his triumph and entry into Rome the second time, by reason of taking this city: & his second triumph was much more honourable then the first, as of a valiant captaine that held out still with Hannibal, and easily met with all his fine policies, much like the flight trickes of a cunning wreftler, which caried not now the for mer roughnesse and strength any more, because that his army was given to take their ease, and growne to delicacie, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly also for thatig was fore wasted and diminished, through the sundry foughten battels and blowes they had bene at. Now there was one Marcus Linius a Romaine, that was governor of Tarentym at that time when Hannibal tooke it, and neuerthelesse kept the castell still out of Hannibals hands, and so held it untill the city came againe into the hands of the Romaines. This Liuius spited to see fuch honour done to Fabius, so that one day in open Senate, being drowned with enuy and ambition, he burst out and said: that it was himselfe, not Fabius, that was cause of taking of the citie of TARENTYM again. Fabius smiling to heare him, answered him openly: indeed thou faiest true. for if thou hadft not lost it, I had never won it again. But the Romaine's in all other respects die greatly honor Fabius, and specially for that they chose his son Consull He having already taken possession of his office, as he was dispatching certaine causes touching the wars, his father (whether it was for debility of his age, or to proue his fon) tooke his horse to come to him, and rode through the prease of the people that thronged about him, having busines with him. But his son feeing him coming a farre off, would not fuffer it, but fent an officer of his vnto him, to comand him to light off his horse, and to come on foot if he had any thing to do with the Consull. This commandement missiked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon Fabius, but said not a word: chinking with themselves, that the Consull did great wrong to his, fathers greatnesses. So

he lighted straight, and went a good round pace to embrace his sonne, and said vnto him: You The father haue reason sonne, and do well to shew ouer whom you command, vnderstanding the authority of a Confull, which place you have received. For it is the direct course, by the which we & our ring and ancesters have increased the Romain empire: preferring ever the honor and state of our coun. trey, about father, mother, or children. And truly they fay, that Fabius great grandfather being the greatest and most noble person of Rome in his time, having five times bin Consull, and had obtained many triumphs, for divers honourable and fundry victories he had won: was contented after all these, to be his sonnes lieutenant, and to go to the warres with him, he being chosen Consull. And last of all, the Consull his sonne returning home to Rome a conquerour, in his triumphing chariot drawne with foure horses, he followed him on horsebacke also, in troope with the rest thinking it honor to him, that having authority over his son in the right of a sather, and being also the noblest man of all the citizens, so taken & reputed, neuerthelesse he willingly submitted himselfe to the law and magistrate, who had authority of him. Yet besides all this, he had far more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then those already spoken of. But it fortuned that this fon of Fabius died before him, whose death he tooke patiently, like a wise man, and a good father. Now the custome being at that time, that at the death of a noble man, their neerest kinsman should make a funerall oration in his praise at their obsequies: he himselfe made the fame oration in honor of his fon, & did openly speake it in the market place, and moreover wrot in, and deliuered it out abroad. About this time, Cornelius Scipio was sent into Spain E, who draue out the Carthaginians from thence, after he had ouerthrowne them in many battels, and had conquered many great cities, and greatly advanced the honor and estimation of the state of Rome: for the which at his returne, he was a finuch, or rather more honored, beloued and effecmed, then any other that was in the city of Rome. Hereupon Scipio being made Confull, confi- Scipio Condered that the people of Rome looked for some great matter at his hands, about all other. Fit. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight against Hannibal in ITALY, he should but follow the old maner, and tread too much in the steps of the old man: whereupon he resolved immediatly to make wars in Africke, and to burne and destroy the country even vnto Carthaga gates, and so to transferre the wars out of ITALY into LIBYA, procuring by all possible device he could, to put it into the peoples heads, &to make the like of it. But Fabius contrarily, perfwading Fabius mass himself that the enterprise this yong rash youth tooke in hand, was vtterly to ouerthrow the comon-weale, or to put the state of Rome in great danger: denised to put Rome in the greatest counsell and feare he could possible, without sparing speech or deed he thought might serue for his purpose, Scipio 4. to make the people change from that minde. Now he could so cunningly worke his purpose, frience. what with speaking and doing, that he had drawne all the Senate to his opinion. But the people indged, it was the fecret enuie he bare to Scipioes glory, that drew him to encounter this device, only to blemish Scipices noble fortune, fearing, left if he shold happen to do some honorable sernice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwise to draw Hannibal out of ITALY) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bin too foft; or too negligent, to draw this war out to such a length. For my part, methinkes the only matter that moved Fabius from the beginning to be against Scipio, was the great care he had of the safety of the common-weale, by reafon of the great danger depending vpon fuch a resolution. And yet I do thinke also, that afterwards he went further then he should, contending too fore again st him (whether it were through ambition or obstinacie) seeking to hinder and suppresse the greatnesse of Scipio: considering also he did his best to perswade Crassus, Scipioes companion in the Consulship, that he should not grant vnto him the leading of the army, but if he thought good to go into Africke, to make warsvponthe Carthaginians, that he should rather go himself. And moreover, he was the let that they gaue him no mony for maintenance of these wars. Scipio hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furnish himselfe as he could he leuied great sums of mony in the cities of Thus can, who for the great loue they bare him, made contributio towards his journy. And Crassus remained at home, both because he was a soft and no ambitious nor contentions man of nature as also, because he was the chiefest presate and high bishop, who by the law of their religion, was constrained to keepe Rome. Fabius seeing his labour loss that way, tooke againe anobigo bishop ther course to crosse scipio, denisting to stay the yong men at home, that had great desire to go this of Reme. ourney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all assemblies of the Senate and people, that Scipio was not contented onely to flie Hannibal, but that he would carie with him besides

Fabius fe-

the whole force of ITALY that remained: alluring the youth with fweete baites of vaine hope and perswading them to leaue their wives, their fathers, mothers, and their country, evennow when their enemy knocked at Rome gates, who did cuer conquer, & was yet neuer conquered. These words of Fabius did so dampe the Romaines, that they appointed Scipio should furnish his journey onely with the army that was in Sicilia, saving that he might supply to them if he would, 300 of the best soldiers that had served him faithfully in Spain E. And so it doth appeare euen to this present, that Fabius both did and said all things, according to his wonted maner, and naturall disposition. Now Scipio was no sooner arrived in Africk E, but newes were brought to Rome incontinently, of wonderfull exploits, and noble feruice done beyond measure; and of great spoiles taken by him, which argued the troth of the newes. As the king of the NV MIDIANI taken prisoner, two campes of the enemies burnt and destroyed at a time, with losse of a great number of people, armor, & houses, that were consumed in the same eletters & posts for life running in the necke one of another from CARTHAGE to call Hannibal home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vaine hope that would neuer hauc end, hafting himselfe with all speed posfible to come to the rescue of his country. These wonderfull great fortunes of Scipio, made him of such renowne and fame within Rome, that there was no talke but of Scipio. Fabius notwith. standing defisted not to make a new request, being of opinion they should fend him a successor. alledging no other cause nor reason, but a common speech of every body that it was a dange rous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, fo great exceeding prosperity and good fuccesse, because it is a rare matter to see one man happy in all things. These words did so much mislike the people, that they thought him an envious troublesome man, or else they thought his age had made him fearefull; and that his courage failed with his strength, fearing Hannibal more doubtfully then he needed. For now though Hannibal was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to re turne into Africk E, yet Fabius Would not grant, that the peoples ioy & fecurity they thought they were in, was altogether cleere, and without feare and mistrust; but gaue it out, that then they were in greatest danger, and that the common-weale was breeding more mischiese now then be fore. For when Hamibal (faidhe) shall returne home into Africk E, and come before Can-THAGE wals, the ROMAINES shall be lesse able to abide him there, then they have bene before and Scipio moreouer, shall meete with an army yet warme, and embrued with the bloud off many Prætors, Dictators, and Confuls of Rome, which they have overcome, and put to the fword in ITALY, with the sevn comfortable speeches, he still troubled and disquieted the whole city, perswading them that notwithstanding the warre was transferred out of ITALY int Africk E, yet that the occasion of feare was no lesse neere vnto Rome, then it was enerbe fore. But within short space after, Scipio having overcome Hannibal in plaine battell in the field,

The death of Fabrus Max.

rals of l'a-

the people, because he died in so great pouerty, that when he was dead, they found nothing the house but a little iron spit. Now the Romaines buried not Fabius so, at the common charge of the city, but every man of beneuolence gave towards his funerall charge, a peece coine that caried the left value of their currant money: not for that he lacked ability to bring him to the ground, but only to honor his memory:in making his obsequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honourable end and buriall.

and troden underfoote the glory and pride of CARTHAGE, he brought a greater toy to Rome

then they enerlooked for and by this noble victory of his, he raised vp againe the declining state

of the empire of Rome, which a little before was falling downe right. Howbeit Fabius lived no

to the end of this warre, nor neuer heard whiles he lived the joy full newes of Hannibals happy

ouerthrow, neither was his yeeres prolonged to fee the happy affured prosperitie of his coun

try: for about that time that Hannibal departed out of ITALY, a ficknesse tooke him, whereof

died. The stories declare that, the THEBANES buried Epaminondas, at the common chargeso

THE COMPARISON OF Pericles with Fabius. .



§ ERE haue you heard what is written of these two great persons. And for as much as they have both left behind them many notable examples of vertue, as well in martiall matters, as in civill government, let vs begin to compare them together. First of all, Pericles began to gouerne the fest prosperity, & of greater power and wealth, then ever they had bene commonweale, at what time the people of ATHENS were in their chienuall maintenance of the same in security without danger of falling not so much for their worthinesse, as for their common power and fe-

licity: where contrariwife Fabius acts fell out in the most dishonourable and vn fortunate time. that euer hapned to his countrey, in the which he did not onely keepe the city in good state from declining, but raifed it vp, and deliuered it from calamity, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, Cimons great good fortune and successe, the victories and triumphs of Myronides, and of Leocrates, and many notable valiant deeds at armes of Tolmides, gaue good cause to Pericles, to entertaine his city in feasts, and playes, whilest he did gouerne thesame; and he did not find it in such ill case and distresse, that he was driven to defend Itby force of armes, or to conquer that againe which before was loft. But Fabius in contrary manner, when he faw before him many ouerthrowes, great flying away, much murder, great flaughters of the Generals of the Romain Earmies, the lakes, the plaines, the woods filled with scattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds & rivers running all agore-bloud (by reafon of the great flaughter) and the streame carying downe the dead bodies to the maine sea: did take in hand the government of his country, and by a course farre contrary to all other, he did so vnderprop and beare vp the fame, that he kept it from falling flat to the ground, among st those mines and ouerthrowes other had brought it to before him. Yeta man may tay alfo, that it is no matter of so great difficulty to rule a city already brought low by aduersity, & which compelled by necessity, is contented to be gouerned by a wise man: as it is to bridle and keepe under the infolency of a people, puft vp with pride, and prefumption of long prosperity, as Pericles found it amongst the Athenians. The great multitude also of so many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the Romaine's necks at that time, did plainely shew Fabius to be a grave and constant man. which would neuer give way vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could ever be remoued from that he had at the first determined. The winning and recourring againe of Ta-RENTYM, may well be compared to the taking of Samos, which Pericles wan by force: and the THE cities of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EVBOBA: excepting the city of CAPVA, which the Confuls Fuluius and Appius recoucred againe. But it feemeth that Fabius neuer wan battel, faue that onely for which he triumphed the first time: where Perioles set vp nine triumphs, of battels and victones he had won, aswell by sea as by land. And so also, they cannot alledge such an act done by

PERICLES AND FABIVS: 106 by Pericles as Fabius did, when he refcued Minutius out of the hands of Hannibal, and faued a whole army of the ROMAINES: which doubtlesse was a famous act and proceeded of a noble mind, great wisdome, and an honorable heart. But Perioles againe did neuer commit so grossean error as Fabius did, when he was out-reached and deceived by Hannibals fine stratageme of his oxen who having found his enemy by chance to have flut himselfe vp in the straight of a vally, did suffer him to escape in the night by a subtilty, & in the day by plaine force: for he was preue. ted by ouermuch delay, and fought with all by him he kept inclosed. Now if it be requisite, a The gift of of Generals fit oportunity offered, to do any notable peece of service. For like default & lacke of experience,

The compa rijon be. twixt 'ericles and Fa. uill gouern

Live for ci-

Fabiusre

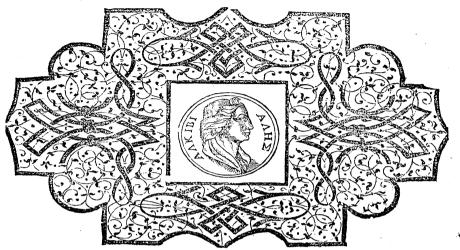
The buil . dings of shing com-parable so Pericles poorhes.

good Captainedo not only vse well that he hath in his hands, but that he wisely indge also what will follow after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in such fort, as Pericles said they would come to passe: for with ambition to imbrace too much, they ouerthrew their estate. But the ROMAINES Cotrariwise, having sent Scipio into Africk to make wars with the Cartha-GINIANS, wan all that they tooke in hand: where their General did not ouercome the enemy by fortune, but by valiant nesses. So that the wisdome of the one is witnessed, by the ruine of his cou. try and the error of the other testified, by the happy event of that he would have let. Now the fault is alike in a General, to fal into danger, for lacke of forecast: as for cowardlinesse to let slipa maketh the one too hardy, and the other too fearefull. And thus much touching the wars. Now for civil! gouernment: it was a foule blot to Pericles, to be the author of wars. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for that he wold not have them yeeld to the Lace ex-MONIANS in any respect. And yet me thinks Fabius Maximus also wold no more give place vnto the Carthaginians, but flood firme and bold in all danger, to maintaine the empire of his country against them. Bet the goodnesse & clemency Fabrus shewed vnto Minutius, doth much commend Pericles acculations and practiles, ag unft Cimon and Thucydides: both of them being noble and good men, and taking part with the Nobility, who he expulsed out of Athens, and banished for a time. So was Pericles power & authority in the commonweale greater: by reason wherof he did euer foresee, that no Generall in all his time did rashly attempt any thing hurtfull vnto the commonweale, except Telmides only: who fled from him, and in despite of him went to fight with the Bo E OT I ANS, where he was flain. As for all other Generals, they wholly put themselues into his hands, and did obey him for the greatnesse of his authority. But Fabius, al though for his part he neuer committed any fault, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernment: yet because he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this refpect he was defective. For if Fabiushad caried lik authority in Rome, as Pericles didin Athens the Romaines had not fallen into fo great mifery as they did. And for liberality, the one shewed it, in refusing the mony offered him: & the other, in giuing vnto those that needed, & re. deeming his poore captiue country men. And yet Fabius might dispend no great reuenue, for his whole receipts came only to fixe talents. But for Pericles, it is hard to fay how rich he was, who had coming in to him, great prefents by his authority, as well of the subject, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and strange Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any person living. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, the flately workes and common buildings:put all the ornaments together that euer were in Rome, before the times of the Cafars, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith Pericles did beautifie and adorne the city of ATHENS. For neither in quality nor quantity was there any proportion or like comparison, betweene the exceeding sumptuousnesse of the one, and of the other.

The end of Fabius Maximus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF Alcibiades.





LCIBIAD ES by his fathers fide, was anciently descended of Eury- Alcibiales faces that was the fonne of Aiax, and by his mothers fide of Alemaon: Hocke for his mother Dinomacha, was the daughter of Megacles. His father Clinias having armed & fet forth a galley at his owne proper costs & char- Themselvers ges, did win great honour in the battell by fea, that was fought along of famous men neuer the coast of ARTEMISIVM, and he was slain afterward in another battell fought at Coronea, against the Borotians. His sonne Alcibiades what they tutors, were Pericles and Ariphron, Xantippus sonnes: who were also Alabiades his neere kinsmen. They say, and truly, that Socrates good will and beauty.

friendship did greatly further Alesbiades honor. For itappeareth not, neither was it euer written, al shades what were the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the names of the matheur of Arion of Double and the name of the nam what were the names of the mothers of Nicias, of Demosthenes, of Lamachus, of Phormion, of nature. Thrasibulus, and of Theramenes: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the *Theequicontrary we find the nource of Alcibiades, that she was a LACED EMONIAN borne, and was the source called Amicla, and that this schoolemaster was called Zophryus: of the which, Antifhenes men-Greece tioneth the one, and Plato the other. Now for Alcibiades beauty, it made no matter if we spake Korath Kola not of it, yet I will alitle touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull faire, being a child, a boy, ibardio and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruellous amiable, and beloued of every man. he way the and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruellous amiable, and beloued of every man. For where Euripides faith, that of all the faire times of the yeare, the Autume or later feason is in fead the fairest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proved true in Alcibiades, though in where fi few other: for he was passing faire euen to his later time, and of good temperature of body. They faire write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, bargaue a biomes, certaine naturall pleafant grace in his talke : which Ariflophanes mentioneth, mocking one Theo. 101 fine. m that did counterfeit a lisping grace with his tongue:

This Alcibiades, with his fat lisping tongue, Into mine cares, this trusty tale, and long full often sung : Looke wpon Theolis (quoth be) lo there he bowes, Behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and * flatling blowes. The sonne of Clinias, would lispe it thus somewhiles, And fure he lisped neuer a lye, but rightly hit his wiles. And Archippus another Poet also, mocking the sonne of Alcibiades, saith thus:

obserning of I fring a could, like sothe Lative and Frenchtra, flations, Likewife

Theolis for Theores.

Because he would be like his father encry way, In his long trailing gowne he would go ictting day by day. And counterfeit his speech, his countenance and face: As though dame nature had him given therein a perfect grace: To life and looke afide, and hold his head awiy, Euen as his father lookt and lifpt, fo would be prate and pry.

For his manners they altered and changed very oft with time, which is not to be wondered at. feeing his maruellous great prosperity, as also aduersitie that followed him afterwards. But of all alebindes the great defires he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, seeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best person as appeareth by certaine of his deeds, and notable fayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wreftling with a compa. nion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have given him the fall, he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit fo hard, as he would have eaten it off. The other feeling him bite fo hard, let go his hold ftraight, and faid vnto him: what Alcibiades biteft thou like a woman! No mary do I not (quoth he) but like a lyon, Another time being but a litle boy, he played at skailes in the middest of the street with other of his copanions, & when his turne came about to throw, there came a cart lade by chance that way: Alcibiades prayed the carter to stay a while, vntill he had played out his game, because the skailes were set right in the high way wherethe cart should passe ouer. The carter was a stubburne knaue, and would not stay for any request the boy could make, but draue his horse on still, in so much as other boyes gaue backeto let him go on: but Alcabiades fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durst. The carter being affraid, plucked backe his horse to stay them: the neighbours frighted to fee the danger, ran to the boy in all hast crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schooleto learn, he was very obedient to all his masters that taught him any thing, sauing that he disdained Alcibiades to learne to play on the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly quality. For, said he, to play on the violl with a sticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor disgrace any gentleman: but Avilething otherwise, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and changeth so oft, that his familiar friends can scan: know him. Moreouer the harpe or violl doth not let him that playeth on them. from speaking, or singing as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth fo hard to it, that it taketh not onely his words from him, but his voyce. Therefore faid he let the children of the THEBANS play on the flute, that cannot tell how to speake: as for the ATHE-NIANS, we have (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectors & patrones of our countrey, the goddette Pallas, and the god Apollo: of the which the one in old time (as it is said). brake the flute, & the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that played vpona flute. Thus Alcibiades alledging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest, did not only himself seaue to learnest play on the flute, but he turned his companions minds also quite from it. For these words of Alcibiades, ran from boy to boy incontinently: that Alcibiades had reason to despise playing on the flute, & that he mocked all those that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fel out at ATHENS, that teaching to play on the flute, was put out of the number of honest and liberall exercises, and the flute it selfe was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations Antiphon wrote against Alcibiades, it is declared: that when he was a boy, he fled out of his tutors house, into the house of Democrates one of his louers, and how Ariphron one of his tutors thought to have made a beadle cry him through the city: but Pericles wold not suffer him, saying that if he were dead, they should know it but one day sooner by crying of him: and if he werealiue, that it would be such a shame to him while he liued, that he had bin better he had neuer bin heard of againe. The same Antiphon accuseth him further, that he had killed a servant of his that attended on him, in the wrefiling place of Sybertius, with a blow of a staffe. But there is no reason to credit his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did beare him. Now straight there were many great and rich men that made much of Alcibiades, and were glad to gethis good will. But Socrates loue vnto him had another end and cause, which witneffed that Alcibiades had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceiuing that vertuedid appeare in him, and was joyned with the other beauty of his face, and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefest of the city, as of strangers, seeking to intice him by flattery, & by many other pleasures he tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an ympe to lole

the hope of the good fruit of his youth. For fortune doth neuer fo intagle nor finere a man without, with that which they comonly call riches, as to let & hinder him fo, that phylosophy should nottake hold on him with her free, seuere, & quicke reasons. So Alcibiades was at the beginning, affaied with all delights, & flut vp as it were in their company that feafted him with all pleafures only to turn him that he should not hearken to Socrates words, who sought to bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But Alcibiades not with standing having a good naturall wit, knew what Socrates was, and went to him, refusing the company of all his rich friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kind of familiar friendship with Socrates. Whom when he had heard speake, he noted his words very well, that they were no perswasions of a man seeking his dissionesty, but one that gaue him good counfell, and went about to reforme his faults and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and presumption that was in him: then, as the common prouerbe faith,

Like to the crauen cocke, he drooped downe his wings, Which cowardly doth runne away, or from the pit out flings.

And did thinke with himfelf, that all Socrates love and following of yong men, was indeed a thing fent from the gods, and ordained about for them, whom they would have preserved, and put into the pathway of honour. Therefore he began to despise himselfe, and greatly to reuerence socrates, taking pleasure in his good vsing of him, and much imbraced his vertue : so as he had (he wift not how an image of loue grauen in his heart, or rather (as Plate faith) a mutuall loue, to wit. anholy and honest affection towards Socrates. Insomuch as all the world wondered at Alcibiades. to fee him commonly at Socrates board, to play, to wreftle, & to lodge in the wars with Socrates: and contrarily to chide his other welwillers, who could not fo much as have a good looke at his hands, and befides became dangerous to fome, as it is faid he was vnto Anytus, the fon of Anthemion, being one of those that loved him well. Anytus making good cheere to certaine strangers his friends that were come to fee him, went and prayed Alcibiades to come and make merie with them: but he refused to go. For he went to make mery with certaine of his companions at his owne house, and after he had well taken in his cups, he went to Anytus house to counterfeit inselence the fooleamongst them; & staying at the hall doore, and seeing Anytus table & cubboord full of "mis Aug. place of filuer and gold, he commanded his feruants to take away halfe of it, and cary it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come no neerer into the house, but went his way home. Anytus friends and guests misliking this strange part of Alcibiades, said it was shamefully and boldly done to abuse Anytus. Nay, gently done of him, said Anytus: for hehath left vs fom, where he might haue taken all. All other also that made much of him, he feruedafter that fort, fauing a stranger that came to dwell in Arhens: who being but a poore man as the voice went, fold all that he had, wherof he made about a hudred staters which he brought vinto Alcibiades and prayed him to take it at his hands. Alcibiades began to be mery, and being very glad to vnderstand his good will towards him, took his honest offer, & prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very heartily, and made him good cheere. When supper was done, he gaue him his mony againe, and commanded him not to faile the next morning to distribute was done, meete him where the farmes and lands of the city are wont to be let out to those that bid most, & fact. charged him he should outbid all. The poore man would faine have excused himselfe, saying the farmes were too great for him to hire: But Alcibiades threatned to whip him, if he would not do it. For besides the desire he had to pleasure him, he bare a private grudge against the ordinary farmers of the city. The next morning the stranger was ready in the market place, where they did cry out the letting of their farmes, & he raifed one to a talent more then all other did offer. The other farmers were as mad with him as could be, that they all did fet yoon him, crying out: Let him put in fecurity straight, supposing he could have found none. The stranger was maruellous blanke thereat, and began to shrinke backe. Then cried Aleibiades out aloud to the officers that fate there to take the best offers:I wil be his surety, faith he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him fay fo, were at their wirs end, and wift not what to do. For they being alwayes accustomed to pay their yearly rent as it went before, by the helpe of the rest of the yeares that followed after: perceiving now that they should not be able to pay the arrerages of the rent due to the common-wealth, and feeing no other remedy, they prayed him to take a peece of money, and to leave the bargaine. Then Aleibiades would in no wife he should take lesse then a talent, which they gave him willingly. So Meibiades suffered the stranger then to depart, and made him gaine by his deuice. Now Socrates love which he bare him,

Sacrates

Alaibiades pleasure.

Hrake a feboolene a fter, because

bis schoole.

er fare wish Caned by

Alcibiades faued So crates life after the

Alcibiades

thought it had many mighty and great adversaries, yet it did stay much Alcibiades, sometime by gentle nature, sometime by his graue counsell & aduice: so as the reason thereof tooke so deepe roote in him, and did so pierce his heart, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekee Another time also being caried away with the enticement of flatterers, that held vp his humour with all pleasure and delights, he stole away from Socrates, and made him run after him to fetch ranne from him againe, as if he had bene a flaue that had runne away from his masters house: for Alcibiades stood in awe of no man but Socrates onely, and indeed he did reverence him, and did dishift all other. And therefore Cleantes was wont to fay, that Alcibiades was held of Socrates by the eares: but that he gaue his other louers hold, which Socrates neuer fought for, for to fay truly Alcibiades was much given out to lust and pleasure. And peraduenture it was that Thucydidee meant of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of body, and diffolute of life. Those that marred Alcibiades quite, did still pricke forward his ambition and defire of honour, and did put him in the head to thrust himselfinto great matters betimes, making him beleeue that if he didbut once begin to shew himselfe to deale in matters of state, he would not only blemish and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell Percles, in authority and power among the GRECIANS. For like as iron by fire is made foft, to be wrought in any forme, and by cold also is shut and hardened againe: euen so Alcibiades being puffed vp with vanity and opinion of himselfe, as of as Secrates tooke him in hand, was made fait and firme againe by his good perswasions, in so much that when he saw his owne fault and folly, and how far wide he had strayed from vertue. he became suddenly very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growne to mans state, he went into a grammer schoole, and asked the schoolemaster for one of Homers bookes. The schoolemaster answered him, He had none of them: Alcibiades vp with his fift and gaue him a good boxe on the earc, and went his way. Annother grammarian told him ona time he had Homer which he had corrected. Alcibiades replied, Why, what meanest thou, to stand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct Homer, and to teach yong men not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at Pericles gate, defirous to speake with him: answer was made him, He was not at ley sure now; for that he was busily occupied by himselfe, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, faid he, going his way it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no account at all. Moreover, being but a young boy, he was at the journey of Potid &A, where he lay still with socrates, who would neuer let him be from him in all battels and skirmishes he was in:among which there was one very hote and bloudy, where they both fought valiantly, and Alcibiades was hurt. But Socrates stepped before him, and did defend him so valiantly before them all, that he saued him and his weapon out of the enemies hand, So the honor of this fight out of doubt, inequity and reason, was due vnto Socrates: but yet the captaines would faine haue judged is on Alcibiades side, because he was of a noble house. But Socrates because he would increase his desire of honour, and would pricke him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnessed Alcibiades had described it: and therefore prayed the captaines to judge him the crowne and compleate armor. Afterwards, in the battel of DELION, the ATHENIAN'S having received the overthrow, Socrates retired with a few other on foot. Alcibiades being on horse back, and ouertaking him, would not go from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and slew many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gauca box on the care vnto Hipponicus, Callias father: who was one of the greatest men of power in the city, being a noble man borne, & of great possessions, which was done vpon a brauery & certain Infinefic, as having laid a wager with his companions he would do it, and for no malice or quarrell that he baretheman. This light part was straight ouer al the city, and every one that heard it, faid it was lewdly done. But Alcibiades the next morning went to his house, and knocking at his gate was let in: so he stripping himselfe before him, deliuered him his body to be whipped, and punished at his pleasure. Hipponicus pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter Hipparese afterwards in mariage. Howbeit some fay, it was not Hipponicus that gaucher to him, but Calleas sonne with tentalents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of the first child he had by her, he asked ten talents more, faying: they were promifed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But Callias fearing left this was an occasion fought of him to lye in waite to kill him for his goods: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he died without heires speciall of his body. This gentlewoman Hipparere being an

ALCIBIADES.

honest true wife to Alubiades, missing her husband did so much misuse her, as to entertaine comon light strumpets, as wel citizens or stragers: she went abroad one day to her brothers house. & told him of it. Alcibiades passed not for it, & made no further reckoning of the matter but only bade his wife, if the would, prefent her cause of diuorce before the Judge. So the went thither her Hipparete felf, to fue the divorce between them, according to the law but Alcibiades being there allo, tooke fuel to be divorced her by the hand, & caried her through the market place home to his house, & no man durst med-from Albe. dle between them, to take her from him. And fo she continued with him all the dayes of her life, bidden which was not long after: for the died, when Alcibiades was in his journy he made to Ephesvs. This force Alcibiades vied, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuil, because it seemeth that the law was grounded upon this cause: that the wise which would be disorced from her husband, shold go her felfe openly before the Judge to put up her complaint, to the end, that by this meanes, the husband might come to speake with his wife, and seeke to stay her if he could. A/cibiades had a maruellous faire great dog, that cost him threescore and ten minas, and he cut off his Alabiades taile that was his chiefe beauty. When his friends reproued him, and told him how enery man great dog. blamed him for it: he fell a laughing and told them he had that he fought. For faith he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they should say worse of me. Moreover, it is faid, the first time that Alcibrades spake openly in the common weale, and began to deale in matters, was vp6a gift of mony he gaue vnto the people, and not of any pretence or former purpose largeff. he had to do it. One day as he came through the market place, hearing the people very found, he asked what the matter was: they told him it was about mony certain men had given to the people. Then dicibiades went to them, and gaue them mony out of his owne purie. The people were logiad arther, as they fell to shouting & clapping of their hands, in token of thankfulnesse; and himsefe was so glad for company, that he forgat a quaite he had under his gown, which was so afeard of the noise, that she tooke her slight away. The people seeing the quaile, made a greater noise then before, and many rose out of their places to run after her. so that in the end, it was takenvp by a mafter of a ship called Antiochus, who brought him the quaile again, & for that cause Alcibiades did loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobility of his house, his goods, his worthines Alcibiades and the great number of his kinfmen and friends, made his way open to take vpon him gouern- coming into ment in the comonweale: yet the only way he defired to win the fauor of the comon people by, wealth. was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the comical poets dotestific it: & diebades besides the Demosthenes the prince of orators also doth say, in an oration he made against Medias, maruellous that Alcibiades about all other qualities he had, was most eloquent. And if we may beleeue au_{be} ophraftus, the greatest searcher of antiquities, and best historiographer aboue any other philosopher: he hath written, that Alcibiades had as good a wit to denile & confider what he would fay, Alcibiades as any manthat was in his time. Howbeit formetimes fludying what he should fay, as also to de- wat are limit liver good words, not having them very ready at his tongs end, he many times tooke breath by perfection. theway, and paufed in the middeft of his tale, not speaking a word, yntil he had called it to mind that he would fay. His charge was great, & much fpoken of alfo, for keeeping of running hories argames:not only because they were the best and swiftest, but for the number of coaches he had belides. For neuer prinate person, no nor any Prince, did ener send seauen so well appointed coaches, in all furniture vnto the games Olympicall, as he did nor that at one courfe hath borne Acidiades away the first, the second, and the fourth prife, as Thuegdides faith or as Euripides reporteth, the away the first, the second, and the fourth prite, as a uneyaraes faithful as Europeas reported, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name, that ever strived for victorie of third stripes. therein. For Euripides pronounced his praise, in a fong he made of him, as followeth:

> O some of Clinias, I will resound thy praise: For thou art bold in martiall deeds, and ouercom'st alwayes. Thy victories therewith, do farre exceed the reft, That over were in Greece ygot, therefore I count them beft. For at th'Olympicke games, thou hast with chariots wonne The first prife, second, third and all, which there in race were runne. With praise and little paine, thy head hath twife bene crownd, With oline boughs for victory, and twife by trumpets found, The Heraulds have proclaimed thee victor by thy name: Aboue all those which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.

Howbeit the good affect io divers cities did beare him, cotending which shold gratifie him best,

did much increase his fame & honor. For the Ephesians did set vp a tent for him, very sump. tuously and richly furnished. Those of the city of CHTO, furnished him with prouender for his horse, & gaue him muttons besides, & other beasts to facrifice withal. They of LESEOS also sent him in wine & other prouision of victuals, to helpe him to defray the great charges he was at in keeping open house, & feeding such a number of mouths daily. Yet the spite they did beare him or rather his breach of promise which he often made, with this magnificence & state he shewed gaue the people more cause to speak of him then before. For they say, there was one Diomederate ATHENS a friend of Alcibiades, and no ill man, who defired once in his life to win a game at the playes olympical. This ma being enformed that the AR GIVE's had a coach excellently furnished. beloging to the comonweale, & knowing that Alcibiades could do very much in the city of AR-Go s, because he had many friends in the same the came to intreat Alcibiades to buy this coach for him. Alcibiades therupon bought it, but kept it to himself, not regarding Diomedes request he had made. Diomedes seeing that, fel starke mad for anger, and called the gods & men to witnesse, that Alcibiades did him open wrong: and it feemeth, that there fell out fute in law vpon the fame. For Horrates wrote an oration, and drew a plea in defence of Alcibiades, being yet but a child, touching a couple of horses: yet in this plea his adversary was called Tistus, & not Diomedes. Furthermore. Alcibiades being yet but a yong man, when he came to practife and pleade publickly, he putall other orators to filence, but only two that were euer against him the one was Pheax the son of Eralifratus, & the other Nicias the fon of Niceratus. Of these two, Nicias was a man growne and had won the name and reputation of a good captaine. And Pheax began also to come forward as he did, being of a good and honourable house: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence specially. For the could more properly talke & discourse among his friends privativ. the he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as Eupolis faith Words enow, but no eloquence.

adurfaries in the comwhen hee pleade. Phene tacked els-

There is a certaine oration extant in writing against Alcibiades & Pheax: where among other accusatios is brought in, how Alcibiades was ordinarily served in his house, with gold & filuer plate that belongeth to the comonweale, and which were vied to be borne for state & magnificence, in solemne processions before them, and how he vsed them as boldly, as if they had bin his own Nowthere was one Hiperbolus in ATHENS at that time, borne in the village of PERITHOIDE: of whom Thurydides maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked man, serving as a bt subject and matter to all the taunts and mockes of the comical poets of that time: but he was so impudent a person, and cared so litle what men said of him, that he passed not though he were defamed, neither did any thing grieue him, what soeuer they reported of him: which some do call boldnes and courage, being no better indeed then plaine impudency, extreme madnesse, and desperate folly. He would neuer please any man: and if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magistrate, whom they would any way accuse, Hyperbolus wicked tongue was their instrument to veter their spite. Now the people (by Hyperbolus procurement) being assembled, were ready to proceed to the banishmet of oftracismon by most voices. The maner and custome of this kinde of banishment was for a time to banish out of their city such a one, as seemed to influment by haue too great authority and credit in the city: and that was, rather to fatisfie their enuy, then for to remedy their feare. And because it was manifest it would fall out to one of them threeto be banished to wit Alcibiades, Nicias, or Pheax) Alcibiades found meanes to joyne all their three factions in one, becoming friends one to another: and having conferred with Nicial about it, he made Hyperbolus felfe to be banished, who was the chiefe instrument to prepare the way of their banishment, Howbeit others say, he spake not with Nicias about it, but with Phaax, and iovning his part with Phean, he caused Hyperbolus to be banished, who fearing nothing lesses forit was neuer seene before, that a man of meane countenance, and of small authority, fell into the hap of this banishment : as Plato the comicall poet testifieth, speaking of Hyperbolus:

Hyperbolus

Although for his defert, this paine to him is due, Or greater punishment prepar'd, the which might make him rue: Yet since he was by birth, a person meane and base, Such punishment therefore did (ceme (for him) too great of grace. Since Ostracismon was, not made at first to be, Nor yet denisd as punishment, for such meane folke as he.

But of this matter we have spoken more at large before: and now to returne again to Alcibiades.

Nicios had great reputation among firangers, and his enemies gricued at it no leffe then at the honour the citizens felues did vnto him. For his house was the common Inne for all LACED Æ-MONIAN s when they came to Athens, and they cuer lay with him: moreouer he had very well entertained the LACED AMON prisoners that were taken at the fort of PYLE. And afterwards when peace was concluded betweene Laced Emon and Athens, and their prisoners deligered home again by Nicias meanes only and procurement, they loued him more then euer they didbefore. This was blown abroad through GR BCB, that Pericles had kindled the wars among ft them, and Nicius had quenched it: fo some called this peace Nicium, as one would fay . Nicius Nicius worke. But Alcibiades fromaking this, and enuying Nicias glory, determined to breake the peace Page. whatfocuer came of it. Wherfore to copasse this matter, knowing first of all that the Ar Gives breaketh had no liking to the Laced Amonians, but were their mortall enemies, and that they did but the peace of feeke matter to fall out with them: he fecretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS. Moreover he did perfivade them to it both by letters and words of mouth, speaking with the magistrates, and such as had greatest authority and credit among the people; declaring vinto them, that they should not feare the Lage nd Emonians, nor yeeld to the at all, but to flicke to the ATHENIANS, who would foone repent them of the peace they had made, and break it with the. Afterwards when the LACED EMONIANS had made league with the BOEO-TIANS, and had redelivered the city of PANACTVM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and fooyled, contrary to the league: Alcibiades perceiving how the people were much offended thereat, made them more carnest against them, and there with all brought Nicim in disgrace with the people& charged him with many matters of great likelihood, as at that time when he was General: that he would never take any of the Lage bd Amonians, when they were shut yp within the He of Sphacter and much leffe diffresse them when he might: and moreover when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had found the meanes to deliver them, & send them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDEMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friend, he did not his duty to diffive de the people from making of league offenflue and defenflue with the Bosori-ANS and the CORINTHIANS and again also, if there were any people of GRECE that had a defire to become friends & allies with the ATHENIANS, that he did the best he could to let them. if the LACED AMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as Nicias was thus in diffrace with the people, for the causes abougfaid: in the middest of this stir, ambassadours came by chance from LACED EMON to ATHENS, who at their coming gaue very good words, faying they had full power & commission to compound all controuersies, vnder reasonable and equal conditions. The Senate heard them, and received them curteoufly, & the people the next day should affemble in counfell to give them audience: which Aleibiades fearing much, he went to labor the ambaifadors, & fpake with them apart in this fort. What meane you, my Lords of Spartaido Aleibiades yenot know that the Senate hath alwaies accustomed to be gracious and fauourable vnto those that fue vnto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a proud nature, and defirous to imbrace all great matters? If therfore at the first fight, ye do give them to understand that you are come hither with full power, to treat freely with them in all maner of causes: do you not thinke that they will make you firetch your authority, to grant them all that they will demand? Therefore, my Lords ambassadors, if you look for indifferency at the ATHENTAN'S hands, and that they shall not prease you too farre against your wils, to grant them any thing of aduantage: I would wish you a litle to couer your full commission, and in open maner to propound certain articles, and reasonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will assure you of my goodwill in fauour of the LACEDEMONIANS. When he had told them this tale, he gaue them his faithfull promife, and vowed as it were to performe his word. Hereupon Alcibiades turned the ambaifadors from the trust they reposed in Wicias, and wanne them on his side; in so much as they gaue credit to no man but to him, wondering much at his great wifdome and ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were affembled to give the ambaffadors audience. They were fent for, and brought into the market place. There Alcibiades gently asked them, what was the cause of their coming. They answered: that they were come to treate of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then began Alcibiades to be angry with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he any to them; calling them vnfaithful, vnconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to do, nor fay any thing worth the hearing,

For to fay truly: his courtefies, his liberalities, and noble expenses to flew the people for great pleasure and passime as nothing could be more: the glorious memory of his auncestors, the grace of his eloquence, the beauty of his person, the strength and valiant nesse of his body joyned together with his wisdome and experience in martiall affaires; were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the ATHENIAN'S did patiently endure all his light parts, and did couer his faults, with the best words and termes they could, calling them vouthfull, & gentlemens sports. As when he kept Agarthareus the painter prisoner in his house by force, vntill he had painted all his wals within: and when he had done, did let him go, and re- different him and when he had done, did let him go, and rewarded him very honestly for his paines. Againe, when he gaue a box on the care to Taureas, and wanwho did pay the whole charges of a company of common players, in spite of him, to carie away the honour of the games. Also when he tooke away a yong woman of Malia by his authority that was taken among certaine prisoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a child, which he caufed to be brought vp: which they called a worke of charitic, albeit afterwards they burthened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poore MELIANS, fauing the litle children, because he had fauoured and perswaded that ynnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewife where one Ariflophon a painter, had painted a curtifan named Nemea, holding Alcibiades in her armes, and fitting in her lap, which all the people ranne to fee, and tooke great pleasure to behold it: the graue and ancient men were angry at these foolish parts, accounting them impudent things, and done against all civill modestie and temperancy. Wherefore it seemed Archestratus words was spoken to good pur-Archestrapose, when he said: that GRECE could not abide two Alcibiades at once. And on a day as he em (aping came from the councell and assembly of the city, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by means therof had obtained the thing he defired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: Timon furnamed Mifantropos (as who would fay, Loup-garon, or theman-hater) meeting Alcibiades thus accompanied, did not paffe by him, nor gaue him way (as he was wontto do all other men) but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hand, and said: O, thou dost well my sonne, I can thee thanke, that thou goest on, and climest vp still: for if ever thou be in authority, wo be wnto those that follow thee, for they are veterly vindone. When they heard these words, those that flood by fell a laughing: other reuiled Timon, other againe marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after: fuch fundry opinions they had of him for the vnconstancy of his life, and waiwardnesse of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of Sicile, the Athe-NIANS did maruellously couet it in Pericles life, but yet they did not meddle withall, vntill after his death: and then they did it at the first vnder colour of friendship, as ayding those circles which were oppressed and spoiled by the Syracvsans. This was in manner a plaine bridge made, to passe afterwards a greater power and army thither. Howbeitthe only procurer of the ATHENIANS, and perswader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter the author with a great army at once to conquer all the countrey together, was Alcibiades, who had fo al- of the wars lured the people with his pleafant tongue, that vpon his perswasso, they built castles in the aire, and thought to do greater wonders by winning onely of Sicilia. For where other did set their minds vponthe conquest of Sicile, being that they onely hoped after: it was to Alcibiades, but a beginning of further enterprises. And where Nicias commonly in all his perswafions, did turne the ATHENIANS from their purpose to make warres against the Syracus ans, as being too great a matter for them to take the city of Syracvsa: Alcibiades againe had a further reach in his head, to go conquer Lybia, and Carthage, and that being conquered, to palle from thence into ITALY, and so to PELOPONNESVS: so that SICILIA should serve but to furnish them with victuals, and to pay the fouldiers for their conquests which he had imagined. Thus the yong men were incontinently caried away with a maruellous hope and opinio of this iourny, and gaue good eare to old mens tales that told them wonders of the countries infomuch as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to fit round together, draw plats of Sicile, and describe the fitnation of Lybia & Car. THAGE. And yet they fay, that neither Socrates the Phylosopher, nor Meton the Astronomer did euer hope to see any good successe of this journy. For the one by the reuealing of his familiar spirit, who told him al things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it; and Meton, whe- crates and ther it was for feare of the successe of the iourney he had by reason, or that he knew by divi-

Alcibiades

Thewalles the fe t by

Alcibiades

the Poet Aristophanes doth plainely expresse it in these words: The people most desire, what most they hate to have: And what their minds abhorres even that they seeme to crave. And in another place he faid also, aggrauating the suspition they had of him; For state or common weale, much better (hould it be,

To keepe within the country, none fuch lyons lookes as he: But if they needs will keepe, a lyon to their cost, Then must they needs obey his will, for he will rule the rost.

ALCIBIADES.

The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: where.

at Nicias was fo assamed and amazed withall, that he could not tell what to say, to see so sudden a change, knowing nothing of Alcibiades malice and fubtell practife with the ambaffadors. So

the ambaffadors of LAGED #MON were dispatched without any thing done, and Alcibiades cho-

fen General: who presently brought the Argives, the Elians, & the Mantineans in league

with the ATHENIANS. Thoughno man did commend this practife of his, in working it after

this fortivea it was a maruellous thing of him to deuife to put all PELOPONNESVS in armes, and

to procure fuch a number of fouldiers against the LACEDAMONIANS, as he did before the city

of MANTINE A and to shift off the miseries of war and hazard of battel so farre from ArHENS. Which if the LACED EMONIANS did win, could not profite them much and if they loft it, they

could hardly faue their city of Sparta. After this battell of Mantinea, the thousand men

whom the city by an ancient order did keepe continually in pay, as well in peace as in war, within

the city of Argos, thinking now oportunity served them very trimly: attempted to take the

foueraigne authority from the common people, and to make themselues Lords of the city.

And to bring this to passe, the Laced Amonians coming in the meane time, did aide them

in their purpose, and so did put downe the gouernment of the people : not with standing imme-

diatly after the people tooke armes againe, and became the stronger. Alcibiades coming thither

euen at that time, did warrant them the victoric, and to fet vp againe the authority of the people.

Then he perswaded them to make their wals longer to joyne the city to the sea, to the end they

might more eafily be aided by fea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them also from ATHENS,

many carpenters, masons, stone-hewers, & other workmen; and to conclude, he shewed them by

all the meanes and waies he could, that he did beare goodwill vnto them, and thereby wan him-

felfe no leffe fauour particularly among them, then generally he did good vnto his country. He

did perswade also his citizens of Patras to joyne their towne to the sea, by making long wals.

which they built out euen to the cliffes of the sea. And when one said vnto them, alas, poore peo.

ple of PATRAS, what do you meane? the ATHENIANS will cat you out: Alcibiades answered him.

it may welbe, but it shalbe by litle & litle, beginning first at the feet: but the LACED EMONIANS

will denoure you all at once, & begin at the head. Now although Alcibiades did make the city of

ATHENS strong by sea, yet he did not leave to perswade the ATHENIANS also to make them-

felues ftrong by land. For he did put the young men oftentings in mind of the oath they were

made to fweare in Agray Los, and did aduife them to accomplish it indeed. Which was, that

they should take all corne-fields, vines, & olive-trees, to be the borders & confines of Arrica.

whereby they were taught to reckon all land theirs, that was manured and did bring forth fruit.

Yet with all these goodly deeds and faire words of Alcibiades, and with this great courage and

quicknes of understanding he had many great faults & imperfections. For he was too dainty in

his fare, want only given vnto light women, riotous in banquets, vaine & womanish in apparell:

he ware euer a long purple gown that fwept the market place as he walked up and down it had

fuch a traine, and was too rich and coftly for him to weare. And following these vaine pleasures

and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planks of the poopethereof to be cut and

broken vp. that he might lie the fofter: for his bed was not laid vpon the ouerlop, but laid vpon

girthes strained ouer the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he caried to the warres with

him a gilded feutchion, wherein he had no cognizance, nor ordinary deuice of the Athenians,

but only had the image of Cupid in it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen, and best ci-

tizens of ATHENS perceiuing this, they hated his fashions and conditions, & were much offen-

ded at him, and were afraid withall of his rashnesseand insolency: he did so contemne the lawes

and customes of their country, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be king, & would

fubuert and turne all ouer-hand. And as for the goodwill of the common people towards him,

For

nation of his art what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, & holding a burning torch

in his hand, made as though he would have fet his house on fire. Other say, that he did not coun.

terfeit, but like a mad man indeed did fet his house on fire one night, & that the next morning be-

times he went into the market place to pray the people, that in confideration of his great losse &

his grieuous calamity fo late happened him, it would please them to discharge his son from go-

ing this voyage. So by this mad deuice, he obtained his request of the people for his fon, whom he abused much. But Nicias against his will was chosen captaine, to take charge of men in these wars: who misliked this journey, as well for his companion and affociate in the charge of these wars as for other misfortunes he forefaw therein. Howbeit the ATHENIANS thought the war would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to Alcibiades rashnesse and hardinesse, but did joyne with him the wisdome of Nicias: and appointed Lamachus also for their third can taine, who they fent thither, though he were waxen now fomewhat old, as one that had shewed himselfe no lesse venterous and hardy in some battels, then Alcibiades himselfe. Now when they came to refolue of the number of fouldiers, the furniture and order of these wars Nicias sough crookedly to thwart this journey, and to breake it off altogether but Alcibiades with flood him. and got the better hand of him. There was an orator called Demostratus, who moved the people also that the captaines whom they had chosen for these wars, might have full power and authority to leavie men at their diferction, and to make such preparation as they thought good; wherunto the people condificended, and did authorife them. But when they were even ready to go their way, many fignes of ill fucceffe lighted in the necke one of another; and among fi the reft this was one. That they were commanded to take ship on the day of the celebration of the feast of Admis on the which the custome is, that women do fet up in diverse places of the city, in the midft of the freets, images like to dead corfes which they cary to burial, and they reprefent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering and beating themselves, in token of the forrow the goddesse Venus made, for the death of her friend Adonis, Moreover, the Hermes (which are the images of Mercury, and were wont to be fet vp in every lane and firecte) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled, specially in their fakewne and mangled ces: which put diverfe in great feare and trouble, yea even those that made no account of such toyes. Wherupon it was alleadged, that it might be the Conintuins that did it, or procured that leud act to be done, fauouring the Syrac vsans, who were their neere kinfemen, and had bin the first founders of them; imagining vpon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake off the enterprise, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hand. Neuertheleffe, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that faid, they should not reckon of any such fignes or tokens, & that they were but some light brained youths, that being tipled, had played this shamefull part in their brauery, or for sport. But for all these reasons, they took these signes very grienously, & were indeed not a litle afeard, as thinking vndoubtedly that no man durft have bene to bold to have done fuch an abhominable fact, but that there was fome confpiracy in the matter. Hereupon they looked vpon enery fulpition and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely focuer it were) and that very feuerely: and both Senate and people also met in councell upon it, very oft in few dayes. Now whilest they were bufily fearching out the matter, Androcles a common counseller, and Oratour in the commonwealth, brought before the councell certaine flaues and strangers that dwelt in ATHENS: who deposed, that Alcibiades, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled Alcibiales other images after that fort, and in a mockery had counterfeited also in a banket that he made, the ceremonies of the holy mysteries: declaring these matters particularly: How one Theodorus counterfeited the herald, that was wont to make the proclamations: Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the prieft, who sheweth the holy signes and mysteries; and that his other companions were the affiftants, as those that make suit to be received into their religion and order,

and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call Mystes. These

very words are written in the accusation Thessalus (Cimons son) made against Alcibiades, char-

ging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddesses, Ceres and Proserpina. Whereat the

people being maruelloufly moved and offended, and the Oratour Androcles his mortall enemy,

aggrauating and stirring them vp the more against him: Alcibiades a little at the first beganne to

be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were prepared for the voyage

of Sicilia, and the fouldiers alfothat were gathered, did beare him great goodwill and fpe-

cially how the aide, that came fro Argos, and Mantinea (being a thousand footmen wellarmed and appointed) did fay openly, how it was for Alcibiades fake they did take vpon them fo long a voyage beyond sea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would presently returne home againe fro whence they came: he began to be of a good courage again, and determined with this good fauourable oportunitie of time, to come before the councell, to answer to all such articles and accusations as should be laid against him. Thereupon his enemies were a litle cooled, fearing left the people in this judgement would have shewed him more fanour, because they stood in need of him. Wherefore to preuent this danger, they had fed other Therefore Orators, who fet a good face on the matter, as they had bene Alcibiades friends, and yet they wi- Alcibiades shed him no lesse eull, then the ranckest enemics he had. These fine fellowes rose vp in open asfembly and faid: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the Generals of so mighty and puissant an army (being ready to hoise faile, and the aide also of their a lies and friends) should be driven to stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilest they should goabout to choose Iudges, and appoint him his houres and time of answer. Therefore they faid, it was fit he should take his journey betimes, and when warres were done, that he should present himselfe to require iustice, and to purge himselfe of such matters as should be objected against him. But Alcibiades smelling straight their fetch, and perceiving the practise of his stay, stept, vp, and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a Generall of so great an army, his mind being troubled with continuall feare of so grieuous curses, as he should leaue vpon him : and that he deserved death, if he could not purge and instifie himfelfe of all the vniust and surmized accusations against him. And if he had once cleared himself of all things, and had published his innocency, he should then have nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to go on lustily to fight with his enemies, and to cast behind him the danger of all his flanderous detractors. But all this could not perswade them. And so he was presently commanded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke and ship away his men. Thus Alcibiades hewas compelled to take the feas with his other companions, having in their nauie about a hun- iourny into dred and forty galleyes, all having three owers to a banck: and five thousand one hundred footmen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers with flings, archers, and other light armed men to the number of thirteene hundred, fufficiently furnished of all warlike and necessary munition. Now after they were ariued on the coast of ITALY, they landed in the city of RHEGIO: where, holding councel in what fort they should direct these wars, it was resolved in the end that they should straight go vnto Sicilia. This opinion was followed, although Nicias did contrarie it, when Lamachus gaue his consent thereunto, and at his first coming, he was the occasion of winning the city of CATHANA. But he neuer after did any exploite, for he was called home immediatly by the Athenians, to come and answer certaine accusations laid to his charge. For as we told you before, there was at the beginning certaine light suspitions and accusations put vp against him, by some slaues and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burthened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the images of Mercury; and had committed facriledge, in counterfeiting in icast & mockery the holy ceremonies of the mysteries: and blew into the eares of the people, that both the one and the other proceeded of one fet conspiracy, to change and alter the government of the state of thecity. Vponthese informations, the people tooke it in so ill part, that they comitted all to prison, that were in any fort accused or suspected thereof, and would neuer let them come to their answer:and moreover did much repent them that they had not condemned Alcibiades, vpon so great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offence was in question before them, and the furie and hatred of the people was such towards him, that if any of Alcibiades friends and acquaintance came within their danger, they were the worle handled for his fake. Thucydides did not name his accusers, but some other do name Dioclides and Teucer: amongst whom Phrynicus the comicall poet is one, who discouereth it in his verses, by bringing Phrynicus in one that fpeaketh to the image of Mercury:

My good friend Mercury, I pray thee take good heed, That thou fall not and breake thy necke : for so thou mights me breed Both danger and distrust, and though I guiltlesse be, Some Diocles falfely might accuse and trouble me. Mercury answereth:

myfteries.

Take thou no thought for me, my felfe I shall well saue: And will foresee full well therewith, that Teucer (that false knaue) Shall not the money get, which he by law hath wonne. For his promoters bribing part and accusation.

And yet for all this, these tokens do show no certaintie of any thing. For one of them being asked, how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these images? heanswered, that he knew them well enough by the brightnesse of the Moone. And hereby it appeareth plainely that he was periured, because that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a conjunction of the Moon. This did a litle trouble and stay men of judgement: how beit the common fort of people this notwithstanding, did not leaue to be as sharpe set, to receive all accusations and informations that were brought in against him, as ever they were before. Now there was among the prisoners whose cause was hanging before them, the Orator Andecides (whom Hellanicus the historiographer describeth to descend of the race of Viisles Jwhom they tooketo be a man that hated the government of the common people, & bent altogether to fauor the small number of the nobility. But one of the chiefest occasions who he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his house there was a faire great image fet up in old time by the family or tribe of the Agides, and thatalone amongst all the rest of so many famous images, was left whole and vnbroken: wherupon it is called at this day, the Mercury of Andocides, and is so called generally of enery body, albeit the inscription sheweth the contrary. Andocides being in prison, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one Timaus, with whom he was more familiar then with all the rest, who was also prisoner with him for the selfe cause. This Time w was a man not so well knowne as he, but besides, wise man, and very hardy. He perswaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse himfelfe, and certaine other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confessing it, he should receiue grace and pardon, according to the course and promise of the law: where contrarily if he should stand vpon the courteste of the Iudges sentence, he might easily endanger himselse: because iudgements in such cases are vncertaine to all people, and most to be doubted and sea red toward the rich. And therefore he told him, it were his best way, if he looked into the matter wisely, by lying to saue his life, rather then to suffer death with shame, and to be condemned vpon this false accusation. Also he said, if he would have regard to the commonwealth, thatit should in like case be wisely done of him, to put in danger a few of those (which stood doubt full whether in troth they were any of them or not) to saue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honest men, who indeed were innocent of this lewd fact. Timeus words and perfivations wrought fuch effect with Andocides, that they made him yeeld vnto them, and brought him to accuse himselfe, and certaine other with himsby meanes whereof Andocides ac. cording to the law had his pardon: but all fuch as he named and accused, were every man put to death, fauing fuch as faued themselues by running away. Furthermore, to shadow his accufation with some apparance of troth, Andocides among those that were accused, did accuse also certaine of his owne feruants. Now though the people had no more occasion to occupie their bufie heads about the breakers of these images, yet was not their malice thus appealed against Alcibiades, untill they fent the galley called Salaminiana, commanding those they sent by a fert for to speciall commission to seeke him out, in no case to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay hold on him by violence: but to vse him with all the good words and courteous maner that they posfibly could, and to will him only to appeare in person before the people, to answer to certain accusations put vpagainst him. If otherwise they should have vsed force, they feared much lest the army would have mutined on his behalf within the country of their enemies, and that there would have growne fome fedition amongst their fouldiers. This might Alcibiades have easily done, if he had bene disposed for the souldiers were very fory to see him depart, perceiuing that the warres should be drawne out now in length, and be much prolonged vinder Nicias, feeing Alcibiades was taken from them, who was the only fourre that pricked Nicias forward to do any fernice: and that Lamachus alfo, though he were a valiant man of his hands, yet he lacked honour and authority in the army, because he was but a meane man borne, and poore besides. Now Alcibiades for a farewell, disappointed the ATHENIANS of winning the city of MESSINA: for they having intelligence by certaine private persons within the city, that it would yeeld vpinto their hand, Alcibiades knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto those

tily and superfluously, and gaue himselfto all mirth and pleasure. In THRASIA, he dranke euer, orwas alwaics on horiebacke. If he came to Tifaphernes, licutenant of the mighty king of PERsia, he farre exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pompe and sumptuousnesse. And these

when he came to the citie of THVRIES, fo foone as he had landed, he went and hid himselfe incontinently in such fort, that such as sought for him, could not find him. Yetthere was one that knew him where he was, and faid: Why, how now Alcibiades, darest thou not trust the instice of thy country? Yes very well (quoth he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing vpon it, I would not trust mine owne mother, fearing lest negligently she should put in the blacke beane, where she should cast in the white: for by the first, condemnation of death was signified: and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHENIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, quoth he, they shall know I am yet aliue. Now the maner of his acculation and inditement framed against him, was found written in this fort: Thessalus the son Alcibiados of Cimon, of the village of LACIADES, hath accused, and doth accuse Alcibiades, the son of Cli- accusation. Miss, of the village of Scambonides, to have offended against the goddesses, Ceres and Proferpina, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, and shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, himselfe apparelled and arrayed in a long vestment or cope, like vnto the vestment the priest weareth when he sheweth these holy sacred mysteries and naming himselfe the priest, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the village of PAYGEA the verger, and the other lookers on brethren, and fellow scorners with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision of holy ceremonics and mysterics of the Eumolpides, the religious priests and ministers of the facred temple of the city of ELEVSIN. So Alcibiades for his contempt and not appearing, was Alcibiades condemned, and his goods confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the condemned religious priests and womes should have and accurate him. But herento answered one of the Nuns. religious priests and wome should ban and accurse him, But herunto answered one of the Nuns fem. called Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the village of Agravia, faying that the was professed religious, to pray and to bleffe, norto curse and ban. After this most grieuous sentence and condemnation passed against him, Alcibiades departed out of the citie of THVRIES, and went into the countrey of PELOPONNESUS, where he continued a good season in the city of ARGOS. But in the end fearing his enemies, and having no hope to return againe to his owne countrey with any safety: he sent vnto Sparta to haue safe condust and licence of the Laced AMONI-ANS, that he might come & dwell in their country, promising them he would do to them more goodbeing now their friend, then he euer did them hurt, while he was their enemie. The LA- Altibiades CED#MONIANs granted his request, & received him very willingly into their city: where even freth to vpon his first coming, he did three things. The first was: that the LACED EMONIANS by his perswassion and procurement, did determine spedily to send aide to the Syracvsans whom they had long before delayed; and so they sent Gylippus their captaine to ouerthrow the ATHE-NIANS army, which they had fent thither. The fecond thing he did for them, was: that he made them of GRECE to begin war vpon the ATHENIANS. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was: that he did counsel them to fortifie the city of Decelea, which was within the territories of ATTICA felfe: which confumed, and brought the power of the ATHENIANS lower then any other thing what foeuer he could have done. And if he were welcome, and well efteemed in Sparta, for the seruice he did to the commonwealth: much more he wanthe loue and goodwils of private men, for that he lived after the Laconian maner. So as they that faw his skinscraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himselfe in cold water, and how he did eat browne bread, and sup of their blacke broth: would have doubted (or to say better, neuer have beleeved) that fuch a man had euer kept cooke in his house, nor that he euer had seene so much as a perfuming pan, or had touched cloth of tiffue made at MILETVM. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they fay was one whereby he most robbed mens harts:that he could frame altogether with their manners and fashions of life transforming himselfemore casily to all maner of shapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white colour : but Alcibiades could put vpon him any maners, customes or fathions, of what nation foeuer, and could follow, exercife, and counterfeit them when he would, as well the good as the had. For in Spanna he was your paintfull, and in continuity that the the the Ca. as well the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very painefull, and in continual exercise: milion. heliued sparingly with litle, and led a streight life. In Ion 1A, to the contrary, there he liued dain-

things notwithstanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one fashion to another, nei-

bis accufa-

ther did his manners (to fay truly) receive all forts of changes. But because peraduenture, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, be might in diver s places where he came, have offended those whose company he kept; he did with such a vizard and cloke disguise himselfe, to fit their maners whom he companied with, by transforming himselfe into their naturall countenance, as he that had feene him when he was at Sparta, to hauclooked vponthe outward man, would haue faid as the common Prouerbe faith:

It is not the sonne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe.

ALCIBIADES.

Euen so, it is euen he whom Lyeurgus brought vp. But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, and good will indeed lye naked before him, would contrarily, have yed this common faying:

Alcibiades. got Timea king Agis

This woman is no changeling. For he entertained Queene Timaa, king Agis wife of Spakta, so well in his absence, he being abroad in the wars, that he got her with child, and she her selfe denyed it not. For she being brought to bed of a sonne, who was named Leotychides, openly to the world called him by that name:but when she was amongst her familiars and very friends, she called him softly Alcibiades, she was so farre in loue with him. And Alcibrades, iesting out the matter, said he had done it for no hurt, nor for any lust of flesh to satisfie his defire: but onely to leave of his race, to reigneamongst the Laced EMONIANS. This matter was brought by diverse vnto King Agis cares, who at the length beleeued it; but specially when he began to make a reckening of the time how long it was fince he lay with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ran out of his chamber for feare the house would fall on his head: so that it was Lestyshides ten monetus after ere he lay againe with her. Whereupon her fon Leotychides being borne at the end of ten moneths, he faid he was none of his: and this was the cause that Leotychides did not fucceed afterwards in the Kingdome, because he was not of the bloud royall. After the vtterouerthrow of the Athenians in Sicilia, those of the Isles of Chicand Lesbos, with the CYZICENIANS, did send altogether their ambassadours to Sparta, to let the LACED EMO-NIANS vnderstand, they had good will to leaue the ATHENIANS, fo they would fend them aide to defend them. The BOEOTIANS fauoured those of Leseos: Pharnaba Zus, the King of PERSIAES Lieutenant, fauoured the CYZICENIANS. This notwithstanding the LACEDE-MONIANS Were better affected to helpe those of Chio first, by the perswasion of Alcibiades, who tooke their matter in hand; and he tooke sea himself and went into Asia, where he almost turned the countrey of Ionia against the Athenians: and keeping alwaies with the Generals of the Laced &Monias, he did much hurt the Athenians. Yet notwithstanding, king Agis did beare him ill will, partly for the injurie he did him in dishonouring and defiling his wife, and partly also, for that he enuted his glorie: because the rumour ranne all about, that the most part of the goodly exploits of those warres did happen well by Alcibiades meanes. Other also of the greatest authority among the Spartans, that were most ambitious among them, began in their minds to be angry with Alcibiades, for the enuie they bare him: who were offo great power, that they procured their Gouernours to write letters to their Captaines in the field to kill him. Alcibiades hearing of this, did no whit defift to do all that he could for thebenefite of the LACED EMONIANS: yet he had an eye behinde him, flying all occasions to falling to their hands . So in the end, for more furety of his person, he went vnto Tisaphernes one of the King of PERSIAES Licutenants, with whom he wan incontinently such credite, that he was the first and chiefest person he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple person, but rather malicious, and subtill of nature, and that loued fine and craftie men. did wonder how he could so easily turne from one manner of living to another, and also at his quick wit and vaderstanding. Moreouer, his company and manner to passe the time away, was commonly maruellous full of mirth and pleasure, and he had such pleasant comely devices with him, that no man was of fo fullen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor fo churlish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, & also they that enuied him, were yetgled to fee him, and it did them good to be in his company, and vie talke with him. Infomuch as this Tisaphernes (that otherwise was a churlish man, and naturally hated the GRECIANS) did giuehimselse so much vnto Alcibiades flatteries, and they pleased him so well, that he himselse did ftudie to flatter Alcibiades againe, and make much of him. For he called Alcibiades his faire house of pleasure, and goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly gardens, sweet

The Lacedamonians practife to kill Alcibi Alcibiades goeth to Tifapher

> Aleibiades pleasant

fprings, greene arbours, and pleafant meadowes, and those in all royall and magnificent manner. Alcibiades despairing veterly to find any safetie or friendship among the Spartans, and fearing on the other side King Agis also: he began to speake ill of them, and to disgrace all that they did. to Tisaphernes. By this practise he stayed Tisaphernes from aiding them so friendly as he might. and that he did not viterly defiroy the ATHENIANS: for he perswaded him that he should furnish the LACED EMONIANS but with litle money, to let them diminish and consume by litle and litle, to the end that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length should be the easier for the King to ouercome. This barbarous man did easily consent to this deuice. All the world then law he loued Alcibiades, and effected of him very much infomuch as The intend he was fought to, and regarded of all hands of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS flancie of foric, and repented them when they had received fo great loffe and hurt, for that they had decreed fo feuerely against Alcibiades, who in like maner was very forrowfull, to fee them brought to so hard termes, fearing, if the city of ATHENS came to destruction, that he him selfshould fall in the end into the hands of the LACEDEMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the Athenians was almost in the Ile of Samos, from whence with their army by fea, they fought to suppresse the rebels that were vp against them, and to keep all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily strong to relist the enemics, at the least by fea:butthey flood in feare of the power of Tisaphernes, & of the hundred and fifty gallies which were reported to be coming out of their country of PHOBNICIA to the aid of their enemies. which if they had come, the city of Arnens had bin vtterly spoiled, and for ever without hope of recouery. The which Alcibiades vnderstanding, sent secretly vnto the chiefest men that were in the army of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, to give them hope he would make Tifaphernes their friend:howbeit not of any defire he had to gratifie the people, nor that he trusted to the comunalty of ATHENS, but onely to the honorable and honest citizens, and that conditionally, so as they had the heart and courage, to bridle a litle the ouer licenciousnes and insolency of the common people, and that they would take vpon them the authority to gouerne, and to redreffe their flate, and to preserve the city of ATHENS from final and vtter destruction. Vpon this advertisement, al the heads and chiefe men did giue very good eare vnto it: sauing only Phrynichus, one of the captains, & of the town of DIR ADE s: who mistrusting (that was true indeed) that Alcibiades cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chiefgouernment of ATHENS, the nobility or the comunalty, & did but feek all the deuices & waies he could, to return againe if it might be possible, in any maner of fort, and that he did but curry fauour with the nobility, blaming and accusing the people:he stood altogether against the motion, wherupo Alcibiades deuice was not followed. And having now shewed himselfe open enemy to Alcibiades, he did secretly advertise Aftiochus then Admiral to the LACED EMONIANS, Of Alcibiades practife, & warned him to take heed of him, & to lay him vp fafe, as a double dealer, & one that had intelligece with both fides: but he vnderstood not how it was, one traitour to speake to another. For this Assiochus was a follower of Tisaphernes for his private commodity and perceiving Alcibiades in such credit with him, he did discouer to Alcibiades all that Phrynicus had advertised him. Alcibiades straight sent men of purpose to Samos, vnto the captains there, to accuse Phrynichus of the treason he had reucaled against the. Those of the councel there, receiving this intelligence, were highly offended with Phrynichus. So, he seeing no better way to saue himself for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worse fault. The rupon he sent againe to Astrochus complaining much he had disclosed him: and yet neuerthelesse he promised him, if he would keepe his counsel, that he would deliuer the whole fleet & army of the ATHENIANS into his hands. Howbeitthis treason of Phrynichus did the Athenians no hurt at all, by reaso of Astiochus counter. treason: for he did let Alcibiades againe understand what offer Phrynicus had made him. Phrynichus looking to be charged with this again the second time before the councell, by means of Alcibiades, did first aduertise the chiefe of the army of the Athenia no sthat their enemies would come and fet vpon them, and where, and how, & gaue them warning to keepe neere their ships, to make a strongwatch, and to fortific themselues with all speed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other letters from Alcibiades, by the which he did warne them againe to take heed of Phrynichus, because he had practised againe with their enemies, to deliuer the whole army of Athens into their hands. But they gaue no credit to his second letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparation and mines of the enemies, would ferue

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his owne turne with the false accusing of Phrynichus. Notwithstanding this, there was some fals. hood in felowship: for one Hermon, openly in the market place stabbed Phrynichus in with a das. ger & killed him. The fact being pleaded in law, and throughly confidered of the dead body by the sentence of the people was condemned for a traitour; and Hermon the murtherer and his fellowes, were crowned in recompence of their fact they had done to kill atraitor to the common wealth. Wherfore those that were Alcibiades friends, being at that time the stronger and greatest men of the councel in the army of Samos: they fent one Pifander to Athens, to attempt to alter the gouernment, and to encourage the noble men to take vpon them the authority, and to pluck it from the people: affuring them that Tisaphernes would give them aide to do it, by meanes of Alcibiades, who wold make him their friend. This was the colour & cloke wher with they served their turnes, that did change the government of Athens, and that brought it into the hands of a small number of Nobilitie: for they were in all but four hundred, & yet they called them. felues five thousand. But so soone as they felt themselves strong, and that they had the whole au. thority of gouernement, without contradiction in their hands, they made then no more recks. ning of Alcibiades, and so they made wars more coldly and flackly then before. Partly because they mistrusted their civizens, who found the change of gouernment very strange: and partly also because they were of opinion that the LACED EMONIANS (who at all times did most fauor the gouernement of Nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained still in the city, stirred not, but were quiet against their wils, for feare of danger, because there were many of them flain, that boldly took voon them in open presence to refift these foure hundred. But those that were in the camp in the Ile of Samos, hearing these newes, were fo grieuously offended, that they resolued to returne incontinently againe, vnto the hauen of PIR AA. First of all, they sent for Alcibiades; whom they chose their captaine, then they commanded him straightly to lead them against these tyrants, who had vsurped the liberty of the people of ATHENS. But neuerthelesse he did not herein, as another would have done in this case, seeing himselse so sodainely crept againe in fauor with the common people: for he did northinke he should incontinently please and gratifiethem in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their ships; & so great an army, being before but a banished man, a vacabond, and a fugitive. But to the contrary, as it became a generall worthy of fuch a charge, he confidered with himself, that it was his part wisely to stay those, who would in a rage & furv carelessy cast themselves away, and not suffer them to do it. And truly Alcibiades was the cause of the preserving of the city of ATHENS at that time from vtter destruction. For if they had sodainely (according to their determination) departed from Samos to go to Athens: the enemies finding no man to let them, might cafily have won all the countrey of Ionia, of Helle-SPONT, and of all the other Iles without stroke striking, whilest the ATHENIANS were buse fighting one against another inciuil wars, and within the compasse of their own wals. This Alcibiades alone, & no other, did preuent, not only by perfivading the whole army, & declaring the inconvenience thereof, which would fall out vpon their fodain departure: but also by intreating fome particularly apart, & keeping a number back by very force. To bring this about, one Thra-Thrasbulus sibulus of the towne of STIRA, did helpe him much: who went through the army, and cried out a man of the vpon them that were bent to enterprise this journey: for he had the biggest and loudest voice as pice of all they say, of any man that was in all the city of ATHENS. This was a notable act, and a great piece of service done by Alcibiades: that he promised the 5 hundred saile of the Phoenicians (which the LACEDEMONIANS affordly looked for in their aid from the King of PERSIA) should not come at all, or els if they came, it should be in the fauor of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediatly, & went with great speed to Tisaphernes: whom he handled in such fort, that he brought nor the shippes that lay at rode before the city of Aspenda, and so he brake promise with the LACED EMONIANS. Therefore Alcibiades was maruelloufly blamed and accused, both of the one and the other fide, to have altred Tifaphernes mind, but chiefly the LACEDEMONIANS: who faid, that he had perfwaded this barbarous captaine, he should neither aid the one nor the other, but rather to fuffer themselues to denoure and destroy each other. For it had bin out of doubt, if this great fleet & nauy of the kings had come, to ioine their force with either party: that they had taken from the one of them, the legniory & domination of the sea. Shortly after, the 4. hundred noble men that had vsurped the authority & gouernment of ATHENS, were vtterly driven away and overthrowne, by meanes of the friendly aid and affiftance that Alcibiades friends gave those

that tooke the peoples part. So the citizens were very well pleafed with Alcibiades, infomuch as they fent for him to returne when he thought good. But he effecting it no honour vnto him to The chie. return without some well descruing, and before he had done some greater exploit, as only vpon the peoples fauour and good will to the end that his returne might be glorious and triumphant; for sinhis he departed first from Samos with a small number of gallies, and went failing vp & downe the detirer. Iles of Cos & of GNIDOs. There he was aduertifed, that Mindarus, the Admiral of the LACE- turne. DEMONIANS, was gone with all his fleete vnto the straight of Hellespont, & that the captaines of the ATHENIANS gaue chase vnto him. Therupon he went also and sailed this her with fpeed, to aide the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with 18 gallies, euch at the very instant when they were both in the midst of their fight, with al their ships before the city of Ainstant when they were both in the midit of their ngitt, with air their improved the City of A-fee before a y pos. The battel was cruelly foughten between them from morning til night, both the one and the city of other having the better in one part of the battell, and the worst in another place. Now at the first discouery of Alcibiades coming, both parts had indeed contrary imaginations of him. For the trees the Enemies tooke heart vnto them: And the ATHENIAN'S began to be aftered. But Alcibiades fetting and Luce. vp a flag in the top of his admirall gally, to shew what he was, he presently set vpon the Pero PONNESIANS that had the better, and had certaine gallies of the ATHENIANS in chase whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gave over their chafe, and fled. But Alcibiades followed them fo Alabades luftily, that he randiuer se of them aground, and brake their ships, & slue a great number of men that leapt into the fea, in hope to faue the felues by fwimming aland: notwith standing that Pharnabalus was come thither to aid the Laced Amonians, and did his best endenour to fauctheir 164. gallies by the feashore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wan 20 gallies of their enemies, & faued all their own, and so did fet up certaine slags of triumph and victory. Alcibiades having now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs go shew himselfe in triumph vnto Tijaphernes. So having prepared to prefent him with goodly rich prefents, and appointed also a convenient train and number of faile meet for a General, he took his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for: for Tisaphernes standing in great hazard of displeasure, and feare of punishment at the Kings hands, having long time before bin defamed by the LACEDEMONI-Ans, who had complained of him, that he did not fulfill the Kings commandement, thought that Alcibiades was ariued in very happy houre: wherupo he kept him prisoner in the city of SAR DIS supposing the wrong he had done, would by this meanes casily discharge and purge him to the king. Yet at the end of 30 daies, Alcibiades by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, Alcibiades fled voto the city of CLAZOMENES, & this did more increase the sulpition they had of Tisaphernes, ner as Sare because they thought that vnderhand he had wrought his liberty. Alcibiades took then sea again, da, syeth & went to feek out the army of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had found, & heard news that Form Tife. Mindarus & Pharnaba Zus were together in the city of Ctzycvm, he made an oration to his fouldiers, & declared vnto them how it was very requifite they shold fight with their enemies, both by sea and by land, and moreover that they should assault them within their forts and castles, because otherwise they could have no mony to defray their charges. His oration ended he made them immediatly hoise saile, & so to go lie at anker in the Ile of Proconness where he took order that they should keep all the pinnaces & brigantines among the ships of war, that the enemy might have no manner of intelligence of his coming. The great showres of rainealfo, with thunder and dark weather that fell out fodainly vponit, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterprife:infomuch as not only his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knew nothing of his coming. So fome made their reckoning, that they could do litle or nothing all that day: yet he made them fodainely imbarke, and hoife faile. They were no fooner in the maine sea, but they described afarre off the gallies of their enemies, which lay at rode before the hauen of Cyzi cym. And fearing left the great number of his flect would make them fly, and take land before he could come to them: he commanded certaine captaines to stay behind, and to row foftly after him, and himfelfe with forty gallyes with him, wenttowards the enemies to prouoke them to fight. The enemies supposing there had bene no more ships then those that were in fight, did fet out presently to fight with them. They were no sooner joyned together, but Alcibiades ships that came behind, were also descried. The enemies were so afeard thereat. that they cast about and sed straight. Alcibiades leaving his sleete, followed the chase with Alcibiades twentie of the best gallies he had, and draue them aland. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued refor, at them fo couragiously at their heeles, that he flue a great number of them on the maineland. Green.

who thought by flying to have faued themselves. Moreover, Mindarus and Pharnabazus, being come out of the city to rescue their people, were ouerthrown both He slue Mindarus in the field. fighting valiantly: as for Pharnabazus, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS ipoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour & riches, and took besides all their enemies ships. After they tooke the city of CIZYCVM, Pharnabazus hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being flain, they had not only the possession of the whole countrey of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemies by force out of al parts of the fea. There were at that time certain letters intercepted, wherby a fecretary gaue aduertisement vnto the Ephoriat Sparta, of the ouerthrow in this fort: All is loft, Mindarus is flaine, our people die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the fouldiers of ATHENS that had bene at this iourney and ouerthrow, grew to fuch pride and reputation of themselues, that they would not and disdained also to serue with other souldiers that had bene beaten many times, and went away with the worse: where they to the contrary had neuer bin ouercome as a litle before had: pened, that the captaine Thrasyllus had bene ouerthrowne by the city of Erhesvi: and for this ouerthrow, the EPHESIANS had fet vpa triumph, and token of braffe, to the vtter shame and ignominy of the ATHENIANS. For the which Alcibiades fouldiers did very much rebuke Thrafyl. lus men, and did exceedingly extoll their captaine and themselues, and would neither encampe with them, neither haue to do with them, nor yet keepe them company: vntill fuch time as Pharnabazus came with a great army against them, as well of footmen as horsemen, when they ranne a forraging vpon the ABYDENIANS: and then Alcibiades went to the refcue of them, and gaue Pharnaba Tus battell, and ouerthrew him once againe, and did together with Thrasyllus chase him even vntill dark night. Then both Alcibiades and Thrasfyllus souldiers did company together. one rejoycing with another: and fo returned all with greatioy into one campe. The nextmor. ning Alcibiades set up atriumph for the victory he had the day before, and then went to spoile and destroy Pharnaba Zus countrey where he was gouernour, and no man durst once come out to meet him. In this rode there were taken prisoners, certaine Priests and Nuns of the country. but Alcibiades freely deliuered them afterwards without ransome. And preparing to make wars against the Chalcedonians, who were revolted from the Athenians, and had received a garrison and gouernor of the LACEDEMONIANS into their city, he was aduertised that they had brought all their goods and cattels out of their fields, and had delivered them to the fafe custody of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbors & friends. Herupon he led his army into their borders, and fent a herauld to fummon the BYTHINIANS, to make amends for the wrong they had done the Athenians. The Bythinians fearing left Alcibiades would fet vpon them, did straight deliver him their goods they had before in the custody, and moreover made a league with the ATHENIAN'S besides. That done, he went and laid siege to the city of CHAL-CEDON, the which he enuironed all about from the one fide of the fea to the other. Pharnabazus Came thither, thinking to have raifed the flege. And Hippocrates a captain of the Lacedemo-NIANS, that was governor of the city, affebled al the force he was able to make within the fame, & made a fally out also vponthe ATHENIANS at the very fame time. Wherupon Alcibiades put. ting his men in order of battel, fo as they might give charge vpon the both at one instant, fought alcibiades fo valiantly, that he forced Pharnaba Zusto run his way with shame enough, & slew Hippocrates in victory at the field, with a great number of his men. Then took he the feas again, to go towards the courty of Hellespont, to get some money, were on the sodaine he did take the city of Selybrea! because he valiantly put himselfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certaine of his friends within, with whom he had fecret practife, had given him a token, that when time ferued, they would flow a burning torch in the aire at midnight: but they were compelled to flow this fire in the aire before they were ready, for fearelest one of their confederacy would be wray the matter, who fodainely repented him. Now this torch burning in the aire, was fet before Alcibiades was ready with his company. But he perceiving the figne fet tooke about thirty men with him in his company, and ranne with them to the wals of the city, having commanded the rest of his army to follow him with all speed possible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirty men: befides them there followed twenty other light armed men. Howbeit they were no fooner entred the city, but they heard the citizens arined come against them: so that there was no The present hope to scape, if they did tary their coming. Neuerthelesse, considering that vntill that present time, he was neuer ouercome in battel where he had take charge, it grieued him very much tofly wherefore

wherfore it straight came in his head to make silence by found of trumpet, & after silence made, hecaused one of the that were about him to make proclamatio with a loud voice, that the Selr-BRIANIAN'S should not take armes against the Athenians. This cooled the a litle that would faine haue bene doing, because they supposed that all the army of the ATHENIANS had beene already in the citie: the other on the contrary fide, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further danger. And as they began to parle vpon composition, the rest of Alcibiades army was come on. Now he thinking in deed (which was true) that the Selybrianians fought nothing but peace, and fearing left the Thracians (which were many in number, and came with good will to ferue him in that iourney) would facke and fpoile the city, he made them all to go out againe; and so concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurt vpontheir humble submission, but made them pay him a sum of mony, & so leaving a garrison of the ATHENIANS within the city, he departed thence. Whilst Alcibiades was in treaty with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN captaines that lay at the fiege of CHALCEpon, made an agreement with Pharnaba Zus, that he should give them a sum of mony, and give The Chai. vpthe towne into the Athenians hands, to enjoy it as they did before. And with expresse ecdonians condition also, that the ATHENIAN'S should make no rodes into Pharnaba Zin dominions, to recisation hurt or spoile any of his:and he likewise should be bound to give good safe conduct virto the amballadours of the ATHENIANS, to go and come fafe from time to time, to the King of Persia. The other Captaines being fworne to this peace, Pharnabaz us conditioned also that Alcibiades at his returne should likewise be sworne to the peace and conditions thereof. But Alcibiades said he would not be fworne at all, vnlesse Pharnaba Tus were first sworne for his part. Thus when oathes were taken of either fide, Alcibiades went also against those of BYZANTIVM, who in like tase had rebelled against the Athenians. At his first coming thither, he enuironed the city round about with a wall. Afterwards he practifed with two fecret friends of his, Anaxilaus and Lycurgus, and certaine other within the city, who promifed him to deliuer it into his hands, fo they might be affured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practife, he gaue it out that he altiblades must needs leave the siege, and depart with speed, for certain news that were come out of Ion IA: Arrangement and the run of the single state of the and the rupo he imbarked prefently, and went out of the hauen at noone daies with all his ships, tiam. howbeit he returned againe the same night. And going aland with the choisest and best armed men he had, he approched the wals of the city, without any manner of noise, and having left order with them that remained in the ships, that in the meane scason they should row with al force into the hauen, with as great cries & shouts as might be, to seare and trouble the enemies: partly to feare the BYZANTINE's the more with their fodgine coming among them, and, partly that his confederates within the city, might with better oportunity receive him and his company, into the towne with the more affured fafety, whilst enery man ranne to the hauen, to relift them that were vpon the gallies. Neuerthelesse they went not away vnfought with. For those that lay in garrison within the city, some of them Peloponnesians, other Boeotians, & other ME-GARIANS, did so valiantly repulse them that came out of their gallies, that they draue them to retireaboord again. Afterwards hearing how the Athenians were entred the city on the other side, they put theselues in battell ray, & went to meet the. The battell was terrible of both parts: but Alcibiades in the end obtained victory, leading the right wing of his battel, & Theramenes the left. The victory being gotten, he took 300 of his enemies prisoners, who had escaped the fury of winneth the battel. But after the battel, there was not a BYZANTINE put to death, neither banished, nor Byzanium his goods conficated because it was capitulated by Alcibiades with his cosederats, that neither he nor his, should hurt any of the BYZANTINES, either in person or goods, nor any way should riste them. And Anaxilaus being afterwards accused of treaton in Laced Mmon for this practise, he answered & instified himself in such fort, that they could not find he had comitted the fault laid Vnto his charge. For he faid that he was no LACED EMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE : and that he law not Laced Emon in danger, but By zantivm, which the enemies had compassed about with a wall they had built, that it was vnpossible to bring any thing into the city. Moreouer he alkdged, that they having very finall store of corne within the city (as was true indeed) the PELO-FORMESIANS and BOEOTIANS that lay there in garrifon, did eat it vp, while the poore Byzan-TIME s themselues, their wives and children, died for very hunger. Therfore it could not be said of him, that he had betraied his courry, but rather that he had deliuered it fro the miseries & caamities the wars brought vpon it:wherin he had followed the example of the honestest men of

Alcibiades veturne into bu coun-

LACED EMON, who did acknowledge nothing honest and just, but that which was necessary and profitable for their country. The LACE DEMONIANS hearing his reasons alleadged for his purgation, were ashamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him go. Now Alcibiades desirous in the end to fee his natiue countrey againe (to speake more truly, that his country men should fee him) after he had fo many times ouerthrowne their enemies in battell: he hoifed faile and directed his course towards ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallies of the ATHENIANS richly furnished and decked all about with skutchines and targets, and other armour and weapon gotten amongst the spoiles of his enemies. Moreouer, he brought with him many other shippes which he had won and broken in the warres, befides many enfignes and other ornaments: all which being counted together one with the other, made vp the number of two hundred ships, Furthermore, where Duris Samian writeth (who challengeth that he came of his house) that at his returne one Chrysogonus, an excellent player on the flute (that had won certaine of the Py. thian games) did play fuch an note, that at the found thereof the gally-flaues would keepe froke with their owers, and that Callippides another excellent player of Tragedies, playing the part of a comedy, did ftirre them to row, being in fuch players garments as every mafter of fuch science vseth commonly to weare, presenting himself in Theater or stage before the people to shew his art; and that the admirall galley wherein himselfe was, entred the hauen with a purple saile, asif fome maske had come into a mans house after some great banquet made: neither Ephorus, nor Theopompus nor Xenophon, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, methinks it should not be true, that he (returning from exile after folong a banishment, and having passed ouer such for rowes and calamities as he had fuftained) would fo proudly and prefumptuoufly flew himfelfe vnto the Athenians. But meerely contrary, it is most certaine, that he returned in great search & doubt. For when he was arrived in the hauen of PIRÆA, he would not set foot a land, before he first faw his nephew Euryptolemus, and divers other of his friends, from the hatches of his ship, standing vpon the sands in the hauens mouth: who were comethither to receive and welcome him, and told him that he might be bold to land, without feare of any thing. He was no fooner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to fee him, with fo great loue and affection, that they tooke no heed of the other captaines that came with him, but clustred all to him onely, and cried out for ioy to fee him. Those that could come neere him, did welcome and imbrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And some that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head; and those that could not come necre him, saw him afar off and the old folkes did point him out to the yonger fort. But this common ioy was mingled not with standing with teares and forrow, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes and calamities, & to compare them with their prefent prosperity: waying with themselnes also how they had nor lost Sicilia, nor their hope in all things else had failed them, if they had delivered themsclues & the charge of their army into Alcibiades hands, when they sent for him to appear in person before them. Considering also how he found the city of ATHENS in maner put from the fegniorie and commandement of the fea; and on the other fide how their force by land was brought into fuch extremity, that ATHEN'S feantly could defend her fuburbs, the city felfe being so divided and turmoiled with civill diffention : yet he gathered together those few, and fmall forcethat remained, and had not only reftored ATHENS to her former power and fourraigntie on the sea, but had made her also conquerer by land. Now the decree for his repaire home againe, past before by the people, at the instant request of Callins, the sonne of Callaschru, who did preferre it : as he himselse did testifie in his Elegics, putting Alcibiades in remembrance of the good turne he had done him, faying:

ALCIBIADES.

I was the first that moved in open conference, The peoples voice to call thee home, when thou wert banisht hence, Sowas I eke the first which thereto gaue confent, And therefore may I boldly fay, by truth of fuch intent: I was the onely meane, to call thee home againe, By such request so rightly made, to move the peoples vaine. And this may serue for pledge, what friendship I thee beare : Fall sealed with a faithfull tongue, as plainely shall appeare.

But notwithstanding, the people being assembled in councell, Alcibiades came before then and made an oration:wherein he first lamented all his mishaps, and found himself grieued alid

with the wrongs they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his curfed fortune, and some spitefull god that enuied his glory and prosperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope Alcibiades their enemies had to have advantage of them: and therewithall perswaded the people to be of erationto good courage, and afeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned the people. him with crownes of gold, and chose him Generall againe of ATHENS, with sourraigne power and authoritie both by land and by sea. And at that very instant it was decreed by the people, choise gethat he should be restored against o his goods, and that the Priests Eumolpides should absolute nerall with him of all their curses, and that the heralds should with open proclamation revokethe execrati- four aigns ons and curfings they had thundered out against him before, by commandement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, fauing Theodorus the Bishop, who said: I did neither excommunicate him, nor curse him, if he hath done no hurt to the common wealth. Now Alcibiades flourished in his chiefest prosperitie, yet were there some notwithstanding that misliking very much the time of his landing laying, it was very valuckie and vnfortunate. For the very day of his returne and arrivall, fell out by chance on the feast which they call Plynteria, Plynteria, as you would fay, the washing day, which they celebrate in honour of Minerua: on the which day, the Priests that they call Praxiergides, to make certaine secret and hidden sacrifices and ceremonies, being the flue and twentieth day of the moneth of September, and do take from the image of this goddesse all her rayment and iewels, and keepe the image close couered ouer. Hereupon the Athenians do ascribe that day for a most vnfortunate day, and are very circumspectto do any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly scanned abroade of euery body, that it seemed the goddesse was not content, nor glad of Alcibiades returne: and that she did hide her selfe, because she would not see him, nor have him comencere her. Notwithstanding all these toyes and ceremonies, when Alcibiades found enery thing fell out well at his return, and as he would have wished it: he armed a hundred galleyes presently, to returne again to the warres: Howbeit he wisely regarded the time and solemnitie of celebration of these mysteries, and considerately stayed untill they had sinished all. And it fell out, that after the La-CED EMONIANS had taken and fortified the citie of DECELIA, within the teritorie of ATTIca, and that the enemies being the stronger in the field, did keepe the way going from ATHENS to ÉLEVSIN, so as by no possible meanes they could make their solemne procession by land, with fuch honor & deudtion as they were before accustomed to do: and therby all the facrifices, daunces, and many other holy deuout ceremonies they were wont to do by the way, in finging the holy fong of lacebus, came of very necessitie to be left off and cleane laide aside. Then Alci- Aleibiadus biades thought he should do a meritorious deed to the gods, and an acceptable to men, to bring the old coremonies up agains upon the field food, and the gods and an acceptable to men, to bring old coremonia upon the field food, and the gods and the gods are specified to the gods. the old ceremonies vp againe vpon the faid feast: and thereupon purposed to accompany the procession, and defend it by power against all inuasion and disturbance of the enemies: as one that foresaw one of these two things would come to passe: either that agis king of the LACE-DEMONIANS would not stirre at all, and that he by this meanes should so much imbaseand diminish his reputation and glorie: or if he did come out into the fiel 1, that hee would make the battell very gratefull to the gods, confidering it should be in defence of their most holy feast and worship, and in the fight of his countrey, wherethe people should see and witnesse both his valianmesse, and also his courage. Alcibiades being fully resoluted vpon this procession, went and made the priests Eumolpides, their vergers, and other their ministers and officers of these mysteries, privile to his determination. Then he sent out skoutes to watch on the fide of the hilles thereabouts, and to view the way of their preambulation, The next morning very early he fent out light horsemen also to scowre the countrey. Then he made the priests, the professed, and all the ministers of religion, go in procession, together with those that followed the same : and he himselfe compassed them about with his armie on every side, marching in battell ray, and very good order, and with great filence. This was an honourable and demont leading of an army, and such as if his greatest enemies would confesse a troth, they could not but fay, Alcibiades had as much shewed the office of a high bishop, as of a noble souldier and good captaine. So he ended this procession, returning to ATHENS in all safe order a. gaine, and not an enemy that durst once looke out into the field to set vpon them. Now this did more increase the greatnesse of his mind, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his sufficiencie, and wise conduction of an army; insomuch as they thought him vnuincible, having the soueraigne power and authority of a Generall. Furthermore, he spake so faire to the poore peo-

Alcibiades

ans army

Antiochus raffineffe. owne death and her-He throw of the ather mansamy. Lyfander beingg merale of the Laced . mo miansouer. cam- the Atheatans

Alcibiodes accufed a-Thrajybulus

ple, and meaner fort, that they chiefly wished and defired he would take vpon him like a King. yea, and many went to him to perswade him in it, as though he should thereby with stand all enuie, and drive away the lawes and customes of trying of matters by the voyces of the people, and all fuch fond deuices as did destroy the state of the common-weale. And furthermore, they said it was very needfull that he alone should take vpon him the whole rule and gouernement of the citie, that he might dispose all things according to his will, and not stand in feare of slanderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether Alcibiades euer had any mind to vsurpe the kingdome, the matter is somewhat doubtfull. But this is certain, the greatest men of the city searing lest indeed he meant some such thing, did hasten his departure as soone as they could possible, doing all other things according to his mind: and did affigne him fuch affociates in his charge of Generall. as he himfelfe best liked. So in the end he departed with a seet of a hundred galleyes, and first of all he fell with the Ile of Andros, where he ouercame by fight the inhabitants of the faid Ifle, and certaine LACED & MONIANS that were amongst them: but he tooke not the citie. which was one of the first matters his enemies did accuse him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowne and enuicd for the estimation they had of his valour and sufficiencie, truly Alcibiades was the man. For the notable and fundry feruices he had done, wonne him fuch estimation of wildome and valiantnesse, that where he flacked in any service whatsoeuer, he was presently fust exted, judging the ill successe not in that he could not, but for that he would not; and that where he vindertooke any enterprise, nothing could withstand or lye in his way. Hercupon the people perfivading themiclues that immediatly after his departure, they shold heare that the lle of Chio was taken, with all the country of Ionia, they were angry they could have no newes Lack of mo. fo siddenly from him as they looked for Moreover, they did not consider the lacke of mony he nes, there- had, and specially making war with such enemies, as were euer relieued with the great King of PERSIAES aid, and that for necessities fake he was fundry times driven to leave his campe, to feeke mony where he could get it, to pay his fouldiers, and to maintain his army. Now for testimony hereof, the last accusation that was against him, was only for this matter. Ly sander being fent by the Laced Amontans for admiral and general of their army by sea, vsed such policy with Cyrue the king of PERSIAES brother, that he got into his hands a great fum of money by means wheref he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a day for their wages, where before they were wont to have but three, and yet Alcibiades had much ado to furnish his with three onely a day. For this cause, to get mony, Alcibiades failed into CHARIA. But in the meane time Antiochiu whom Alcibiades had left his lieutenant behind him, and had given him charge of all the ships in his absence, being a very skilfull sea-man, but otherwise a hasty harebraynd foole, and of small capacity: he being expressly commanded by Alcibiades not to fight in any case, though the enemies offered him battell, was so foolishrash, & made so lirle reckoning of his straight commandement, that he armed his own galley, wher of him felf was captaine, and other befides, and went to the city of LPHESVS, paffing all along his enemies galleys, reuiling and offering villany to those that frood vpon the hatches of their galleys. Lyfander being maruellously prouoked by these words, went and encountered him at the first with a few ships. The other captaines of the galiles of the Athenians, feeing Antiochus in danger, went to aid him, one after another. Then Lylander of his part alfo fet out all his whole fleete against him, and in the end ouercame them: An nother felfe was killed in the conflict, and many gallies and men were taken prisoners: whereof Lyfander fet vp shewes of triumph in token of victory. Alcibiades hearing this ill fauorednewes, returned prefently with all possible speede to Samos; and when he came thither, he went with all the rest of his sect to offer Lylander battell. But Lylander quietly contenting himsclfwith his first victory, went not out against him. Now this victory was no sooner wonne, but one Thrasqlinlusthe lon of Thrason Alcibiades enemy, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS to accuse Alcibiades to the people : whom he informed how all went to wracke, & that he had loft many ships, for that he regarded not his charge, carelessy putting me in trust, whom he gaue too great credit to because they were good sellowes, and would drinke drunke with him, and were full of mariners mockes and knauish leastes, such as they vie commonly amongst themselves. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleasure abroad, hereand there, scraping moncy together where he could come by it, keeping good cheare, and seasting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN curtifans, when the enemies army was so neare theirs as it was. Moreouer, they laid to his charge, that he did fortifie a castle in the courty of Thracia,

neere vnto the city BISANTHE, for a place to retire himselfe vnto, either because he could not, or rather that he would not live any longer in his owne country. Vpon those accusations, the ATHENIANS giving credit to the report, did immediatly chuse new Captaines, and thereby declared their misliking. Alcibiades hearing of this, & fearing lest they would do him some worse Alcibiades harme, did leaue straight the ATHENIANS campe, and gathering acertaine number of strangers together, went of himselfe to make warre vpon certaine free people of the Thracians, 170 Genewho were subject to no Prince nor state: where he got a maruellous masse of money together, rail. by meanes whereof he did affure the Grecians inhabiting those marches, from all inuafion offorraine enemies. Now Tydeus, and Menander, and Adimanthus the ATHENIAN'S captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the goats river, with all the galleys the citie of A-THEN'S had at that time vpon the coast:vsed enery morning commonly to go to the sea, to offer battell to Lyfander, who rode at anker before the citic of Lampfacus, with all the LACED E- Lifander MONIANS armie by fea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, fode at any in very ill order, without either watch or ward, as men that were carelesse of their enemies. Al- Lampfacus. sibiades being on the land not far off, and finding their great fault and negligence, took his horse, and went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill shore, where there was no good rode, nortowne, and where they were driven to feeke their victuals, as farre as to the city of SESTOS, and that they suffered their mariners to leaue their shippes, and go aland when they lay at anker, ftragling vp and downe the countrey as they would themselues, without regard that there lay a great armie of their enemies before the, ready to be set out at the Generals commandement: and therefore he aduited them to remove thence, and to go to cast anker before the civie of S_B stos. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduised by him: and that which was worst of all, The Ather Tydeus, one of the captaines, floutly commanded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to do with the matter, and that other had charge of the army. Whereupon Atcibiades fearing they would purpose some treason against him, did depart presently from them. And as he went his way, he faid to some of his friends which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the Athenians had not bene so round with him, he would have forced the LACEDEMONIANS to have come to battell in despight of their beardes, or else he would have driven them to forfake their shippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to have done it, because he could have brought from land a great number of THRACIANS, both archers and horsemen, with whom he might have given a charge vpon the LACED ÆMONIANS, and done great mischiese vnto their campe. But now, how wisely Alcibiades did foreseethe faults he told the ATHBNIANS captaines of, their great misfortune and losse that followed incontinently, did too plainely witnesse it to the world. For Lysander came so fiercely vpon them on a sodaine, that of all the shippes that they had in their The Ather whole fleete, onely eight galleyes were faued, with whom Conon fled : and the other being not nians overmuchlesse then two hundred in number, were every one of them taken and caried away, with three thousand prisoners whom Lysander put to death. Shortly after, he tooke the city self dibentaof ATHENS, and razed their long wals even to the ground. After this great and notable victorie, konby Ly-Alcibiades fearing forc the LACED EMONIANS, Whothen without let or interruption of any, were onely Lords and Princes by sea and by land:he went into the countrey of BYTHINIA, and caused great goods to be brought after him, and tooke a maruellous sum of mony with him, befides great riches he left also in the castles of Thracia, where he did remaine before. Howbeit the country of By. he lost much of his goods in Bythinia, which certain Thracians dwelling in that country, thinia. had robbed him of and taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith vnto king artaxerxes, hoping that when the king had once proued him, he shold find him a man of no lesse seruice, then he had found Themistocles before him : besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be much juster then his was: for he did not go thither to make war against the city of A-THENS and his country, as Themistocles did:but of a contrary intent, to make intercession to the king, that it would please him to aid them: Now Alcibiades thinking he could vie no better mean then PharnabaZus helpe only, to fee him safely conducted to the kings court : he tooke his journey to him into the country of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certain time to attend vpon him, & Lylander was honorably entertained and received of Pharnabazus. All this while the Athenians apositud found themselues desolate, and in miserable state to see their empire lost: but then much more, our the ciwhen Lyfander had taken away their liberties, & fet thirty gouernours ouer their city. Now too

ALCIBIADES.

Too late repentance of

The Lace

der to kill

fore his

late, after all was lost (where they might hauerecouered againe, if they had bene wise) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miseries and wretched state, looking backe vpon all their wilfull faults and follies committed: among which, they did reckon their fecond time of falling out with Alcibiades, was their greatest fault: for they banished him only of malice and difpleasure, not for any offence himselfe in person had committed against them, sauing that his lieutenant in his absence had shamefully lost a few of their shippes : and they themselves more fhamefully had driven out of their city, the noblest fouldier, and most skilfull captaine that they had. And yet they had some litle poore hope left, that they were not altogether cast away, so long as Alcibiades lived and had his health. For before, when he was a forfaken man, and led a banished life, yet he could not liue idlely, and do nothing: wherefore now much more, faid they to themselues, if there be any helpe at all, he will not suffer out of doubt the insolencie and pride of the LACED AMONIANS; nor yet abide the cruchties and outrages of these thirty tyrants. And furely the common people had some reason to have these thoughts in their heads, considering that the thirty gouernois themselues did what they could possibly to spie out Alcibiades doings, and what he went about. Infomuch as Critias at the last, declared to Lysander, that so long the LACED EMONIANS might reckon themselves Lords over all GRECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authority of the city of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithstanding the people of ATHENS could well away to line like subjects vnder the gouernement of a few : yet Alcibiades whilest he lived, would never suffer them so to be reigned over, but would attempt by all deuice he could, to bring a change and innovation among them. Yet Lysander would not credite these perswasions, before speciall commandement was sent to him from the Senate of LACED AMON, vpon his allegiance, that he should deuise to kill Ilesbiades by all meanes he could procure: either because in troth they feared the subtiltie of his wit, and the greatnesse of his courage, to enterprise matters of great weight and danger, or else that they demonians fought to gratific King Agis by it. Ly fander being thus straightly commanded, did send and practife incontinently with Pharnaba Zus to execute the fact: who gaue his brother Mugans, and his Alcibiades. vncle Susamithres commission to attempt the matter. Now was Alcibiades in a certaine village of PHRYGIA, with a cocubine of his called Timandra. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how she dandling him in her armes, had dressed his Alcibiades head, frizeled his haire, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other fay, that he thought Phrygiabs. Magaus strake off his head, and made his body to be burnt: and the voice goeth this vision was but a litle before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it on fire round about, Alcibiades spying the fire, got such apparell and hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to have put it out: and fo casting his cloke about his lest arme, tooke his naked fword in his other hand, and ranne out of the house, himself not once tou. ched with fire, sauing his clothes were a litle singed. These murtherers so soone as they spied him drew backe, and flood afunder, and durst not one of them come neere him, to stand and fight with him:but a farre off, they bestowed so many arrowes and darts on him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, Timandra went and rooke his body, which she wrapped up in the best linnen she had, and buried him as honourably as she could possible, with such things as she had, and could get together. Some hold opinion that Lais, the only famous curtifan, which they say was of Corinth (though indeed she was borne in a litle towne of Sicilia, called HICCARA, where she was taken) was his daughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of Alcibiades, there are some that agree to all the rest I have written, saving that they say, it was neither Pharnabazus, nor Lyfander, nor the LACED EMONIANS, which caused him to be flaine but that he keeping with a yong gentlewoman of a noble house, whom he had stolne away, and

Alcibiades Timandra the curtifan buried Alcibiades. tifan of Co-

> inticed to folly: her brethren to reuenge this iniury, went to fet fire vpon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we have told you, thinking to leape out of the fire.

> > The end of Alcibiades life.

THE

THE LIFE OF CAIVS Martius Coriolanus.



HE house of the Martians at Rome was of the number of the Patrici- The familie ans, out of the which haue sprung many noble personages, whereof Ancus Martius was one, King Numaes daughters fonne, who was King of Rome after Tullus Holtilius. Of the same house were Publius and Quintus, who brought to Rome their best water they had by conduits. Martins, Censorinus also came of that family, that was so surnamed, because the people had chosen him Censor twise. Through whose perswasion they conduits to made a law, that no man from thence forth might require, or enioy Rome. the Cenforship twise. Caius Martins, whose life we intend now Conformus by his fasher works and the conformus to the conformu

to write, being left an orphane by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widow, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discomodities to a child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue about the common fort: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully do complaine, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man intheir youth taketh any care of them to fee them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good proofe to confirme some mens opinions: That a rare and excellent wit vntaught, doth bring forth many good and cuill things together: as a fat foile that lyeth vnmanured bringeth foorth both hearbes and weeds. For this Martius naturall wit and great heart did maruelloufly stirre up his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other fide for lacke of education, he was to cholericke and impatient, that he would yeeld to no lining creature: which made him churlish, vnciuill, and altogether vnsit for any mans conucrsation. Yet men maruelling much at his constancie, that he was neuer ouercome with pleasure nor mony, & how he wold endure easily all maner of paines & trauels: the rupon they well liked and commended his floutnesse and temperancy. But for all that they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen vseth to be with another in the city; his behaulour was so vnpleasant to them by reason of a certaine insolent and stern maner he had, which because he was too Lordly, was difliked. And to fay truly, the greatest benefite that learning bringeth vnto men, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compasse and rule of reason, to be civill and courteous, and to like better the meane state, then the higher. Now in those daies, valiantnes was

What this word Virtus fignifi

first going

Coriolanus erowned

Too fudden youth killeth further

Coriolanus mor to com deseruing.

honored in Rome aboue all other vertues: which they call virtue, by the name of vertue it selfe, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that virtus in the Latine, was as much as valiantnesse. But Martius being more inclined to the warres, then any other gentleman of his time, beganne from his childhood to giue himfelfe to handle weapons, and daily did exercise himselse therein: and he esteemed outward armour to no purpose, vnlesse one were naturally armed within. Moreouer hedid so exercise his body to hardnesse and all kinde of activitie, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mightie in griping, fo that no man could euer cast him, Insomuch as those that would try masteries with him for ftrength and nimblenesse, would say when they were ouercom: that all was by reason of his naturall ftrength, and hardnesse of ward, that neuer yeelded to any paine or toyle he tooke vpon him. The first time he went to the wars, being but a stripling, was when Tarquine surnamed the proud(that had bene king of Rome, and was driven out for his pride, after many attemps made by fundry battels to come in againe, wherein he was ener ouercome) did come to Rome with all the aide of the LATINES, and many other people of ITALY: cuenas it were to fet up his whole rest vpon a battel by them, who with a great and mighty army had vndertaken to put him into his kingdome againe, not so much to pleasure him, as to ouerthrow the power of the Ro-MAINES, whose greatnesse they both feared and enuied. In this battell, wherein are many hote and sharpe encounters of either party, Martins valiantly fought in the fight of the Diffator: and a Romaine fouldier being throwne to the ground even hard by him, Marium straight bestird him, and flue the enemie with his owne hands that had before ouerthrowne the ROMAINE. Hereupon after the battell was won, the Dictator did not forget so noble anact, and therefore first of all he crowned Martius with a garland of oaken boughes. For whosoeuer faueth the life of a Romaine, it is a manner among them, to honour him with fuch a garkand. This was, either because the law did this honour to the oke, in fauour of the Arcadians, who by the oracle of Apollo were in old time called eaters of akornes: or els becaufe the fouldiers might eafily in euery place come by oken boughs: or lastly, because they thought it very necessary, to give him that had faued a citizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto Iupiter, the patron and protectour of cities, and thought amongst other wild trees to bring forth a profitable fruit, and of plants to be the strongest. Moreouer, men at the first beginning did vse akornes for their bread, & hony for their drink: and further, the oke did feed their beasts, and giue them birds, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made bird-lime to catch filly birds. They fay that Call or and Pollux, appeared in this battell, and that incontinently after the battell, men saw them in the market place at Rom B, all their horses being on a white soame and they were the first that brought newes of the victorie, cuen in the same place, where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honor of them, neere vnto the fountaine. And this is the cause, why the day of this victorie (which was the fifteenth of July) is cosecrated yet to this day vnto Castor and Pollux. Moreouer it is daily seene, that honour and reputation lighting on young men before their time, & before they have any great courage by nature, the defire to win more dyeth straight in them, which casily happenerh, the same having no deepe roote in them before, Where contrariwife, the first honour that valiant minds do come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, hasting them forward as with force of wind, to enterprise things of high deseruing praise. For they esteeme not to receive reward for service done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come: and be assamed also to cast their honour at their hecles, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthic valiant deeds. This defire being bred in Martins, he strained still to passe himselfe in manlinesseand being desirous to shew a daily increase of his valiantnesse, his noble service did still advance his fame, bringing in spoiles vpon spoyles from the enemies. Whereupon, the Captaines that came afterwards (for enuic of them that went before) did contend who should most honour him, and who should beare most honourable testimony of his valiant nesses. Insomuch as the ROMAINES having many warres and battels in those dayes, Coriolanus was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from whence he returned not with fome reward of honor. And as for other, the onely respect that made them valiant, was that they hoped to haue honour buttouching Maitius, the onely thing that made him to loue honour, was the loy he faw his mother did take of him. For hethought nothing made him so happy & honourable, as that his mother might heare euery body praise and commend him, that she might alwaies see him return with a crown vpon

CORIOLANVS.

his head, and that she might still imbrace him with teares running downe her cheekes for ioy: Which desire they say Epaminondas did anow and confesse to have bene in him, as to think himfelfe a most happy & blessed man, that his father & mother in their life time had seen the victory he wan in the plaine of Levernes. Now as for Epaminondas, he had this good hap, to have his nond a did father and mother living, to be partakers of his joy & prosperity but Martins thinking all due to their desire his mother, that had bin also due to his father if he had lived, did not only content himself to re- of bonur aiovee & honor her, but at her defire took a wife also, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers house therfore. Now he being grown to greateredit and authority in Rome ence of cofor his valiantnesse, it fortuned there grew sedition in the city, because the Senate did sanour the bit mother, rich against the people, who did complaine of the fore oppression of vsurers, of whom they borrowed mony. For those that had litle, were yet spoiled of that litle they had by their creditors, for lack of ability to pay the viury: who offered their goods to be fold to the that would give most. of viury And fuch as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithstanding all the wounds and cuts they shewed, which they had received in many by the peobattels, fighting for defence of their countrey and common wealth; of the which, the last warre ple. they made was against the SABYNES, wherein they fought vpon the promise the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate the more gently, and also you the word of Marcus Valerius chiefe of the Senate, who by authority of the Counfell, and in the behalfe of counfellers therich, said they should performe that they had promised. But after that they had faithfully ser- promise ued in this last battel of al, where they ouercame their enemies, seeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would give no eare to them, but made as hope of inf though they had forgotten the former promife, and fuffered them to be made flaues and bond- performace, men to their creditours, and besides, to be turned out of all that ever they had: they fel then even to flat rebellion & mutiny, and to stirre vp dangerous tumults within the city. The Romaines femile vo enemies hearing of this rebellion, did straight enter the teritories of Rome with a maruellous rewarded, great power, spoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made o- resultion. pen proclamation by found of trumpet, that all those that were of lawfull age to cary weapon, should come and enter their names into the muster-masters book, to go to the wars; but no man obeyed their commandement. Wherupon their chiefe magistrates, and many of the Senate, beganto be of diuers opinions among the selues. For some thought it was reason, they shold somewhat yeeld to the poore peoples request, and that they should a litle qualifie the severity of the law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was Martius for one. For he alledged, that the coriolanus creditours lofting their money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was herein; but that "sim" the the lenity that was fauoured, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the communalty, wasto abolish law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he faid, if the Senate were wife, they should betimes preuent and quench this ill fauoured & worse meant beginning. The Senate mer many daies in confultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore common people feeing no redreffe, gathered themselves one day together, and one The people encouraging another, they all for fook the city, & encamped themselves you a hil, called at that leave the day the holy hill, along the river of Tyber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any shew of actuall rebellion, fauing that they cried as they went vp and down, that the rich men had driven them out of the city, and that throughout all ITALY they might find aire, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreover, they faid, to dwell at Rome was nothing els but to be flain, or hurt with continuall wars, and fighting for defence of the rich mens goods. The Senate beingafeard of their departure, did fend vnto them certaine of the pleasantest old men, and the mostacceptable to the people among them. Of those Menenius Agrippa was he, who was sent for chiefe man of the meffage from the Senate. He after many good perswasions and gentle requests made to the people, on the behalfe of the Senate, knit vp his oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of mans body did rebell against the Answelbelly, complaining of it, that it only remained in the midst of the body, without doing any thing, lent take neither did beare any labour to the maintenance of the rest: wheras all other parts and members neither did beare any labour to the maintenance of the rest: wheras all other parts and members neither did beare any labour to the maintenance of the rest: wheras all other parts and members did labour painfully, & were very carefull to fatisfie the appetites and defires of the body. And grippa to fothe belly, all this not with standing, laughed at their folly, and said: It is true, I first receive all pacific the meates that nourish mans body: but afterwards I fend it agains to the nourishment of other parts of the same. Euen so (quoth he)O you, my masters, and citizens of Rome, the reason is alike be-

Tunism Bru. who had only bene the causers and procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the city being growne 1857 equities to obey the Magistrates in that there of the work willing to obey the Magistrates in that

ibe conful MAINE'S battel before the city, and to give an onfet on them in two feueral places. The Conful Cominino.

usardims MAINES had at that time to refift those that would make any fally out of the city vpon them. So Romaine.

dier and a captaine to be, not only terrible and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemy afeard with the found of his voice, & grimnesse of his countenance. The there slocked about him immediatly, a great number of Romaines; whereat the enemies were fo afeard, that they gave back prefenly. But Martius not flaving foodid chase & follow them to their own gates, that fled for life. And there perceining that the ROMAINES retired back, for the great number of darts & arrowes which flew; bout their cares from the wals of the city, and that there was not one min among fit the that durft venter himself to follow the flying enemies into their city, for that it was fall of men of warre, very well armed and appointed he did incourage his fellowes with words & deeds crying out to the that fortune had opened the gates of the city, more for the followers then the filers. But all this not with standing, few had the hearts to follow him . How beit Martins being in the throng among ft the enemies, thrust himself into the gates of the city, & entred the fame among them that fled, without that any one of them durft at the first turne their face you him, or offer to flay him. But he looking about him, and feeing he was entred the city with very few men to helpe him, and perceiving he was enuironed by his enemies that gathered roundabout to fet upon him, did things as it is written, wonderfull and incredible, as well for the force of his hand, as also for the egility of his body, and with a wonderfull courage and valiantnesse he made a lane through the midft of them, and ouerthrew also those he layed at: that some he made runne to the furthest part of the city, and other for feare he made yeeld themselves, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes Martin, that was gotten out, had some lei-The city of fire to bring the ROMAINE'S with more fafety into the city. The city being taken in this fort, the most part of the fouldiers began incontinently to spoile, to cary away, and to looke up the bootie they had wonne. But Martins was maruellous angry with them, and cryed out on them, that it was no time now to looke after spoile, and to runne stragling here and there to enrich themselves, whilest the other Consull and their fellow citizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and how that leauing the spoile, they should sceke to winde

tweene the Senate and you. For matters being wel digested, & their counsels throughly examithemselves out of danger and perill. Howbeit, cry and say to them what he could, very few of med touching the benefite of the common-wealth, the Senatours are cause of the common com them would hearken to him. Wherfore taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow modity that cometh vnto enery one of you. These perswasions pacified the people conditional him, he went out of the city, and tooke his way toward that part, where he vnderstood the rest ly, that the Senate would grant there shold be yearely chosen fine Magistrates, which they now of the army was, exhorting and intreating them by the way that followed him, not to be faintcall Tribuni plebe, whose office should be to defend the poore people from violence & oppress. hearted; & oft holding vp his hands to heaven, he befought the gods to be gracious and fauouon. So Junius Brutus, and Sictnius Velutus, were the first tribunes of the people that were chosen rable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, & in a good houre to hazard his life in defence of his county-men. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell ray, and ready againe to good quiet and vnity, the people immediatly went to the wars, flewing that they had totake their targets on their armes, and to gird them vpon their arming coates, had a custome to make their willes at that very instant, without any maner of writing, naming him onely whom souldiers they would command, concerning the wars. Martius also though it liked him nothing to feethe they would make their heire in the presence of three or foure witnesses. Martius came iust to that sesamens, greatnesse of the people thus increased, considering it was to the prejudice and imbasing of the reckoning, whilst the fouldiers were doing after that fort, & that the enemies were approached Nobility, and also faw that other noble Patricians were troubled as well as himselfe: he did per. so neere, as one stood in view of the other. When they faw him at his first coming all bloudy, fwade the Patricians, to show themselves no lesse forward and willing to fight for their country and in a five ate, and but with a few men following him: somether eupon beganne to be a feard. then the common people were: & to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not fe But foone after, when they faw him runne with a lively cheere to the Confull, and to take him much passe the people in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true nobility and valiant. by the hand, declaring how he had taken the city of Coriols, and that they faw the Confull neffe in the country of the Volsces against whom the Romaines made warre at that time Commissional fo kiffe and imbrace him, then there was not a man but took heart again to him, and there was a principal city and of most same, that was called Corior as, before the which the beganne to be of good courage, some hearing him report from point to point, the happy suc-Conful Committee did Lay fiege. Wherfore all the other Volse Es fearing left that city should be ceffe of this exploit, and other also coniccturing it by seeing their gestures afarre off. Then they taken by effault, they came from all parts of the countrey to faucit, intending to give the Ro. all began to call vpon the Consult to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to give charge voon the enemie. Martius asked him how the order of their enemies battell was, and on Commins understanding this denided his army also into two parts, and taking the one part with which fide they had placed their best fighting men. The Consull made him answer, that he himfelf, he marched cowards them that were drawing to the city out of the country; and then thought the bands which were in the vaward of their battell, were those of the ANTIATES, ther part of his army he left in the campe with Titus Latius (one of the valiantest men the Ro. whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valiant courage would giueno place, to any of the hoast of their enemies. Then prayed Martius, to be set directly against them. By coriolathe Corior and making final account of the that lay in campe before the city, made a fally our The Confull granted him, greatly praifing his courage. Then Martius, when both armies mus meanes, VPON them, in the which at the first the Cortolans had the better, and draue the ROMAINE came almost to ioyne, aduanced himselfe a good space before his company, and went so sierce- the rolls back againe into the trenches of their campe. But Martius being there at that time, running our ly to give charge on the vaward that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in come in batof the camp with a few men with him, he flue the first enemies he met withall, and made the rest his hands: he made fuch a lane through them, and opened a passage into the battell of the eneof them stay upon the fodain, crying out to the ROMAINE s that had turned their backs, and cal mies. But the two wings of either fide turned one to the other, to compaffe him in betweene ling the again to fight with a loud voice. For he was even fuch another, as Cato would have a foul them: which the Consull Cominius perceiuing, he sent thither straight of the best souldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruellous bloudie about Martius, and in a very short space many were flaine in the place. But in the end the Romaine's were fo ftrong, that they diffresfedtheenemies, and brake their arraye: and fcattering them, made them flyc. Then they prayed Martius that he would retire to the campe, because they saw he was able to do no more, he was already so wearied with the great paine he had taken, and so faint with the great woundes he had vpon him. But Martius answered them, that it was not for conquerous to yeeld, nor tobe faint hearted: and thereupon began afresh to chase those that sledde, vntill such time as thearmie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowne, and numbers of them flaine and taken prifoners. The next morning betimes, Martius went to the Confull, and the other Romaines withhim. There the Confull Cominius going vp to his chayre of state, in the presence of the wholearmie, gaue thanks to the gods for fogreat, glorious, and prosperous a victorie: then he spake to Marius, whose valiantnesse he commended beyond the Moone, both for that he himselfe faw him do with his eyes, as also for that Martins had reported vnto him. So in the The tenth end he willed Martius, that he should choose out of all the horses they had taken of their e- part of the nemies, and of all their goods they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of enemies goods offer euery sort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this red Martigreat honourable offer he had made him, he gaue him in testimonie that he had wonne that "for reday the prife of proweffe about all other, a goodly horse with a capparison, and all furniture femice, by to him which the whole army beholding, did maruelloufly praise and commend. But Mar- cominion thus stepping forth, told the Consull, he most thankfully accepted the gift of his horse, and the consult. was a glad man befides, that his feruice had deferued his Generals commendation; and as for rewarded his other offer, which was rather a mercenarie reward, then a honourable recompence, he with home would have none of it, but was contented to have his equall part with the other fouldiers. inthe field Onely, this grace (faid he) I craue and befeech you to grant me: Among the Volces noble anthere is an old friend and hoast of mine, an honest wealthy man, and now a prisoner, who see and

Martius furnamed Coriolanu by the Con-How the Romaines same to haue three names.

Why the

Grecians

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Sedition at Rome, by realon of famine.

liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrey, liueth now a poore prisoner, in the hands of his enemies: & yet notwithstanding all this his misfery & misfortune, it would do me great pleafure if I could faue him from this one danger, to keepe him from being fold as a flaue. The foul. diers hearing Martius words, made a maruellous great shout among them, and there were more that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they faw so litle couetousnesse in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantnesse. For even they themselves that did somewhat malice and enuy his glory, to see him thus honoured and passingly praised did thinkehim so much the more worthy of an honorable recompence for his valiant service as the more carclefly he refused the great offer made vnto him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as vnto a worthy person. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to defire them then to vie them well. After this shout and noise of the assembly was somewhat appealed, the Consult Cominius began to speake in this sorr: We cannot compell Martius to take the segifts we offer him if he will not receiue them, but we will giue him fuch a reward for the noble feruice he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called Coriolanus, vnlesse his valiant acts have wonne him that name before our nomination. And so ever since, he still barethe third name of Coriolanus. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the Romaines have, as Catus, was as our Christian name now. The second as Martins, was the name of the house and family they came of. The third was some addition given, either for some act or notable service, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some special vertue they had. Euen fo did the Grecians in old time give additions to Princes, by reason of some notable act worthy memory. As when they have called some, Soter and Callinicos, as much to say as fauiour & conqueror. Or els of some notable apparant mark on ones face, or on his body, they have called him Pifcon and Grypos: as ye would fay, gorebelly, and hooke nofed, or elfe for fome vertue, as Euergetes, and Philadelphes, to wit, a benefactor, and louer of his brethren. Or otherwise for ones great felicity, as Eudemon: as much to say, as fortunate. For so was the second of *These were the * Battes surnamed. And some Kings have had surnames of iest and mockery. As one of the Antigones that was called Doson, to fay, the Giver: who was ever promising, and never giving. And one of Ptolomees was called Lamyros: to fay conceitiue. The ROMAINES vie more then any other nation, to give names of mockery in this fort. As there was one Metellus furnamed Diadematus, the banded, because he caried a band about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne family was called celer, the quicke flic, because a few dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell fight of fencers at vnrebated fwords, which they found wonderful for the shortnesse of time. Other had their surnames deriued of some accident at their birth. As to this day they call him Proculetus, that is born, his father being in some farre voyage: and him Posthumius, that is borne after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other furuineth they call the furuiner, Vi pifeus. Sometime also they give surnames derived of some marke or missortune of the body: 25 Sylla, to fay crooke noted: Niger, blacke: Rufus, red: Cacus blind: Claudus, lame. They did wifely in this thing to accustome men to thinke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor other such mil fortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to an fwer boldly to fuch names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters wold be better amplified in other frories then this. Now when this war was ended the flatterers of the people began tostirre vp sedition again, without any new occasion, or inst matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this fecond infurrection against the Nobility and Patricians, vpon the peoples milery & misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former dif cord & feditio between the & the nobility. Because the most part of the arable land within the territory of Rome, was become heathy & barre for lack of plowing, for that they had notime nor mean to cause corne to be brought the out of other countries to sow, by reaso of their wars which made the extreme dearth they had among the. Now those busic pratiers that sought the peoples good wil by fuch flattering words, perceiuing great scarsity of corne to be within the ci ty, & though there had bin plenty enough, yet the common people had no mony to buy it: they fpread abroadfalse tales & rumors against the Nobility, that they in reuenge of the people, had practised & procured the extreme dearth among the Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there

came Ambassadours to Rome from the city of Velitres, that offered up their city to the Ro-MAINES, and prayed them they would fend new inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had bene so extreme among them, and had killed such a number of them, as there was not lest aliue the tenth person of the people that had bin there before. So the wise men of Rome began to thinke, that the necessity of the Velitrians fell out in a most happy houre, and how by this occasion it was very meet in so great a scarsity of victuals, to disburden Rome of a great number of citizens: and by this means as well to take away this new sedition, & vtterly to ridit out of the city, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous & seditious persons, being the super-Auous ill humours that grieuoufly fed this discase. Hereupon the Consuls prickt out all those by Pelitres a bill, whom they intended to send to VELITRES, to go dwell there as in forme of a colonie: made aco and they leavied out all the rest that remained in the city of Rome sagreat number to go against Rome. the Volsces, hoping by the mean of forraine warre, to pacific their sedition at home. Moreo-Two practiuer they imagined, when the poore with the rich, and the meane fort with the Nobility, should must be by this deuice be abroad in the warres, and in one campe, and in one service, and in one like dangerthat then they would be more quiet and louing together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these deuices, and cried out vpon the noble mea, that vnder Britis Trithe gentle name of a Colonie, they would cloake and colour the most cruell and vnnaturall fact bunes of as might besbecause they sent their poore citizens into a sore infected city & pestilent ayre, soll the propie, again their poore citizens into a sore infected city & pestilent ayre, soll again their of dead bodies vnburied, and there also to dwell vnder the tuition of a strange god, that had so those denicruelly perfecuted his people. This were (faid they) euen as much, as if the Senate should headlong cast downe the people into a most bottomlesse pit. And are not yet contented to have samilhed some of the poore citizens heretofore to Jeath, & to put other of them even to the mercie of the plague: but afresh they have procured a voluntary warre, to the end they would leave behind no kind of misery and ill, wherewith the poore filly people should not be plagued, and onely because they are weary to serue the rich. The common people being set on a broile and brauery with these words, would not appeare when the Consuls called their names by a bill, to pressethem for the warres, neither would they be sent out to this new colonie: in somuch as the Senateknew not well what to fay or to do in the matter. Martins then, who was now growne to great credit, and a stout man besides, & of great reputation with the noblest men of Rome, sose vp, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the citie of Corisland VELITRES, he did compell those that were chosen to go thither, and to depart the city, vpon offenderb great penalties to him that should disobey but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or constrained. So Martius taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he coriolanus could by faire words increat to go with him, did run certain for reyes into the dominion of the imadeth ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruellous great spoile, aswel ses & brinof cattell as of men he had taken prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and reserved no- get with thing for himselfe. Afterwards having brought back againe all his men that went out with him, fafe and found to Rome, and enery man rich and loaden with spoile: then the home-tariers and house-doues that kept Rome stil, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and so enuied both rhem that had sped so well in this journey, and also of malice to Martius, they spited to see his credit and estimation encrease still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, Martins stood for the Consulship and the common people fauoured his fuit, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and refuse the chiefest noble man of bloud, and most worthy person of Rome, & specially him that had done fo great feruice and good to the common-wealth. For the custome of Rome was at that time, The marter that such as did sue for any office, should for certaine dayes before be in the market place, onely with a poore gowne on their backs, and without any coate vnderneathe, to pray the citizens Rome. to remember them at the day of election: which was thus denifed, either to moue the people whereupon themore, by requesting them in such meane apparell, or else because they might shew them this means their wounds they had gotten in the warres in the feruice of the common-wealth, as manifest offung markes and testimonies of their valiantnesse. Now it is not to be thought that the surer was so de thus loofe in a simple governe in the market place without part of the surer server that the surer server with the surer server server the surer server ser thus loofe in a simple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder it, for feare, and suf. Officer gipition of the common people: for offices of dignity in the city were not then given by favour wentless by or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out within famelection of officers, and that the voyces of the electours were bought for money. But after Hor or cor-

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Coriolanus

corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath runne from man to man euen to the very sentence of judges, and also among captaines in the warres: so as in the end, that onely turned common wealths into Kingdomes, by making armes subject to mony. Therefore me thinkes he had reason that said:he that first made banquets, and gaue money to the common people, was the first that tooke away authority, and destroyed common wealth, But this pessilence crept in by litle and litle, & did secretly win ground still, continuing a long time in Roun. before it was openly knowne and discouered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the peoples voices for mony nor that corrupted the fentence of the Iudges. Howbeitz ATHENS some hold opinion, that Anytus, the sonne of Anthemion, was the first that fed the Iudgeswith mony, about the end of the warres of PELOFONNESVS, being accused of treason for yeelding up the fort of Pyle at that time, when the golden and unfoiled age remained ver whole in indigment at Rome. Now Martins following this custome, shewed many wounds and cuts vpon his body, which he had received in seventeene yeares service at the wars, and in many sundrie battels, being euer the foremost man that did set out feete to fight, So that there was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of himselfe, to refuse so valiant a man and one of them faid to another, we must needs chuse him Consul, there is no remedy. But when the day of electio was come, & that Martius came to the market place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate and the whole Nobility of the city about him, who fought to make him Confull, with the greatest instance & intreaty they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter:then the love and goodwill of the common people turned straight to an hate and envy toward him fearing to put this office of foueraigne authoritie into his hands, being a man somewhat partial towards the Nobility, and of great credit and authoritie among ft the Patricians, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty frothe people. Whereupon for these confiderations, they refused Martius in the end, and made two other that were suters, Consuls. The Senate being maruelloufly offended with the people, did account the shame of this refusall, mther to redound to themselves then to Martius: but Martius tooke it in farre worse part then the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too ful of paffion and choler, & too much giuen ouer to selfe-wil, & opinion, as one of a high mind & great courage, that lacked the granitie and affability that is gotten with judgement of learning & reason, which only is to be looked for in a governour of State: and that remembred not how wilfullnes is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a common-wealth for pleafing should shun, being that which Plato called The froites folitarineise. As in the end, all menthat are wilfully given to a selfe opinion and obstinate mind, offelewill and who will never yeeld to others reason, but to their owne, remaine without company, and forfaken of all men. For a manthat will liue in the world, must needs have patience, which lustie blouds make but a mocke at. So Martius being a front man of nature, that never yeelded in any respect, as one thinking that to ouercome alwaies, and to have the vpper hand in all matters, wis a token of magnanimity, and of no base & faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and paissoned part of the heart, much like the matter of an impostume: went hometohis house, full traighted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with al thelufliest yong gentlemen, whose minds were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, & commonly viced for to follow and honor him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kepthim company to his much harme, for they did but kindle and inflame his choler more and more, be ing fory with him for the iniury the people offered him, because he was their captain and leader to the wars, that taught them all martiall discipline, and stirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantnesse, and yet without enuy, praising them that deserved best. In the means feason there came great plenty of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, part in ITALY, and part was fent out of Sicile, as given by Gelon the tyrant of Syracvs a: To that many stood ingreat hope, that the dearth of victuals being holpen, the ciuill diffention would also ceasse. The Senate fate in councell vpon it immediatly, the common people stood also about the palace wherethe counsell was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out:perswading themselves that the come they had bought should be fold good cheape, and that which was given should be deuided by the polic, without paying any pennic, and the rather, because certaine of the Senatours amongst thein did io wishand perswade the same. But Martins standing vpon his feet, did somewhat sharpely take vp those who went about to gratifie the people therein; and called them people pleafers, and traitours to the Nobility. Moreouer he said, they nourished against themselves, the naughtie

naughtic feede and cockle of infolencic and fedition, which had bene fowed and feattered a- co broade amongst the people, which they should have cut off, if they had bene wife, in their growth: and not (to their owne destruction) have suffered the people, to establisha magistrate for themselues, of so great power and authority, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what helisted, neither passed for any obedience to the Confuls, but lived in all liberty, acknowledging no superiour to command him, fauing the onely heads and authours of their faction, whom he called his magistrats. Therefore faid he, they that gaue counsell, and perswaded that the corne should be given out to the common people gratis, as they yied to do in the cities of co GRECE, where the people had more absolute power, did but onely nourish their disobedience, which would breake out in the end, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of the whole state. For they will not thinke it is done in recompence of their feruice past, sithence they know well enough they have so oftrefused to go to the warres, when they were commanded neither for their mutinies when they went with vs, whereby they have rebelled and for faken their councey: neither co fortheir accusations which their flatterers have preferred vncothem, and they have received,& " made good against the Senate: but they will rather judge, we give and grant them this, as abafing our selves, and standing in seare of them, and glad to statter them every way. By this means their disobedience will still grow worse and worse; and they will neuer leaue to practice new sedition and vprores. Therfore it were a great folly for vs, me thinks to do it: yea, shall I say more? ... we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the division of their city. The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh difmembred in two factions, which maintaines alwaies ciuill diffention and difcord between vs, and will neuer suffer vs againe to be vnitedinto one body. Martius dilating the matter with many fuch like reasons, wonneall the yong men, & almost all the rich men to his opinion: infomuch as they rang it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who flood our against the people, and neuer flattered them. There were only a few old men that spake against him, fearing lest some mischiefe might fall out vpon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being prefent atthis consultation of the Senate, when they saw that the opinio of Martius was confirmed with the more voices, they left the Senate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would affemble to faue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ranne on head in tumulttogether, before whom the words that Martius spake in the Senate were openly reported: Rome for which the people fo stomacked, that euen in that furie they were ready to fly vpon the whole Coriolanus Senate. But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly vpon Martius, and fent their forgeants foorthwith to arrest him, presently to appeare in person before the people, to answer the words he had spoken in the Senate. Martins stoutly withstood these officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their owne persons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to setch him by force, and fo laid violent hands upon him. How beit the noble Patricians gathering together about him, made the Tribunes give backe, and laid fore vpon the Addiles: fo for that time, thenight parted them, and the tumult appealed. The next morning betimes, the Confuls feeing the people in an vprore, running to the market place out of all parts of the city, they were afraid lestall the city would together by the cares: wherfore assembling the Senate in all hast, they declared how it flood them vpon, to appeale the fury of the people, with some gentle words, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreouer, like wife men they should consider, it was now no time to standat defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the communalty, they being fallen to fo great an extremity, and offering such imminent danger. Whereforethey were to confider temperately of things, and to deliner fome prefent and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senatours that were present at this councell, thought this opinion best, & gaue their consents vnto it. Wherupon the Consuls rising out of councel, went to speak vnto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacific their furie and anger, purging the Senate of all the vniust accusations laid vpon them, and vsed great modesty in perswading them, and also in reprouing the faults they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of corne, they promised there should be no disliking offered them in the price. So the most part of the people being pacified, and appearing fo plainely by the great filence that was among them, as yeelding to the Consuls, and liking wel of their words: the Tribunes then of the people

in defence of himfelfe.

Sicinius the Tribune. pronounceib death room

> hath day gauen him to answer

rose out of their seates, and said: Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded vnto reason, the people also for their part, as became them, did likewise giue place vnto them: but notwithstanding, they would that Marsius should come in person to answer to the articles they had deuised. First, who ther he had not follicited and procured the Senate to change the present state of the commonweale, and totake the soueraigne authoritie out of the peoples hands. Next, when he was sent for by authoritie of their officers, why he did contemptuously refist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driven and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the world: if in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay to raise civill wars, and to set one citizen against another. All this was spoken to one of the setwo ends, either that Marsius against his nature should be costrained to humble himselfe, and to abase his haughtic and fierce mind: or els if he continued sill in his stoutnesse, he should incurre the peoples displeasure and ill will so far, that he should neuer possibly winthem againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then otherwise: as indeed they gessed vnhappily, considering Martins nature & disposition. So Martins came and presented himselse to answer their accusations against him, & the people held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would fay. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not only to vie his wonted boldnesse of speaking (which ofit selfe was very rough and vnpleasant, and did more aggrauate his accusation, then purgehis innocencie) but also gaue himselse in his words to thunder, and looke therewithall sogrimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This stirred coales among the people, who werein wonderfull furie at it, & their hate and malice grew fo toward him, that they could hold no lon. ger, beare, nor indure his brauery and carcleffe boldneffe. Whereupon Sicinius, the cruelleft and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the people, Martius as codemned by the Tribunes to die. Then prefent ly he commanded the Adiles to apprehend him, and cary him straight to the rocke Tarpeian. and to cast him headlong down the same. When the Ædiles came to lay hands vpon Martius to do that they were commanded, divers of the people themselves thought it too cruell and violenta deed. The noble menbeing much troubled to see so much force and rigour vsed, began to crie aloud; helpe Martius: so those that laid hands on him being repulsed, they compassed him in round among themselues, and some of them holding vp their hands to the people, befought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words not crying out could ought preuaile, the tumult and hurly burly was fo great, vntill fuch time as the Tribunes own friends and kinsemen weying with themselves the impossiblenesse to conucy Martius to execution, without great flaughter and murder of the nobilitie: did perswade and aduise not to proceed in so violent and extraordinary a fort, as to put such a man to death, without lawfull processe in law, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free voice of the people. Then Sicinius bethinking himselfe a litle, did aske the Patricians, for what cause they tooke Martin out of the officers hands that went to do execution? The Patricians asked him againe, why they would of themselues so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiant a ROMAINE as Martius was, and that without law and iustice? Wellthen, said Sicinius, if that be the matter, let there be no quarrell or diffention against the people: for they do grant your demand, that his cause shall be heard according to the law. Therefore, said he to Martius, we do will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third day of our next fitting & affembly here, to make your purgation for fuch articles as shall be objected against you, that by free voice the people may give sentence vpon you as shall please them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were much pleased they had gotten Martius out of this danger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next fession came about, the same being kept enery ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latine, Nundina: there fell out war against the Antia-TES, which gaue some hope to the nobility, that this adiornment wold come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them fo long, as that the furie of the people against him would be well swaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the wars. But contrary to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the ANTIATES, and the people returneds gaine to Rome. Then the Pairicians affembled often times together, to confult how they might stand to Martius, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutine againe, and rise against the Nobility. And there Appins Claudius (one that was taken euer as an heavie enemy to the people) did auow and protest, that they would vtterly abase the authoritie of the Senate

Senate, and destroy the common-weale, if they would suffer the common people to have authoritie by voyces to give judgement against the Nobilitie. On the other side againe, the most ancient Senatours, and fuch as were given to favour the common people, faid: that when the people should see they had authoritie of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruell and fierce, but gende & civill. Morealfo, that it was not for contempt of Nobilitie or the Senate, that they fought to have the authoritic of inflice in their hands, as a preheminence and prerogative of honour: but because they seared, that themselves should be contemned and hated of the Nobilitie. So as they were perfivaded, that fo foone as they gave them authoritieto indge by voyces, they would leave all envie and malice to condemne any. Martius feeing the Senate in great doubt how to refolue, partly for the love and good will the Nobilitie did beare him, and partly for the feare they stood in of the people asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden them with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would shew corislanue how he did afpire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to viurpe tyrannicall his fought power ouer Rome. Martius with that, rifing vpon his feete, faid: that thereupon he did wil- sobe King. lingly offer himfelfe to the people, to be tryed vpon that accufation ; and that if it were proued by him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then result no kind of punishment they would offer him : conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing elfebefide, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Vuder these conditions the judgement was agreed upon, and the people assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoeuer became of it) that the people should proceed to give their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needie people (and all such rabble as had nothing to lose, and had lesse regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voyces were numbred by the polle) then the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serue the common-wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes saw they could not proue he went about to make himselse King, they beganne to broach afresh the former words that Martius had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, and perswading also to take the office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him anew, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoile he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had of his owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iourney. But this matter was most strange of all to Martius, looking least to have bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the fodaine, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant : he began to fall a praifing of the fouldiers that had ferued with him in that iourney. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cryed out so loude, and made such a noise that he banished could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were for ever. threevoyces odde, which condemned him to be banished for ener. After declaration of the fentence, the people made fuch ioy, as they never reioy ced more for any battell they had wonne vpontheir enemies, they were so braue and liuely, and went home so iocondly from the assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate againe in contrarie manner were as sadde and heanie, repenting themselues beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to have done and fuffered any thing what locuer, before the common people should so arrogantly and outragiously have abused their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward shewes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician* for they were easily discerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples fide, looked chearefully on the matter: but he that was fad, and hung downe his head, he was fure of the Noble mens fide. Sauing Martius alone, Coriolanus who neither in his countenance nor in his gate, did ever shew himselfe abashed, or once let fall confant his great courage: but he onely of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himselfe. Not that he did patiently beare and temper his cuill hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was fo caried away with the vehemencie of anger, and defire of reuenge, that he had no sence nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people indge nor to be forrow, although indeed it be the very fame. For when forow (as you wold fay) is let on fire, then it is conuerted into spite and malice, and driueth away for that time all faintesse of heart and naturall feare. And this is the cause why the cholericke man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man

for on fire with a burning ague: for when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulse will beate maruellous strongly. Now that Martius was euen in that taking, it appeared true soone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, & had taken his leave of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shriking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and perfwaded them to be content with his chance: he went immediatly to the gate of the citie accompanied with a great number of Patricians, that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or foure of his friends onely, taking nothing with him, nor requesting any thing of any man. So he remained a few dayes in the country at his houses, turmoyled with fundry forts & kinds of thoughts, fuch as the fire of his choler did stirre vp. In the end seeinghe could resolue no way to take a profitable or honourable course, but onely was pricked forward ftill to be reuenged of the ROMAINES: he thought to raise vp some great warres against them. by their neerest neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way, first to stirre vp the Volses against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had received not long before, and that their power was not fo much impaired, as their malice and defire was increased to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the city of ANTIVM, there was one called Tullus Aufidins, who for his riches, as also for his nobilitie and valiantnesse was honoured among the Volsces as a King. Martius knew very well that Tullus did more malice and enny him then he did all the Romains besides: because that many times in battels where they met, they were ener at the encoun. ter one against another, like lusty couragious youths, striuing in all emulation of honor and had encountered many times together. Infomuch as befides the common quarrell betwene them. there was bred a maruellous private hate one against another. Yet not with standing, considering that Tullus Ausidius was a man of a great mind, and that he about all other of the Volsces most desired reuenge of the Romaines, for the injuries they had done unto them; he did anast that confirmed the words of an ancient Poet to be true, who faid:

It is a thing full hard, mans anger to with (land, If it be stiffely bent to take an enterprise in hand. For then most men will have the thing that they desire, Although it cost their lines therefore, such force hath wicked ire.

And so did he. For he disguised himselse in such array and attire, as he thought no man couldeuer haue knowne him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as Hemer faid of Vliffes:

So didhe enter into the enemies towne.

Ceriolanus difguifed, Volfces.

€oriolanus

Tullus Au-

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It was even twi-light when he entred the city of Antiva, and many people met him in the streets, but no manknew him. So he went directly to Tulius Infidius house, and when he came thither, he got him vp straight to the chimney harth, and sate him downe, and spake nota word to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the house spying him, wondred whathe should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For il fauouredly mussled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maiestic in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to Tullus who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. Tullus role presently from the board, and coming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherfore he came. Then Martius vnmuffled himselfe, and after he had pawsed awhile, making no answer, he faid vnto him: If thou knowest me not yet, Tullus and seeing me, doest not perhappes beleeue me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessitie bewray my selfe to be that I am. I am Caims Martius, who hath done to thy felfe particularly, and to all the Volses generally, great hurt and mischiese, which I cannot denie for my surname of Coriolanus that I beare. For I neuer had other benefite nor recompence of the true and painfull service I have done, and the extreme dangers I haue bene in, but this onely furname: a good memorie and witnesse of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest beare me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me: for the rest, the enuie & crueltie of the people of Rome haue taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobilitie and magistrates, who have for faken me, and let me be banished by the people. This » extremitie hath now driven me to come as a poore futer, to take thy chimney harth, not of any hope I have to faue my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not have come hither to haue put my selse in hazard: but prickt forward with desire to be reuenged of them that thus haue banished me, which now I do beginne, in putting my person into the hands of their

enemies. Wherfore, if thou hast any heart to be wrecked of the iniuries thy enemies haue done thce, speed thee now, & let my misery serue thy turne, & so vse it, as my seruice may be a benefit ,, to the Volsces:promifing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then I did , whe I was against you, knowing that they fight more valiatly, who know the force of the enemy then fuch as have neuer proued it. And if it be so that thou dare not, and that thou art wearie to >> proue fortune any more, then am I also wearie to line any longer. And it were no wisedome in thee, to saue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemy, and whose service » now cannothing help nor pleasure thee. Tullus hearing what he said, was a marueslous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he faid vnto him: Stand vp, ô Martius, and be of good cheare, for in proferring thy selfe vnto vs, thou doest vs great honour and by this means thou maist hope also of greater things at all the Volsces hands. So he feasted him for that time, & entertained him in the honourablest manner he could, talking with him of no other matter at that present: but within few dayes after, they fell to confultation together in what fort they should beginne their wars. Now on the other fide, the city of Rome was in maruellous vproare & discord, the nobilitie against the communaltie, and chiefly for Martius condemnation and banishment. Moreouer the Priests, the Soothsayers, and private men also, came and declared to the Senate certaine Rome and declared to t fights and wonders in the aire, which they had feene, and were to be confidered of: amongst bankment. the which such a vision happened: There was a citizen of Rom E called Ticus Latinus, a man of meane quality and condition, but otherwise an honest sober man, given to a quiet life, without superstition, and much lesse to vanity or lying. This man had a vision in his dreame, in the which hethought that Iupiter appeared vnto him, and commanded him to fignifie to the Senate, that they had caused a very vilelewed dauncer to go before the procession: and said, the first time this vision had appeared vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time in his mind, he made not much more account of the matter then before. In the end, he faw one of his fons die, who had the best nature and condition of all his brethren: and suddenly he himselfe was so taken in all his lims, that he became lame and impotent. Herupon he told the whole circumstance of this vision before the Senate, fitting vpon his litle couch or bed, whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no fooner reported this vision to the Senate, burne presently felt his body and lims restored agains to their former strength and vie. So raifing vphimself vpon his couch, he got vp on his feet at that instant, & walked home to his house, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquirie to vnderstand the truth: and in the end they found there was such a thing: There was one that had deliuered a bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other flaues and bondmen, andhad commanded them to whip him vp and downethemarket place, and afterwards to kill him: and as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did fo martyr the poore wretch, that for the cruell smart and paine he felt, he turned and writhed his body in strange and pitifull fort. The procession by chance came by euen at the same time, and many that followed it, were heartily moued & offended with the fight, saying: that this was no good fight to behold, nor meet to be met in procession time. But for all this, there was nothing done: saving they blamedand rebuked him that punished his slaue so cruelly. For the Romains at that time, did vse their bondmen very gently, because they themselves did labor with their owne hands, and lived with them and among them; and therfore they did vie them the more gently and familiarly. For the greatest punishment they gaue a slaue that had offended, was this. They made him carrie a The Relimmer on his shoulders that is fastened to the axeltree of a coach, and compelled him to govp mains mans and downe in that fort amongst all their neighbours. He that had once abidden this punishment, nerof punishment, nishing and was seene in that maner, was proclaimed and cried in enery market towne: so that no man their slaves. would euer trust him after, and they called him Furcifer, because the LATINES call the wood that runneth into the axeltree of the coach, Furca, as much to fay, as a forke. Now when Latinus Farifir Farifir had made report to the Senate of the vision that had happened to him, they were deuising who this unpleasant dauncer should be, that went before the procession. The rupon certaine that stood by, remembred the poore flaue that was fo cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwards put to death: and the thing that made him remember it, was the strange and rare manner of his punishment. The Priests hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the flaue. So they caufed the flaues mafter to be punished, and began againe a new procession, and all others shows and sights in honour of

A ceramony snftstuted by king No.

fition of the Ro-

> The Romaines Son of wars. Martius Coriolanus

Coriolanus inuadeth the territo. ries of the Bomaines.

A fine de-

Tupier. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king Numa did wifely ordaineall other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the gods, and specially this custome which heestablished, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrats, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers goa. bout any diuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out a loud, Hoc age: as to fay, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially commaunded, wholly to ing religio. dispose themselves to serve God, leaving all other businesse and matters aside: knowing wellenough, that what socuer most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the Ro-MAINES did euer vse to begin againe their facrifices, processions, playes, and such like shewes, done in honour of the gods, not onely vpon such an occasion, but vpon lighter causes then that, As when they went on precession through the citie; and did carrie the images of their gods, and fuch other like holy reliques vpon open hallowed coaches or chariots, called in Latine Thenla; one of the coach horses that drew them stood still, and would draw no more: and because also the coach-man tooke the raines of his bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begunne againe anew. Of latetime also, they did renew and beginne a facrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the fame: fo holy and deuout were they to the gods. Now Tullus and Martins had fecret conference with the greatest personages of the citie of Antivm, declaring vnto them that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the ROMAINES, while they were in diffention one with another. They answered them, the were assamed to breake the league, considering that they were fworneto keep peace for two yeares. Howbeit, shortly after, the Romains gaile them great occasion to make warre with them. For on a holy day common playes being keptin Following Rome, vpon fome suspition or falle report, they made proclamation by sound of trumper, that all the Volsces should avoid out of Rome before Sunne set. Some thinke this was a crast and deceit of Martius, who fent one to Rome to the Confuls, to accuse the Volsces fallely, aduertifing them how they had made a confpiracie to fet vpon them while they were bufie in feeing these games, and also to set their city on fire. This open proclamation made all the Voi-SCES more offended with the ROMAINES, then ever they were before : and Tullus aggravating the matter, did so inflame the Volsces against them, that in the end they sent their ambasfadours to Rome, to fummon them to deliuer their lands and townes againe, which they hadtaken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The Romain shearing this, were maruelloufly netled; and made no other answer but thus: If the Volsces be the first that begin warre, the Romaines will be the last that will end it. Incontinently upon returne of the VOLSCES ambaffadors, and deliuery of the ROMAINES answer, Tullus caused an assembly generall to be made of the Volsces, and concluded to make warre vpon the Romaines. This done, Tullus did counsell them to take Martius into their service, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of any thing past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come for he would do them more service in fighting for them, then ever he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So Martius was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lefte eloquent in tongue, then warlike in shew; and declared himself both expert with Tullus in wars, and wife with valiantneffe. Thus he was joyned in commission with Tullus as general of the Volsces, having absolute authoritic betweene them to follow and pursue the wars, But Martius fearing lest tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the Volsces, would robhim of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent, left order with the rulers and chiefe of the citie, to affemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary prouision for the campe. Then he with the lightest fouldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stole away vpon the sodaine, and marched with all speed, and entred the teritories of Rome, before the Romaines heard any newes of his coming. Infomuch as the Volsces found fuch spoile in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, and were wearie to drive and carrie away that they had. Howbeit the gaine of the spoile and the hurtthey did to the ROMAINE's in this invalion, was the lest part of his intent: for his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissention betweene the Nobilitie and the communaltie: and to draw that on, he was very carefull to keepe the Noble mens lands and goods fafe from harme and burning, but spoiled all the whole country besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurtany thing of the noble mens. This made greater stir & broile between the nobility & the people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, because

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they had fo vniuftly banished a man of so great valour and power. The people on the other fide, accused the Nobility, how they had procured Martius to make these wars to be reueged of the: hearthurn because it pleased them to see their goods burnt & spoyled before their eies, whilst themselves the Nobiliwere well at case, and did behold the peoples losses and misfortunes, knowing their own goods tie and the fafe and out of danger: & how the war was not made against the noble men, that had the enemy people. abroad, to keep that they had in fafety. Now Martin having done his first exploit (which made the Volsces bolder, and leffe fearefull of the Romaines) brought home all the army again, without losse of any man. After their whole army (which was maruellous great, & very forward to seruice) was affembled in one campe, they agreed to leave part of it for garifo in the country about, & the other part should go on, and make the war vpon the Romaines. So Martius bad Tullus choose, and take which of the two charges he liked best. Tullus made him answer, he knew by experience that Martius was no leffe valiant then himfelfe, and how he cuer had better fortune and good hap in all battels, then himselfe had. Therfore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that would make the wars abroad, and himselfe would keep home, to prouide for the fafety of the cities of his countrey, and to furnish the campe also of all necessary promition abroad. So Martius being ftronger then before, went first of all vnto the city of CER-CEES, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yeelded themselves, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the countrey of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there to defend the Latines, who were their confederates, and had many times fent vnto the Romaines for their aide. But on the one fide, the people of Rome were very ill willing to go: and on the other fide, the Confuls being vpon going out of their office, would not hazard themselves for so small a time; so that the ambassadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and did no good. Then Martins did befrege their cities, and having taken by force the towne of the Tolerinians, Vicanians, Pedanians, and the Bolanians, who made refistance, he facked all their goods, and took the prisoners. Such as did yeeld themselues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurt: and because they should receive no damage by his will, he removed his campe as farre from their confinesas he could. Afterwards, he took the city of Bol Es by affault, being about an hundred furlong from Rome, where he had a maruellous great spoile, and put every man to the sword that was able to carry weapon. The other Volses sthat were appointed to remaine in garison for defence of their countrey, hearing this good newes, would tarry no longer at home, but armed themselues, and ranne to Martius campe, saying they did acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all Iral r, and enery one praised him for a valiant captaine, for that by change of one man for another, such and so strange euents fell out in the state. In this while, all went still to wracke at Rome. For to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to heare of it, they were one so much against another, and full of seditious words, the Nobilitie against the people, and the people against the Nobility. Vntil they had Laninium intelligence at the length, that the enemies had laid frege to the city of Lavisiv M, in the which built by were all the temples & images of their gods their protectours, and from whence came first their ancient originall, for that AEnews at his first arrivall into ITALY did build that city. Then fell there out a maruellous fodaine change of mind among the people, and farre more strange and contrary in the Nobility. For the people thought it good to repeale the condemnation & exile of Martius. The Senate affembled upon it, would in no case yeeld to that: who either did it of a felfe will to be contrary to the peoples defire; or because Martius should not returne thorough the grace and fauour of the people. Or els, because they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would fet vpon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would flew himfelfe an open enemy befides vnto his country: notwithftanding the most part of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruellous ill part, and as if the iniury had bene done unto themselues. Report being made of the Senates resolution, the people found theselues in a straight: for they could authorise and confirme nothing by their voices, vnlesse it had bene first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But Martins hearing this stirre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before infomuch as he raifed his fiege incontinently before the city of LAVINIVM, and going towards ROME, lodged his campe within forty furlong of the city, at the ditches called Cluilia. His incamping so neere Rome, did put all the whole citie in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the present time it appealed the sedition and dissention

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betwixt the Nobility and the people, For there was no Confull, Senatour, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of Martins. When they saw the women in a maruellous feare, running vp and downe the city: the temples of the gods full of old people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the gods: & finally, not a man either wife or hardy to prouide for their fafety: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reafon to call home Martins againe, to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in maruellous great fault to be angry and in choler with him, when it flood them vpon rather to haue gone out & intreated him. So they all agreed together to fend ambaffadors vnto him, to let him vnderstand how his countreymen did call him home againe, and restored him to all his goods, and befought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambatiadours that were sent, were Martius familiar friends & acquaintance, who looked at the least for a curtous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend & kinliman. Howbeit they found nothing lefferforat their coming they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was fet in his chaire of state, with a maruellous and an vnspeakable maiesty, having the chiefest men of the Vorses about him: so he commanded them to declare openly the cause of their coming. Which they delinered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could deuise, and with all modest countenance and behauiour agreable to the same. When they had done their message: for the iniury they had done him, he answered them very hotly, and in great choler: but as Generall of the Volsces, he willed them to restore vnto the Volsces, all their lands and cities they had taken from them in former warres; and moreouer, that they should give them the like honour and freedome of Rome, as they had before given to the Latines. For otherwise they had no other meane to end this warre, if they did not grant these honest and iust conditions of peace, Thereupon he gaue them thirtie dayes respite to make him answer. So the ambassadours returned straight to Kome, and Martius forthwith departed with his armie out of the teritories of The fire or. the Romaines. This was the fire matter wherewith the Voisces (that most enuied Martius glorie and authoritie) did charge Martius with. Among those, Tullus was chiefe; who though he had received no private iniury or displeasure of Martius, yet the common fault and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieued him to fee his owne reputation blemished through Martin great fame and honour, and so himselfe to be lesse esteemed of the Volsces then he was before. This fell out the more, because every man honoured Martins, and thought he onely could do all, and that all other gouernours and captaines must be content with fuch credite and authoritie as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they derined all their first accusations and secret murmurings against Martins. For private captaines conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifest treason, not of the townes, nor forts, nor of armes, but of time and occasion, which was a loffe of great importance, because it was that which in reason might both look and bind all; and prescrue the whole. Now Marrius having given the Romaines thirty dayes respite for their answer, and specially because the wars have not accustomed to make any great changes in lesse space of time then that, he thought it good yet, not to lie asseepe and idle all the while, but went & destroyed the Linds of the enemies allies, & tooke seuen great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the KOMAINES durst not once put themselves into the field, to come to their aide and helpe, they were fo faint-hearted, fo mistrustfull, and loth besides to make warrs. Infomuch as they properly resembled the bodies paralyticke and loosed of their limmes and members, as those which through the palsey have lost all their sence and feeling. Wherfore, the time of peace expired, Martius being returned into the dominions of the Romaines againe with all his armie, they fent another ambaffade vnto him, to pray peace, and the remoue of the Volsces out of their countrey: that afterwards they might with better leifure fall to such agreements together, as should be thought most meete and necessary. For the ROMAINES were no menthat would ever yeeld for feare. But if he thought the Volses had any ground to demand reasonable articles and conditions, all that they woulde reasonably aske should be granted vnto by the ROMAINES, who of themselves would willingly yeeld to reason, conditionally, that they did lay downe armes. Martius to that answered: that as Generall of the Volsces he would reply nothing vnto it: but yet as a Romaine citizen, he would counfell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they should return againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had first deliucred them. Otherwise, that he would no more give them assurance or safe conduct to returne againe into his camp, with fuch vaine and friuolous messages. When the ambasfadors were returned to Rome, and had reported Martius answer to the Senate: their city being in extreme danger, and as it were in a terrible storme or tempest, they threw out (as the common prouerb faith) their holy anker. For then they appointed all the Bishops, Priests, Ministers The Priests of the gods, and keepers of holy things, & all the augures or foothfayers, which for effect things faver for the flying of hirds (which is an old arrival in 1.5). to come by observation of the flying of birds (which is an old ancient kind of prophecying so Coriolaand divination amongst the Romains) to goto Martin apparelled, as when they do their sacrifices: and first to intreate him to leave off warre, and then that he would speake to his country men, and conclude peace with the Volses. Martins suffered them to come into his camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertaine them or speake more curteoully to them, then he did the first time that they came vnto him, sauing only that he willed the totake the one of the two:either to accept peace under the first conditions offered, or else to receine warre. When all this goodly rabble of superstitious priests were returned, it was determined in counsell that none should go out of the gates of the city, and that they should watch and ward vpon the walles to repulse their enemies if they came to affault them:referring themfelues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the danger. Now all the city was full of tumult, feare, and maruellous doubt what would happen, vntill at the length there fell out fuch a like matter, as Homer oft times faid they would least hauethought of. For in great matters, that happen seldome, Homer saith, and crieth out in this fort:

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The goddesse Pallas she, with her faire glistering eyes, Didput into his mind fuch thoughts, and made him fo denife.

And in another place.

But fire some god bath tane out of the peoples mind, Both wit and understanding cke, and have therewith assignd. Some other simple spirit, in stead thereof to bide, That so they might their doings all, for lacke of wit misguide.

And in another place:

The people of themselves did either it consider, or elfe some god instructed them, and so they loyn'd together.

Many reckon not of Homer, as referring matters vnpossible, and fables of no likelihood or troth, vnto mans reason, freewill, or judgement, which indeed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free will and reason. For he oft speaketh these words: I have thought it in my noble heart.

And in another place:

Achilles angry was, and fory for to heare Him so to say, his heavy breast was fraught with pensive feare.

Andin another place:

Bellerophon (she) could not move with her faire tongue, So honest and so vertuous, he was the rest among.

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by fecret inspirations & motions, he doth not say that God taketh away from man his choice and freedome of will, but that he doth moue it:neither that he doth work defire in vs, but obiecteth to our minds certain imaginations whereby we are led to defire and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of successe. For either we must say, that the gods medle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions; or else what other meanes hauethey to helpe & further men? It is apparent that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our fecte and hands, when there is occasion to vie them: but that part of our mind from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or caried away by such objects and reasons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the ROMAINE Ladies & gentlewomen did visite althetemples and gods of the same, to make their prayers vnto them: but the greatest Ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the altar of Iupiter Capitolin, among which troupe by name, was Valeria, Publicolaes own fifter. The selfe same Publicola, who did such notable service to the Romains, both in peace and wars, and was dead also certaine yeares before, as we haue declared in his life.

after.

Volumnia, Martina mother. The words Virgilia.

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Publiculars destly and wifely behaue her selfe, that she did not shame nor dishonour the house she came off. So she sodainely fell into such a fancy, as we have rehearsed before, and had (by some godas I think) taken hold of a noble deuice. Wherupon she rose and the other Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the house of Volumnia, Martius mother: and coming in to her, found her, and Martius wife her daughter in law, fet together, and hauing her husband Martius yong children in her lap. Now al the traine of thefe Ladies, firting in a ring round about her, va. leria first began to speake in this fort vnto her. We ladies, are come to visite you ladies (my lady lumnia and Volumnia and Virgilia) by no direction from the Senate, nor commandement of other Magiftrate, but through the inspiration (as I take it) as some god about: who having taken compassion on and pitie of our prayers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well >> beneficial for vs, as also for the whole citizens in general, but to your selues in special(if it please you to credic me) and shall redound to your more fame and glory, then the daughters of the SA-BYNE's obtained in former age, when they procured louing peace, in stead of hatefull warre, beweene their fathers and their husbands. Come on good Ladies, and let vs go all together vnto 22 Martius, to intreat him to take pitie vpon vs, & also to report the troth vnto him, how much you are bound vnto the citizens: who not with standing they have sustained great hurt and losses by » him, yet they haue not hitherto fought reuenge vpon your perfons by any discourreous vsage, " neither euer conceiued any fuch thought or intent against you, but to deliuer you safe into his hands, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemency from him. When Valeria had spoken this vnto them, all the other ladies, together with one voice confirmed that she had said Then Folumnia in this fort did answer her: My good Ladies, we are partakers with you of the common mifery and calamity of our country, and yet our griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular missortune, to feele the lotse of my son Martius former valiancy & glo ry, and to see his person enuironed now with our enemies in armes, rather to see him forth comming & safe kept, then of any loue to defend his person. But yet the greatest griefe of our heaped mishaps is to see our poore country brought to such extremity, that all the hope of the safety and preservation therof, is now unfortunatly cast upon vs simple women; because we know not what account he will make of vs, since he hath cast from him all care of his naturall country and common-weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deare and precious, then either his mother, wife or children. Notwithstäding, if ye think we can do good, we wil willingly do what you will haue vs, bring vs to him I pray you. For if we canot prenaile, we may yet die at his feet, as huble futers for the fafety of our country. Her answer ended, she took her daughter in law, & Martins children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE Ladies, they wenting troupe together vnto the Volsces campe: whom when they faw, they of themselues did both pitie and reuerence her, and there was not a man among them that once durft fay a word vnto her. Now was Martius let then in his chaire of state, with all the honors of a Generall, and when he had spied the women coming afar off, he maruelled what the matter meant; but afterwards knowing his wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to perfist in his obstinate and inflexible rancor. But ouercome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether alteredto fee them, his heart would not ferue him to tarrie their coming to his chaire, but coming down in hast, he went to meet them, and first he kissed his mother, & embraced her a prety while, then his wife & litle children. And nature fo wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he could not keep himself from making much of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloud The oration as if he had bene violently caried with the fury of a most swift running streame. After he had of Volumnia thus louingly received them, and perceiving that his mother Volumnia would begin to speaketo him, he called the chiefest of the counsel of the Volsces to heare what she wold say. Then she spake in this fort: If we held our peace (my sonne) and determined not to speake, the state of our , poore bodies, & present sight of our rayment, would easily bewray to thee what life we haveled at home, fince thy exile and abode abroad; but think now with thy felf, how much more vnfor-, tunate then all the women living, we are come hither, confidering that the fight which should , be most pleasant to all other to behold, spightfull fortune had made most fearefull to vs:making my felfe to fee my fonne, and my daughter here her husband, befieging the walls of his native countrey: so as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their aduersitie and miserie, to , pray vnto the gods, and to call to them for aide, is the onely thing which plungeth vs into

most deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory to our countrey, and for fafety of thy life also: but a world of grieuous curses, yea more then any mortall enemy can heape vpo vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter sop of most hard choise is offered thy wife and children, to forgo one of the two: either to lose the person of thy self, or the nurse of their natiue country. For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tary, till fortune in mv life time do make an end of this warre. For if I cannot perswade thee, rather to do good vnto both parties then to ouerthrow and destroy the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamity of wars, thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust vnto it, thou shalt no sooner march forward to affault thy courty, but thy foot shall treade voon thy mothers wombe, that brought thee first into this world. And I may not deferre to see the day, either that my son be led prisoner in triumph by his naturall countrymen, or that he himselfe do triumph of them, and of his naturall country. For if it were fo, that my request tended to sauethy country, in destroying the Volses, I must confesse, thou wouldest hardly and doubtfully resolution that. For as to defroy thy natural country, it is altogether vnmeete and vnlawfull, so were it not just, and lesse honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my onely demand consisteth, to make a gaile deliuery of all euils, which deliuereth equall benefite and fafety, both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the Volschs. For it shall appeare, that having victory in their hands, they have of speciall favour granted vs singular graces, peace, & amity, albeit themselves " haue no lesse part of both then we. Of which good, it so it came to passe, thy selfe is the onely author, and so hast thou the only honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrary, thy self alone deferuedly shalt carry the shameful reproch and burthen of either party. So, though the end of war bevncertain, yet this notwithstanding is most certain, that if it be thy chace to conquer, this benefite shalt thou reape of thy goodly conquest, to be chronicled the plague and destroyer of thy countrey. And if fortune ouerthrow thee, then the world will fay, that through defire to reuengethy private injuries, thou haft for ever vidonethy good friends, who did most louingly " & courteoufly receive thee. Martin gave good eare vnto his mothers words, without interrupting her speech at all, and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a prety while, and answered not a word. Herevpon she began againe to speake vnto him, and said: My sonne, why doest thou not answer me? doest thou think it good altogether to give place vntothy choler and ee defire of reuenge, and thinkest thou it not honesty for thee to grant thy mothers request, in so weighty a cause? dost thou take it honorable for a noble man, to remember the wrongs and iniuries done him, and dost not in like case think it an honest noble mans part, to be thankfull for the goodnes that parents do shew to their children, acknowledging the duty & reuerece they ought ... to beare vnto them? No man living is more bound to show himself thankfull in all parts & respectsthen thy felf:who fo vniuerfally shewest all ingratitude. Moreouer (my son) thou hast sore- cc ly taken of thy country, exacting grieuous payments vpon the, in renenge of the injuries offered 😘 thee, befides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poore mother any correspond therfore it is not onely honest, but due vnto me, that without compulsion I should obtaine my so instand rea- co fonable request of thee. But fince by reason I canot persivade three to it, to what purpose do I de- cc fermy last hope? And with these words, her self, his wite, & children fell down vpon their knees ... beforehim: Martius feeing that could refraine no longer, but went straight and life her vp crying coriolanus out Oh mother, what have you done to me And holding her hard by the right had, oh mother faid he, you have won a happy victory for your country, but mortall and vnhappy for your fon: for I see my self vanquished by you alone. These words being spoken openly, he spakealitleapare with his mother & wife, & then let them return again to Rome, for fothey did request him, and fo remaining in campe that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homeward into coistant the Volsces country againe, who were not all of one mind, nor all alike contented. For some withdraw milliked him and that he had done: other being well pleafed that peace shold be made, said: that neither the one northe other, deserved blame nor reproch. Other though they missiked that was done, did not thinke him an ill man for that he did, but faid, he was not to be blamed, though he yeelded to fuch a forcible exercinity. Howbeit no man cotraried his departure, but alobeied his commandement, more for respect of his worthinesse & valiancy then for feare of his authority. Now the citizens of Rome plainly shewed, in what feare & danger their city stood of this war, whethey were deliuered. For so soon as the watch vpo the wals of the city perceived the Volsers campeto remoue, there was not a reple in the city but was prefently let open, & ful of m &

The temple of Fortune built for the momen.

of Fortune Spake to the Ladies at Of the freasing and

of God.

wearing garlands of flowers vpontheir heads, facrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do vponthe newes of some great obtained victory. Andthis common by was yet in ore manifelt, ly shewed, by the honorable curtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their Ladies. For they were all throughly perswaded, and did certainly beleeue, that the Ladies only were cause of the saving of the city, and deliuering themselues from the instant danger of the warre, Wherupon the Senate ordained, that the Magistrates to gratiste and honor these Ladies, should graunt them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build atem. ple of Fortune for the women, vnto the building whereof they offered themselucs to defray the whole charge of the facrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the feruice of the gods. No uerthelesse, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardnesse, ordained, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the city. Notwithstanding that, the Ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of Fortune; which the Romaine s fay did speake as they offered her vp in the temple, and did set her in her place and they affirme, that the spake these words: Ladics, ye have denoutly offered me vp. Moreover, that she spake that twise together, making vs to beleeue things that never were, and are not to beere dited: For to seeimages that seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humor red or blowdie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wood and stone do commonly receive certaine moissing whereof are ingendred humours, which do yeeld of themselues, or do take of the aire, many forts and kinds of spots and colours: by which fignes and tokens it is not amisse, me thinke, that the gods fometimes do warne men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these images and statues do sometimes put forth sound; like vnto fighes or mourning, when in the middel or botome of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breaking as under of things. blowne or deuised therein: but that a body which hath neither life nor soule, should have any direct or exquisite words formed in it by expresse voice, that is altogether unpossible. Forthe foule, nor god himselfe can distinctly speake without a body , having necessary organs and in ftruments incet for the parts of the fame, to forme and viter diffinct words. But where ftoris many times do force vs to believe athing reported to be true, by many grave testimonies: there we must say, that it is some possion contrary to our flue naturals senses, which being begotten in the imaginative part or vnderstanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfequen as we do in our fleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we do not heare, and we imagine we feethat we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously given to think on hea. nealy things, fo as they can no way be drawne from belowing that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their beleefe vpon; that is, the omnipotence of God, which is wonderfull, and hath no maner of resemblance or likenesse of proportion vno ours, but is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our mouing, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do any thing vnpoffible to vs, or do bring forthand denife things, about mans common reach and understanding, we must not therfore think it unpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrary to vs, much more in his works and secret operations, he far passethall the restable the most part of Gods doings, as Heraclitus faith, for lack of faith, are hidden and viknowne vnto vs. Now when Martins was returned againe into the city of Antiva from his voyage, Tullus that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his authority, fought diverse meanes to make him away, thinking if he let slipt that present time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherfore Tulius having procured many otherof his confederacy, required Martine, might be deposed from his estate, to render vp account to the Volsces of his charge and gouernement. Martius fearing to become a private man against vnder Tullus being Generall (whose authority was greater otherwise, then any other among all the Volsces) answered: He was willing to give vp his charge, and would refigne it into the hands of the Lords of the Volsces, if they did al command him, as by al their commandment he received it. And moreover, that he would not refuse even at that present to give vp an account vnto the people, if they would tary the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counsell, in which assembly there were certaine oratours appointed, that stirred up the common people against him: and when they had told their tales, Martins rose vp to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valiantnesse, they quieted themselues, and goue himan dience to alledge with leifure what he could for his purgation. Moreover, the honestest menof

the ANTIATES, and who most reloyced in peace, shewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly. And judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus fearing that if he did let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, because amongst other things he had an cloquent tongue; besides that the first good scruice he had done to the people of the Volsces, did winne him more fauour, then these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the goodwill they ought him; for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the city of Rome, if they had not bin very neare taking of it, by meanes of his approach and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tary for the mutining and rifing of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracy, began to cry out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not fuffer a traitor to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the Volsces, who would not yeeld vp his state and authority. And in saying these words, they coriolanus all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to refcue mardered in the strice. him. Howbeit it is a cleare case, that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most of Antium, part of the Volsces: for men came out of all parts to honor his body, and did honourably bury him; fetting vp his tombe with great store of armour and spoiles, as the tombe of a worthy person and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, fauing that they granted the ladies their request they made: that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they vsed to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethren, ot husbands, according to Numa Pompilius order, who stablifhed the fame, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now Martius being mourning dead, the whole state of the Volses heartily wished him alive againe. For, first of all they fell appointed out with the Aloves who were their friends and confederates) touching preheminence and by Numa. place: and this quarrell grew on fo farre betweene them, that fraies and murders fell out vpon it one with another. After that the ROMAINES Ouercame them in battell, in which Tullus was flain in the field and the flower of all their force was put to the fword: fo that they were com-fiding flain pelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yeelding themselues

fubiect vnto the conquerers, and promifing to be obedient at their commandement.



THE COMPARISON OF Alcibiades with Martius Coriolanus.



The als done by

OW that we have written all the decdes of worthy memory, done by either of them both, we may presently discerne, that in matters of war the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardy and valiant for their persons, as also wise and politicke in the warres: vnleffe they will fay, that Alcibiades was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battels with his enemies, both by fea and land, then euer Coriolanus had done, and liad alwayes the victory of his enemies. For otherwise, in this they were much alike: that where they were both prefent and had charge and power to

command, all things prospered notably, and with good successe on the part they were of; and also when they tooke the contrary side, they made the first haue the worst enery way. Now for matters of gouernment, the Noble men and honest citizens did hate Alcibiades manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man most dissolute, and given to flattery: because he ever studied by all device he could, to curry fauour with the common people. So did the ROMAINES malice also Coriolanus gouernement, for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding he is lesse to be blamed that feeketh to pleafe and gratifie his common people, then he that despiseth and disdaineth them; and therefore offereth them wrong and injury, because he would not seeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an eurll thing to flatter the common people to winne credite: euen fo is it besides dishonesty, and iniustice also, to attaine to credit and authoritie, for one to make himfelfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that Marins was cuer counted an honest natured man, plaine, and simple, without art or cunning : but Alcebiades meerely contrary; for he was fine, subtill, and deceitfull. And the The maners greatest fault they euer burdened Alcibiades for, was his malice and deceit, wherewith he abused the Amballadors of the Laced Emonians, & that he was a let that peace was not concluded, as Thuesdides reporteth. Now, though by this act he suddenly brought the city of Athens into wars, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the MANTINEANS and the ARGIVES, who by Alcibiades practife entred into league with the ATHENIANS. And Martins, as Dionyfius the historiographer writeth did by craft and deceit bring the ROMAINES into warres against the Volsces, causing the Volscss maliciously and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to Rome to see the games plaid. But the cause why he did it, made the fact so much more foule and wicked: for it was not done for any civill diffention, nor for any icalousie and contention in matters of government as Aletbiades did: but only following his cholericke mood, that would be pleased with nothing, as Dion said, he would needes trouble and turmoile the most part of ITALY, and so being angly

all. This is true also, that Alcibialis spite and malice did worke great mischiefe and misery to his country: but when he faw they repented them of the iniury they had done him, he came to himselfe, and did withdraw his army. Another time also, when they had banished Alcibiades, he would not yet suffer the captaines of the ATHENIANS to run into great errors, neither would he seethem cast away, by following ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he forsake them in any danger they put themselves into. But he did the very same that Arisides had done in old time vnto Themistocles, for which he was then, and is yet fo greatly praised. For he went vinto the captaines that had charge then of the army of the ATHENIANS, although they not his friends, and told them wherein they did amisse, and what they had further to do. Where Martius to the contrary, did first great hurt vnto the whole city of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him: yea, and when the best and chiefest part of the city were grieued for his fake, and were very fory and angry for the iniury done him. Furthermore, the Ro-MAINES fought to appeale one only displeasure and despight they had done him, by many ambaffades, petitions and requefts they made; whereunto he neuer yeelded, vntill his mother, wife, and children came, his heart was fo hardened. And hereby it appearde he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would hearken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to destroy and spoile his country, and not as though he meant to recouer it, or to returne thither again. Here was indeed the difference betweene them: that spials being laid by the LACED EMONIANS to kill Alcibiades, for the malicethey did beare him, as also for that they were affraid of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to Athens. Where Martius contrariwise, having bene so honourably received & entertained by the Volses, he could not with honesty for sake them, considering that they had done him that honour, as to chuse him their Generall, and trusted him so farre, as they put all their whole army and power into his hands: and not as the other, whom the LACE-DEMONIANS rather abused then vsed him, suffering him to go vp and downe their city (and afterwards in the midst of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the end Alcibiadeswas compelled to put himselfe into the hands of Tisaphernes: vnlessethey will say that he went thither of purposeto him, with intent to saue the city of ATHENS from vtter destruction, forthedesire he had to returne home againe. Moreouer, we reade of Alcibiades, that he was a Alcibiades greattaker, and would be corrupted withmony: and when he had it, he would most licentiousy and diffioneffly spendit. Where Martius in contrary maner would not so much as accept gifts lanus manlawfully offered him by his captaines, to honor him for his valiantnesse. And the cause why the people did beare him such ill will, for the controuersie they had with the Nobility about clearing of debts, grew: for that they knew well inough it was not for any gaine or benefite he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to do them. Antipater in a letter of his, writing of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, doth not without cause commend the fingular gifts that were in Alcibiades, and this especially: that he passed all other for winning mens good wils. Whereas Martius noble acts and vertues, wanting that affability, became hatefull, euen to those that received benefite by them, who could not abide his seucrity and selfe will: which causeth desolation, (as Plato faith) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forfaken. Contrariwise, seeing Alcibiades had a trimme entertainement, and a very good grace with him, and could fashion himselfe in all companies, it was no maruell if his well doing were glorioufly commended, and himfelf much honoured and beloued of the people, confidering that some faults he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sport, and toyes of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the commonwealth, yet they did oft make him their Generall, and trusted him with the charge of the whole city. Where Martius fuing for an office of honor, that was due to him, for the fundry good feruices he had done to the state, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus do we see, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honored his vertue, had no liking to loue his person. Martius also did neuer any great exploit, being General of his country men, but when he was General of their enemies against his natural country: wheras Alcibiases, being both a private person, and a General did notable service vnrothe Athenians. By reason whereof, Alcibiades and coriowherefoeuer he was prefent, had the vpper hand euer of his accufers, euen as he would himfelfe, land tone and their accusations tooke no place against him: vnlesse it were in his absence. Where Martius countrie. being present, was condemned by the Romaines: and in his person murdered and slaine by

of Alcibia des and Co-

Coriolanus

Binence

from briber,

THE LIFE OF Paulus Æmylius.



HEN I first began to write these lines, my intent was to profite other: but fince cotinuing and going on, I have much profited my felf by looking into these histories, as if I looked into a glasse, to frame and fashion my life to the mould & patterne of these vertuous noble men. For running ouer their maners in this fort, & feeking alfo to describe their lives: methinks I am stil connersant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to perufe their histories, and to wey the vertues and qualities they have had, and what fingularitie each of them possessed and tochuse and cull out the

chiefest sthing of note in them, and their best speeches and doings most worthy of memory: then I cric out:

O gods, can there be more passing pleasure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man civill manners, and a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? Democritus the Philosopher writeth, that we should pray we might ever see happie images and fignes in the aire, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, may rather come to vs, then that is evill and vnfortunate: presupposing a false opinion and doctrine in Philosophie, which allureth men to infinite superstitions: That there are good and badde images flying in the ayre, which give a good or ill impression vnto men, and incline mento vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of ancient histories, and gathering these liues together which now I leaue before you, and by keeping alwaies in mind the acts of the most noble, vertuous, and best giuen men offormer age, & worthie memory: I do teach and prepare my selfe to shake off and banish from me all lewd and dishonest conditions, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company I keepe, and must of necessitie haunt, do acquaint me with some vnhappie or vngracious touch. This is easie vnto me, that do dispose my mind, being quiet and not troubled with any passion, vnto the deepe cosideration of somany noble examples. As I do present vnto you now in this volume, the lives of Timoleon the CORINTHIAN, and of Paulus Æmylius the ROMAINE, who had not only a good and an vpright mind with the, but were also fortunate & happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly judge, when you have read over their lives, whether wisdom or good fortune

the Volsces. But here I cannot say they have done well, nor inftly, albeit himselfe gaue them fome colour to do it, when he openly denied the Romaine ambassadours peace, which after he privately graunted, at the request of women. So by this deed of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was betweene both people: but leaving warre still betweene them, he made the Volsces (of whom he was Generall) to lose the opportunity of noble victory. Where indeed he should (if he had done as he ought) have withdrawne his army with their counsell and confent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their General; if he had made that account of them, as their goodwill towards him did in duty bind him. Or else, if he did not care for the Volsces in the enterprise of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue it off when his anger was blowne ouer: yet he had no reason for the loue of his mother to pardon his country, but rather he should in pardoning his country, haue spared his mother, because his mother and wife were members of the body of his countrey and city, which he did befiege. For in that he vncourteoufly rejected all the publike petitions. requests of Ambassadors, intreaties of the bishops and prices, to gratific only the request of his mother with his departure: that was no act fo much to honour his mother with, as to dishonour his country by, the which was preserved for the pity and intercession of a woman, and not for the loue of it self, as if it had not bene worthy of it. And so was this departure a grace (to say truly)very odious & cruell, and descrued no thanks of either party, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the request of the Romaine's, against whom he made war: nor with their consent, at whose charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill hap, the austeritie of his nature, and his haughty obstinate mind, was the onely cause: the which of it selfe being hateful to the world, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish, fierce and intollerable. For menthat have that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, seeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the people: and yet on the other side, if the people should not give them honour and reverence, they would straight take it in scorne, and little care for the matter. For so did Metellus, Aristides and Epaminondas, all vsed this maner:not to seekethe goodwill of the comon people by flattery and dissimulation: which was indeed, because they dispised that which the people could give ortake away. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and let at any fines, or that they banished them, or gaue them any other repulse; but they loued them as well as they didbefore, so sooneas they showed any token of repentance, and that they were fory for the wrong they had done them, and were easily made friends againe with them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that disdaineth to make much of the people, and to have their fauour, should much more scorneto seeke to be reuenged when he is repulsed. For, to take a repulse and denyall of honour so inwardly to the heart, cometh of no other cause, but that hedid too earnestly desire it. Therefore Alcibiades did not dissemble at all, that he was not very gladto fee himselfe honored, and sory to be reiected and denyed any honour:but also he sought all the meanes he could to make himfelfe beloued of those amongst whom he loued. Whereas Martius stoutnesse and haughty stomacke, did stay him from making much of those that might advance and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnaw himselse for spite and anger, whenhe faw he was despised. And this is all that reasonably may be reproued in him: for otherwise he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane hands from taking of bribes and mony, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest men of all GRECE: but not with Alcibiades, who was vindoubtedly alwaies potable ab too licentious and loosely given, and had too small regard

of the duty of honestie. The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

The boufe of the AEmilians Pythagoras Taring Pau. lus Ærsylims Confull flaine at she bassell of Canises.

AEmylia. the daugh. ser of Lis. cite AEmalimma. vied to Scipio the Great.

The vertan of Faulus AE. mjlisto,

Paulus AE . made AE-Awgure.

The Philo-Copher: opinion of religion.

Paulus di ligencein elie common wealth euen in tri-

> The difch pline of marres.

brought them to archieue to such honourable acts and exploits as they did. Many (and the most part of historiographers) do write, that the house and family of the AEmylians in Rome, was alwaies of the most ancient of the nobility, which they call Patricians. Some writers affirme also that the first of that house that gave name to all the posterity after, was Marcus, the sonne of Prthagoras the wife, whom king Wuma for the sweetnesse and pleasant grace of his tongue, surnamed Marcus Amylius: and those specially affirme it, that say king Numa was Pythagoras scholler. Howfocuer it was, the most part of this family that obtained honour and estimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate also in all their doings, sauing Lucius Paulus onely, who died in the battell of Cannes. But his misfortune doth beare manifest testimony of his wisdom & valiancietogether. For he was forced to fight against his will, when he saw he could not bridlethe rashnesse of his fellow Consult that would needs joyne battell; and to do as he did, sauing that he fled notas the other, who being the first procurer of the battel; was the first that ran away: where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to let him, and did sticke by it, and fought it valiantly vnto the last gaspe. This A Emplius lest a daughter behind him called AEmylia, which was maried vnto Scipiothe Great: and a sonne, Paulus AEmylius, being the same man whose life we presently treate of His youth fortunately fell out in a flourishing time of glo. rie and honour, through the fundry vertues of many great and noble persons liuing in those dayes, among whom he made his name famous also: and it was not by that ordinary art and course, which the best esteemed yong men of that age did take and follow. For he did not vse to pleade private mens causes in law, neither would ercepe into mens favour by fawning vponany of them: though he faw it a common practife, and policy of men, to feeke the peoples fauour and goodwils by such meanes. Moreouer, he resused not that common course which other tooke, for that it was contrary to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had bene so disposed: but he rather sought to winne reputation by his honesty, his valiantnesse, and vpright dealing, as choosing that the better way then either of the other two, insomuch as in maruellous short time he passed all those that were of his age. The first office of honor he sued for, was the office of Adylu, in which fuite he was preferred before twelue other that fued for the felf same office: who were men of no small quality, for they all came afterwards to be Confuls. After this, he was chosen to be one of the number of the priests, whom the ROMAINES call Augures: who have the charge of all the divinations and foothfayings, in telling of things to come by flying of birds, and fignes in the aire. He was fo carefull, and took fuch pains to vnderfrand how the Romarnes did vse the same, and with such diligence sought the observation of the ancient religion of Romains in all holy matters: that where that priesthood was before esteemed but a title of honor, and defired for the name only, he brought it to passe, that it was the most honorable science, and best reputed of in Rome: wherin he confirmed the philosopherso pinion, that religion is the knowledge how to ferue God. For when he did any thing belonging to his office of priefthood, he did it with great experience, iudgement, & diligence leauing all other thoughts, & without omitting any ancient ceremony, or adding to any new, contending of tentimes with his companions, in things which seemed light, and of small moment : declaring vnto them, that though we do prefume the gods are casic to be pacified, & that they readily pardonall faults and scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect of common wealths fake, they shold not flightly nor carelesly disseble or passe ouer faults comitted in those matters: for no man (faith he) at the first that committeth any fault, doth alone trouble the state of the comon wealth but withal, we must thinke he leaueth the grounds of civil governmet, that is not as careful to keepe the inftitutions of final matters, as also of the great. So was healfo a seuere captaine & strict observer of all martial discipline, not seeking to win the souldiers love by flattery, when he was generall in the field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a second charge, by showing himself gentle and courteous in the first, vnto those that served vinder him; but himfelfe did orderly flew them the very rules and precepts of the discipline of wars, euen as a prieft that shold expresse the names & ceremonies of some holy sacrifice, wherin were danger to omit any part or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the law of armes vpon rebellious and disobedient fouldiers, he kept vp therby the state of the commonweale the better: iudging to ouercome the enemy by force, was but an accessarie as a man may terme it, in respect of well training and ordering his citizens by good discipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres against king Antioshus surnamed the Great, in the South parts, all the chiefest captaines

captains of Rome being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West parts towards Spaine where they were vp in armes. Thither they sent Aimylius Prætor, Paulus A. not with fixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue : fo that vnder Prætor in the name of Prætor, he had the authoritie and dignity of a Confull. He twife ouercame the bar- to Spaine. barous people in maine battell, and flue thirty thousand of them, and got this victory through his great skill and wisedome, in chusing the advantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, euen as they passed ouer a river: which easily gaue his fouldiers the victory. Moreover he took there two hundred & fifty cities, all which did open, and gladly receive him in. So, leaving fish. all that country quiet and in good peace, and having received their fealty by oath made between his hands, he returned againe to Rome, not inriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke little regard to his expences, he spent so frankly, neither was his purse his mafter, though his revenue was not great to beare it out, as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had was litle enough to fatisfie his wines joynter. His first wife was Papyria, the daughter of a noble Confull Papyrius Masso, and after they had liued a long time together, he was diuorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus. The inst cause of the dinorce between them, ap- scipio the peared not to vs in writing: but me thinkes the tale that is told concerning the separation of a found and certaine mariage istrue: That a certaine Romaine having for saken his wife, her friends fel out Maximus with him, and asked him, What fault dost thou find in here is she nothonest of her body; is she were the not faire: doth she not bring thee goodly children: But he putting forth his foot, she wed them for faire and the fair forth his foot, she wed them for fair forth his foot, she wed them for fair forth his foot, she wed them his shoot, and answered them: Is not this agoodly shoot it finely made? and is it not new: "15 paps" yetIdare fay there is neuer a one of you can tel where it wringeth me. For to fay truly, great & right fire open faults are commonly occasions to make husbands put away their wives:but yet oftetimes Apretitals houshold words runne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diversity of of a Ronatures, which strangers are not printy vnto) that in processe of time they do beget such a strange maine that alteration of loue and minds in them, as one house can no longer hold them. So Amylius, ha- wife, uing put away Papyria his first wife, he maried another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with himselfe in his house, and gaue his two first sonnes (to wit, scipiothe second, and Fabius Maximus) in adoption to two of the noblest and richest families of the city of Rome. The elder of the twaine, vnto Fabius Maximus, he that was fine times Conful, and the yonger unto the house of the Cornelians, whom the sonne of the greate Scipio the African did adopt, being his cofin germaine, and named him Scipio. Concerning his daughters, the fonne of Cato The vertus maried the one, and Alius Tubero the other, who was a maruellous honest man, and did me re of Alius nobly maintaine himselfe in his pouerty, then any other Romain E: for they were fixteene per- Tubero: his fons all of one name, and of the house of the Ælians, very necre akinne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the city, and a smal farme in the country, wherewith they entertainedthemselues, and lived all together in one house, with their wives, and many litle children. Amongst their wives, one of them was the daughter of Paulus Amylius, after he had beene twife Confull, and had triumphed twife, not being ashamed of her husbands pouerty, but wondring at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethren and kinsemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not far afunder, and in other countries, not one neare another, and that rivers Innaturapartition not, or walles deuide their lands, leaving great large wastes between them; they are lines. neuer quiet, but still in quarrel one with another. Goodly examples doth this story lay before the wife and well advised reiders to leave the red in a. wise, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby how to frame their life, and wisely to behaue mous. themselues. Now Emplius being chosen Consull, went to make warre with the Ligurians, demplian who dwelled in the ALPES, & which otherwise are called LIGVSTINES. These are very valide confuit and warlike men, and were very good souldiers at that time, by reason of their continuall wars against the Romain s, whose neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of ITALY, that bordereth vpon the great ALPES, and the row of ALPES, whereof the foot ioyneth to the THYSCAN fea, & pointeth towards Africk, & are mingled wirly the GAVLES and SPANIAR DS, neighbours vnto the sea coast: who scowring al the Mediterranian sea at that time, vato the straight of Hercules pillers, did with their litle light pinnaces of pirates, let al the traffick and entercourse of merchadize. Æmylius being gone to seek the in their country, they taried his coming with an army of forty thousand men: neuerthelesse, though he hadbut eight thousand men in all, and that they were flue to one of his, yet he gaue the onset vpon them, and overthrew

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them, & drauethe into their cities. Then he sent to offer them peace, for the Romaines would not altogether destroy the Lievrian s, because their country was as a rampier or bulwarke gainst the inuation of the GAVLES, who lay lurking for oportunity and occasion to inuade ITA LY: wherupon these LIGVRIANS yeelded theselues vnto him, & put all their forts & ships into his hands. Amilia deliuered vnto them their holds again, without other hurt done vnto them. fauing that he razed the walles of their fortifications: how beit he took all their ships from them leaving them litle botes of three owers onely, and no greater, and fet all the prisoners at liberty they had taken, both by fea and by land, aswell Romaines as other, which were a maruellous number. These were all the notable acts he did worthy memory, in the first yeare of his Cossil ship. Afterwards he oftentimes shewed himselfe very desirous to be Consul againe, and did put forth himselfe to sue for it; but when he was denied it, he neuer after made sute for it againe, but gaue himselfe only to study divine things, and to see his children verteously brought vp, not on-Ty in the ROMAINE tongue which himselfe was taught, but also a litle more curiously in the GREEKE tongue. For he did not onely retaine Gramarians, Rhetoritians, and Logicians, but alik painters, grauers of images, riders of horses, and hunts of GRECE about his children: & he him. selfalso(if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with the in the schoole when they were attheir books, & also when they otherwise did exercise themselves. For he loued his children as much or more then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the state of the common wealth, the Romains were at wars with king Perfeus, and they much blamed the captains they had sent thither before, for that for lack of skil & courage, they had so cowardly behaued The cowardthemselues, as their enemies laughed them to scorne; and they received more hurt of them, then the Komains they did vnto the king. For not long before, they had driven king Antiochus beyond mount Taut rus, and made him for sake the rest of Asia, and had shut him vp within the borders of Syria, who was glad that he had bought that country with fifteene thousand talents, which he paid for a fine. A litle before also, they had ouercome Philip, king of MACEDON in THESSALY, and had deliuered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreover, having ouercome Hannibal (vnto whom no Prince nor King that cuer was in the world was comparable, either for his power or valianmefile) they thought this too great a dishonour to them, that this warre they had against king Perseus, should hold so long of even hand with them, as if he had bene an enemy equall with the people of Rom E: confidering alforhat they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered people of the ouerthrownearmy his father had lost be fore, and knew northat Philip had left his army stronger, and more expert by reason of his overthrow, then it was before: as I will briefly rehearle the flory from the beginning. Antigonus, who The succeswas of the greatest power of all the captaines and successours of Alexander the Great, having ob-Gen of An-King of. Macedon Poson King son, to fay, the giver: for he promised much and gave litle. After him raigned Philip, who in his of Macedon

tained for himselfe and his posterity the title of a King, had a sonne called Demetrius, of whom came Antigonus the second, that was surnamed Gonatos, whose sone was also called Demetrius, that raigned no long time, but died, and left a yong fonne called Philip. By reason whereof, the Princes and Nobility of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme should beleft without heire, they preferred one Antigonus, cosin to the last deceassed King, & made him marry the mother of Philip the leffe, giving him the name at the first of the Kings protectour only, and lieutenant generall of his maiesty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wise Prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the absolute name of a king, & surnamed him Degreeney outh gaue more hope of himselfe, then any other of the Kings before: insomuch as they thought that one day he would restore MACEDON her ancient same and glory, and that hea lone would pluck downe the pride and power of the Romains, who rose against all the world But after that he had lost a great battell, and was ouerthrowne by Titus Quintus Flaminius neare vnto the city of Scorvs A, then he began to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercy of the ROMAINES; thinking he escaped good cheape, for any light ransome or tribute the Romaines should impose vpon him. Yet afterwards coming to vnderstand himselfe, he grew to disdained much, thinking that to raignethrough the fauour of the Romaines, was but to make himselfea flaue, to feek to liue in pleasure at his ease, and not for a valiant & noble prince borne. Wherup on he set all his mind, to study the discipline of wars, & made his preparation as wisely & close ly as possibly he could. For he left all his townes along the sea coast, and standing vpon any high waies, without any fortification at al & in maner desolate without people, to the end there might

mour in his armory, to arme thirty thousand men, & eight million bushels of corne safely lockt Phillipsare vp in his forts and stronger places, and ready money, as much as would serue to entertaine ten mary. thousand strangers in pay, to defend his country for the space of ten yeares. But before he could bring that to patte he had purposed; he died for griefe and sorrow, after he knew he had vittely the death put Demetrius the best of his sonnes to death, vpon the salse accusation of the worst, that was Perpeting. Cus: who as he did inherite the kingdome of his father by succession, so did he also inherite his fathers malice against the Romaines. But he had no shoulders to beare so heavy a burden, & especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many leud and naughty Perfement

conditions he had, he was extreme couetous and miserable. They say also, that he was not legitimate, because Philips wife had taken him from Gnathainia (a tailors wife borne at Ar Gos) imme-

diatly after he was borne, and did adopt the child to be hers. And some thinke that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put Demetrius to death, searing lest this lawful son wold seeke occasion to proue him a bastard. Notwithstanding, simple though he was, & of vile and base na-

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appeareno occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: and in the meane time, in the high countries of his Realme farre from great beaten waies, he leavied a great number of men of warre, and reple-

nished his towns and strong holds that lay scatteringly abroad, with armour and weapon, mony,

and men, prouiding for warre; which he kept as sccretly as he could. For he had prouision of ar-

ture, he found the firength of his kingdome fo great, that he was contented to take vpon him to makewar against the Romains, which he maintained a long time, & fought against their Con- few makes fuls, that were their Generals, and repulfed great armies of theirs both by fea & land, and ouercame some. As Publius Licinius among other, the first that inuaded MACEDON, was ouerthrown maines,

by him in a battel of horsme, where he slew at that time two thousand fine hundred good men of his,& took fix hundred prisoners. And their army by sea, riding at anker before the city of ORE. vu, he did fodainly set vpon, & took twenty great ships of burden, and all that was in them, and werthrown

funke the rest, which were all loaden with corn: and took of all sorts besides, about 54. foysts & by Perfeus. galliots of fifty owers apeece. The second Conful and General he fought withall, was Hostilius, Hostilius, whom he repulsed, attenting by force to inuade Macedon by way of the city of ELVMIA. A. Consultre-

nother time again, when he entred in by flealth vpo the coaft of Thessally, he offered him bat- ruled out tel, but the other durst not abide it. And as though this war troubled him nothing at all, and that he had cared little for the ROMAINES, he went and fought a battell in the meane time with the

DARDANIANS, where he flue ten thousand of those barbarous people, and brought away a maruellous great spoile. Moreouer he procured the nation of the GAVIE's dwelling upon the river of Dannby, which they call Baftarne (men very warlike, and excellent good horfemen) & did pra- Baftarne

disc with the ILLYRIANS also by meane of their king Gentius, to make them io yne with him in the Gaule this warre: fo that there ranne a rumor, that for mony he had gotten those GAVLES to come dwelling downe into ITALY, fro the high country of GAVLE all along the Adriatike sea. The ROMAINS timer of Day being aduertised of these newes, thought the time served not now to dispose their offices in wars nuclie.

any more by grace and fauour vnto those that sued for them: but contrariwise, that they should call some noble man that were very skilful & a wife captain, & could discreetly gouerne & performethings of great charge as Paulus Amylius, aman wel stepped on in yeares, being threescore

yeares old, & yet of good power, by reafo of the lufty yong men his fons, & fons in law, befides agreat nüber of his friends and kinsfolk. So al that bare great authority, did altogether with one confent counsell him to obey the people, which called him to the Consulship. At the beginning

indeed he delayed the people much that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them : faying, he was no meete man neither to defire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. How beit in the end, seeing the people did vrge it vpon him, by knocking continually at his gates, & calling him aloud in the streets, willing him to come into the market place, and perceiving they were angry

with him, because he refused it, he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among the that fued for the Cosulship, the people thought straight that he stood not there so much for defire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of affured victory, & happy successe of this begun warre: fo great was their loue towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they follows.

those him Consul again the second time. Wherfore so soone as he was chosen, they would not proceed to drawing of lots according to their custome, which of the two Confuls should happe charge of togointo Mace Don: but presently with a ful and whole consent of them all, they gave him the

whole charge of the warres of Mace Don. So being Confull now, and appointed to make war of Mace.

comsin bat sel, by 7 i. 180 Quin. sus Frami nius at the eitte of Scosond preps ration for warre, in Mace.

Good lucke pronounced by Terria a little girle.

myliss orathankes to the Romains when he was Conful, obserwing

See what fruit fouldiers reape Lv obedi.

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Perfeus co. and mifery, was the destruction of himfelfe, realme of Macedon. Ballarne, a mercenary

> became of Perfeus husbandry.

vpon king Perfew, all the people did honourably company him home vnto his house: where alltle girle (a daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making much of her, asked her why she wept. The poore girle answered, colling him about the necke, and kiffing him: Alas father, wote you what?our Perfeus is dead. She meant it by a little whelp fo called, which was her play-fellow. In good houre my girle, faid he, I like the fignewel Thus did Cicero the orator report of it in his booke of divinations. The Romaines, had acufrome at that time, that fuch as were elected Confuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) make an oration of thankes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custome) being gathered together to heare Amylina speak, he made this oration vike them: that the first time he sued to be Consul, was in respect of himselfe, standing at that time inneed of such honour: now he offered himselfe the second time vnto it, for the good loue he bare vnto them, who stood in need of a Generall, wherefore he thought himselfe nothing bound nor beholding vnto them now. And if they did thinke also this warre might be better followed by any other then by himselfe, he would presently withall his hart refigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any truft or confidence in him, that they though him a man furficient to discharge it then that they would not speake nor meddle in any matter that concerned his dutie, and the office of a Generall, fauing onely, that they would be diligent (without any words) to do whatfoener he commanded, and should be necessary for the warre and service they took in hand. For if every man would be a commander, as they had bin heretofore, of those by whom they should be commanded then the world would more laughthem to fcorne in this feruice, then euer before had bin accustomed. These words made the Romains very obedient to him, and perceined good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that fued for the charge, and had given it vinto a man, that durst boldly and frankly tell them the troth. Marke how the Romains by yeelding vnto reaso & vertue, came to command all other, & to make themselues the mightiest people of the world. Now that Paulus Æmylius setting forward to this warre, had wind at will, and faire passage to bring him to his journeys end, I impute it to good fortune, that fo quickly and fafely conueyed him to his campe. But for the rest of his exploits, he did in all his warre part of them being performed by his owne hardinesse, other by his wisdome and good counsell, other by the dill. gence of his friends in seruing him with good will, other by his owne resolute constancy and courage in extremest danger, & last, by his maruellous skil in determining at an instant what was to be done, I cannot attribute any notable act or worthy service vnto this his good fortunether talke of fo much, as they may do in other captains doings; vnleffe they wil fay peraduenture, that Perfeus couctor fnesse and misery was Amylius good fortune: for his miserable feare of spending mony, was the only cause & destruction of the whole realme of Macedon, which was in good state & hope of continuing in prosperity. For there came down into the country of Mace box at king Perfeus request, ten thousand Bastarnæ a horse-backe, & as many footmen to them, who alwairs joyned with them in battel; all mercenary fouldiers, depending upon pay and entertainment of wars, as men that could not plow, nor fow, nor trafficke marchandizes by fea, nor skill of grazing to gaine their living with and to be short, that had no other occupation or merchandize, but to ferue in the warres, and to ouergome those with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incamp and lodge in the Medica, neareto the Macedonians, who faw them so goodly greatmen, and so well trained and exercised in handling all kind of weapons, so braue and lufty in words and threats against their enemies: they began to pluck vp their hearts, and to look big imagining that the ROMAINS would neuer abide them, but would be afeardto look them in the face, & only to feetheir march, it was fo terrible & fearefull. But Perfeus after he had incouraged his men in this fort, & had put them in fuch a hope and iollity, when this barbarous supply came to ask him a thousand crownes in hand for every captain, he was so damped& troubled withall in his mind, casting up the fum it came to, that his only couetousnes and misery made him returne them back, and refule their feruice: not as one that meant to fight with the Ro-MAINES, but rather to spare histreasure, & to be a husband for the, as if he should have given vp a straight account vnto the of his charges in this war, against whom he made it. And not with standing also his enemies did teach him what he had to do confidering that besides all other their warlike furniture & munitio, they had no leffe then a hundred thou and fighting men lying in camp together, ready to execute the Confuls comandement; yet he taking vpo him to refift to puillant

an army, & to maintaine the wars, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in entertaining such multitudes of men, more then needed:hardly would depart with his gold and filuer. but kept it safe locked vp in his treasury, as if he had beneafraid to touch it, and had bin none of his. And he did not shew that he came of the noble race of the kings of Lydia, & Phoenicia who gloried to be rich: but shewed how by inheritance of bloud he chalenged some part of the vertue of Philip, and of Alexander, who both because they esteemed to buy victory with money. not money with victory, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common faying in old time, that it was not Philip, but his gold and filuer that won the cities of GRECE. And Alexander whe he went to conquer the Indies feeing the MACEDONI-Anscary with them all the wealth of Persia, which made his campe very heavy, and flow to march:he himself first of al set fire on his own cariage that conveyed al his necessaries, &perswadedother to do the like, that they might march more lightly, and easily on the journey. But Perfew contrarily would not spend any part of his goods, to saue himselfe, his children and realme, but rather yeelded to be led priloner in triumph with a great ransome, to shew the Romaines how good a husband he had bene for them. For he did not onely fend away the Gav L E s without giving them pay as he had promifed, but moreover having perfwaded Gentius king of ILLY- Genting MIATO take his part in these wars, for the sum of three hundred talents which he had promised King of the to furnishhim with he caused the money to be told, and put vp in bags by those whom Gentius aided Perfent to receive it. Whereupon Gentius thinking himfelfe fure of the money promifed, committed fem. afond and foule part; for he stayed the ambassadours the Romaines sent vnto him, and committed them to prison, This part being come to Perseus cares, he thought now he needed not hire him with mony to be an enemy to the Romains, confidering he had waded fo farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifest figne of his ill will towards them; and that it was too late to looke backe and repent him, now that his foule part had plunged him into certain warres, for an Perfeu vncertain hope. So did he abuse the vnfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred talents he had promised him. And worse then this, shortly after he suffered Lucius Ancius the king Gen-Romains Pretor, whom they fent against him with an army, to plucke King Gentius, his wife, time. and children out of his kingdome, and to cary them prisoners with him. Now when Æmylius was arrived in MACEDON, to make warre against such an enemy, he made no manner of reckoning of his person, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one camp he had soure Lucius A. thousand horsemen, & no lesse then forty thousand footmen, with the which army he had plantedhimselse along the sea side, by the foot of the mount olympus, in a place unpossible to be ap- Personal proached: and there he had so well fortified all the straights and passages vnto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himself to lie safe out of all danger, and imagined to dally with Olympus, Amylius, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. Amylius in the meane feafon lay not with 4000 idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put something in and 40000 proofe. And perceiuing that his fouldiers by ouer much licentious liberty (wherin by fufferance footmin. they lined before) were angry with delaying and lying still, and that they did busily occupy themselues in the Generals office saying this, and such a thing would be done that is not done: hetookethem vp roundly, and commanded them they should meddle no more too curiously inmatters that pertained not to them, and that they should take care for nothing else, but to see admonition in infant. their armour and weapon ready to ferue valiantly, and to vse their swords after the Komains dier. fallion, when their Generall should appoint and command them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to look to themselves, he commanded those that watched, should have no speares Paulus Enor pikes, because they should be more wakefull, having no long weapon to refist the enemy, if mylius they were affaulted. The greatest trouble his army had, was lack of fresh water, because the watthe watch urthatrantothe sea, was very litle, & maruellous foule by the sea side. But Amylius cosidering they were at the foot of the mount olympus (which is of a maruellous height, and full of wood frages mer withal)coiectured, sceing the trees so fresh & green, that there shold be some little prety springs pike. among them, which ran vnder the ground. So he made them dig many holes & wels along the moutain, which were fraight filled with faire water, being pent within groud before for lack of The original with the original transfer of the original transfer or the original transfer of the ori breaking open the heads, which the randown in ftreames, & met together in fundry places. And walk of yet some do deny, that there is any meeting of waters within the ground, fro whence the springs springs. decome: and they fay, that running out of the earth as they do it is not for that the water breakethout by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long times

compared to womens brefte.

but that it ingendreth & rifeth at the same time and place where it runneth not, turning the substance into water, which is a moist vapour, thickned & made cold by the coldnesse of the earth and so becometh a streame and runneth downe. For (say they) as womens breasts are notal waies full of milk (as milk pans are, that continually keep milk) but do of themselves courteth nutriment women take into milke, and after cometh forthat their nipples: euen fo the fprings and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, haue no meetings of hid den waters, nor hollow places so capable readily to deliuer water from the, as one wold draw it out of a pumpe or cisterne, from so many brooks, and deep rivers: but by their natural coldnes and moisture, they waxe thick, and put forth the vapour and aire so strong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reaso why the places where they dig & open the earth, do put forth more abudance of water by opening the ground:like as womens breafts do giue more milk when they are most drawne and suckt, because in a sortthey do better feed the vapour within them, & conuert it thereby into a running humour. Where to the contrary, those parts of the earth that are not digged, nor haue no veni outward, are the more vnable, & leffe meete to ingender water ha uing not that prouocation and course to runne, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture, Ye fuch as maintain this opinion, do give them occasion that love argument, to contrary them thus Then we may fay by like reasonalso, that in the bodies of beasts there is no bloud long before, and that it ingendreth vpon a fodaine, when they are hurt, by transferring of fome spirit or flesh that readily changeth into some running liquor. And moreouer, they are confuted by the common experiece of these mine-men, that dig in the mines for mettal, or that vndermine calles win them: who when they dig any great depth, do many times meet in the bowels of the camb with running rivers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle & litle, as of necessity it should be, if it were true, that vpon the prefent opening of the ground, the humour should immediatly be created but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes that in cutting the rough a mountaine or rocke, fodainely there runneth out a great quantitie of water. And this much for this matter. Now to return to our history again. Amylius lay there a conuenient time, and stirred not; and it is faid there were neuer scentwo so great armies one so necre to the other, and to be so quiet. In the end, casting many things with himself, and deuising fundry practises, he was informed of another way to enter into MACEDON, through the country of PERRÆBIA, ouer against the temple called Pythion, and the rock vpo which it is built, where there lay nogarrison: which gaue him better hope to passe that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrownes and hardnes of the way vnto it. So, he brake the matter of his councel. Thereuno Scipio Na- Scipio called Nasica (the son adopted of that Great Scipio the African, who became afterwards a great man, and was prefident of the Senate or councell) was the first man that offered himself fisa & Fa-bius Maxito leade them, whom it would please him to send to take that passage, & to assault their enemiss behind. The fecond was Fabius Maximus, the eldest fon of Æmylius, who being but a very yong man, rose not with standing, and offered himselfe very willingly. A mylius was very glad of their offers, and gauethem not so many men as Polybius writeth, but so many as Nasica himselfdeda reth in a letter of his he wrot to a king, where he reporteth al the story of this journy. There were 3000. ITALIANS, leavied in ITALY, by the confederates of the ROMAINES, who were noted the ROMAINE legions, and in the left wing about 5000. Besides those, Nasica tooke also 120 men at armes, and about 200. CRETANS and THRACIANS mingled together, of those Harps lus had sent thither. With this number Nasica departed from the campe, and tooke his way to ward the sea side, and lodged by the temple of Hercules, as if he had determined to do this seat by sea, to enuiron the campe of the enemies behind. But when the fouldiers had supped, & that it was darke night, he made the captaines of enery band printy to his enterprise, and so marched all night a contrary way from the sea, vntil at the length they came vnder the temple of Pythin where he lodged to rest the souldiers that were sore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount Olympus is aboue ten furlongs high as appeared in a place ingrauen by him that measured it.

sake the

Olympus mount is inft, by measure made with line, Twelue hundred seventy paces trod, as measure can assigne. The measure being made, right o're against the place, Whereas Apolloes temple stands, ybuilt with stately grace. Euen from the leavell plot, of that same countries plaine, Vnto the top which all on high, doth on the hillremaine.

And so Xenagoras the sonne of Eumelus, In olden dayes by measure made, the same did find for vs: And did engrave it here in writing for to fec, When as he tooke his latest leave (Apollo god) of thec.

Yetthe Geometricians fay that there is no mountaine higher, nor sea deeper, then the length of ten furlongs: fo that I thinke this Xenagoras (in my opinion) did not take his measure at aduenture, and by geffe, but by true rules of the art and inftruments Geometricall. There Nafica refled all night. King Perfew perceiuing in the meane time that Amylius stirred not from the place where he lay, mistrusting nothing his practise, and the coming of Nasica, who was at hand vntill fuch time as a traytor of CRETE (stealing from Nasica) did reveale vnto him the pretended pradife as alfothe Romain Bs compassing of him about: he wondered much at these newes howbeit he removed not his campe from the place he lay in, but dispatched one of his captaines called Milon, with ten thousand strangers, and two thousand Maceponians: and straightly commanded him with all the possible speed he could to get the top of the hill before them. Polybins faith, that the ROMAINE'S came and gaue them an alarum, when they were fleeping: But Walled writeth, that there was a maruellous sharpe and terrible battell on the top of the mountaine: and faid plainely, that a THRAGIAN fouldier coming towards him, he threw his dart at him, and hitting him right in the breft, flew him starke deade; and having repulsed their enemies, Milor their captain shamefully running away in his coat without armor or weapon, he followed him without any danger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safety of all his company. the flatebra This conflict fortuning thus, Perfeus railed his campe in great haste from the place where he was, effucien & being disappointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wits end, & not knowing how to determine. Yet was he conftrained either to ftay, & incampe before the city of Pydne, there to take the hazard of battel, or elfe to decide his army into his cities and firong holds, and to receive the wars within his own country, the which being once crept in could never be driuen out againe, without great murder and bloudshed. Hereupon his friends did counsell him, to chuse rather the fortune of battell; alleadging vnto him, that he was the stronger in men a great way, & that the MACEDONIANS wold fight luftily with all the courage they could, cofidering that they fought for the fafety of their wives & children, and also in the presence of their king. who should both see every mans doing, and fight himselfe in person also for them. The king moued by these perswassons, determined to venture the chance of battell. So he pitched his campe versus pieched his campe and viewed the fituation of the places all about, & deuided the copanies amongst his captaines, campe be purpofing to give a hot charge vpon the enemies when they should draw necre. The place and country was fuch, as being al chapion, there was a goodly valley to range a battel of footmen in and litle prety hils also one depending vpo another, which were very commodious for archers, naked men, & fuch as were lightly armed to retire themselves being diffressed, & also to enuiron their enemies behind. There were two finall rivers also, A fon and Leucus that ran through the fame, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the latter end of Sommer, yet of Hore to they would annoy the Romains notwithstanding. Now when Emylius was joyned with Na. Lucus. feet, he marched on straight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiving afar off their battel marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same the wondred to behold it, and suddenly stayed his army, considering with himselfe what he had to do. Then the yong captains having charge under him, defirous to fight it out presently went unto him to pray him to give the onset, but Nasica specially above the rest, having good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. Amylius smiling, answered him: So would Ido, if I were Amylius as yong as thou. But the fundry victories I have wonne heretofore, having taught me by expe-antiories rience the faults the vanquished do commit, do forbid me to go so hotly to worke (before my fica, for gifouldiers have rested, which did returne but now) to assault an army set in such order of bat- wing thange tell. When he had answered him thus, he commanded the first bands that were now in view of the enemies, should embattell themselues, shewing a countenance to the enemie as though The Wiley they would fight: and that those in the rereward should lodge in the meane time, and fortifie foresign of the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by changing from man to man, tains before the enemies were aware of it; he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyfe, and the enemies neuer perceihing it. But when night came, and every man had supped, as they were going to sleepe and

The eclipse Moone. The Super fition of the Romaines when the Moone is eslipsed.

The cause of an eclip of the Muone.

Amylino. policy to brocure

Thearmy of the Ma cedonians, against the Romainec

take their rest: the Moone which was at the full, and of a great height, began to darken and to change into many forts of colours, loofing her light, vntill such time as she vanished away and was eclipfed altogether. Then the Romaines began to make a noife with basons and pans. as their fashion is to do in such a chance, thinking by this found to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting vp many torches lighted and firebrands into the aire. The $M_{A\,C\,E}$ DONIANS On the other fide did no fuch matter within the campe, but were altogether fitt. ken with an horrible feare: and there ranne a whifpering rumour through the people, that this figne in the element fignified the eclipse of the King. For Amylius was not ignorant of thedi. uersities of the eclipses, and he had heard say the cause is, by reason that the Moone making her ordinarie course about the world (after certaine revolutions of time) doth come to enterinto the round shadow of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden, vntill such time as he. uing past the darke region of the shadow, she commeth afterwards to recouer her light which the taketh of the Sunne. Neuertheleffe, he being a godly deuout man, so soone as he perceiued the Moone had recouered her former brightnesse againe, he facrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning also by the breake of day, making facrifice to Hercules, he could never have any fignes or tokens that promifed him good luck, in facrificing twenty oxen one after another but at the one twentieth he had fignes that promifed him victory, so he defended himself. Where fore, after he had vowed a folemne facrifice of an hundred oxen to Hercules, and also games of prices at the weapons, he commanded his captaines to put their men in readinesse to fight; and fo fought to win time, tarying till the Sunne came about in the afternoone towards the West, to the end that the Romaines which were turned towards the East, should not have it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed himselfe in his tent, which was all open behind towards the fide that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies lay When it grew towards night, to make the enemies fet upon his men, some say he vsed thispolicy. He made a horse be driven towards them without a bridle, & certain Romains followed him, as they would have taken him againe: and this was the cause of procuring the skirmish. 0. ther fay, that the THRACIANS feruing vnder the charge of captaine Alexander, did fet vponcer taine for ragers of the Romains, that brought for rage into the campe: out of the which, fence hundred of the Ligyrians ranne suddenly to the rescue and reliefe coming still from both armies, at the last the maine battel followed after. Wherfore Emylius like a wise General forfeeing by the danger of this skirmish, and the stirring of both campes, what the fury of thebat tell would come to: came out of histent, and passing by the bands did encourage them, and prayed them to sticke to it like men. In the meane time, Nasica thrusting himselfe into the place where the skirmish was hottest, perceived the army of the enemies marching in battell ready loyne. The first that marched in the voward were the THRACIANS, who seemed terribleto look vpon, as he writeth himfelf:for they were mighty made men, & caried maruellous bright targets of steele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, & their thighes with tales their coates were black, and marched shaking heavy halberds vpon their shouldiers. Next vno these Thracians, there followed them all the other strangers and souldiers whom the king had hired, diuerfly armed and fet forth: for they were people of fundry nations gathered toge ther, among whom the PEONIANS were mingled. The third squadron was of MACEDONI ANS, and all of the chosen men, as well for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantnes of their persons: & they were all ingoodly gilt armours, & braue purple cassockes vponthe, spickean span new. And at their backes came after them, the old bands to shew themselves out of the campe with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to shine with the brightnes of their steel and copper. And all the hils and mountaines thereabouts did ring againe like an Echo, with the ery and noise of somany fighting men, one encouraging another. In this order they marchedia fiercely with so great heart-burning, and such swiftnesse: that the first which were slaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlongs from the camp of the Romains. The charge being given and the battel begunne, Amylius gallopping to the voward of the battel, perceived that the captains of the Macedonians which were in the first ranks, had already thrust their pikes into the Ro MAINES targets, fo as they could not come neere them with their fwords: and that the other MACEDONIANS carying their targets behind them, had now plucked them before them, and did base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the Ro MAINES. Which when he had confidered, and of what strength and force his wall and ranke

of targets was, one joyning so necreanother, and what a terrrour it was to see a front of a battell with so many armed pikes and steele heads; he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any fight he euer faw before, neuertheles he could wifely diffemble it at that time. And so paffing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he shewed a noble cheereful countenance vnto them that fought. But on the contrary fide, Perfeus the king of Perfeus MACE DON, as Polybins writeth, fo soone as the battell was begun, withdrew himselfe, and got the battell into the city of Prone, under pretence to go to do facrifice unto Hercules: who doth not accept mio Pydne. the faint sacrifice of cowards, neither doth receive their prayers, because they be vnreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not should hit the white: nor that he should winne the victory, that bideth not the battell, neither that he should have any good, that doth nothing towards it : northata naughty man should be fortunate and prosper. The gods did fauour Amy-wondy lalius prayers, because he prayed for victory with his sword in his hand, and fighting did call to bour, me them for aide. Howbeit there is one Posidonius a writer, who saith he was in that time, and moreouer that he was at the battell: and he hath written an history containing many bookes of the acts of king Perseus, where he faith, that it was not for faint heart, nor vnder colour to sacrifice vnto Hercules, that Perfeus went from the battel, but because he had a stripe of an horse on the thigh the day before: who though he could not very well helpe himselfe, and that all his friends fought to perswade him not to go to the battell, yet he caused one of his horses to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly vied to ride vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of darts were throwne at him fro both fides. And among those, he had a blow with a dart that hurt him somewhat, but it was ouerthwart, & not with the point, and did hit him on the left fide glancing wife, with fuch aforce, that it rent his coat, and rafed his skin vnderneath, so as it left a marke behind a long time after. And this is all that Posidonius writeth to defend and excuse Perseus. The Romains having their hands full, and being staied by the battell of the MACEDONIANS that they could make no breach into them, there was a captaine of the Pelignians called Saline, who tooke the enfigne Saline of his band, and cast it among the prease of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians set vpon captains of them, with a maruellous force and fury in that place: for all ITALIANS thinke it too greate a flame and dishonour for souldiers to lose or for sake their ensigne. Thus was there maruellous the ensigned to be a supplied to the same and dishonour for sould be same as the same and dishonour for sould be same as the same and dishonour for sould be same as the same and dishonour for sould be same as the same and dishonour for sould be same as the force of both fides vied in that place: for the Pelignians proued to cutthe Macedonians and three pikes with their swords, or else to make them give backe with their great targets, or to make a the sheetenies. breach into the, and to take their pikes with their hands. But the Mac EDONIANS to the contrary, holding their pikes fast with both hands, ran the through that came neere vnto them, so that neither target not corflet could hold out the force and violence of the push of their pikes, in so much as they turned up the heeles of the Pelignians and Thracians, who like despetate beafts without reason, shutting in themselues among their enemies, ranne wilfully yoon their owne deaths, and their first ranke were slaine euery man of them. Thereupon those that were behinde, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backs, and only retired giving backe towards the mountaine olocrus. Emylius feeing that (as Posidonius writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, because that some of his mengaue backe: other durst not from the battell of the Macedonians, which was fo strongly imbattelled on every side and so mured in with a wall of pikes, presenting their armed heads on every side a man could come, that it was impossible to breake into them, no not so much as come neere them onely. Yet notwithstanding, because the field was not altogether plaine and even, the battell that was large in the front, couldnot alwayes keepe that wall, continuing their targets close one to another, but they were driuen of necessity to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great force of the fouldiers: that in one placethey thrust forward, and in another they gue backe, and leave a hole. Wherefore Amylius suddenly taking the vantage of this occasion, deuided his men into small companies, and commanded them they should quickly thrust in betweene their enemics, and occupy the places they faw voide in the front of their enemies, and that they should set on them in that fort, and not with one whole continual charge, but occupying them here and there with diverse companies in fundry places. AEmylius gave this tharge vnto the private captaines of every band and their lieuctenants, and the captaines also gaue the like charge vnto their fouldiers that could skilfully execute their commandement. For they went presently into those parts where they saw the places open, and being once

Æmylius Perfen's

fought and wonne in one houre.

The valir Scipio the

entred in among them, some gauecharge vpon the flanckes of the MACEDONIANS, where they were all naked and vnarmed: other set vpon them behind, so that the strength of all the corpes of the battell (which confifteth in keeping close together) being opened in this fort, was straight ouerthrowne. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few against a few the MACE PONIANS with their litle short swords, came to strike upon the great shields of the Ro-MAINES, which were very strong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrary, were driven of necessity to receive the blowes of the strong heavy swords of the ROMAINES, vpontheir light weake targets, fo that what with their heauinesse, and vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corflet, but they paffed it through, and ran them in. By reason whereof they could make no long resistance, whereupon they turned their backs and ranne away. But when they came to the squadron of the old beaten fouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the crucllest fight and most desperate sentice, where they fay that Marcus Cato (fon of great Cato, and fon in law of Amylius) shewing all the valiantnes in his person that a noble mind could possibly personne, lost his sword which fell out of his hand. But he like a yong man of noble courage, that had bin valiantly brought vp in all diferpline, & knew how to follow the steps of his father (the noblest person that euer mansaw) was to Thew then his valure and worthines, and thought it more honor for him there to die, then living to fuffer his enemies to enjoy any spoile of his. So, by and by he ran into the Romaine army, to find out some of his friends, whom he told what had befallen him, and prayed them to help him to recouer his fword, whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lufty valiant fouldiers together, they rushed straight among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so did set vpon them with such force and fury, that they made a lane through the middest of them, and with great flaughter and spilling of bloud, euen by plaine force, they cleared the way still before them. Now when the place was voided, they fought for the fword, and in the end found it with great ado, amongsta heape of other swords and dead bodies; whereat they reiovced maruelloufly. Then finging a fong of victory, they went again more fiercely then before to giue a charge voon their enemies, who were not yet broken afunder: vntill such time as at the length, the three thousand chosen MACEDONIAN's fighting valiantly even to the last man, and neuer forsaking their rankes, were all slaine in the place. After whose ouerthrow, there was a great flaughter of other also that fled, so that all the valley and foote of the mountaines therea. bours was couered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the ROMAINES did passe ouer the river Leucus, they found it running all bloudy. For it is said there were slaineat this field of Perseus men, aboue five and twenty thousand; and of the ROMAINES side, as Pofidonius faith, not aboue fixescore, or as Nasica writeth, but sourcescore only. And for so great an ouerthrow, it is reported it was wonderful quickly done, & executed. For they began to fight about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and had wonne the victory before foure, and all the rest of the day they followed their enemies in chase, an hundred and twenty furlongs from the place where the battell was fought, fo that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So fuch as returned, was received with maruellous greation of their pages that went out with linkes and torches lighted, to bring their masters into their tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them vp with crownes & garlands of laurell, fauing the Generals tent onely: who was very heavy, for that of his two fonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be found, which he loued best of the twaine, because he saw he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethren. For euenthen, being new crept out of the shell as it were, he was maruellous valiant and hardie, and desired honour wonderfully. Now Amylius thought he had bene cast away, fearing lest for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the raffinesse of his youth, he had put himselfe too fare in fight amongst the prease of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard straight what sorow Amylius was in, and how gricuously he tooke it. The Romain's being set at supper, rose from their meat, and with torch-light fomeran to Amylius tent, other went our of the campe to feeke him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: so all the campe was ful of sorow & mourning, the valleys and hils all about did ring againe with the cries of those that called Scipio aloud. For even from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and fingular parts required in a captaine and wife gouernour of the common-weale Laboue all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his coming againe, he happily returned from

PAVLVS ÆMYLIVS.

the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars onely, all bloudied with new bloud (like a fwift running greyhound fleshed with the bloud of the hare) having pursued very farre for iov of the victory. It is that Scipio which afterwards destroyed both the cities of CARTHAGE and NVMANTIVM, who was the greatest man of war and valiantest captaine of the Romains in his time, and of the greatest authority & reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she did beare to so noble an exploit suffered Amylius for that time, to take his full pleasure of that noble victory. And as for Perfeus, he fled first fro Perseus fled the city of Py DNE, vnto the city of Pella, with his horsemen, which were in manner all saued. Iron of the Wherupon the footmen that faued themselues by flying, meeting them by the way, called them traytors, cowards, & villaines; and worse then that, they turned them off their horse backes, and fought it out lustily with them. Perfeus feeing that, and fearing lest this mutiny might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horse out of the high way, and pulled off his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe in his hand, fearing to be knowne thereby: and that he might the more easily speake with his friends by the way, he lighted on foot, & led his horse in his hand. But fuch as were about him, one made as though he would mend the latchet of his shoo, another seemed to water his horse, another as though he would drink; so that one dragging after another in this fort, they al left him at the last, & ran their way, not fearing the enemies fury so much, as their kings cruelty: who being grieued with his misfortune, sought to lay the fault of the ouerthrow vpon all other but himfelf. Now he being come into the city of Pella by night, Endus & Endens, two of his treasurers came vnto him, & speaking boldly (but out of time) prefumed to tell him the great fault he had committed, and to counfell him what he should do. Time and daty to be The king was fo moued with their prefumption, that with his own hands he stabbed his dagger observed in them both, & flew them outright. But after this fact, all his feruants & friends refused him, and prince, there only taried with him but Enander CRETAN, Archedamus ATOLIAN, & Neo Bosorian. Death, the And as for the meane fouldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, & yet it indignation was not for the good will they did beare him, but for the loue of his gold and filuer, as Bees that Printe. keepe their hines for loue of the hony: for he caried with him a great treasure, & gaue the leave The cone to spoile certain plate & vessel of gold and filuer, to the value of fifty talents. But first of all when the was come into the city of Annual to & afterwards in the city of the city of Annual to & afterwards in the city of the city of the city o he was come into the city of AMPHIPOLIS, & afterwards into the city of ALEPSE, & that the fearewas well blowne ouer, he returned againe to his old humour which was borne and bred with him, and that was anarice and mifery: for he complained vnto those that were about him, that he had vnwares given to the fouldiers of CRETA, his plate and veffell of gold to be spoiled, whine for being those which in old time belonged vnto Alexander the great; and prayed them with teares in his eies that had the place, they wold be contented to change it for ready mony. Now fuch as knew his nature, found fraight this was but a fraud & a CRETAN lyc, to acceive the CRETANS with but those that trusted him, and did restore againe the plate they had, did lose it every iot, for hencuer payed the peny for it. So he got of his friends, the value of thirty talents, which his enemies soone after did take from him. And with that sum he went into the Ile of Samor HRAcra, where he took the fanctuary and priviledge of the temple of Caftor & Pollux. They fay, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuance did naturally loue their kings: but then feeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed the, & broke withall. For they all came & fubmitted themselves to Amylius, and made him Lord of the whole Realme of MACEDON in two donians dayes; and this doth seeme to confirme their words, who impute all Amylius doings vnto his themselves good fortune. And furely, the maruellous fortune he happened on in y city Amphipolis, doth to Emplius. confirme it much, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the gods. For one day beginning to do facrifice, lightning fell from heaven, and fet all the wood on fire worders. vpon the altar, & fan Hiffed the facrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure daies after Perfeus had loft the battell, and that the city of PELLA was taken, as the broughts people of Rome were at the lifts or flew place, feeing horfes run for games: fuddenly there a. Romone rosea rumor at the entring into the lists where the games were, that Amylins had wome a in some great battell of King Perseus, and had conquered all MACEDON. This newes was rife straight daying inchery mans mouth, and there followed vpon it a maruellous ioy and great cheere in every. Empline corner, with shouts & clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the city of Rome. there; and Afterwards they made diligent enquiry, how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine author no man could be knowne, and enery man faid they heard it spoken: so as in the end it came to nothing, knew how they came.

and passed away in that fort for a time. But shortly after, there came letters, and certaine newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it, which could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We do reade also of a battell that was fought in ITALY, neare vnto the river of SAGRA, whereof newes was brought the very same day vnto Peloponnesvs. And of another also in like maner that was fought in Asia against the Medes, before the city of Mycala: the newes whereof came the same day vnto the campe of the GRECIANS, lying before the city of PLATOES. And in that great iourny where the Romains ouerthrew the Tarquins, & the army of the Latins: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they faw two goodly yong men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victory to Rome, and they judged they were Callor & Pollax. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white some, told them, that he wondered how they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, & tooke him softly by the beard with both their hands, and even in the market place his haire being black before, was prefently turned yellow. This miracle made them beloeue the report the man made, who ever after was called Ambarbus, as you would fay, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like matter that happened in our time makethall fuch newes credible: For when Antonius rebelled against the Emperour Domitian, the city of Rom B was in a maruellous perplexity, because they looked for great warrestowards GERMANIE, But in this feare, there grew a sudden rumor of victory, & it went currantly through Rome, that Antonius himselfe was flaine, and all his army ouerthrowne, and not a man left aliue. This rumour was so rife, that many of the chiefest men of Rome beleeved it, & did sa crifise thereupon vnto the gods, giving them thankes for the victory. But when the matter came to fifting, who was the first author of the rumour, no man could tell: for one put it ouer still to another, and it died so in the end amongst the people, as in a bottomlesse matter, for they could neuer boult out any certaine ground of it: but eue as it came flying into Rome, so went it flying away againe, no man could tell how. Notwithstanding, Domitian holding on his journy to make this warre, met with posts that brought him letters of the certaine victory; and remembring the rumor of the victory that ran before in Rome, he found it true, that it was on the very sameday the victory was gotten; and the distance between Rome and the place where the field was won, was aboue 2000 furlongs off. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But again toour history. cn.odanius, lieutenant of the army of Amylius by sea, came to anker vnder the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he wold not take Perfeus by force out of the fanctuary where he was, for the reverence he did beare unto the gods Caftor & Pollux: but he did besiege him in such fort, as he mant by fea. could not scape him, nor flie by sea out of the Hand. Yet he had secretly practised with one onandes a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a prise with him for a sum of mony to conucy him away by night: But the CRETAN served him a right CRETAN'S tricke. For when he had taken aboard by night into his veffel, all the kings treasure of gold & filuer, he sent him word that he should not faile the next night following to come into the peere by the temple of Ceres, with his wife, his children and feruants, where indeed was no possibility to take shipping; but the next night following he hoifed faile, and got him away. It was a pitifull thing that Perfens was driven to do and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a litle straight winrable fate Perfeits Was dow vponthe wals, and not only himselfe, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knew before what flying and hardnesse meant. And yet he fetched a more grieuous bitter sigh, when one told him on the pecre, that he law Oroandes the CRETAN under faile in the maine scas. Then day be the craft & fubrelty of ginning to breake, & feeing himself void of all hope, heran with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the fanctuary againe, before the Romains that faw him could ouertake him. Andas for his children, he had given them himself into the hands of one Ion, whom before he had maruellously loued, & who did then traiterously betray him: for he deliuered his children vntothe ROMAINS. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that draue him (as a beast that will follow her litle ones being taken fro her) to yeeld himself into their hands that had his children. Now he had a speciall confidence in Scipio Nasica, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeeld himself:but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he began to lament his hard and miserable fortune every way. And in the end, confidering how necessity enforced him, he mustinatia, yeelded himselfe into the hands of Cneus Offauius, wherein he shewed plainly that he had another vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then auarice, that was a faint heart, and feare to die. But

hereby he deprined himselfe of others pity and compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot deny & take from the afflicted, and specially from them that have a noble heart. For he made request they would bring him vnto the General Amylius who rose from his chaire when he saw him come, and went to meete him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to meete a great king, by fortune of warre and by the will of the gods, faller into that most lamentable state. But he to the contrary, vnmanly, and shamefully behaued himselfe. For he fell downe at his feet, and embraced his knees, and vetered fuch vecomely speech and vile requests, as Amylius selfe could not abide to heare them but knitting his browes against him, being hartilv offended, he spake thus vnto him: Alaspoore man, why dost thou discharge fortune of this oration ?? fault, where thou mightest iustly charge and accuse her of thy discharge, doing things, for the forer, which every one judgeth thou hast deserved thy present misery, and art vnworthy also of thy former honor. Why dost thou defame my victory, and blemish the glory of my doings, shewing the felf so base a man, as my honour is not great to ouercome so vnworthy an enemy? The Ro-MAINES haue cuer effeemed magnanimity, cuen in their greatest enemies: but dastardlinesse, though it be fortunate, yet it is hated of enery body. Notwithstanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hand, gaue him into the custody of Elius Tubero. Then Emylius went into his tent and caried his fons, and fons in law with him, and other men of quality, and specially the vonger forts And being fet downe, he continued a great space very pensiue with himselfe, not speaking a word insomuch that all the standers by wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into discourse and talke of fortune, and the vnconstancy of these worldly things, and faid vnto the: Is there any man lining, my friends, who having fortune at will, should thereforeboalt & glory in the prosperity of his doings, for that he had conquered a country, city, or fortune and Realmeand not rather to feare the vnconstancy of fortune who laying before our eyes, and all flang, those that professe ar this present, so notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainely teach vs to thinke, that there is nothing constant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men may thinke themselues assured, considering that when they have ouercome others, then are they driven to mistrust fortune most, and to mingle feare and mistrust, with joy of victory: if they will wifely confider the common course of fatall destiny that altereth daily, fometime fauouring one, otherwile throwing downe another. You fee, that in an houres space " we have troden under our feet the house of Alexander the Great: who hath bin the mightiest and most redoubted prince of the world. You see a king, that not long since was followed & accompaned, with many thousand souldiers of horsemen & sootmen, brought at this present into such ", miscrable extremity, that he is inforced to receive his meate and drinke daily at the hands of his enemies. Should we have any better hope then, that fortune wil alwaies fauor our doings, more then she doth his now, at this present no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter wel, you yong men I say, be not too brag nor foolish proud, of this conquest and noble victory; but think whatmay happen hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuy of this our present prosperity. Such were Amylius words to these yong men, as it is reported, bridling by these and such like perswasions, the lusty brauery of this youth, even as with the bit and bridle of reason. Afterwards he put his army into garrifons to refresh them: and went himselfe in person in the meanetime to visite GRECE, making it an honorable progresse, and also a commendable. For as hepassed through the cities, he relieued the people, reformed the government of their state, and progression euergaue them some gift or present. Vnto some he gaue corne, which king Perseus hadgathered Gree. for the wars and vnto other he gaue oiles, meeting with fo great store of prouision, that he rather lacked people to give it vnto, to receive it at his hands, then wanting to give, there was so much. Ashepassed by the city of DELPHES, he saw therea great piller, toure square, of white stone, which they had fet vp, to put king Per few image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commanded them to fet vp his in that place, faying: It was reason the conquered should give place vnto the conquerors. And being in the city of OLYMPIA, visiting the temple of Jupiter Olympian, he spake this openly, which ever fince hath bene remembred: that Phidias had rightly made Inpiter, as Homer had describedhim. Afterwards when the ten ambassadors were arrived that were sent from Rome to establish with him the realm of Macedon, he redeliuered the Macedonians their Amplion tountry and townes againe, to line at liberty, according to their lawes, paying yearly to the Ro- found Ma-MAIN'S for tribute, a hundred talents: where beforethey were wont to pay vnto their kingsten times as much And he made plants where before they were wont to pay vnto their kingsten times as much And he made plants and the second state of the seco times as much. And he made playes and games of all forts, & did celebrate sumptuous sacrifices

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vntothe gods. He kept open court to all comers, and made noble feafts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treasure Perfeus had gathered together, sparing for no cost. But through his care and forefight, there was a speciall good order taken, every man so courteously receiued and welcomed, and fo orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling that the GRE clans wondred to fee him fo carefull in matters of sport and pleasure and that he took as great paines in his own person, to see that smal matters should be ordered as they ought. as he tooke regard for discharge of more weightie causes. But this was a maruellous pleasurer him to fee that among such sumptuous fights prepared to shew pleasure to the persons inuited no fight nor flately shew did so delight the as to enjoy the fight and company of his person so he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence & care in these matters: that to order a season well, required as great judgement and discretion, as to set a battel: to make the one seareful to the enemics, and the other acceptable to his friends. But menesteemed his bounty & magnanimity for his best vertue and quality. For he did not only refuse to see the kings wonderfull treasure of gold and filter, but caused it to be told, and delivered to the custody of the treasures, to cary to the coffers of flore in Rome and onely inffered his fons that were learned, to take the books of the kings library. When he did reward the foldiers for their valiant feruice in this battel, he gaue his fon in law Alius Tubero a cup, weying fluctalents. It is the fame Tubero we told you of before, who lived with fixteene other of his kin al in one house, and of the only revenue they had of a litle farme in the country. Some fay, that that cup was the first peece of plate that cuer came into the house of the Alyansi & yet it came for honor and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither thefelues, nor their wines, would ener haue, or weare any gold or filuer. After he had we ry well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leaue of the GRECIANS, and com. felled the Macedonians to remember the liberty the Romains had given the, & that they should be carefull to keepe it, by their good government and concord together. Then he departed from the m, and took his iourny towards the country of Ep 1 Rv s, having received commiffion from the Senate of Rome, to fuffer his fouldiers who had done feruice in the battel, and ucribrow of king Perfeus, to spoile all the cities of that country. Wherfore that he might surprife them on a sudden, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should fend him by a certain day, ten of the chiefeft men of euery city. Who when they were come, he commanded them to go and bring him by fuch a day, all the gold & filuer they had within their cities, as well in their private houses, as in their temples and churches, and gave vnto every one of them a captaine and garrifon with them, as if it had bene only to have received and fearched for the gold and filuer he demanded. But when the day appointed was come, the fouldiers in diuerle places (and all at one time) fer vpontheir enemies, and did rifle and spoile them of that they had, and made them also pay ransome enery man: So as by this policy, they were taken & made flaues in one day, a hundred and fifty thouland persons, and threescore & ten cities spoiled and facked enery one, And yet when they came to divide the spoile of this generall destruction of a whole Realine by the poll, it came not to every fouldiers part, about eleven filter Drachmesapeece. Which made enery one to wonder greatly and to feare also the terror of the wars to be the wealth and riches of to great a Realme, to mount to folittle for every mans share. When &mylim had done this fact against his own nature, which was very gentle and courteous, he went vnto the sea fide to the city of Orica, and there embarked with his army bound for ITALIE. Where when he was arrived, he went up the river of Tyber against the streame, in king Perfess chiefe galley, which had fixteene owers on a fide richly fet out with the armor of the prisoners, rich clothes of purple colour, and other fuch spoiles of the enemies: so that the Romains rumning out of Rome in multitudes of people to fee his galley, & going fide by fide by her as they rowed foftly, Amylius took as great pleafure in it, as in any open games or feafts, or triumphthat had bin shewed indeed, But when the fouldiers faw, that the gold and filter of king Perfeus treafure was not divided among ft them according vnto promife, & that they had a great deale leffe then they looked for they were maruelloufly offended, and inwardly grudged Amylius in their hearts. Neuertheleffe they durft not speake it openly, but did accuse him, that he had bene too ftraight vnto them in this war and therefore they did flew no great defire, nor forwardnesse, to the entry of procure him the honour of triumph. Which Servius Galba understanding, that had benean old enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men under him in this warreshe like an enuious viper told the people, that Amylins had not deferued the honor of triumph, and

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261 fowed feditions words against him among the foldiers, to aggrauate their il wil the more against him. Moreouer he craued a day of the Tribunes of the people, to have respirt obring forth such matter as they determined to object against him: saying the time then was far spent, the Sun being but foure houres high, and that it would require longer time and leifure. The tribunes made himanswer, that he should speake then what he had to say against him, or otherwise they would not grant him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long oration in his dispraise, ful of railing words, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing oration. Afterwards when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the affembly, and the next morning the fouldiers being incouraged by contention Galbaes oration, and having confedered together, did flock about Galba, in the mount of the Ca- about A. pitoll, where the Tribunes had given warning they would keepe their affembly. Now being militaret broad day Amylius triumph was referred to the most number of voices of the people, & the first tribe flatly did deny his triumph. The Senate, & the refidue of the people hearing that, were very fory to fee they did Amylius fo open wrong and injury. The common people faid nothing to it but seemed to be very fory, howbeit they fought no redresse. The Lords of the Senate cried out vpon them, and said, it was too much shame; and exhorted one another to bridle the insolency and boldnesse of those souldiers, who wold grow in the end to such tumult & disorder, that they would commit all mischiese and wickednesse, if betimes they were not looked to and preuented, secing they did so openly stand against their Generall, seeking to deprive him of the honor of histriumph and victory. So they affembled a good company of them together, and went vpto the Capitol, and prayed the Tribunes they would stay to take the voices of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with fuch needfull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The Seculian o-Tribunes granted to it, & filence was made. Then Marcus Servilius, who had bene Confull, and ration for had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne person, & had alwaics staine trance of as many of his enemics as chalenged him man for man; rose vp, and spake in fauour of Amylius in Amylius in this matter: I know now (faid he) better then before, how noble and worthy a captaine Paulus Emylius is, who hath atcheiued fuch glory & honorable victory, with fo dishonorable & diso- " bedient fouldiers. And I can but wonder that the people not long fince reioyced and made great co account of the victories and triumphs won vpon the ILLYRIANS & other nations of Africk: 66 and that now they should for spite enuy his glory (doing what lyeth in them to hinder) to bring aMacedonian king aliue in a triumph, and to shew the glory and greatnesse of king Philip and Alexander the Great, subdued by the Romains force and power. What reason have ye, the not long fince, vpon affying rumour that Amylius had won the battell against Perfeus, you straight ce made facrifice to the gods with greatioy, praying them that you might be witneffes, of the truth co thereof: and now that the person himselse whom ye made Generall is returned home, and doth ... deliner you most assured victory, you do frustrate the gods most solemne thanks and honor due ... to them, and do depriue your selues also of your wonted glory in such a case: as if you were a- co feard to fee the great neffe of your prosperity, or that you meant to pardon a king, your slaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you have more reason to hinder the triumph, as pitying the king, « then ennying your Captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your patience is growne to such an infolent audacity, & boldnesse, that we see men present here before vs, which neuer went from the fmoke of the chimney, nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at ... home like women and house-doues; and yet they are so impudent and shamelesse, as they dare ... presume vnreuerently to your faces to prate of the office and duty of a Generall of an army, and of the descrit of triumph, before you I say, who by experience of many a sore cut and wound vpon your bodies in the warres, haue learned to know a good and valiant captaine, from a vile and se cowardly person. And speaking these words, he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them all the infinite scars and cuts he had received vpon his brest; and then turning him behind, shewed all fuch places as were not fit to be seene openly, and so turned himself agains to Galba, and hid vnto him: Thou mockest me for that I shew thee: but I reioyce before my countrymen and citizens, that for seruing my country night and day on horse backe, I have these wounds vpon me which thou feest. Now get thee about thy businesse and receive their voices: & I will come after, noting them that are naughty & vnthankful citizens, who like to be soothed with flattery, " and not stoutly comanded, as behoued a General in the warre. These words so reined the hardheaded fouldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other tribes agreed in one, & granted Æmylius triumphithe order and solemnitie whereof was performed in this sort. First, the people

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having fet vp fundry scaffolds, as well in the lists and field called circos by the LATINES, where the games and common running of horses & chariots are made, as also about the market place and in other streets of the citie, in the which the shew of the triumph should passe: they all prefented themselves in their best gownes to see the magnificence, and state therof. All the temples of the gods also were set wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within and there were ferthrough all the quarters of the citic, numbers of fergeants and other officers holding tipstaues in their hands to order the stragling people. & to keepe them vp in corners and lanes ends, that they should not petter the streets, & hinder the triumph. Furthermore the sight of this triumph was to continue three daies, wherof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images, tables, and pictures, and statues of wonderfull bignesse, all won and gotten of their enemies, & drawn in the shew vpon 250 chariots. The second day, there were caried vpon a number of carts, all the fairest and richest armour of the MACEDONIANS, as well of copper, as also of iron and seele, all glistring bright, being newly furbushed, and artificially laid in order (and yet in such fort, as if they had bin cast in heapes one vpon another, without taking any case otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) faire burganets vpon targets: habergions, or bri. gantines and corflets, youn graues; round targets of the CRETANS, and iauclins of the THRA. CIANS, and arrowes amongst the armed pikes: all this armour and cariage, being bound oneto another fo trimly (neither being too loofe, nor too straight) that one hitting against another, as they drew them you the carts through the city, they made such a found & noise, as is was fear. full to heare in for that the onely fight of these spoiles of the captiues being ouercome, made the fight fo much more terrible to behold after these carts loden with armour there followed 3000 men, which caried the ready mony in 750 veffels, which weighed about three talents apeece. enery one of them were carried by foure men: & there were other that carried great bolles of fil. ucr, cups and goblets fashioned like pitchers, & other pots to drink in goodly to behold, as well for their bignes, as for their great & fingular imboffed works about them. The third day early in the morning the trumpets began to found and fet forwards, founding no march nor fweet note. to beautifie the triumph withall: but they blew out the braue alarum the found at an affault, to give the fouldiers courage for to fight. After them followed fix score goodly fat oxen, having all their hornes gilt, and garlands of flowers & nofegaies about their heads, and there went by the certaine yong men, with aprons of needle-worke, girt about their middle, who led them to the facrifice, and yong boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold & filuer, to cast and sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that caried all comes of gold deuided by basons & vessels, and every one of them weying three talents, as they didbe fore, that carried the great holy cup, which Amylius had caused to be made of massie gold, set fill of precious stons, weying the weight of tentalents, to make an offering vnto the gods. Andnex vnto them went other that caried plate, made and wrought after antike fashion, & notable cups of the ancient kings of Macedon: as the cup called Antigonus, and another Seleucus: and tobe short, al the whole cubboord of plate of gold and filter of king Perfeus. And next them came the chariot of his armour in the which was all king Perfess harneffe, and his royall band (they call a Diademe) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the kings children whom they led prisoners with the traine of their schoole-masters & other officers, & their ser uants, weeping and lamenting who held up their hands unto the people that looked upon them and taught the kings yong children to do the like, to aske mercy & grace at the peoples hands There were three prety litle children, two fonnes and a daughter amongst them, whose tender yeares and lacke of understanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feele their present misery, which made the people so much the more to pity them, when they saw the poore little infants, that knew not the change of their fortune: fo that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples hearts did mel for very pity, that the teares ran downe their cheekes, so as this fight brought both pleasure and forow, together to the lookers on, vntill they were past and gone a good way out of fight. King Perfeus the father, followed after his children and their traine, and he was cloathed in a black King Pergown, wearing a paire of flippers on his feet after his country maner. He shewed by his counter nance his troubled mind, oppress with sorow of his most milerable state & fortune. He was sol lowed with his kinsfolkes, his familiar friends, his officers & houshold feruants, their faces disfi gured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting teares, and forrowfull eyes cast

voon their vnfortunate mafter, how much they forowed and bewailed his most hard and cruell fortune, litle accounting of their owne mifery. The voyce goeth, that Perfeus sent vnto Emilius Emilius to intreat him, that he should not be led through the city in the shew & sight of the triumph, But Emplius mocking (as he deserved) his cowardly faint heart, answered: As for that, it was before, world. and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let him vnderstand thereby, that he might rather chuse to dye, then living to receive such open shame. Howbeit his heart would not serve him, he was so cowardly, & made so effeminate, by a certain vaine hope he knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his owne spoiles. After all this, there followed 400. princely ded comme crownes of gold, which the cities & towns of GRECE had purposely sent by their ambassadors of gold sent by the gold sent by t vnto Almylius, to honour his victory; and next vnto them, he came himself in his chariot triumphing, which was paffing sumptuously set forth and adorned. It was a noble fight to behold: and the site of yetthe person of himselfe only was worth the looking on, without all that great pomp & magnificence. For he was apparrelled in a purple gowne branched with gold, and caried in his right hand a laurell bough, as all his army did besides: the which being deuided by bands and companies, followed the triumphing chariot of their captaine, some of the souldiers singing songs of vistory, which the Romains of the in like triumphs, mingling them with merry pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of the also did sing songs of triumph, in the honor and praise of Amylius noble conquest and victory. He was openly praised, blessed, and honoured of eury body, and neither hated nor enuied of honest ment fauing the ordinary vie of some god, whose property is alwayes to lessen or cut off some part of mans exceeding prosperity & felicitie, mingling with mans life the sence and feeling of good and cuill together: because that no liuing person should passe all his time of life, without some aduersity or missortune, but that such (as Homer faith) should only thinke themselves happy, to whom fortune hath equally forted the good with the cuill. And this I speak, because Amylins had four fons, two of the which he gaue AEmilios inadoption vnto the families of scipio and of Fabius, as we have faid before: & two other which adversise. hehad by his second wife, he brought vp with him in his owne house, and were both yet very yong of the which the one died, being fourteene yeares of age fine dayes before his fathers triumph: and the other died also three dayes after the pompe of triumph at twelue yeares of age. When this forrowfull chance had befallen him, energy one in Rome did pity him in their hearts: but fortunes spite & cruelty did more grieue and fearethe, to see her litle regard towards him, toput into a house of triumph (full of honour and glory, and of sacrifices and joy) such a pitifull mourning, and mingling of forowes and lamentations of death, amongst such songs of triumph and victory. Notwithstanding this, Æmylius taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vse constancy and magnanimity, against the sword and pike of the enemy but alike fortisade alloagainst all aduersity and enmity of spiteful fortune. So, he wisely weyed and considered his inhit great present misfortune, with his former prosperitie and finding his misfortune counterpoised with felicity, and his private griefes cut off with common toy, he gave no place to his forowes & milthances, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triumph & victory. For when he had buriedthe eldest of his two last sons, he left not to make his triuphant entry, as you have heard before. And his fecond fon also being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to asset being deceased by the people to asset by the people the people to asset by the people to asset b &inface of the whole city he made an oration, not like a discomforted man, but like one rather appropries that did comfort his forowfull countrimen for his mischance. He told them, that concerning for the desphose his being being being the desphose his mens matters, neuer any thing did feare him: but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her change and inconstancy, and specially in the last war, doubting for so great prosperity as could be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable aduersitie & sinister chace. For as I went (faid he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatick sea, from BRINDES vnto Corry in oneday; and from thence in fine dayes after, I arrived in the city of DELPHES, where I did " Serifice vnto Apollo. And within fluc other dayes, I arrived in my campe, where I found mine army in MACEDON. And after I had done the facrifice, and due ceremonies for purifying of the ame, I presently began to follow the purpose and cause of my coming: so as in fifteene dayes " after I made an honorable end of all those wars. But yet, mistrusting fortune alwaies, seeing the prosperous course of my affaires, & considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers needed to feare. I feared forcly she would change at my return, when I should be vpon the sea, bringing home so goodly and victorious an army, with so many spoiles, and so many Princes 69 and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was fafely arrived in the hauen, & seeing all the city

The death ofking Per-

kind of death.

The flate of Perfeus

By Æmilithe people pared no more fubfidie.

at my returne full of ioy, and of feast and facrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her maner well inough, that she vieth not to gratifie men so franckly, nor to grant the so great things clear. ly, without some certaine sparke of enuy waiting on them. Neither did my mind being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the common-wealth, shake off this feare behind me but that I saw, this home missiap and miserie lighted vpon me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my triumph, to bury my two yong sone after another, which I only brought vp with me, for the fuccession of my name and house. Wherefore me thinks now I may fay, I am out of all danger, at the least touching my chiefest and greatest missortune; and do begin to stablish my selfe with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other valucky or finister chance. For she hath sufficiet ly counteruailed the fauorable victory she gaue you, with the enuious mishap wher with she hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the conquerer and triumpher, as noble an example of mans mifery and weakeneffe, as the party conquered, that had bene led intrium ph: fauing that Perfeu yet conquered as he is, hath this comfort left him, to see his children liuing, & that the conque. rour, Amylius hath loft his. And this was the fumme of Amylius notable oration he made vnto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble & honourable disposed mind. And though it pitied him in his heart to fee the strange chance of king Perseus fortune, and that he heartily defired to helpe him, and to do him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but onely tore moue him from the common prison (which the Romains call Carcer) into a more cleanly and fweeter house: where being straightly garded and looked vnto, he killed himselse by abstinence from meate, asthe most part of historiographers do write. Yet some writers tell a maruellous strange tale, and manner of his death. For they say the souldiers that garded him, kept him from sleepe, watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut hiseye lids (only vpon malice they did beare him, because they could not otherwise hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not fuffering him to take rest: vntil such time as nature being forced to give ouer, he gauc vp the ghost. Two of his sons died also: but the third called Alexander, becamean excellent turner and joyner, and was learned, and could speake the Romain B tongue very wel, and did write it so trimly, that afterwards he was chancelour to the magistrates of Rome, & did wifely & discreetly behaue himself in his office. Furthermore, they do adde to this goodly conquest of the realme of MACEDON, that Æmylius conquered another speciall good thing, that made him maruelloufly well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so much gold and filuer vnto the treasury store of Rome, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yeare that Hircius and Pansa were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first wars of Augustus and Antonius. And yet Amylius had one fingular good gift in him: that though the people did greatly loue & honor him, yet he euer tooke part with the Senate and nobility, and did neuer by word nor deed any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he did euer leanen the nobility & good men. And this did Appins afterwards cast in his sons teeth, Scipio Africanus. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenfor: Appius had about him to favor his fuite, all the Senate and Nobilitic, as of an cienttime the family of the Appians had ever held on their part, And Scipio Africanus, though he was a great man of himselfe, yet he was at all times fauored and beloued of the common people. Wherupon when Appius saw him come into the market place, followed with men of small quality and base condition, that had bene slaues before, but otherwise could skillfully handle such practifes, bring the people together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voices (if need were) obtaine what they would in the assemblies of the citie: he spake out aloud and said: O Paulus Amylius, now hast thougood cause to sigh & mourn in thy grave where thou liest (if the dead do know what we do here on earth to see Amylins a common sergeant, and Licinius a pratting fellow, how they bring thy fon vnto the dignity of a Cenfor. And as for Scipio, he was alwayes beloued of the common people, because he did fauour them in all things. But Amylius also, although he tooke euer the noble mens part, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people, then those that alwaies flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them: which the common people did witnesse, as well by other honors and offices they offered him, as in the dignity of the Cesor which they gaue him. For it was the holiest office of alother at that time, and of greatest power and authority, specially for inquiry and reformation of every

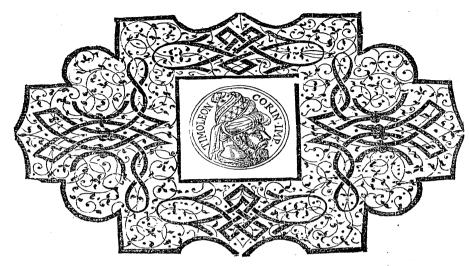
manslife and maners. For he that was Cenfor, had authority to put any Senator off the councel, The office and so disgrade him, if he did not worthily behave him; else according to his place and calling: and authoand might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and rive of the Great for the place again. Moreover they might by their authorize take from liverpious years. fittest for the place againe. Moreoner, they might by their authority, take from licentious yong men, their horse which was kept at the charge of the common-weale. Farthermore, they be the feffours of the people, and the mufter-maifters, keeping books of the number of persons at every mustering. So there appeared numbred in the register booke Amilias made then of them, three hundred seuen and thirty thousand, foure hundred and two and fiftie men, and Marcus Amylim Lepidus named president of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and did put off the councell three Senators, that were but meane men. And the like meane & moderation he and his companion Martius Philippus kept, upon view and muster taken of the Romaine horfmen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his charge and office, he fell ficke of a disease that at the beginning seemed very dangerous, but in the end there was no other #miling danger, fauing that it was a lingring disease, and hard to care. So, following the counsell of phyfitions, who willed him to go to a city in ITALY called VELIA, he took fea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleasant houses vponthe sea side, quietly and out of all fom Rome, noise. But during this time of his absence, the Romaine's wished for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to fee the playes and sports, they cried out diverse times for him: whereby they shewed that they had a great defire to see him againe. Time being come about when they vied to make a folemne yearly facrifice, and Æmilius ending himselfallo in very good perfect health:he returned agains to Rome, where he made sacrifice with the other priests, all the people of Rome gathered about him, reioycing much to feehim. The next day after, he made another particular facrifice, to give thankes vnto the gods for recouery of his health. After the facrifice was ended, he went home to his house, and sate him downe to dinner: he fuddenly fell into a raping (without any perfeuerance of ficknesse The death fpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him, in such fort, that he died within three daies after lacking no necessity thing there are comblet and will be in Rome. that he died within three daies after, lacking no necessary thing that an earthly man could have, to make him happy in this world. For he was even honoured at his funerals, and his vertue was Amilios adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither of gold, filuer, nor inorie, nor with fine als. other such sumptuousnesse or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and goodwill of the people, all of them confessing his vertue and well doing and this did not only his naturall countrimen performe in memory of him, but his very enemies also. For all those that met in Rom B by chance at that time, that were either come out of Spaine, from Genva, or out of Macenon, all those that were young and strong, did willingly put themselues vnder the coffin where his body lay, to helpe to carry him: and the old men followed his body to accompany the same, calling Amilius the benefactor, sauiour, and father of their countrey. For he did not onely intreat them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleasure them; and to set forwards their causes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neare kinfmen. The inventory of all his goods after his death, did Amilian frant amount vnto the fumme of three hundred, threefcore, and ten thousand filuer Drachmas, which his two somes did inherit. But Science he wonger left all his right ware they came which his two sonnes did inherit. But Scipio being the yonger, left all his right vnto

his elder brother Fabius, because he was adopted into a very rich house, which was the house of the Great Scipio Africanus,

Such they fay was Paulus Æmilsus conditions and life.

The end of Paulus Æmilius life.

THE LIFE OF Timoleon.



The flate of the Sy. racufans. before Timol:on: cŏ



EFORE Timoleon was sent into Sicile, thus stood the state of the Syracysans. After that Dion had driven out the tyrant Dionyling he himselfe after was slaine immediatly by treason and those that aided him to restore the Syracvsans to their liberty, fell out, and wereat diffention among themselues. By reason whereof, the city of Syracvsa changing continually new tyrants, was fo troubled and turmoiled with all forts of euils, that it was left in manner defolate, and with out inhabitants. The rest of Sicile in like case was vtterly destroyed, and no cities in manner left standing, by reason of the long warres; and

those few that remained, were most inhabited of forreine souldiers and strangers, (a company of loose mengathered together that tooke pay of no Prince nor city all the dominions of the same being casily vsurped, and as easie to change their Lord. Insomuch, Dionysius the tyrant, ten years after Dion had driven him out of Sicile, having gathered a certaine number of fouldiers togetheragaine, and through their helpe driven out Nifeus, that reigned at that time in Syracvsa: he recourred the Realmeagaine, and made himselfe king. So, if he was strangely expulsed by a finall power out of the greatest kingdome that ever was in the world:likewise he more strangely recoucred it againe, being banished and very poore, making himselfe king ouer them, who before haddriuen him out. Thus were the inhabitants of the city compelled to ferue this tyrant: who befides that of his own nature was neither courteous nor civill, he was now growne to be fare more dogged and cruell, by reason of the extreme misery and misfortune he had endured. But the nobleff citizens repaired into Icetes, who at that time as Lord ruled the city of the LEONTI-MES, and they chose him for their Generall in these warres not for that he was any thing better then the open tyrants, but because they had no other to repaire vnto at that time: and they trusted him best, for that he was borne (as themselves) within the city of Syraevsa, and because allo he had men of war about him to make head against the tyrant. But in the meane time, the Can-THAGINIANS came downeinto Sicile with a greatermy, and inuaded the country. The Syracysans being affraid of them, determined to fend ambaffadours into Grece vinto the CORINTHIANS, to pray aid of them against the barbarous people, having better hope of them, then of any other of the Grecians. And that not altogether because they were lineally de-

rant of the

scended from them, and that they had received in times past many pleasures at their hands: but also for that they knew that Corinth was a city, that in all ages and times did euer love liberty and hate tyrants, and that had alwayes made their greatest warres, not for ambition of kingdomes, nor of couetous defires to conquer and rule, but onely to defend and maintaine the liberty of the GRECIANS. But Icetes in another contrary fort, tooke ypon him to be Generall, withamind to make himselfeking of Syracvsa. For he hadsecretly practifed with the Car-THAGINIAN S, and openly notwithflanding, in words he commended the counsel and determination of the Syracysans, and sent ambassadors from himself also with theirs, vnto Pelopon-NESYS: not that he was defirous any ayd should come from them to Syracysa, but because he hoped if the CORINTHIAN'S refused to send them aid (as it was very likely they would, for the wars and troubles that were in GRECE) that he might more cafily turn all ouer to the CARTHA-GINIANS, and viethem as his friends, to aid him against the Syracvsans, or the tyrant Dionyfins. And that this was his full purpose and intent, it appeared plainely soone after. Now when their ambassadors arrived at Coningen, and had delivered their message, the Coningen and sa who had ever bene carefull to defend such cities as had sought vnto them, and specially Syracvsawery willingly determined in councell to fend them aid, and the rather for that they were in good peace atthat time, having wars with none of the GRECIANS. So their only flay rested ypon chusing of a Generall to lead their army. Now as the magistrats and gouernors of the city werenaming fuch citizens, as willingly offered their feruice, defirous to aduance the selues, there ftept vpa meane commoner who named Timeleon, Timodemus fon, a manthat vntil that time was neuer called on for feruice, neither looked for any fuch preferment. And truly it is to be thought wite fiit was the fecret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane comoner to name moleon Timoleon whose election fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valiantnesse and vertues maruellous good fuccesse in al his doings afterwards. This Timoleon was born of noble parents both by father and mother: his father was called Timodemus, and his mother Demareta. He was pareninge naturally inclined to loue his country and common-weale: and was alwayes gentle and courteousto all men, fauing that he mortally hated tyrants and wicked men. Furthermore nature had mer. framed his body apt for warres and for paines he was wife in his greenest youth, in all things he tooke in hand, and in his age he shewed himselfe very valiant. He had an elder brother called Ti. Timort anest mophanes, who was nothing like to him in condition; for he was a rash hare-braind man, and had trother, agreedy defire to reigne, being put into his head by a company of meane men, that bare him in what his hand they were his friends, and by certaine fouldiers gathered together, which he had alwayes about him. And because he was very hot and forward in wars, his citizens tooke him for a notable captaine, and a man of good service, and therefore oftentimes they gave him charge of men. And therein Timoleon did helpe him much to hide the faults he committed, or at the least made the seeme lesse, & lighter then they were, still increasing that finall good gift that nature brought forthin him. As in a battell the CORINTHIANS had against the ARGIVES and the CLEONEI-ANS, Timoleon served as a private souldier amongst the sootmen and Timophanes his brother, hauing charge of horsmen, was in great danger to be cast away, if present help had not bin. For his herse being hurt, threw him on the ground in the midst of his encuies: wherupon part of those that were about him, were afraid and dispersed themselves here and there; and those that remained with him, being few in number, and having many enemies to fight withall, did hardly withftand their force & charge. But his brother Timoleon feeing him in fuch instat danger afar off, ran with all freed possible to believe him and their force & charge. But his brother Timoleon feeing him in fuch instat danger afar off, ran buthers with all speed possible to helpe him, and clapping his target before his brother Timophanes, that use lay on the ground, receiuing many wounds on his body with fword and arrowes, with great difficulty he repulsed the enemies, & saued his own & his brothers life. Now the CORINTHIANS total enfearing the like matter to come that before had happened vnto the, which was, to lose their city through default of their friends help, they refolued in councel, to entertaine in pay continually 400 foldiers that were strangers, whom they affigned ouer to Timophanes charge: who, abandoning al honesty & regard of the trust reposed in him, did presently practise al the waies he could them to to make himselfe Lord of the city: and having put diverse of the chiefest citizens to death without order of law, in v end he openly proclaimed himself king. Timoleon being very fory for this and taking his brothers wickednes would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction, fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction, fought true with him with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction, fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction, fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction, fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high-way to his fall & destruction fought true with all the cood would be the very high with a little with all the cood would be the very high with a little with a little with a little with a little with a first to win him with all the good words and perswasions he could, to leave his ambitious defire to reigne, and to seeke to salue (as neare as might be) his hard dealing with the citizens. of the king-

flaine by

Timophanes fet light by his brothers perswasions, and would give no eare vnto them. Therupon Timoleon then went vnto one, Afchilus his friend, and brother vnto Timophanes wife, and to one Satyrus a fouthfayer (as Theopompus the historiographer calleth him, and Ephorus calleth him, or thagoras) with whom he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three coming to him, instantly befought him to beleeue good counfell, and to leaue the kingdome. Timephanes at the first did but laugh them to scorne, and sported at their perswasions; but afterwards he waxed hot, and grew into great choler with them. Timoleon feeing that, went a litle afide, and couering his face fel a weeping: & in the meane leafon, the other two drawing out their fwords, flue Time. phanes in the place. This murther was ftraight blown abroad through the city, & the better fort did greatly commend the noble mind and hate Timoleon bare against the tyrant: considering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kin, did not with francing regard the benefit of his country, before the naturall affection of his brother, & preferred duty and justice, before nature and kinred. For before he had faued his brothers life, fighting for the defence of his country, & now in feeking to make himfelfe king and to rule the fame, he made him to be flaine. Such then as misliked popular government and liberty, and alwaies followed the nobility, they fet a good face on the matter, as though they had bin glad of the tyrants death; yet ftill reproning Timolean for the horrible murther he had committed against his brother, declaring how detestable it was both to the gods & men, they fo handled him, that it grieved him to the hart he had done it, But when it was told him that his mother tooke it maruellous ill, and that the pronounced horrible curfes against him, and gaue out terrible words of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort herhowbeir the could never abide to fee him, but alwaics flut her doore against him. The he being wounded to the hart with forow took a conceit fodainly to kil himfelf by abstaining from care but his friends would never for fake him in this despaire, and vrged him so far by intreaty & perfive fron, that they copelled him to eat. The rupon he refolued thenceforth to give him felfouer to a folitary life in the country, feeluding himfelf from all company and dealings: so as at the beginning, he did not only refuse to repaire vnto the city, and all accesse of company, but wandring vp and downe in most folicary places, consumed himselfe and his time with melancholy. And thus we fee, that counfels & judgments are lightly caried away (by praife or differalfe) if they be nor shored up with rule of reason & philosophy, & rest confounded in themselves. And therefore it is very requifite and necessary, that not only the act be good and honest of it selfe, but that the refolution therof be also constant, and not subject vnto change to the end we may do all thines conderatly left we be like vnto lickerous mouthed men, who as they defire meats with a greedy appetite, and after are foone weary, difliking the fame; even fo do we fodainly repent our actions grounded upon a weak imagination of the honesty that moued vs therunto. For repentance ma. keth the act naught which before was good. But determination, grounded upon certaine knowledge and truth of reason, doth neuer change, although the matter enterprised, have not always happy fuccesse. And therefore Phocion the ATHENIAN having refisted (as much as in him lay) certaine things which the Generall Leofthenes did, and which contrary to his mind tooke good effect: and perceiving the ATHENIANS did open facrifice vnto the gods, to give them thanks for the fame, and much rejoyce at the victory they had obtained: I would have rejoyced too (faid he) if I had done this; but so would I not for any thing, but I had given the counsell. And after that fort, but more sharply did Aristides Lock IAN (a very friend and companion of Platoes) answer Dionylius the elder tyrant of Syracy sa: who asked his goodwill to mary one of his daughters. I had rather fee my daughter dead (faid he) then maried vnto a tyrant. And within a certaine time after the tyrant put all his fonnes to death: and then he asked him in derifion to grieve him the more. If he were still of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very fory (faid he) with all my heart for that which thou hast done: but yet I do not repent me of that I have faid. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne a gaine vnto Timoleon. Whether that inward forow ftrucke him to the heart for the death of his brother Timophanes, or that shame did so abash him, as he durst not abide his mother, twenty yeares after he did neuer any notable or famous act. And therefore, when he was named to be Generall of the aidthat should be sent into Szerze, the people having willingly chosen and accepted of him: Televildes, who was chiefe gouernour at that time in the city of CORINTH, chosen Ge frankling upon his feet before the people, spake unto Timoleon, and didexhort him to behaue himselfe like an honest man, and valiant captaine in this charge. For said he, if that you handle

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grane say.

vour selfe well, we will think you have killed a tyrant but if you order your self otherwise then wel. we will judge you haue killed your brother. Now Timoleon being buffe in leauying of men. and preparing himselfe, letters came to the Corinthians from Icetes, wherby plainly appeared that Icetes had caried two faces in one hood, & that he was become a traytor. For he had no fooner dispatched his ambassadors vnto them, but he straight took the Carthaginians part, of the Lesso. and dealt openly for them, intending to drive out Dionyfins, and to make himself king of Syra- time a CVSA. But fearing lest the CORINTHIANS would fend aid before he had wrought his feate, he wrote againe vnto the Corinthians, sending them word, that they should not need now to put themselves to any charge or danger for coming into Sicila, and specially, because the CARTHAGINIANS were very angry, and did also lye in waite in the way as they should come, with a great fleet of ships to meete with their army: and that for himselfe, because he saw they taried long, he had made league and amity with them, against the tyrant Dionysius. When they had read his letters, if any of the Corinthians were before but coldly affected to this journy, choler did then fo warm the against Icetes, that they frankly granted Timoleon what he wold ask, and did helpe to furnish him to set him out. When the ships were ready rigged, and that the souldiers were furnished of all things necessary for their departure, the Nuns of the goddesse Proferpina, faid they faw a vision in their dreame, and that the goddesses Ceres and Proferpina did appeare vnto them, apparelled like trancllers to take a journey; and told them, that they would go with Timoleon into Sicile. Vpon this speech only, the Corinthians rigged agalley, they called, the galley of Ceres and Proferpina: and Timoleon himselfe before he would take the feas, went into v city of DELPHES, where he made facrifice vnto Apollo, And as he entred within the Sanctuarie where the answers of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull figure vnto him. For amongst the vowes and offerings that are hanged up upon the wals of the Sanctuary, pend to there fell a band directly vpon Timoleons head, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: Timoleon, so that it seemed Apollo sent him already crowned, before he had set out one foot towards the iourney. He tooke ship, and sailed with seuen galleyes of Corinth, two of Corphy E, and ten Timoleon the Leveadians did fet out. When he was launced out in the maine sea, having a franke gale tooke stop took stop to the launced out in the maine sea, having a franke gale of wind and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the same towards there came a maruellous great bright light ouer his ship, & it was much like to a torch burning, & burning when they shew the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torch did accompany and guide torch apthem all their voyage, and in the end it vanished away, and seemed to fal down vpon the coast of the element the start of ITALY, where the ship-maisters had determined to arrive. The wise mens opinions being asked 2010 Times what this might fignifie: they answered: That this wonderfull fight did betoken the dreame, lean. the Nunnes of the goddeffe Geres dreamed, and that the goddeffes fauouring his iourney, had shewed them the way, by sending of this light from heaven: because that the Ile of Sicile is confecrated vnto the goddeffe Proferpina; and specially for that they report her rauishment was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was affigned vnto her for her jointer, at the day of her mariage. Thus did this celestiall signe of the gods both incourage those that went this journy, and deliuer them also affured hope, who failed with all speed possible they could, vntill such time as having croffed the feas, they arrived upon the coast of ITALY. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderstood from Sicile put Timoleon in great perplexity, and did maruellously discourage the fouldiers he brought with him: for Icetes having overthrowne the battell of the tyrant Dionysius, and possessed the greatest part of the city of Syracusa, hedid besiege him within the castle, and within that part of the city which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and inclosed him in with walles round about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe Timoleon from landing in Sicile, to the end that by preuenting that ayde, they might eafily divide Sicile between them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his request, sent twenty of their galleyes vnto Rhegio, amongst which Icetes Ambassadours were sent vnto Timoleon, with testimony of his doings: for they were faire stattering words to cloke his wicked intent he purposed. Forthey willed Timoleon that he should go himselfe alone (if he thought good) vnto leetes, to counfell him, and to accompany him in all his doings, which were now so farre onwards in good towardnesse, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also bassadeurs perswade him, that he should send backe his ships and souldiers to Corinth, againe, considering that the should send backe his ships and souldiers to Corinth, againe, considering that the should be should b dering that the warre was now brought to good passe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS Would

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in no case that his men should passe into Sicilia, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the Corinthians at their arrival linto the city of RHEGIO, finding there these ambassadours, and seeing the sleete of the CARTHAGINIANS thips, which did ride at anker not farre off from them: it spited them on the one side, to see they were thus mocked and abused by Icetes. For every one of them were maruellous angry with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poore Sicilians, whom too plainly they faw left a prey vnto Icetes for reward of his treason, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompense of the tyrannie which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other side they thought it impos fible to conquer the ships of the CARTHAGINIANS, which did lye in waite for them, and so neare vnto them, confidering they were twice as many in number as they and as hard for them to subdue the army also that was in the hands of Icetes in Sicile, considering that they were not come to him, but onely for the maintenance of the warres. Notwithstanding Timoleon spake very courteously vnto those Ambassadours, and Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS thips, letting them understand that he would do as much as they would have him: and to fav truly, if he would have done otherwise, he could have wonne nothing by it. Nevertheless. he defired for his discharge, they would say that openly, in the presence of the people of R_{HE}. GIO (being a city of GRECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had spokento him in fecret: and that done, he would depart incontinently, alledging that it flood him year much vpon for the fafety of his discharge, and that they themselves also should more faithfully keep that they had promifed vnto him touching the Syracysan's when they had agreed you it and promifed it before all the people of RHEGIO, who should be witnesse of it. Now all this was but a fetch and policy deliuered by him, to shadow his departure, which the captaines and governours of RHEGIO did fauour, and feeme to helpe him in: because they wished Signif should fall into the hands of the Corinthians, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cause they commanded a generall assembly of all the people, during which time, they caused the gates of the city to be shut: giving it out, that it was because the citizens should not go about any other matters in the meane time. The when all the people were affembled, they began to make long orations without concluding any matter; the one leauing alwayes to the other alike matter to talke of to the end they might win time, vntill thegalleys of the Corinthians were departed. And flaying the Carthagintans also inthis affembly, they mistrusted nothing, because they saw Timoleon present: who made a countenance, as though he would rife to fay fomething. But in the meane time, fome one did fecretly advertise Timoleon, that the other galleys were under faile and gone away, and that there was but one gally left which taried for him in the hauen. Therupon he suddenly stole away through the preaffe, with the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chaire where the orations were made and trudging quickly to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hoifed faile alfo. And landeth at When he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all fafe together to land at the city of TAVROME. NICH, which is in SICILE: there they were very well received by Andromachus, who long time before had fint for them, for he gouerned this city as if he had bin Lord therof. He was the che thefafather of Timeus the Historiographer, and honestest man of all those that did beare rule at that time in Sicile. For he did rule his citizens in all inflice and equity, and did alwayes flow himselfe an open enemic to tyrants. And following his affection therein, he lent his city at h: "eriograthat time vnto Timeleen, to gather people together, and perswaded his citizens to enter into league with the Corinthians, and to aide them, to deliver Sielle from bondage, andto refrore it against oliberty. But the captaines of the Carthaginians that were in Rhegio, when they knew that Timoleon was vnder faile and gone, after that the affembly of the council was broken vp, they were ready to cate their fingers for spite to see themselues thus finely mocked and deceived. The RHEGIANS on the other fide, were merry at the matter, to fee how the shreaten to PHOENICIANS stormedatit, that they had such a fine part played them. Howbeit in the end, defiror the city of Tau. they determined to fend an Ambassadour vnto TAVROMENION, in one of their galleys. This Ambassadour spake very boldly and barbarously vnto Andromachus, and in a choler: and last of all, he shewed him first the palme of his hand, then the backe of his hand, and did threaten him that his citie should be soturned over hand, if he did not quickly fend away the Corin-THIANS. Andromachus fell a laughing at him, and did turne his hand vp and downe as the Ambassadour had done, and commanded him that he should get him going, and that withall

freed out of his city, if he would not fee the keele of his galley turned vpward. Icetes now vnderstanding of Timoleons coming, and being affraid, sent for a great number of galleyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS began to despaire veterly when they saw their hanen full of the CARTHAGINIANS galleys, the best part of their city kept by Icetes, and the castle by the tyrant Dionysius. And on the other side, that Timoleon was not yet come but to alittlecorner of Sicile, having no more but the litle citie of Tavromenion, with a finall power, and lesse hope: because there was not aboue a thousand footmen in all, to furnish these warres, neither prouision of victuals, nor so much money as would serue to entertaine and pay them. Besides also, that the other cities of Sicila did nothing trust him. But by reason of the violent extentions they had of late fuffered, they hated all captaines and leaders of men of warre to the death, and specially for the treachery of Calippus and Pharax, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACED EMONIAN. Both of them faid they came to fet SI-CILE at liberty, and to drive out the tyrants; and yet neuertheleffe, they had done so much hurt vnto the poore Sicilians, that the misery and calamity which they had suffered vnder the tyrants, seemed all to be gold vnto them, in respect of that which these captaines had made them to abide. And they did thinkethem more happy, that had willingly submitted themselves vnto the yoke of scruitude: then those which they saw restored and set at liberty. Thereforeperfivading themselves, that this Corinthian would be no better vnto them, then the other had bene before, but supposing they were the self same former crafts, and alluring baits of good hope & faire words, which they had tafted of before, to draw them to accept new tyrants: they did fore suspect it, and reject all the Corinthian's perswassons. Sauing the Adrant - The god rans only, whose litle city being consecrated to the god Adranus (and greatly honoured and renerenced through all Sicile) was then in diffention one against another: in so much as one part of them tooke part with Icetes, and the Carthaginians, and the other fent vnto Timoleon. So it fortuned that both the one and the other, making all the possible speed they could, who should come first, arrived both in maner at one selfe time. Icetes had about five thoufand fouldiers. Timoleon had not in all aboue twelve hundred men, with which he departed to go towards the city of Adranvs distant from Tavromenion, about three hundred and forty furlongs. For the first dayes iourny he went no great way, but lodged betimes: but the next morning he marched very hastily, and had maruellous ill way. When night was come, and daylight shut in, he had newes that Icetes did but newly arrive before Adranvs, where he encamped. When the private captaines understood this, they caused the voward to stay to eate and reposea little, that they might be the lustier, and the stronger to fight. But Timoleon did set still forwards, and prayed them not to stay, but to go on with all the speed they could possible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they should) being but newly ariued and troubled with making their cabbons, and preparing for supper. Therewith as he spakethese words, he tooke his target on his arme, and marched himselfethe formost man, as brauely and couragiously as if he had gone to a most assured victory. The fouldiers seeing him march with that life, they followed at his heels with like courage. So they had not passing thirty furlongs to Timber go, which when they had our come, they ftraight fet vpon their enemies, whom they found all fetter army out of order, and beganne to flie, so soone as they saw they were you their backes before they were aware. By this meanes there were not about three hundred men flaine, and twife as many bin fla more taken prisoners, and so their whole camp was possessed. Then the Adranitans opening dramm. their gates, yeelded vnto Timoleon, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no leffe wonder, The Adrahow at the very time when he gaue charge vpon the enemies, the doores of the temple of their mianiseld god opened of themselues, and that the Iauelin which the image of their god did hold in his lion. hand, did shakeat the very end where the iron head was, and how all his face was seen to sweat. This (in my opinion) did not onely fignifie the victory he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploits he did afterwards, vnto the which, this first encountergauea happy beginning. For immediatly after, many cities fent vnto Timoleon, to ioyne in league with him. And Mameras the tyrant of CATANA, a fouldier, and very full of money, did also seeke his friendship. Furthermore, Diony fins the tyrant of Syracvs a, being weary to follow hope any longer, and fin- tyrant of ding himselfe in maner forced vnto it by long continuance of siege, made no more reckoning of letes, when he knew that he was so shamefully ouerthrown. And contrariwise, much esteeming Timoleons valiantnesse, he sent to advertise him, that he was contented to yeeld himselfe and the

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castle into the hands of the Corinthians. Timoleon being glad of this good hap vnlooked for, sent Euclides and Telemachus, two captaines of the Corinthians, to take possession of the castle, with source hundred men, not all at a time, nor openly (for it was unpossible, the ene mics lying in waite in the hauen) but by small companies, and by stealth, he conueyed them all into the castle, so the souldiers possessed the castle, and the tyrants pallace, with all the mourables and munition of warre within the same. There were a great number of horse of service. great flore of states and weapons offensive of all forts, and engines of battery to shoot farre of and fundry other weapons of defence, that had beneguthered together of long time, to arme threefcore and ten thousand men. Moreover, besides all this, there were two thousand souldiers. whom with all the other things rehearfed, Dionylius deliuered vp into the hands of Timoleon, and he himself, with his mony & a few of his friends, went his way by sea, Icetes not knowing it, and fo came to Timoleons campe. This was the first time that euer they faw Dionysius a private man. in base and meane estate. And yet within few dayes after, Timoleon sent him from thence vitto CORINTH in a ship, with little store of money: who was borne and brought vp in the greatest fem to co. and most famous tyranny and kingdome, conquered by force, that ever was in the world: and which himselfe had kept by the space of ten yeares after the death of his father. Since Dim draue him out, he had bene maruellously turmoiled in warres, by the space of twelve yearss: in which time, although he had done much mischiefe, yet he had suffered a great deale more. For he faw the death of his fonnes when they were men growne, and able to ferue and cary arries and ca-lamities of mour. He faw his daughters rauished by force, and defloured of their virginity. He saw his owne fifter (who was also his wife) first of all shamed, and cruelly handled in her person, with the greatest villanies and most vile parts done vnto her, that his enemies could deuise: and after wards horribly murthered with her children, and their bodies in the end throwne into these as we have more amply declared in the life of Dion. Now when Dionyfius was arrived in the city of CORINTH, enery GRECIAN was wonderfull defirous to go fee him, and to talke with him. And some went thither very glad of his ouerthrow, as if they had troden him downe with their feete, whom Fortune had ouerthrowne, fobitterly did they hate him. Other pitying him in their hearts to fee fo great a change, did behold him as it were with a certaine compassion, confidering what great power, fecret and diuine causes have over mens weaknesse and frailiv and those things that daily passe our our heads. For the world then, did never bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand fo wonderfull, as was this of Fortune: who made the world fee a man, that before was in maner Lord and King of all Sicil E, fit then commonly in the city of Corint halking with a victualler or fitting a whole day in a perfumers shop, or commonly drinking in some cellar or tauerne, or to brawle and scold in the middest of the streetes, with common whores in the face of the world, or elfe to teach common minstrels in enery lane and alley, and to dispute with them with the best reason he had, about the harmony and musickess the fongs they fang in Theaters. Now fome fay he did this, because he knew not else how he thould drive the time away, for that indeed he was of a bale mind, and an effeminate person, given over to all dishonest lusts and desires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the lesse regarded, for feare left the CORINTHIAN'S should have him in icaloussie and suspirion, imagining that he did take the change and state of his life in grieuous part, and that he should yet looke backe, hoping for a time to recouer his state againe: and that for this cause he did it, and of purpose fained many things against his nature, & seeming to be a stark idiot, to see him dothose things he did. Some not with standing have gathered together certaine of his answers, which do testifie that he did not all these things of a base brutish mind, but to fit himselfe onely to his present misery and misfortune. For when he came to Leveades, an ancient city built by the CORINTHIANS, as was also the city of Syracvs a, he told the inhabitants of the same, thathe was like to yong boyes that had done a fault: for as they flie from their fathers being ashamedto come to their fight, and are gladder to be with their brethren: even so is it with me, said he: for it would please me better to dwell here with you, then to go to Corinth our head city. Ano. ther time, being at Corinth, aftranger was very bufie with him (knowing how familiar Di enyfius was with learned men and Philosophers, while he reigned in Syracvsa) and asked him in the end in derifion; what benefit he got by Platees wildome and knowledge: he answered him againe: How thinkest thou, hath it done me no good, when thou seest me beare so patiently this change of fortune: Arifloxenus a musician, and other, asking him what offence Plate had done

unto him he answered. That tyrants state is ever unfortunate, and subject to many evils: but yet The benefit no euill in their state was comparable to this that none of all those they take to be their most familiars, dare once tell them truly any thing; and that through their fault, he left Plates company. Another time there cometh a pleasant fellow to him, and thinking to mocke him finely, as he faterafor entred into his chamber, he shooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come toty rants, to This agreethew that they have no weapons under their gownes. But Dionysius encountred him as pleafantly faying to him: Do that when thou goest hence, to see if thou hast stolne nothing. And againe, wirds to Philip king of MACEDON, at his table one day descending into talke of songs, verse, and trage. Solen, who dies, which Dionysius his father had made, making as though he wondred at them, how possibly he could have leisure to do them: he answered him very trimly, and to good purpose: He did princes, to them euen at fuch times (quoth he) as you & I, & other great Lords whom they reckon happy, please them, are disposed to be drunk, & play the fooles. Now for Plato he neuer faw Dionysius at Cor in the never stem. But Diogenes Sinopian, the first time that euer he met with Dionysius, said vnto him: O, how vnworthy artthou of this state! Dionysius stated suddenly & replyed: Truly I thank thee (Diogenes) that thou hast compassion of my misery. Why, said Diogenes againe: dost thou think I pity thee? Alion. nay it spiteth me rather, to see such a slaue as thou (worthy to die in the wicked state of a tyrant Diogenes like thy father; to liue in fuch security and idle life, as thou leadest amongst vs. When I came to Dionses comparethese words of Diogenes, with Philistus words the historiographer, bewailing the hard the tyrans. fortune of v daughters of the Leptines, faying that they were brought fro the top of all worldly felicity, honor and goods (wherof tyrannicall state aboundeth) vnto a base, private & humble life: me thinks they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that for roweth for the loffe of her boxes of painting colours, or for her purple gowns, or for other fuch prety fine trims of gold, as women vieto weare. So, me thinks thefe things I have intermingled concerning Dionysius, are not impertinent to the description of our lives, neither are they troublesome or vnprofitable to the hearers, vnlesse they have other hasty businesse to let or trouble them. But now if the tyrant Dionylius wretched flate seeme strange, Timoleons prosperity then was no lesse wonderfull. For Timoleons within fifty daies after he had fet foot in Sicile, he had the castle of Syracus a in his possession profession. on and fent Diony sus as an exile to Corinth. This did fetthe Corinthians in such a iolitic, that they sent him a supply of 2000 footemen, and 200 horsemen, which were appointed to landin ITALY, in the country of the THURIANS. And perceiving that they could not possibly gofrom thence into Sicile, because the Carthaginians kept the seas with a great nauy of flips, and that thereby they were compelled to stay for better opportunity: in the meane time they bestowed their leisure in doing a notable good act. For the Thur in s being in wars at that time with the Brytians, they did put their city into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had bin their own natiue country. Iceses all this while did befrege the castle of Syracvsa, preuenting all he could possible, that there should come no corne by sea vnto the CORINTHIANS that kept within the castle: and he had hired two strange souldiers, which letter birth he sent vnto the city of Adranvs, to kill Timoleon by treason, who kept no guard about his perfon, and continued amongst the Adrantians, mistrusting nothing in the world, for the trust Timoleon at and confidence he had in the fafegard of the god of the Adranians. These souldiers being fentto do this murder, were by chance informed that Timoleon should one day do facrifice vnto this god. So vponthis, they came into the temple, having daggers under their gownes, and by litle and litle thrust in through the prease, that they got at the length hard to the altar. But at the present time as one incouraged another to dispatch the matter, a third person they thought not The treasen of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his fword, that he fell to the ground. The discovered man that had hurt him thus, fled straight vponit, with his sword, drawne in his hand, and to Timoleon recouered the top of a high rocke. The other fouldier that came with him, and that was not the fouldi. hurt, got hold of a corner of the altar, and befought pardon of Timoleon, and told him he would me discouer the treason pro dised against him. Timoleon thereupon pardoned him . Then he told him how his companion that was flaine, and himfelfe, were both hired, and fent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him also that had taken the rocke, who cried out aloud, He had done no more then he should do: for he had killed him that had slaine his owne father before, in the city of LEONTINES. And to instificthis to be true, certaine that stood by did affirme, The wonit was so indeed. Whereat they wondred greatly to consider the maruellous working of derfull Fortune, how shedoth bring one thing to passe by meanes of another, and gathereth all things Fortune,

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together, how far afunder soeuer they be, and linketh them together, though they seeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no maner of likenesse or conjunction betweene them, ma king the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The Corinthians examining this matter throughly, gaue him that flue the fouldier with his fword, a crowne of the value of ten minas, because that by means of his iust anger, he had done good service to the god that had preserved Timoleon. And furthermore, this good hap did not only serve the present turne, but was to good purpose euer after. For those that saw it, were put in better hope, & had thenceforth more care and regard vnto Timoleons person, because he was a holy man, one that loued the gods, and that was purposely sent to deliuer SICILE from captivity. But Icetes having missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daily drawne to Timoleons deuotion, he was mad with himselfe, that having fo great an army of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commandement, he took but a few of them to ferue his turn, as if he had bene assumed of his fact, and had vsed their friendshin by stealth. So he sent hereupon for Magotheir Generall, with all his fleete. Mago at his request brought an huge army to fee to, of a hundred and fifty faile, which occupied and couered all the hauen:and afterwards landed threefcore thousand men, whom he lodged euery man within the city of Syracvsa. Then every man imagined the time was now come, which old menhad threatned Sicile with many years before, and that continually: that one day it should be conque red, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the wars the CARTHAGINIANS ener had before in the country of Sicile, they could never come to take the city of Syracvs Aland then through lettes treafon, who had received them, they were feene encamped there. On the other fide, the Corint Hinns that were within the castle, found themselves in great distresse, be. cause their victuals waxed scant, and the hauen was so straidly kept. Moreouer, they were driven to be armed continually to defend the wals, which the enemies battered, and affaulted in fundry places, with all kinds of engines of battery, and fundry forts of deuised instruments and inuentions to take cities: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to divide themselves into many companies. Neuertheleffe, Timoleon without, gaue them all the ayd he could possible: fen. ding them corne from CATANA, in little fisher-boats and small crayers, which got into the cassle many times, but specially in stormy and foule weather, passing by the galleys of the barbarous people, that lay feattering one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billows of the fea. But Mago and Icetes finding this, determined to go take the city of CATANA, from whence those of the castle of STRACVSA were victualed and taking with them the best souldiers of all their army, they departed from Syracusa, and failed towards Catana. Now in the meane space, Leon CORINTHIAN, captaine of all those that were within the castle, perceiving the enemies within the city, kept but flender ward, made a sudden sallie out vpon them, and tawithin the king them ynwares, flue a great number at the first charge, and draue away the other. So by this occasion he wan a quarter of the city, which they call Acradina, and was the best part of the city, that had received leaft hurt. For the city of Syracvs a feemeth to be built of many townes iouned together. So having found there great plenty of corn, gold, & filuer, he wold not forfake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into the castle: but fortifying with all diligence the copaire and precinct of the fame, & joyning it vnto the castle with certaine fortifications hebuilt vp in haft, he determined to keepe both the one and the other. Now were Mago and Icetes very neare vnto Catana, when a post ouertooke them, purposely sent from Syracvsa vnto them, who brought them newes, that the Acradina was taken. Whereat they both wondred, & returned back againe with all fpeed poffible (having failed of their purpose they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it vnto wisdome and valiancy or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now in my opinion, is altogether to be afcribed vnto fortune. And this it is: The two thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen of the Corinthians, that remained in the city of the THURIANS, partly for feare of the galleyes of the Carthaginians, that lay in wait for them as they should passe, Hanno being their Admirall: and partly also for that the sea was very rough and high many dayes together, and was alwayes in ftorme and tempest: in the end, they ventured to go through the countrey of the BRYTIANS, and partly with their goodwill (but rather by force) they got through, and recourred the city of RHEGIO, the fea being maruellous high and rough. Hanne the Admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for their passage, thought with himselse that he had deuised a maruellous fine policy, to deceive the

enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumph vpon their The Braisheads, and the rewith all also made them dresse vp, and fet forth his gallies, with targets, corflets, Hanno the and brigantines after the Grecians fashion. So in this branery he returned backe againe, fai- Admiral of ling towards Syracvsa, and came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the castles side of Sy-RACVEA, with great laughing and clapping of hands, crying out aloud to them that were in the caffle, that he had ouerthrowne their aid which came from Corinth, as they thought to paffe by the coast of ITALY into Sicile; flattering himselfe, that this did much discourage those that were befreged. But whilest he sported thus with this fond deuice, the two thousand Corin-THIANS being arrived through the countrey of the BRVTIANS in thecity of RHEGIO, perccining the coast cleare, and that the passage by sea was not kept, and that the raging seas were by miracle(as it were) made of purpose calme for them: they tooke sea foorthwith in such fisherboates and paffengers as they found ready, in the which they went into Sicile, in fuch good fifety, as they drew their horse (holding them by the raines) alongst their boats with them. When they were all passed ouer, Timoleon having received them, went immediatly to take Messina, & marching thence in battell ray, tooke his way towards Syracvsa, trufting better tohis good fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole number in all were not about foure thouland fighting men. Notwithstanding Mago hearing of his coming, quaked for feare, and doubted the moreypon this occasion: About Syracvs a are certain marishes, that receive great quantity of fiveet fresh water, as well of fountaines and springs, as also of litle runnings, brooks, likes, and rivers, which runne that wayes towards the fea: and therefore there are great store of eeles in that place, and the fifthing is great there at all times, but specially for such as delight to take celes. Whereupon the GRECIANS that tooke pay on both fides, when they had leifure, and that all was quiet betweene them, they intended fifting. Now, they being all countrymen, and of one language, had no private quarrell one with another: but when time was to fight, they didtheir duties, and in time of peace also frequented familiarly together, and one spake with another, and specially when they were busic fishing for celes: faying, that they maruelled at the fituation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they flood fo pleasantly and commodious vpon the sea fide. So one of the fouldiers that served vnder the Corinthians chanedto say vnto them: Is it possible that you that be GRECIANS borne, and have so goodly a diy of your owne, and full of formany goodly commodities: that ye will give it vp vnto thefe barbarous people, the Carthaginians, and most cruell murderers of the world? where you hould rather wishthat there were many Sicile's betwixt them and Grece. Haueye so litle confideration or judgement to thinke, that they have affembled an army out of all Africk E, vnto Hercules pillars, and to the fea ATLANTICKE, to come hither to fight to stablish leetes tyranny: who, if he had benea wife and skilfull captaine, would not have cast out his ancestours and founders, to bring into his country the ancient enemies of the fame: but might have receiued fach honor and authority of the Corinthian's and Timoleon, as he could reasonably hane defired, and that with all their fauor and goodwill. The fouldiers that heard this tale, reported it againe in their camperinfomuch they made Mago suspect there was treason in hand, & so sought some colour to be gone. But herupon, not with standing that Icetes praied him all he could to tary, declaring vnto him how much they were stronger then their enemies, and that Timoleon did rather prevaile by his hardinesse and good fortune, then exceed him in number of men: yethe hoifedfaile, & returned with shance inough into Africk E, letting slipthe conquest of Sicil E Magofr. cut of his hands without any fight of reason or cause stall. The next day after he was gone, Ti- sales side moleon presented battell before the city, when the GRECIANS and he vinderstood that the le vions CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they faw the hauen rid of all the ships: and then began for the state of th to iest at Magoes cowardlinesse, and in derission proclaimed in the city, that they would give him agood reward that could bring them newes, whither the army of the CARTHAGINIANS were sed. But for all this, Icetes was bent to fight, and would not leave the spoile he had gotten, but defend the quarters of the city he had possessed, at the swords point, trusting to the strength and stuation of the places, which were hardly to be approached. Timoleon perceiuing that, divided his army, and he with one part thereof did fet vpon that fide which was the hardest to approch, and did stand upon the riner of Anapus: then he appointed another part of his army Anapus st. to affault all at one time, the fide of Acardina, whereof Isias Corinthian had the leading, The third part of his army that came last from Corinth, which Dinarchus and Demaratus

Timoleon the city of Syracufa.

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Timoleon

sufaapo-

led, he appointed to affault the quarter called Epipoles. Thus, affault being given on all fides at one time, leetes bands of men were broken, & ran their way. Now that the city was thus won by affault, and come fo fuddenly to the hands of Timoleon, and the enemies being fled, it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantnesse of the souldiers, and the captaines great wisdome. But where there was not one Corinthian flaine nor hurt in this affault, fure me thinkes herein it was onely the worke and deed of Fortune, that did fauour and protect Timeleon, to contenda. gainst his valiantnesse: to the end that those which should hereafter heare of his doings, should have more occasion to wonder at his good hap, then to praise and commend his valiantnes. For the fame of this great exploit, did in few daies not only run through all IT ALY, but also through all GRECE. In fo much as the CORINTHIANS (who could feant believe their men were paffed with fafty into Sigile yunderstood withall that they were fafely arrived there, and had gotten the victory of their enemies: so prosperous was their journy, and Fortune so speedily did fauour his noble acts. Timoleon having now the castle of Syracvs a in his hands, did not follow Dion. For he spared not the castle for the beauty and stately building thereof, but avoiding the sufficient tion that caused Dien first to be accused, and lastly to be flaine, he caused it to be proclaimed by trumpet, that any Syracys an what focuer, should come with crowes of iron and mattocks. uerthrow. to helpe to dig downe and ouerthrow the fort of the tyrants. There was not a man in all the city of Syracvsa, but went thither straight, and thought that proclamation and day to be a most [lie ef Syra_ happy beginning of the recourry of their liberry. So they did not only overthrow the caftle.bur the pallace alfo, & the tombs: and generally all that ferued in any respect for the memory of any of the tyrants. And having cleared the place in few daies, and made all plaine, Timoleon at the full of the citizens, made councell hals, and places of inflice to be built there; and did by this means made Stra stablish a free state and popular government, and did suppresse all tyrannical power. Now, when he faw he had won a city that had no inhabitants, which wars before had confumed, and feareof tyranny had emptied, so as graffe grew so high and rank in the great market place of Syraces as they grafed their horfes there and the horf-keepers lay downe by them on the graffe as they fed:and that all the cities, a few excepted, were full of red deare and wild bores, fo that mengiuen to delight in hunting, hauing leifure, might find game many times within the fuburbes and towneditches, hard by the wals: and that fuch as dwelt in castles and strong holds in the country, would not leave them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all growne so flour. and did to hate and deteft affemblies of councell, orations, and order of government, where many tyrants had reigned. Timoleon thereupon feeing this defolation, and also fo few Syracy. SAN'S borne that had escaped, thought good, and all his captains to write to the Corinthians to fend people out of GRECE to inhabit the city of Syracvs a againe. For otherwise the comtrey would grow barren and unprofitable, if the ground were not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great warres out of Africk Ebeing aductifed that the Carthaginians had hung vp the body of Magotheir Generall vpon a crosse, (who had staine himselfe for thathe could not answer the dishonor laid to his charge) and that they did leavy another great mighty army, to return again the next yeare following, to make wars in Sicili. These letters of Timo lean being brought vnto Corinth, and the ambaffadours of Syracvia, being arrived with them also, who befought the people to take care & protection oner their poore city, & that they would once againe be founders of the fame: the Corinthians did not greedily defire to be Lords of fo goodly and great a city, but first proclaimed by the trumpet in all the assemblies, so lemne feafts and common playes of GRECE, that the CORINTHIANS having destroyed thety ranny that was in the city of Syracvsa, and driven out the tyrants, did call the Syracvsas that were fugitiues out of their countrey home againe, and all other Sicilians that likedto come and dwell there, to enjoy all freedome and liberty, with promife to make just and equald uffion of the lar ds among them, the one to have as much as the other. Moreover, they fent out

posts & messengers into Asia, & into all the Hands where they understood the banished Syra CVSANS remained, to perswade and intreat them to come to CORINTH, and that the Corin

THIANS would give them flips, captaines, and means to conduct them fafely vnto Syraevsa

at their own proper costs and charges. In recompense wherof, the city of Corinth received uery mans most noble praise and bleffing, as well for delivering Sicile in that fort from the

bondage of tyrants, as also for keeping it out of the hands of the barbarous people, and restoring the naturall Syracysans and Sicilians, to their home and country againe. Nevertheleffe

fuch Sicilians as repaired to Corinth vpon this proclamation (themselves being but a final number to inhabite the country) befought the Corinthians to loyne to the fome other inhabitants, aswel of Corinth it selfe, as out of the rest of Grece: the which was performed. For they gathered together about ten thousand persons, whom they shipped and sent to SyracvsA. Where there were already a great number of other come vnto Timoleon, as well out of S1- The Corincile it selfe, as out of Italy besides : so that the whole number (as Athanis writeth) came this ires to three fcore thousand persons. Amongst them he decided the whole country, and sold them being of the cities who he was a feet by the cities of the cities houses of the citie vnto the value of a thousand talents. And because he would leave the old Sy-RACVSANS ableto recouer their owne, and made the poore people by this meanes to have mo- with threeny in common, to defray the common charge of the city, as also their expences in time of wars: fore thouses or images were fould and the records him and the records h the statues or images were fould, and the people by most voices did condemne them: for they bitants. were folemnly indited, accused and arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the SYRACVSANS did reserve the statue of Gelon, an ancient tyrant of their city, honoring his memory because of a great victory he had won of the CARTHAGINI-ANS, nerethecity of HIMERA: and condemned all the rest to be taken away out of every corner of the city, and to be fold. Thus began the city of SIRACVSA to replenish again, and by litle and litle to recouer it selfe, many people coming thither from all parts to dwell there. Thereupon Timoleon thought to fet all other cities at liberty also, &vtterly to root out all the tyrants of Sr-CILE: and to obtaine his purpose, he went to make wars with them at their owne doores. The first he went against was seetes, whom he compelled to for sake the league of the CARTHAGI-NIANS, and to promife also that he would race all the fortresses he kept, and to live like a private man within the city of the LEONTINES. Leptines in like maner, that was tyrat of the city of Ap-POLLONIA, and of many other litle villages thereabouts, when he faw himself in danger to be tyran of takenby force, did yeeld himselse: Whereupon Timoleon saued his life, and sent him vnto Co-Appellonia RINTH: thinking it honorable for his country, that the other GRECIANS should see the tyrants Timolous, of Sicil E in their chiefe city of fame, liuing meanly and poorely like banished people. When he had brought this to passe, he returned forthwith to Syracysa about the stablishment of the commonweale, affilting Cephalus and Dionysius, two notable men sent from Corinth to reformethe lawes, and to helpe them to stablish the godliest ordinances for their commonweale. And now in the meane time, because the souldiers had a mind to get something of their encmies, and to avoid idlenesse, he sent them out abroad into a country subject to the CARTHAGI-MIANS, under the charge of Dimarchue, and Demaratus: where they made many litle townes rebellagainst the barbarous people, and did not only line in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered mony together also to maintaine the wars. The CARTHAGINIANS on the other fide while they were busic about these matters, came downe into Lylibea, with an army of threefcore and ten thousand men, two hundred gallies, and a thousand other ships and vessels that caried enfignes of batterie, carts, victuals, ununition, and other necessary prouision for a campe, intending to make sporting wars no more, but at once to drive all the GRECIANS again quite out of Sicile. For indeed it was an able army to ouercome all the Sicilians, if they had bene whole of themselves, and not divided. Now they being advertised that the Sicitians had inuaded their country, they went towards them in great fury led by Astrubal and Amilear, Gene- Ibearny rals of the army. This newes was firaight brought to Syracvsa, and the inhabitants were for the carthan of the carthan that have a served to the carthan the carthan army that have a served to the carthan army that friken with feare of the report of their army: that being a maruellous great number of them ginism awithin the city, scant three thousand of them had the hearts to arme themselves, and to go to the gainst 11field with Timoleon. Now the strangers that tooke pay, were not aboue soure thousand in all: and of them, a thousand of their hearts failed, and left him in mid way, and returned home a- and Amil gaine: faying, that Tymoleon was out of his wits, and more rash then his yeeres required, to vndertake with fluethousand footmen, and a thousand horse, to go against threescore and tenne thousand men: and besides, to carie that small force he had to defend himselfe withall, eight Timoleon great dayes iourney from Syracvsa: fothat if it chanced they were compelled to fly, they were routh had no place whither they might retire themselues vnto with safetie, nor man that would take 6000 min care to burie them, when they were flaine. Neuertheleffe, Timoleon was glad he had that proofe Carthaginiofthem, before hecame to battell. Moreouer, having encouraged those that remained with mans. him, he made them march with speed towards the river of CRIMESVS, where he vnderstood he should meet with the CARTHAGINIANS. Sogetting vp vpon a litle hill, from whence he might cimpia f.

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fee the campe of the enemies on the other fide: by chance certaine moiles fell vpon his army. loden with smallage. The souldiers tooke a conceit at the first vpon sight of it, and thought it was a token of ill lucke: because it is a maner we vse to hang garlands of this Herbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vse to speake, when one lyetha paffing in his bed: He lacketh but smallage: as much to fay, he is but a dead man. But Timoleon to draw them from this foolish superstition and discourage they tooke, staid the army: & when he had vsed certaine perswasions vnto them, according to the time, his leisure, and occasion, he told them that the garland of it self came to offer them victory before hand. For, said he, the Co. RINTHIANS do crowne them that winne the Istmian games (which are celebrated in their country) with garlands of smallage. And at that time also cuen in the solemne Is MIAN games. they yied the garland of smallage for reward and token of victory: and at this present it is also. fed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp, that they have vsed branches of pine apple trees in the Ist MIAN games. When Timoleon had thus encouraged his men, as you have heard before the first of all tooke of this smallage, and made himselfe a garland, and put it on his head: and after him the Captaines and all the fouldiers also tooke of the same, and made themselues the like. The soothsayers in like maner at the very sametime, perceiued two Eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a fnake in her talens, which she pierced through and through, and the other as she slew, gaue a terrible cry. So they shewed them both vnto the fouldiers, who did then all together with one voice call vpon the gods for helpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of Sommer, and towards the latter end of May, the Sunne drawing towards the folftice of Sommer: when there arose a great mist out of the river, that covered all the fields ouer, fo as they could not fee the enemies campe, but onely heard a maruellous con. fused noise of mens voices, as it had come from a great army; and rising vp to the top of the hill, they laid their targets downe on the ground to take a litle breath; and the Sun having drawn and fucked vp all the moist vapours of the mist vnto the top of the hils, the aire began to be so thicke that the tops of the mountaines were all couered ouer with clouds; and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and faire, that they might easily fee the river of CRIMESUS, & the enemies also, how they passed it ouer in this sort. First, they had put their carts of warre foremost; which were very hotly armed & well appointed. Next vnto them there followed tenthousand footmen armed with white targets vpointheir armes; whom they feeing afar off fo well appointed, they conicctured by their stately march and goodly order, that they were the CARTHAGI-NIANS themselves, after them, divers other nations followed confusedly one with another, & so they thronged ouer with great diforder. There Timoleon confidering the river gave him oportunity to take them before they were halfe past ouer, and to set upon what number he would after he had shewed his men with his finger, how the battell of their enemies was divided in two parts by means of the river, some of them being already passed ouer, & the other to passes he comanded Demaratus with his horsemen to give a charge on the voward, to keepe them from putting themselues in order of battell. And himself coming down the hill also with all his soomen into the valley, he gaue to the SICILIANS the two wings of his battell, mingling with the fome strangers that served under him: and placed with himself in the midst, the Syracus and with all the choice and best liked strangers. So he taried not long to joyne, when he saw the small good his horsemen did. For he perceived they could not come to give a lustie charge vpó the battelof the Carthaginians, because they were paled in with these armed carts, that ran here & there before them: wherupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (vnlesse the would haue put themselues in danger to haue bin vtterly ouerthrown) & in their returnes to give venture of charge, by turns on their enemies. Wherfore Timoleon taking his target on his arme, cried out aloud to his footmen, to follow him couragioufly, & to feare nothing. Those that heard his voice, thought it more the the voice of a man, whether the fury of his defire to fight did so frain it beyond ordinary courfe, or that fome god (as many thought it then) did firetch his voice tody out fo loud & fenfibly. His fouldiers answered him againe with the like voice: and praied him to leade the without longer delay. Then he made his horfmen vnderstand, that they shold draw on the one fide from the carts, and that they should charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flankess and after he did fet the foremost ranke of his battell, target to target against the enemies, commanding the trumpets withall to found. Thus with great fury he went to give a charge vpon them, who valiantly received the first charge, their bodies being armed with good iron corseless

their heads with faire murrions of copper, besides the great targets they had also, which did easily receive the force of their darts, and the thrust of the pike. But when they came to handle A marueltheir fwords, where agilitie was more requisite then force: a fearefull tempest of thunder, and lous tempest their fwords, where against was more require then force: a reaction tempers of thanker, and flashing lightning withall, came from the mountaines. After that came darke thicke clouds also distance, lighning, (gathered together from the top of the hils) and fell vpon the vally, where the battel was fought raise, and with a maruellous extreme shower of raine, sierce violent winds, and haile withall. All this tempeft was vpon the Grecians backs, and full before the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eyes, and continually tormented them with the raine that came full nian face. vpon them with the wind, and the lightnings fo oft flashing amongst them, that one vnderstood forgets. not another of them. Which did maruellously trouble them, and specially those that were but fresh-water souldiers, by reason of the terrible thunderclaps, and the noise the boisterous wind and haile made upon their harnefie; for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreouer, the dirt did as much annoy the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were not nimble in their armour, but heavily armed as we hauctold you and besides that also, when the plaites of their coates were through wet with water, they did lode and hinder them so much the more, that they could not fight with any case. This stood the GRECIANS to great purpose to throw them downe the easier. Thus when they were tumbling in the dirt with their heavie armour, vp they could rife no more. Furthermore, the river of CRIMESVS being rifen high through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of people that passed ouer it, did ouerflow the valley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was fraight all drowned ouer, and filled with many running streames, that ran ouerthwart the field, without any certaine channell. The Carthaginians being compaffed all about with thefe waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being ouercome with the forme that fill did beat vpon them, and the GRECIANS having flaine of their men at the first, onset, to the number of source hundred of their choicest men, who made the first front of their battel all the rest of their army turned their backs immediatly, & sted for life. Insomuch as some of the being followed very nere, were put to the fword in the midft of the vally:other holding one another hard by the arms together, in the midst of the river as they passed over, were caried downe the streame and drowned with the swiftnesse and violence of the river. But the greatest number thinking by footmanship to recouer the hils thereabouts, were ouertaken by them that were light armed, and put to the fword enery man. They fay, that of ten thousand which were the costs flaine in this battell, three thousand of them were naturall citizens of CARTHAGE, which was Elians. avery for rowfull and grieuous loffe to the city; for they were of the nobleft, the richeft, the lufliest and valiantest men of all Carthage. For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any formerwars at any time before, where there dyed fo many of Carthage at one field and battell, as was flaine at that present time. For before that time, they did alwayes entertaine the Fyb 1-ANS, the SPANIAR DS, and the Nomades, in all their wars: fo as when they loft any battell, the losse lighted not on them, but the strangers paid for it. The men of account also that were slain, were eafily known by their spoiles. For they that spoiled them, stood not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, because they found gold and silver enough. For the battell being won, the GRECIANS passed ouer the river, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their cariages and baggage. And as for the prisoners, the souldiers stole many of them away, and fent them going: but of them that came to light in the common division of the spoile, they were about fine thousand men, and two hundred carts of war that were taken besides. Oh, it was anoble fight to behold the tent of Timoleon the Generall, how they enuironed it all about with heapes of spoiles of cuery fort: among which there were a thousand braue corcelets gilt, and graven with maruellous curious works, and they brought thither with the also ten thousand targets. So the conquerers being but a final number, to take the spoile of a multitude that were flain they filled their purses cuen to the top. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battel, they fet up a marke or token of their victory. Then Timokon fent unto Co-RINTH, with the newes of this ouerthrow, the fairest armor that were gotten in the spoile because he would make his country & native city spoken of & commended through the world, aboue all the other cities of GRECE. For that at CORINTH only, their chiefe temples were fee forth & adorned, not with spoils of the GRECTANS, nor offerings gotten by spilling the bloud of their owne nation and countrey, (which to fay truly, are vnpleafant memories) but with the

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feel against that Timoleon had sent unto them: & in the teritories subject unto the CARTHAGINIANS, necre

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Withbucklers pot-lid like, which of no value were, We have thefe goodly targets won, forichly trimmed here . And gorgeously with gold, and eke with Inorie. With purple colours finely wrought, and deckt with Ebenie. Calania a These things done, Timoleon led his army before the citie of CALAVRIA, and Icetes therequie of 51. while entrod the confines of the Syraevsans with a maine army, and carried away a maruellous great spoile; and after he had done great hurt, and spoiled the country, he returned backeagaine, and came by CALAVRIA, to despite Timoleon, knowing well enough he had at that time but few men about him. Timoleon fuffered him to passeby, but followed him afterwards with his horsemen and lighest armed footmen. Icetes understanding that, passed oner the river called mong Timo. DAMTRIAS, and To staid on the other side as though he would fight, trusting to the swiftrum ning of the river, and the height of the banks on either fide of the same. Now the captaines of Timoleons bands fellout maruelloufly amongst themselues, strining for honor of this service, which was cause of delaying the battell. For none would willingly come behind, but enery near

TIMOL EON:

spoiles taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inscriptions witnessing the valiance

and inflice of those also, who by victory had obtained the. That is to wit, that the Coringin

ANS and their captaine Timoleon (having delivered the GRECIANS dwelling in SICILF, from

the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had given those offerings vnto the gods, to give thanks

for their victory. That done, Timolean leaving the ftrangers he had in pay, in their courty subject

to the CARTHAGINIANS, to spoile and destroy it, he returned with the rest of his army vnto

SYRACYSA: whereat his first coming home, he banished the thousand fouldiers that had for

faken him in his journey, with expresse charge that they should depart the city before Sun set, So

these thousand cowardly and mutinous souldiers passed ouer into ITALY, where, vnder promise

of the contrary, they were all vnfortunatly flaine by the BRV SIANS: fuch was the inflice of the

gods to pay theinft reward of their treason. Afterwards, Mamereus the tyrant of CATHANA, and

Icites (whether it was for the enuy they did beare to Timoleons fameus deedes, or for that they

were afraid of him) perceiting tyrants could looke for no peace at his hands: they made league

with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote vnto them that they should send another army and

captaine fuddenly if they would not vtterly be driven out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS

fent Gife thither with three score and ten faile, who at his first coming tooke a certaine number

of GREGIAN fouldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIAN'S cuer retained in

their feraice: for they never gave them pay vntill that prefent time, when they thought them to

be men inuincible, and the best souldiers of the world. Moreover, the inhabitants of the teritory

of MESSINA, having made a fecret confpiracy among themselves, did slay four hundred men

vnto a place they called HIERES, there was another ambush laid for Euthimus LEVCADIAN, fo

as himselfe and all his souldiers were cut in peeces. Howbeit the losse of them made Timoleons

doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were euen those that had forceably entredthe temple of Apollo in the citic of Delphes, with Philodemus the Phocian, and with Onomarchus,

who were pertakers of their facriledge. Moreouer, they were loofe people & abicets, that were

abhorred of enery body, who vagabonelike wandred vp and downe the country of PELOPON-

MESVS, when Timoleon for lacke of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into

Signature, they alwaies our came in all battels they fought, whilft they were in his company, But

in the end, when the fury of wars was pacified, Timoleon fending them about some special fer-

uice to the aide of some of his, they were east away euery man of them; and not all together, but

at diuerstimes. So as it feemed that gods inflice, in fauour of Timoleon, did separate them from

the rest, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deserts, searing lest good men

should suffer hurt by punishing of the euill. And so was the grace & goodwill of the gods won-

derfull towards Timolean, not onely in matters against him, but in those things that prospered

well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of Syracysa tooke the lefting words

and writings of the tyrants against them, in maruellous chill part. For Mamercus amongst other,

thinking well of himfelfe, because he could make verses and tragedies, having in certaine battels

gotten the better hand of the strangers which the Syracvs ans gaue pay vnto, he gloried very

much. And when he offered vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the temples of the gods; he

fet vp also these cutting verses, in derision of them that were vanquished:

defired to leade the voward, for honour to begin the charge: so as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thrusting another to get before his companion. Wherefore Timoleon fell to drawing of lots, which of them should passe ouer first, and tooke a ring of euery one of them, and denice to cast them all within the lap of his cloke: so rolling them together, by chance he pluckt one at the draw loggether first, whereon was grauen the markes and tokens of a triumph. The yong captaines seeing that, gauea shout of ioy, and without tarying drawing of other lots, they began every man to passe the riner as quickly as they could, and fet vpo the enemies as fuddenly. But they being not able to abide their force, ran their waies, & were faine to cast their armour away to make more haste: howbeit there were a thousand of them lay dead in the field. And within few dayes after Timolean leading his army to the city of the LEONTINES, tooke Iceres aliue there, with his fon Eupo- Timoleon limite, & the Generall of his horfmen, who were deliuered into his hands by his own fouldiers. So teetes and his sonne were put to death, like traitors and tyrants: and so was Enthydemus also, polenus his who though he was a valiant fouldier, had no better mercy shewed him, then the father and the foune aline, fon, because they did burthen him with certaine iniurious words he spake against the Corinthem to them to them the Corine full state of the state of them to the them to the them to the them to them to the them to THIANS. For they say, that when the Corinthians came first out of their countrey into death Sicile, to make wars against the tyrants: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, faid amongst other things, that they should not need to be afraid, if The women of Corinth were come out of their country.

Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: and do pardon their enemies, though they reuenge by deeds, because they can do no lesse. But as for iniurous words they seeme to proceed of a deadly hate, and of a cankered malice. Furthermore, when Timoleon was returned againe to Syracusa, the Syracusans arraigned the wives of Icetes, and his fon, and their daughters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the judgement of the people. Of all the acts Timoleon did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the foulest deede: are put to for if he had listed, he might have saved the poore women from death. But he passed not for them, and so less them to the wrath of the citizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the inimies that were done to Dion, after he had driven out the tyrant Dyonifius. For it was Icetes that Theories caused Areie, the wife of Dion, to be cast into the sea, his fifter Aristomache, and his sonnethat of Levis to was yet a fuckling child, as we have written in another place in the life of Dion. That done, he or, and his. went to CATANA against Mamercus, who taried for him by the river ABOLVS, where Mamer- Mamercus ess was overthrowne in battell, and about two thousand men flaine, the greatest part whereof bastell. were the CARTHAGINIANS, whom Gifco had fent for his reliefe. Afterwards he granted peace Abolu B. to the Carthaginians, vpon earnest suite made to him, with condition, that they should Timoteon keepe on the other side of the river of Lyevs, and that it should be lawfull for any of the inhabitants therethat would to come and dwell in the teritorie of the Syracysans, and to bring a- the Carthaway with them their goods, their wines and their children; and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS should renounce all league, confederacy, and alliance with the tyrants. Whereupon Mamereus having no hope of good successe in his doing, he would go into ITALY, to ftir vpthe Ly CANIAN's against Timoleon and the Synacysan's. But they that were in his company, returned back againe with their gallies in the mid way; and when they were returned into Sicile, they delivered up the city of CATANA into the hands of Timoleon, to as Ma- catana mercus was constrained to saue himself, and to slie into Messina, to Hippon the tyrant thereof. But Timoleon followed him, and befreged the city both by fea and by land. Whereat Hippon quaked for feare, and thought to flie by taking ship, but he was taken starting. And the MESSINI- Hypon the Ans having him in their hands, made all the children come from the schoole to the Theater, tyrone of Million. to see one of the good liest fights that they could denise to wit, to see the tyrant punished, who Hippon put was openly whipped, and afterwards put to death. Now for Mamerous, he did yeeld himselfe "death. vnto Timoleon, to be judged by the Syracysans, fo that Timoleon might not be his accuser. So he was brought vnto Syracvsa, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But seeing that the people cryed out and made a great noise, because they would not heare him, and that there was no likelihood they would pardon him: he ranne ouerthwart the Theater, and knocked his head as hard as he could drive, vpon one of the degrees whereon they fate there to feetheir fports, thinking to have dashed out his braines, and haue ridde himselfe sodainly out of his paine. But he was not happy to die so, Mimerous for he wastaken straight being yet aliue, and put to death as theeues and murtherers are. Thus the sprant

Timesteen quiete:b 42 Sicile.

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did Timelean roote all tyrants out of Sicil B, and made an end of all warres there. And whereas he found the whole Ile, wilde, fauage, and hated of the natural country men and inhabitants of the fame, for the extreme calamities and miferies they fuffered, he brought it to be fo civill, and fo much defired of ftrangers, that they came far & neare to dwell there, where the naturall inhabitants of the country selfe before, were glad to fly and for sake it. For Agricinty M, and Gr. LA, two great cities, did witnesse this, which after the wars of the ATHENIANS, had bin vtterly for faken and destroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe: the one. by Merellus and Pheristus, two captaines that came from ELEA: and the other by Gorgos, who came from the Ile of CEO. And as necre as they could, they gathered again together the first ancient citizens and inhabitants of the fame: whom Timoleon did not onely affure of peace and fafety to live there, to fettle them quietly together; but willingly did helpe them befides, with all other things necessary to his vitermost meane and ability, for which they loued and hononred him as their father and founder. And this his good love and favour was common alfo to all other people of Sicile whatfocuer. So that in all Sicile there was no truce taken in wars. nor lawes established, nor lands divided, nor institution of any policy or government thoush good or availeable, if Timoleons device had not bene in it, as chief directer of fuch matters; which gaue him a fingular grace to be acceptable to the gods, and generally to be beloued of all men. For in those dayes, there were other famous men in GRECE, that did maruellous great thingsa. mongst whom were these, Timotheus, Agesilaus, Palopidas, and Epaminondas: which Epaminondas Timoleon fought to follow in all things, as neare as he could, about any of them all. But in all the actions of these other great captaines, their glory was alwaies mingled with violence, paine, and labour: fo as fome of them have bene touched with reproch, and other with repentance. Where. as contrariwife, in all Timoleons doings (that only excepted which he was forced to do to his brother) there was nothing but they might with troth (as Timeus faid) proclaime the faying of Sophocles :

Ohmighingods of heaven what Venus flately dame, Or Capid, (god) have thus yout, their hands unto this same?

And like as Antimachus verles, and Dionyfius painting, both Colophonians, are full offi. newes and ftrength, and yet at this prefent we fee they are things greatly laboured and made with much paine: and that contrariwife in Nicomachus tables, and Homers verses, besides the paffing workmanship and fingular grace in them, a man findeth at the first fight, that they were eafily made, and without great paine. Euen foin like manner, who focuer will compare the painfull bloudie wars and battels of Epaminondas, and Agestlaus, with the wars of Timoleon, in the which befides equity and inflice, there is also great ease and quietnesse: he shall find, weighing things indifferetly. That they have not bin Fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himself doth wifely impute it vnto his good hap and fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar friends at Corinth, and in someother orations he made to the people of Syracvsa, he spake it many times, that he thanked the almightie gods, that it hath pleased them to saue and deliver Sicile fro bondage by his means and service, and to give him the honour and dignity of the name. And having builded a temple in his house, he dedicated it vnto Fortune, and furthermore did consecrate his whole house vnto her. For he dwelt in a house the Syracvs ans kept for him, and gaue him in recompence of the good service he had done them in the warres, with a marvellous faire pleasant house in the countrey also, where he kept most when he was at leisure. For he neuer after returned vnto Co-RINTH againe, but fent for his wife and children to come thither, and neuer dealt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongst the GRECIANS, neither did make himselfe to be enuied of the citizens (a mischiese that most gouernours and captaines do fall into, through their violatiable defire of honour and authoritie) but lived all the rest of his life after in Significant. cing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thousands of people happy by his meanes. But because it is an ordinary matter, and of necessitie, (as Simonides saith) that not onely all larkes have a tuft vpon their heads, but also that in all cities there be accusers, where the people rule there were two of those at Syracvsa, that continually made orations to the people, who did accuse Timoleon, the one called Laphy stim, and the other Demenetus. So this Laphystim appointing Timoleon a certaine day to come and answer to his accusation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the citizens began to mutine, and would not in any case

fuffer the day of adjornment to take place. But Timeleon did pacific the declaring vnto them that he had take all the extreme paines & labor he had done, & had passed so many dangers, because euery citizen & inhabitant of Synacusa, might frankly vse the liberty of their laws. And another time Dementue, in open affebly of the people, reprouing many things Timoleon did whehe was General: Timoleon answered neuer a word, but only faid vnto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had so requested of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once see the Syracvsans hauefull power and liberty to say what they would. Now Timoleo in al mens opinio, had done the noblest acts that euer GRECIAN captain did in his time, great praje and had alone deferued the fame & glory of all the noble exploits, which the rhetoricians, with all their cloquent orations perswaded the GRECIANS vnto, in the open assemblies, & common feafts and playes of GRECE, out of the which Fortune delivered him fafe and found before the trouble of the civill wars, that followed soone after and moreover he made a great proofe of his valiancy and knowledge in wars, against the barbarous people & tyrants, and had shewed himfelfalso a just & merciful man vnto all his friends, and generally to all the GRECIANS. And furthermore, seeing he won the most part of all his victories and triumphs, without the shedding of any one teare of his men, or that any of the mourned by his meanes, & also rid all Sicile of all the miseries and calamities reigning at that time, in lesse then eight yeares space the being now Timelennin grownold, his fight first beginning a litle to faile him, shortly after he lost it altogether. This hapned, not through any cause or occasion of sicknesse that came vnto him, nor that Fortune had cafually done him this iniury:but it was in my opinion, a disease inheritable to him by his parents, which by time came to lay hold on him alfo. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like cafe had also lost their sight, which by litle and litle with age, was cleane taken from them. Howbeit Athans the historiographer writeth, that during the warres he had against Mamereus & Hippon, as he was in his camp at MYLLEs, there came a white spot in his eies, that dimmed his sight somewhat: so that enery man perceined that he should lose his fight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his siege, but continued his enterprise, vntil he tooke both the tyrants at last: and so some as he returned to Syracus againe, he did put himself out of his office of general, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather because things were brought to fo good passe, as they theselues could defire. Now that he patiently tooke this misfortune to beblind altogether, peraduenture men may somewhat maruell at it; but this much more is to be wondred at, that the Syracy sans after he was blind, did so much honour him, and acknowledge the good he had done the, that they went themselves to visite him oft, and brought strangers (that were trauellers) to his house in the city, & also in the country, to make them see their forware the benefactor, reioycing & thinking themselues happy, that he had chosen to end his life with the, Syraculaus and that for this cause he had despised the glorious returne that was prepared for him in GRECE len being forthe great and happy victories he had won in Sicile. But amongst many other things the blind. Syracv sans did, and ordained to honor him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefestithat they made a perpetual law, so oft as they should have warres against forrein people, and Alaw made not against their owne countrymen, that they should chuse a Corinthian for their generall. to history It was a goodly thing also to see how they did honor him in the assemblies of their councel. For if any trifling matter fell in question among them, they dispatched it of themselves: but if it were athing that required great counsell and addice, they caused Timoleon to be sent for. So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the affembly of the people was, and caried in even so in his litter as he sate: and then the people did all salute him with one voice, and he them in like case. And after he had paused a while, to heare the praises and bleffings the whole affembly gaue him, they did propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he deliuered his opinion vpon the same: which being passed by the voices of the people, his seruants caried him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens did waite on him a little way with cries of ioy, and clapping of hands: and that done, they did repaire to dif-patch common causes by themselues, as they did before. So his old age being thus entertained of Timole's.

with fuch honour, and with the loue & good will of euery man, as of a common father to them

all: in the end a ficknesse tooke him by the backe, whereof he died. So the Syracysans had Timoleons accreaine time appointed them to prepare for his funerals, and their neighbours also there- formerals. abouts to come vnto it. By reason whereof his funerall was so much more honourably performedinall things, and specially for that the people appointed the noblest young gentlemen of

cefferente fortune.

Timaleon

dwellath fill with the Syracus

Simonides fajing.

Ti.releans acchers.

ÆMYLIVS AND TIMOLEON.

Anhonora of the Syra. Cusans for

ker place.

the city to cary his coffin vpon their shoulders, richly furnished, and set forth, whereon his body lay, and so did conuey him through the place, where the palace and castle of the tyrant Dionyfins had bene, which then was razed to the ground. There accompanied his body also many thousands of people, all crowned with garlands of flowers, and apparelled in their best apparel; fo as it seemed it had bin the procession of some solemne feast, & all their words were praisings and bleffings of the dead, with teares running down their cheekes, which was a good teftimony of the entire good will and loue they did beare him, and that they did not this as men that were glad to be discharged of the honour they did him, neither for that it was so ordained but for the inth forrow and griefe they took for his death, & for very hearty good loue they did bearehim. And lastly, the coffin being put vpon the stacke of wood, where it should be burnt, Demetrius one of the heraulds that had the lowdest voice, proclaimed the decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this. The people of Syracvs a hath ordained, that this prefent body of Timoleon Corinthian, the sonne of Timodemus, should be buried at the charges of the common-weale, vnto the fumme of two hundred Minas, and harh honoured his memory with playes and games of mufick, with running of horses, & with other exercises of the body, which shall be celebrated yearely on the day of his death for enermore; and this, because he did drine thy tyrants out of Sicile, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and because he replenished many great cities with inhabitants againe which the wars had left desolate and vnhabited, and lattly, for that he had restored the Sicilians agains to their libertie, and to live after their owne lawes. And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the whicha certaine time after, they builded certain cloisters and galleries to exercife the youth in, with exin the mare ercife of their bodies, and the place fo walled in, was called Timeleontium: and so long as they did observe the lawes and civill policy, he stablished amongst them, they lived long time in great and continuall prosperity.

THE COMPARISON OF

Paulus Æmylius with Timoleon.



The come parifon of Timoleon and Paulus Amylius. for the warres,

🔏 🍇 Ith thefe two men were fuch as the Historiographers haue described them to be: it is certaine, that comparing one with the other, we shall finde no greate oddes or difference betweene them. For first of all, the warres they made, haue bene against great and famous enemies: the one against the MACEDONIANS, and the other against the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them, conquered the realme of MACEDON, which he tooke from the scuenth king that rained by succesfion from the father to the sonne, since the time of the great Antigonus; and

the other draue all the tyrants out of Sicile, and restored the whole He and cities therein, vnto their former libertie. Vnlesse some will alledge perhaps that there was this difference betweene them, that Amylius fought against King Perseus, when he had all his power whole and entire,

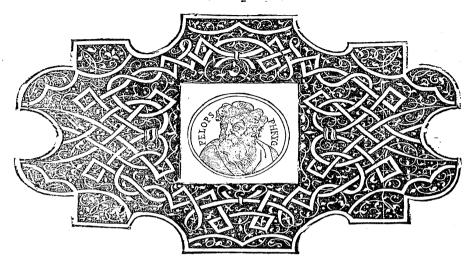
and had fought with the ROMAINES many times before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where Timeleon let vpon Dionysius, when he was in greatest dispaire, and in manner veterly cast away. On the contrary side, it may be objected for Timeleon, that he ouercame many tyrants and a mightic great army of the CARTHAGINIANS, with avery fmall number of men, and yet men of all forts:not as Æmylius with a great army of well trained and expert fouldiers in warres, but with men gathered together, at aduenture of all forts, being mercenary hirelings, and men fighting for pay, loofe people, & vnruly in wars, that would do but what they lifted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we must consesse that the praise is due unto the Generall. Both the one and the other kept their hands cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it seemeth that Æmylius came so fashioned and prepared, by the good civill law, & morall discipline of his country: & that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards fashioned himself to be that he was. And this is to be proved for that all the ROMAINES in that time were so civilly brought vp, and exceeded all other in straight keeping the lawes of their countrey. Where to the contrary, there was not one of the Captaines of the GRECIANS that came then, or were fent into Sicile, but fell ftraight to corruption, when he had put his foot into Sicile, Dion only excepted and yet they had a certaine fulpition of him, that he aspired to the kingdome, and imagined in his head to stablish a certain Empire at Syracvsa, like vnto that of Laced Amon. Timens the historiographer writeth, that the Syracvsaks fent Gilippus with shame back again into his courry, for his vnsatiable greedy concrousines, and for his great thefts and bribes taken in his charge. Diverse other have also written the great treasons and fullhoods Pharax Spartan, and Calippus Athenian did commit, both of them feeking to make themselves Lords of Syraevsa, and yet what men are they, and what meanes had they to have fuch a foolish vaine hope and fancy in their heads? considering that the one did follow and serue Dianysius, after he was driven our of Syracysa; and the other also was but a primate captaine of a band of footmen, of those that came with Dion. Timoleon in contrary maner was sent to be General of the Syracysans, vpon their great instance and suite. And he hatting nonced to seeke or hunt after it, but onely to keepe the power and authority they did willingly put into his hands: so soone as he had destroyed and ouerthrowne all such as would vniustly vfarpethe gouernment, he did immediatly of his own good will, frankly refigne vp his office and charge. And fure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in Paulus Aimylius: who having conquered to great and rich a realme, he never increased his goods the value of one farthing, neither did fee nor handle any mony at all, although he was very liberall, & gaue large-despitent hy vnto others. I meane not in speaking this to vpbraide or detect Timoleon, for that he accepted tivenite of afaire house the Synacvans gave him in the city, and a goodly mannor also in the countrey: from bribes, for in such cases there is no dishoness in receiping hor verifies and a goodly mannor also in the countrey: from bribes, for inflich cases there is no dishonestic in receiving, but yet it is greater honesty to resuse, then to take. But that vertue is most rare & singular, where we see they will receive nor take nothing, gife, some though they have justly deserved it. And if it beso, that the body is stronger and better com-mended for pounded, which best abideth change of parching heat, & nipping cold and that the mind is much more fironger & stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of prosperity, nor droopeth for forrow inaductifitie. Then it appeareth that Amylius vertue was so much more perfect; in that he showed himself of no lesse graue and constant a mind, in the patience he endured for his losse and sorow happened vnto him, (lofing at one time in maner, both his children)then he had done before, in all his triumph & greatest felicity. Where Timoleon to the contrary, having done a worthyact against his brother, could with no reason suppresse the griefe & sorrow he telebut ouercome with bitter gricfe and repentance, continued the space of twenty yeerestogether, and nener druft once only shew his face again in the marker place, nor deale any more in matters of the

common-weale. Truly, for a man to beware to do cuill, and to shun from cuill, it is a very good and comely thing: so also befory, and afeard of enery reproch, and ill opinion of the world, it sheweth a simplenesse of nature,

and a good and well disposed mind, but no manly courage.

The end of Timoleons life.

THE LIFE OF Pelopidas.



To be too bold and venterous is not gold.

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nions of

ATO the elder, answered certaine on a time, that maruellously commended a bold, a venturous, and desperate man for the warres: That there was great oddes, to esteeme manhood so much, and life so little And furely it was wifely spoken of him. The report goeth, thatking Antigonus gaue pay to a fouldier among other, that was very hardie and venturous, but he had a naughtic fickly body. The King asked him one day, what he ayled to be fo pale, and cuill coloured. The foulding told him, he had a fecret difease vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The King hearing him fay fo, commanded his Physici-

ons and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they should heale him with all possible speede: and so they did. After the souldier had his health againe, he would venture to more to desperatly in the wars as he did before. Insomuch as king Antigonus self perceiving his flackneffe in drawing backe, rebuked him and faid vnto him: that he wondered to fee fo greata change & alteration in him. The fouldier neuer shrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainly: Your felf, & it please your Maiesty, is cause of my cowardlinessenow, by healing my disease, that made my life lothfome to me. Much like were a Sybaritans words touching the life and maner of the Laced Emonians: that it was no maruel they had fuch a defire to die in the wars fecing they did it to rid themselues of their troubles, and most miserable & straight life. But we must not wonder though the Sybaritan's, being womanish men, altogether given to pleasure, did for thinke; that those men hated their lives, who feared not death, for the defire they had to do good, and good will they had to do their dutie. Which was contrary in the LACED EMONI ANS: for they were of opinion, that to live and die willingly, was a vertue: as these funerally crles do witnesse:

The dead which here do rest, did not in life esteeme, That life or death were (of them (elues) or good or bad to deeme. But even as life did end or death was brought to paffe, So life or death, was good or bad; this their opinion was.

And indeede to flie death is no shame, so it proceede not of a cowardly heart: neither to desire death is commendable, if it be with hate and contempt of life. This is the reason why Home faith, the valiantest men are ever best armed, when they come to battel. The law-makers among

the GRECIANS, do ever punish him that casts away his target, but never him that casteth away why the his fword or lance. For enery man must first thinke to defend himself, before he seeke to hurt his Greeting do enemy, and specially such as haue the whole state of a Realme in their hands, and be Generals of the field. For if the comparison be true about 12 the field. the field. For if the comparison be true, that Iphicrates the ATHENIAN captain made, that in an away bis army of men, the light horsmen resemble the hands, the men of armes the feet, the battel of footmen the stomack and breast, the captaine the head of a mans body: it seemed then that the venturous captaine putting himselfe in danger without cause, is not onely carelesse of his ownelife, of an arm, but also of al theirs whose liues depend upon his safety. And contrarily, he being carefull of his owne person, cannot but be carefull of his souldiers that serue vnder him. Therfore Callicratidas a Laced Emonian captaine, and a worthy man otherwife, did vnwifely answer a foothsayer Alieute that bad him take heed to himself: for the signes & tokens of the sacrifices did threate his death. Sparta, faid he standeth not upon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by sea or by land, man becareful for man, Callicratidas was but one man of himselfe, but as captaine or lieutenant general, he had the whole power & force of the army in his person. For he was not a man alone, when so many himselfe. mens lines were lost with his. Now old Antigonus was of a corrary mind: for he being ready to giue battell by sea, about the Ile of Anoros, made a better answer to one that said vnto him his enemies had moe ships then himself. For how many ships then doest thou reckon my selfe, said he? Therin he did wisely to make great account of the worthinesse of a General, specially when it is joyned with hardinesse and experience. For the chiefest point of service, is to save him that fauethallother. For when Chares on a time shewed the Athenians opely, the fundry wounds and cuts he had received upon his body, and his target also thrust through with many pikes: Timotheus straight said vnto him: Chares, I am not of thy mind. For when I did besiege the city of Timotheus Samos, I was afframed to fee a dart throwne from the wals, light hard by me, for that I shewed sping. my selfea rash yong man, and more venturous then became a Generall of so great an army. For when it standeth much vpon the whole army, and that it is necessary the General therof do pur himselfe in danger: then he should put himselfe forward, and occupy both hands and body without respect, not regarding their words that say, A good and wise Captaine should die for age, or at the least, old. But where there is small honor to be won by very good successe, & contrariwise much losse and destruction by great misfortune: no man of wisdome or judgement would wish a Generall to fight as a private souldier, to hazard the losse of a Generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the lines of Pelopidas and of Marcellus, both which were worthy men, and died other wife then they should. For they were both valiant souldiers in the field, and did both of them honor their country with famous victories, and specially against great & dreadfull enemies. For the one was the first (as they say) that ouerthrew Hannibal, who was neuer ouercome by any before. And the other also ouercame the LACED EMONIANS in Pelopidas battel, that ruled al GR E CE at that time both by sea & by land, yet they both carelesly lost their and Marv lines, by venturing too boldly, when their country flood in greatest need of such men & captains less than their as they were. This is the cause why we following the resemblance that was between them, have lives by too compared their lives together. Pelopidas, the fon of Hippoclus, came of one of the noblest houses of the city of Tite B s , as Epaminondas did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left turing. him heire of all hislands and goods, being but a yong man. So he straight shewed himselfe willing to do good, with his mony, to those that needed helpe, and were worthy to let the world see liberality. that his mony was not his mafter. For as Aristotle faith of these rich men, the most part of them do not vse their goods for extreme coueteousnes, other again do abusethé, as being giue to ouermuch pleasures. So rich men become slaues all their lifetime, some to pleasure, other to profite. Now, all Pelopidas other friends would be beholding to him, & take very thankfully his courtese & liberality towards them; but Epaminondas could neuer be brought to take any thing at his hands. Howbeit Pelopidas selfe followed Epaminondas maner: for he took a pride and pleasure to go simply apparelled, to fare meanely, to labour willingly, and to make wars openly as he did. He was even fuch another, as Euripides the Poet described Capaneus to be, when he said of him: He rich and wealthy was, yet was he therewithall

No wight that purchas'd worldly hate, nor insolent at all.

For he wold have bin ashamed, that the poorest man of the city of Thebes, should have worne meaner apparell vpon his backe then himselfe. As for Epaminondas, his pouerty was not dainty to him, because his parents were ener poore, & yet for al that he passed it oner more easily by

Pelopidas Saying for the necessity

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fludy of Philosophy, which he gaue himself vnto, and for that from his youth he liked to leadea fpare life without excesse, Where Pelopidas matched in a noble house, and maried highly, & had two children by his wife:neuerthelesse he had no mind to keepe or increase his goods the more for that, but gaue himselfe altogether to serue the comon-weale as long as he lived. By reason whereof his wealth decayed, and his best friends grew angry with him, telling him that he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was fo necessary, as to have goods. Andhe answered them: Indeed they are necessary I do confesse it, but yet for such a one as this poore. lame, and blind man that standeth by. They both were alike borne to all vertue, fauing that Pelo. pidas tooke most pleasure in exercise of his body and strengh, and Epaminondas in the exercise of his wit and learning. So as the pastime each of them tooke when they were at leasure was, that the one delighted to wrestle & to hunt, and liked any kind of exercise of his body: and the other The perfect to heare, to fludy, and alwaies to learne fomething of Philosophy. But among all the excellent gifts and good parts in either of them, and that most wasne them honour and estimation in the world, they were only commended, and fingularly noted of wife men, for the perfect loue and and Epami- friendship that was ener inviolably kept betweene them vntill their deaths: having bene joyned together in so many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwise in matters of state and gouernement. For if a man will confider, and looke into the doings of Ariftides, Themistocles, and Cimon, of Pericles Nicias, and Alcibiades, how full of differtions, enuies, and sufpiri. ons they were one against another, in gouerning the common-weale: and againe will consider the love, honour, and kindnesse, that continued alwaies betwixt Pelopidas, and Epaminondas: no doubt they will say these two are more worthy to be called brethren in warre (as they say) and companions in gouernement, then any of them we have named before, whose care and study was alwayes rather to ouercome one another, then to ouercome their enemies, & the only cause therof was their vertue. For their acts shewed they did not seeke glory, nor riches for themselues (the couetousnesse whereof doth alwayes breed quarrels and enuy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue with another, with a great kindnesse and estimation of themselues, to feetheir countrey flourish, and grow to great honour through their seruice, and in their time; and for they reckoned all the good exploits both of the one and the other, that tended to that end, as their own. The most part of writers thinke, this great and earnest loue the one did beare to another, did grow fir & betweene them in a journey they made together vnto Mantine a to aid the LACED EMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both fet in battell ray, one hard by another among the footmen, against the Arcadians that stood before them; it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACED EMONIANS in the which they were gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. Butthey determining to die rather then to flie, flood close together, and fought with the enemies that came vpon them, vntill such time as Pelspidas being hurt in seuen places before, sell downe at the last vpon a heape of dead bodies, aswell of their owne souldiers as of their enemies, euen one vpon another. Then Epaminondas thinking he had bene slaine, stept notwithstanding before him to defend his body and armour, and hea-Ione fought against many, being willing to die rather then to forsake Pelopidus lying amongstthe dead bodies: vntil himselfe being thrust into the breast with a pike, and sore cut on his arme with a fword, was even ready to give over, when Agefipolis (King of the LACED EMONIANS) came wish the other point of the battell in happy houre, who faued both their liues past all hope. Now after this battel, the LACED AMONIANS both in words and deeds did courteously intreate the THERANS as their friends & confederates. Notwithstanding, intruth they began to fearethe power and great courage of that city, and specially the faction and associats is menias and Andreclidas had fet vp, whereof Pelopidas also was a companion: because they thought it was popular, and inclined much to defire liberty. Whereupon Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, all three great wealthy men of the city of THEBES, & misliking to be equall with other citizens, did perswate Phabidus, a captaine of the LACED EMONIANS, that going and coming through the countrey of BOEOTIA with an army, he would one day affay to take the castle of THEBES called CAD-MEA and driving those out of the city that would resist him, he would put the government of the state into the hands of a few of the noblest persons, who would be at the deuotion of the La-CED EMONIANS, and obey them in all things. Phabidas brought it to passe, & did work his feate before the THEBANS mistrusted any thing, vpon a holy day called THESMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the castle, he apprehended Ismenias, and sent him to LACED EMON, where shortly

after they put him to death, Pelopidas. Pherenicus, and Androclidas, with many other faued them- Pelopidas, felics by flying, & were banished THEBES by found of trumper. Epaminondas taried Itil in THE Pherenen, EES, & no mantouched him, for they made small account of him, because he was altogether gi. and endro uento his booke; and though his goodwill had ferued him to have done fome feate, his pourry faul from made him vnable to do any thing. The LACED & MONIANS vnderstanding of the taking of the Thibes. cassle, did straight put Phabidas out of his charge, and set a fine of a hundred thousand drachines vpon his head: but yet they kept fill the castle of CADMFA in their hands with a great garrison. All the other cities & people of GRECE did wonder much at it, that they should allow the fact, and punish notwithstanding the doer. So the Thebans having lost their ancient liberty, and Archive being made fubicet by both these, Archias and Leontidas, soas all hope was taken from them e- Leontidas, uer to wind out of this tyranny, or at any time to ouerthrow it, seeing it was maintained and defended by the Laced Monians, and that they could not possibly take from them all the feigniorie & dominion they had throughout GREBCE, as well by fea as by land: Leontidas and his cedemonfollowers notwithstanding, when they understood that they who were banished fro Thebes, 47% were very well received and entertained of the people at Athens, & much made of also by the nobility, they fought fecretly by treason to have them killed. To do this seate they sent certaine men vnknown to ATHENS, who by treaton flue Androelidas, howbeit they miffed the killing of the other. Furthermore, the LACED EMONIANS, Wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they should Andredis not receive fuch as were bareflied from There's, nor that they should favour them, but drive das same. them out of their city, as those which by their allies were infly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS, notwithstanding, being men alwaies civilly given, and inclined in nature to humanitic, as being borne, and bred vp withall, and very defirous besides to require the The - The thanks BANS courtefie, who had bene the chiefest meanes and doers in restoring against he popular fulling of flate and government at Athens: they would by no meanes offer the Thebans any figh the athe. inurie, iceing they had stablished a law and decree, that if any Athenias passing too and the thelans forthrough the countrey of Bosotta, did bearcarmour against the thirty tyrants, that were gonernours and oppressors of the liberty of Athens, there should no Bosotian seemeto he, or know any thing thereof. In the meane time Pelopidas, though he were of the younger Felopidas fort, did procure fill euery one that was banished, to seeke the libertie of his country, and openly made an oration to them all, declaring that it were not onely a cowardly part, but also a wic- of the The. kedoffence to the goddes, if they would fuffer their countrey to remaine fo in continual bon- bans. dage, and ffrangers to inhabite it with a garrifon, to make them subject to the yoke; and they in the meane time to be contented to faue themselves, to live delicately and idlely at ATHENS, to fludieto do what shall please the Athenians to command them, and to be afraid of the Oratours, and those which through eloquence can perswade the common people to do what they lust. Therefore he perswaded them that they should hazard all, being a matter of so great weight, and take example of Thrasybulus noble courage and hardinesse: who departing from THERE'S, did drive out the tyrants that oppressed ATHENS: and even so, we departing from ATHENS, should seeke to deliver THERES also from bondage. When he had by these perswastons drawne them to his opinion, they feeretly fent vnto their friends that remained fill in $T_{\rm H\ E-}$ mes, to let them understand their mind and determination: who all liked very well of their purpole. Infomuch as Charon that was the chiefest man among them, promised to lend them his house to assemble in. Philidas also found meanes to be Secretary to Philip and Archias, who were gouernors and Captaines of the citie at that time for the LAGED AMONIANS. Epaminondas on the other fide making no shew of any thing, had of long time practifed to stirre vp the courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they were arany games or exercises of body, he would ever procure them to wreftle with the LACEDEMONIANS. And after he faw them reioyce when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them, and tell them they might be assamed, for lacke of courage to suffer the LACED EMONIANS TO hold their noses to the grindstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the confederates appointed a day certaine to breake the ice of their pretended enterprise, and agreed that confinacy Pherenicus, with other that were banished, should tarie at the village of Thriasivm, and that again the they should send the valiantest and lusticst young men before, to give the venture to enter the Lacedame city:adding this therewithal, that if the enemies fortuned to surprise the, all the other of y coffiracy ioyntly together, shold be ready to give order, that their fathers, mothers, & childre shold of Theles.

Charon keps prodanger of

Pelopidas desquiledin

Philidas Secretary so she sy-

danger.

lacke nothing necessary for them. Pelopidas was the first man that offered himselfe to vndertake theenterprise: and after him Melon, Damoclidas, and Theopompus; all three, men of the greatest houses of Theres, who loued maruellously together, & for no respect would ever offend one another, although from the beginning there was ever emulation among them for honour and glory, by striuing who should exceed other in vertue and valiantnesse. Now they were twelve of them, who taking leave of the rest, sent a foot post before to Charon, to advertise him of their. coming and they themselues went on their journey casting little short clokes vpon them, and taking hounds with them, and hunters staues in their hands, because their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should thinke them hunters vo and downe the fields for their pleasure. So, when the messengers they sent, came to the citie. and had rold Charon that they were coming, he neuer shrunke from his word, though the danger towards was great, but like a frout and honest man did abide by his promise made, and told him they should be most heartily welcome to his house. But another mancalled Hipposthenidas. very honest otherwise, and one that loued his country and the preservation thereof, and a good friend of those also that were banished: fainting straight vpon the sudden report of these newes. his mind was troubled, and his heart failed him fo, as his nofe fell a bleeding, to thinke vpon the greatnesse of the instant danger he was like to fall into, having never cast before with himselfe how by this enterprise they should put all the empire of the LACED EMONIANS in hazard of vtter destruction, and lay a plot besides to ouerthrow all their comon wealeand state; by lay. ing all their hope vpon a few banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprise. Whereupon to foone as he was come home, he fecretly dispatched a messenger one of his familiar friends, vnto Melon and Pelopidas, to will them they should defer their enterprise for better oportunitie, and foto returne backe againe to ATHENS. Chliden was the man he fent of this melfage, who presently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife fetch him the bridle quickly. The bridle being not readily to be found, she told him she had lent it out to one of their neighbors. Then they fell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to foule words, and laftly his wife fell a curfing of him, and praied the gods he might haue ill lucke in his journey, and those that sent him. Childen having spent the most part of the day chiding and brawling with his wife about the bridle, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his wives curfing and banning of him: he determined not to go a foote out of the dooreson that arrand, and so went about some other businesse. Thus had this noble enterprise in manner bene altogether dashed before it was fully begun. Now those that were in Pelopidus companie, changed apparell with the countrey men, because they would not be knowne, and did deuide themselves for that they would not come into the citicall together, but at divers gates, being stownes ap day light. At that time it was a maruellous wind and great fnow, and the weather was so boifte. rous, that every man got him within dores; which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not knowne when they came into the city. So their friends & confederates within the city received them as they came, and brought them to Charons house, where were assembled togither, with those that were banished, eight and forty persons onely. Now for the tyrants, thus flood the matter with them. Philidas their Secretary was of the conspiracy, as we have told you before, and he knew all the practife. Wherfore he had long before folemnly bidden Archiasand his company, to supper to his house, that very night, to be merry together, and had promised to entertaine them with women to welcome them withall: of purpose, that when they had in their full cups, and were in the midst of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then vie them as they would. So they being fet at table, before they were fped of their cups, one came to them, & told them truly of the treason (not the particularities, neither as a thing certaine, but of a rumour onely that ran abroad in the towne) that the banished men were hidden in Charons house. Philidas would have paffed the matter over. Howbeit Archies would needs fend one of his guard fraight for Charon, to command him to come to him presently. It was within night, and Pelopidas and his company prepared themselues to worke their feat, being armed enery man, & their fwords in their hands, when vpon a fodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house running straight to the gate, came back again afeard, to tell them that it was one of Archias guard that came for Charen, to come immediatly to the governours. Then were they in doubt that their practife was discouered, &that they were all cast away, before they could make any proof of their valiantnes:notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that Charen should obey the mel-

fage, and that he should present himselfe before the gouernours, to take away all suspition from them. Charon of himselfe was a stout man very constant, and resolute in danger for his own perfon: yet it grieued him much at that time, for feare the confederats should suspect him he had bewraied them, if io many honest citizens whom he had lent his house vnto, should vnfortunatly miscary. Therefore before he went out of his house, he went into his wines chamber, to setch his fon that was a goodly boy, but ftrong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to Prlopidas, & praied him, if he vinderstood he had betraied the any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they should then vse his son as an enemy, without any compassion towards him. Whe the confederates faw the good zeale and true noble mind of Charon, they all fell a weeping, and were angry with him, that he should thinke any of the so faint hearted, or timorous, for any danger could come to them, that they should suspect or accuse him for any thing; and there withall they prayed him, not to leave the boy with them, but rather to convey him into some place out of the tyrants danger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be reuenged of the wrong and injury they had done to them, and to their country. Charon answered them, he would not take him away, & that he faw no life nor health more happy for him, then to die with his father without infamy, and with so many honest men his friends. So after he had be sought the gods to prosper them, and had encouraged and embraced enery one of the confederators one after another: he went to the gouernours, and studied by the way so to frame his words & countenance, as though he should seeme to thinke of any thing else, then of that he purposed to do. When he came to Philidas dorethat made the feast, Archias & Philidas himselfe came vnto him, and asked him: Charon, what are they (faid they) that are come into the citie, and hidden in some house, with certaine citizens, that do accompany them? Charon was somewhat abashed at the first and asked them againe: What men be they? who are they that hide them in the city? But when heperceiued hat Archias could tel nothing of certainty, then he thought straight that some man had informed them that was not privy to the practife, but had heard something of it. Therupon he willed them to take heed it was no false alarme, to make them afraid neuerthel sie (said he) I wilenquire further of it: for at all aduenture it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. Philidas answered him, he said truly and so he brought Archias backe again into the hall, where hemade him drinke deeper then before, still entertaining the company with hope of the womens coming. Charon returning home againe, found all the confederates ready to attempt their enterprise, not as men that reckoned of their lives, nor that had hope to prevaile: but as those that were determined to die valiantly, & to fell their lines dearely. Now he truly told vnto Pelapidas only, what was faid vnto him: and the rest, he told that Archidas had sent for him to speake withhim of other matters. The storme of the former danger was scant blown ouer, but Fortune fent them another: for immediatly vpon talke had with Charon at the first, came a messenger from ATHENS, that brought a letter to the fame Archias, written by the Bishop of ATHENS at Archia that time, called Archias, also as himselfe, and was his old host and friend: wherein hewrote not bifting of of simple coniecture, nor surmised suspicion, but the plaine conspiracie in enery degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the meffenger was brought to Archias that was drunke, and deliuering him trason to the letter he said vnro him: Sir, he that sendeth you this letter, straightly charged me to tell you, Archico in that you should presently reade the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. Archias laughing faid vnto him: Weightie matters to morrow. So he tooke the letter and put it weight vp, and then fell againe to his tale he had begun with Philidas. But euer after, the GRECIANS matters to made this a common prouerbe among them, Weighty matters to morrow. Now when the confirstore field their times a cochout their hufges, they divided them filling in two companies.

Prouerb. spirators spied their time to go about their busines, they divided themselves in two companies. Pelopidas and Damoclidas went with one company, to fet vpon Leontidas and Hypates, because Pelopidas they dwelt neare together: Charon and Melon with the reft, went against Archias and Philip, be killethibe ing disguised in womens apparell they had put vpon their priny coates, and wearing garlands of vrante pine apple and firre trees on their heads, they couered all their faces. So when they came to shew themselves at the hall doore where the banket was made, they that were in the hall at the first fight, thinking they had bene the women they looked for, began to shoute and made great noise for ioy. But when the conspirators cast their eyes round about the hall to know those that were at the table, they drew out their fwords, and let vpon Archias and Philip ouerthwart the table: then they shewed theselues what they were. Then Philidas bad his guests he had bidden to the banket with them, that they should not stir, for they should have no hurt: so some of the sate stil,

292 But the greatest number of them would needs from the boord, to defend their gouernors, How. beit because they were drunke that they knew not what they did, they were soone slaine with them. Now Pelopidas enterprise was not so easie. For they went against Leontidas, that was a sober discreet man, and withall hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his doores were shut vp, & they knocked long before any man came to the doore. At the length, one of his menthat heard them rap so hard, with much ado came to open the doore; but he had no sooner thrust backe the bolt of the doore, and began to open it, but they pushed it from them with such a force vpon him altogether, that they laid him on the ground, and went straight to his masters chamber. Leontidas hearing the noise of them that ran vp to him in such hast, presently mistrufted the matter; and leaping out of his bed, tooke his fword in his hand, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night; for if they had bene out, they might eafily have hurr one another in the darke. But the lampes giving cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber doore, and gaue Cephisodorus the first man that pressed to enter vpon him, such a blow with his fword, that he dropped downe dead at his feet. Having flain the first man, he dealt with the second that came after him, and that was Pelopidas. The fight went hard betweene them two. both for that the chamber dore was very strait, as also for that Cephisodorus body lying on the ground, did choke the coming in at the chamber. Notwithstanding, Pelopidas ouercame him in the end, and flew him: and went from thence with his company straight to Hypates house. where they got in, as they did vnto Leontidas house before. But Hypates knew presently whatir was, and thought to faue himselfe in his neighbours houses. How beit the conspirators followed him so hard, that they cut him offbefore he could recouer their houses. Then they gathered together, and loyned with Melons company, and fent immediatly with all possible speede to A-The Winty THENS, to the banished THEBANS there, and cryed through the city, Liberty, liberty, arming those citizens that came to them with the armour and spoiles of their enemics, that were hanged vp in common vaults, and armourers shops about Charons house, which they brake open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other fide, Epaminondas and Gorgidas, came to ioyne with them, with a company of young men and honest old men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Herupon the whole city was straight in an vprore and tumult, and every house was full of lights, one running to another to know what the matter was. Neuertheleffe the people did not yet assemble together, but every one being amazed, musing at this stir, not understan. ding the troth, stayed till day came on, that they might call a councell. But truly herein me thinkes the Captaines of the garrifon of the LACED EMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not ftir betimes, & fer upon them incontinently:confidering there was fifteene hundred foldiers, besides a great number of citizens that would have come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noise they heard made them afeard, & to see lights in enery mans house, and the people running vp and downe the fracers in great multitudes too and fro: whereupon they flirred nor, but only kept them within the castle of CADMEA. The next morning by breake of day, came the other banished THEBANS from ATHENS, very well armed, and all the people of THEBES drew together in councell. Thither did Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring Pelopidas and his conforts, and presented them before the people, compassed about with priests and the profeffed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpontheir heads, and they prayed the affembly of the citizens, that they would helpe their gods & their country. All the people that were prefent, when they faw them, arose vp and stood on their feet, and with great shouts and clapping of hands received them, as their fauiours, that had delivered their country from bondage, & reftored them again to liberty: and thereupon before them all, euen in the market place, by the whole voice and consent of the people, they chose Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, gouernors and captains of BOEO'TIA. Pelopidas then immediatly made them befiege the castell of CADMEA about, with trenches and force of wood, doing all he could possible to win it, and to expulse the LACEDE. MONIANS, before any supply or aide came to them from Sparta. So he did, and preuented it Pelopidas fo fuddenly, that the garrifon being departed out of the castle by composition, as they returned towards LACED EMONIA, they found Cleombrotus king of SPARTA in the country of MEGARA, coming towards them with a great army to helpe them. Afterwards, of the three Captaines which had charge of their garrifon that lay at Thebes, the Spartans condemned two of them to death: Hirmippidas and Arcissus were presently executed: and the third captaine, Dysaeridas, they fet fo grieuous a fine on his head, that he went out of PBLOPONNESVS. This enter-

prise being attempted, and executed with the like valiantnesse, and the same danger and trouble, that Thrasibulus practise was, when he deliuered ATHENS from the slauery of the thirty Gonernours and tyrants; and having the like fortune and happy end, the GRECIANS termed it cofingerman to Thrasibulus act. And indeed it were a hard matter to finde two other such, besides them two, that with so few men ouercame their enemies, being many mo in number then themfelues, or that with fo small help did ouercome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprise with their onely valiance and wisdome, and were cause besides of so great bleffing and benefite to their country, as Pelopidas and Thrafibulus attempt was. But the great change and alteration of the state afterwards, did make their acts farre more noble and famous. For the warre that ouerthrew the maiestie of Sparta, and that tooke away all the seignorie Pelopidus and rule of the LACED EMONIANS both by fea and by land, beganne the very fame night, ourthrew when Pelopidas himfelfe making the twelfth person, and entring into a private house, taking the signaneither citie, nor cassle, nor strong hold (to rell truly by figuratine speech) did breake and cut Lucdome. in funder, the links and chaines that linked straight together, and strengthened the Laced Man. NIANS whole Empire and monarchie ouer all GRECE: who vntill that present time were thought fo strong, as no possibility could breake or funder them. Now the Laced Minne fortuning afterwards to inuade the country of Boeotia with a mighty army, the Atheni-ANS trembling for feare of their great power, did vtterly leaue to protect them, and renounced the league and alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did straightly profecute lawe against those, that were accused to take part with the Bosorians: whereof some of them were pur to death, other were banished from ATHENS, and the rest condemned in great fummes of money. To be short, every man said the THEBANS were but vindone, considering they had no helpe, and were beloued besides of none. At that present time it sell out Pelopidas and Gorgidas were Generals over all Bosorta for that yeare, who deuifing to throw abone betwirt the Athenians and the Laced Emonians again, to make them square, they reliable vsed this policy. There was a captain of the LACED EMONIANS called Sphodrias, a valiant man, policieto but else of small capacity, and vainely given, having a certaine fond ambition and humour, perfivading himselse he had done some notable good service in his time. This Sphodrias was left full out inthecitie of The spies, with a great band of fouldiers, to receive and favour all the Boe or i-ANS that had a mind to revolt from the THEBANE. Pelopidas of himselfe sent a merchant (avery friend of his) vnto Sphodrias with a great fumme of money from him, and certaine perswasions withall, which prevailed more then the money, wishing him to attempt some greater matter, and to seeke to win the hauen of PIR EA: a thing soone wonne, if he came to assault it on the sodaine, and the rather, for that the ATHENIANS mistrust nothing, neither keepe watch nor wardthere. Moreouer, that he might affure himfelfe, nothing could be better welcome to the lords of Laced Emonia, then to make them lords of the city of Athens also. And again, that the THEBANS being at deadly fode with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betrayed and forfaken them in their need, would not aide nor fuccor them in any respect. Sphodrics giving too light eare to this vaine perswassion, tooke the souldiers he had with him, and marching away by night entred the realme of Attica, & went on to the city of Elevsin: but when he came this ther, his fouldiers were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpose being discouered, he was forced to returne backe to The spies, having raifed fuch a war to the Laced Amonians, as felout to be of no small importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the A-THENIANS fought league and amity again with the THEBANS, and did aide them very louingly: and moreouer, putting themselves to sea, they sailed up and downe, procuring and drawing to their league all fuch as were willing to rebell against the LACED EMONIANS; and the THE- The The. Bans befides, had many prety skirmishes with the LACED & MONIANS in the meane time, in bans exertheir owne country of Bobotia. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was such a armet. great learning and continuall training of them in martiall discipline, as the Thebans still increafed in courage and valiantneffe, and waxed stronger and better fouldiers for by those skirmishes they grew not only expert foldiers, but waxed more skilful in vfing their weapons, then before. As we reade, that Antalcidas a Spartan said one day to king Agestlam, coming home fore hurt from Bobotia: Surcly the Thebans have given you a worthy reward, for teaching them to be fouldiers against their wils. But to fay truly, Agesilans was not their master to teach them to have seek. make wars, but they were the good and wife leaders of the THEBANS, who like good woodmen

PELOPIDAS.

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in chusing their game, could skilfully chuse both time and placeto giue their enemies battel, and make them retire again with fafety, after they had bin fleshed, giving them a litle tast of the fruits and commodity of victory: but among them, Pelopidas was he that deserved most honor. For fince the first timethey gaue him charge of men of war, they neuer failed, but chose him continually energy yeare, either captaine of the holy band, or gouernour of Bosotia fo long ashe lived: fo that Pelopidus only did the most things in this war. The Laced Emonians were overthrowne in fundry journeies, that they were diffressed by the cities of Plates, and of These PIES, where Phabydas himselfe (that had before taken the castell of CADMEA) was slaine among other. Another great power of theirs also was ouerthrown neareto the city of TANAGRA. where Panthoidas gouernor of the same, was also slain. Now al these victories, though they much encouraged the hearts of the conquerors, & made them hardy: yet did they not thereby altogether conquer the minds of the vanquissed. For the LACED &MONIANS WERE not ouercome in any pitched field, nor fet battel, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rodes, & skirmishes properly laid of purpose, where sometime flying, sometime driving themagaine, they bickered very oft, and put them to the worst. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a flourish and proofe to the iourny of Levernees, wan Pelopidas great honor: for he had no companion to challenge any part of his glory and victory, neither did he leave his enemies any lawfull excuse, to shadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he spied all occasion he might possible. of Pogita. how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that took part with the LACED EMONIANS, and hadreceiued two ensignes of footmen of theirs to keepe it. Pelopidas being aductised one day, that the garrison of OR CHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the country of the Localds. hoping he should finde Orchomene without garrison, he marched thicher with his hold band, and certaine number of horsemen. But when he drew nearethe city, he had intelligence there was another garrison coming from Sparta to supply the place of the garrison that was abroade:wherupon he returned backe again by the city of Trora, for he could have paffedno other way, but to have turned down by the foot of the mountaine. For all the valley that lay betweene both, was drowned with overflowing of the river of Melas which even from his very head carieth ever such breadth with it, as it maketh y marishes navigable, so as it is vnpassa. ble for any shallow it hath. Not far fro these marishes standeth the temple of Apollo TEGIRIAN, where was an oracle in old time, but left off at this day, and had neuer long continuance, but only untill the time of the wars of the Medes, when Echecrates was master and chiefe priest there. And some hold opinion, that Apollo was borne there: for they call the next mountaine to it DE-10s, at the foot whereof the marishes of the river of MELAS do end, and behind the temple are two goodly springs, from whence cometh great abundance of good sweet water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Oliue. And some say also, that the goddesse Latona was not brought to bed betweene two trees, but betweene these two springs. For mount Provm is hard by it also, from whence the wild bore came of a sodaine that flighted springs cal- her. And the tale that is told of the serpent Pytho, and of the giant Tytius, do both confirment, that Apollo was borne in the same place. I passe ouer many other coniectures confirming the fame, for that we do not believe in our countrey that Apollo is among the number of those, who from mortall men haue bene translated to immortall goddes, as are Hercules and Bacchus, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put off mortality, and tooke immortalitie vpon them: but we rather take him for one of those that neuer had beginning nor generation, at the least if those things be to be credited, which so many grave and ancient writers have left in wilting to vs, touching fo great and holy things. The Thebans returning back fro Orchomene, and the LACED AMONIANS on the other fide returning also from Lockide both at one time, they fortuned both armies to meet about the city of TEGYRA. Now so some as the THEBANS had discourred the Laced Monian's passing the straight, one of them ranne sodainly to Pelspidas, and told him: Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the LACED EMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, answered Pelopidas againe? With these words he commanded his horsementhat was in the rereward, to come before, and set vpon them: and him selfe in the meane time put his footemen immediatly into a pretie squadron close together, being inall not aboue three hundred men, hoping when he should come to give charge with his battell, he should make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater number. For the LACE-DEMONIANS divided themselves in two companies, and every company, as Ephorus writeth,

had fine hundred mentand as Calliftenes faid, feuen hundred. Polybia: and diverse other authours fay, they were nine hundred men. So Theopompus and Gorgoleon, the Captaines of the LACED A-MONIANS, luftily marched against the THEBANS: and it fell out so, that the first charge was ginen, where the chiefetaines or generals were of either fide, with great fury on either part, fo as both the Generals of the LACEDEMONIANS which fet vpon Pelopidas together, were flainc. They being flaine, and all that were about them being either hurt or killed in the field: the reft of the army was so amazed, that they deuided in two, and made a lane on either side, for the THE-BANS to passe through them if they would. But when they saw Pelopidas meant not to take the paffage they offered him, and that he came on still with his mento set v ponthose that were yet in battell ray, and flue all them that stood before him: then they turned taile, and tooke them to their legs. How beit the THEBANS did not chase them farre, fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not farre from the, and the new garrison besides, that were come from Laced MMON not long before. And this was the cause they were content that they had ouercome them by force, and had passed through their army in despight of them, and broken and ouerthrowne them. So when he had fet vp markes of triumph, and spoiled their slaine enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obtained victory. For in all the warres the LACED EMONIANS CHE made, as wel with the Grecians as with the barbarous people also, there was neuer chronicle mentioned at any time, that their enemies being fo few, did ouercome them that were fo many, northat they were ouercome also by any number equall in battell. Whereupon they grew io couragious and terrible, that no man durst once abide them: for their onely fame did so terrific their enemies that came to fight against them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe as much as they had done. But this battell of Tegyra was the first that made both them and the other Grecians know, that it was not the river of Evroras alone, nor the valley that lieth betweene the rivers of CNACION, and of BABYCE, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places els, where they learne yong men to be ashamed of what energy dissonest and vile things, and to venture their lines for honest causes, fearing more dissonorable misses reproach, then honourable danger. These are the people most to be feared, & are most terrible most terrible reproach, then nonourable danger. I nere are the people most to be realed, was emolt to their enemies. And for the holy band we mentioned before, it is faid Gorgidas was the befored. first erector of the same. They were three hundred chosen men entertained by the state, & they The sine. alwayes kept within the castle of CADMEA, & the band was called the townes band: for at that time & specially in that part of GREGE they called the castles & great holds in cities & townes to hold in cities & townes & t time, & specially in that part of GRECE, they called the castles & great holds in cities, y towns. band. Other fay it was a band of footmen that were in loue one with another. And therefore Pammenespleafant words are noted, faying, that Nefter could no skill to fer an army in battell ray, feeinghe gaue the GRECIANS counfell, in the Hiades of Homer, that they should set them in battellray, enery country and tribe by themselues:

That by affections, force and linkes of kindly lone:

The one might alwayes helpe at hand, that other do behoue. For, faid he, one friend should rather be set by another that lonestogether; because in danger, men commonly do litle regard their countrey men, or fach as are of their tribe. But men that do Mentouing loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the passion of loue that entertaineth the schothers affection, for affections sake, doth keep the fro for saking one another. And those that fight affection, for affections sake, doth keep the fro for saking one another. And those that are beloued, being assamed to do any vile & dissoness thing before those that loue them, for we-gainst their. ry loue will sticke one by another to the death. And sure the reaso is good, if it be true that louers enemies. do indeed more regard them they loue, though they be absent, then other that be present. As appeareth by the example of him, that being striken downe to the ground, his enemie lifting vp his sword to kill him, he prayed him he would give him his deaths wound before, lest his friend that loued him, feeing a wound on his backe, flould be assumed of him. It is reported also, that Tolaus being beloued of Hercules, did helpe and accompany him in all his laboures and quarrels. Wherupon Aristotle writeth, that vnto his time, such as loued heartily together, became sworne and tolans brethren one to another, vpon Iolaus tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this band love. was first called the holy band, by the selfe same reason that Plato calleth a louer, a divine friend Platoes say. by Gods appointment. It is written also, that this band was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowne ingof also. before the battell of CHERONEA. After that battell, Philip taking view of the flaine bodies, he stayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that band lay dead on the ground, one hard by another, and all of them flaine and thrust through with pikes on their breasts,

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whereat he wondred much: and being told him that it was the louers band, he fell a weeping for pittic, faying: Wo beto them that thinke these men did, or suffered any euill or dishonest thing. And to be short, the misfortune of Lains; that was slaine by his owne brother OEdipus, was not the first originall cause of this custome, that the Theban's began to be in loue one with an. other, as the Poets write; but they were their first law-makers, who perceiuing them to be a stout and fierce nation on nature, they fought even from their youth to make them gentle and civill and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earnest, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, being highly efteemed of them in those dayes. They brought in the vie also to make loue in the middest of altheir youthful sports & exercises of their bodies, to frame the yong mens manners, and to bring them to a civil life. And therefore they had reason that gaue the goddesse Harmonia to the THEBANS, for defender and patronesse of their cities who was begotten (as they fay) between Mars and Venus. For that give this to understand, that where force and warlike courage is joyned with grace, to win and perfwade, all things by thisy. nion and accord are brought to a goodly, profitable, and most perfect gouernment. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this holy band of the THEBANS, Gorgidas deuiding it in the former rankes, and placing it all along the front of the battell of the footmen, it did not appeare what they were able to do of themselues, for that he brought them not all into one body: so as thereby they might fee what service the whole company could do being together, confidering that it was deuided and mingled amongst many other, that were a great deale of lesse value then themselues. But Pelopidas that had made good proofe of their valiantnesse before, when they fought about him of themselues, without others by them, at TEGYRA: would neuer after deuide nor separate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire body that had all his members, he would alwaics begin with them to give a charge in his most dangerous battels. For, as we see in running of coaches at games, that horses being tied all together in a front, do runne faster and stronger then they do when they are loose, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together do breake through the aire better, but for that the contention and enuy betweene them to outrunne one another, doth indeed fet their hearts and stomackes on fire. Eucn so he thought, that valiant men giuing one another a desire and enuy to do well, should haue the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers fight, But the LACED EMONIANS afterwards being at peace and league with all the other GRECI-ANS, proclaimed open warres against the THERANS only: and king Cleombrotus went to inuade them with an army often thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen. Whereupon the The-BANS were not only in the like danger they stood in before to lose their libertie, but the LACE. DEMONIANS did opely threaten they would veterly destroy them for euer: so that all the country of Bozor in stood in greater feare then euer they did before. And one day as Pelopidas went out of his houseto go to the warres, his wife bringing him to the dores to take her leave of him, weeping, she prayed him heartily to looke well to himself. But he answered her again: My good wife, it is for private fouldiers to be carefull of themselves, but not for Captaines: for they must haue an eye to faue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he found the Captaines and the Lieutenants of the army in fundry opinions and he was the first that agreed with Epaminondas opinion, who thought it best they should give battell to the enemies. Pelopidas at that time was neither governour of Bororia, nor Generall of the army, but onely captaine of the hely band:notwithstanding they had great affiance in him, and gaue him great authoritie in counsell concerning their affaires: such as became a manthat had made so good testimony of his naturall loue and affection to his countrey, as he had done. Now being determined in counfell that they should give the enemie battell, they all mustered together in the valley of Levetrees, wherehe had a vision in his dreame, that troubled him very much. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one Scedasus, which by reaso of the place, they call the Levetribes, for that they were buried there, after they had bene defiled and rauished by certaine guests of the Spar-TAN's that lay in their house, trauelling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poore father of these defiled virgines, could neither haue instice nor reuenge of the LACEDA-MONIANS, and therefore after he had banned and curfed the LACED EMONIANS with most horrible and execrable railings and curfes as might be possible, he killed himself vpon the graues plague! folof his daughters. The LACED EMONIANS had many fundry oracles, prophecies, and fignes of low where the gods to warne them, to take heed of the wrath of the LEVETRIDES: howbeit every man vnderstood

understood not the fignification of this prophecy, but were deceived by the equinocation of the name. For there was a litle towne in the country of LACONIA, standing vpon the sea side, called LEVETRYM: and in Arcadia also by the city of Megalipolis, there was another towne called by the same name. This misfortune chanced long before the battell of Leverres : but then Pelopidas dreaming in histont, thought he faw in a vision the daughters of Scedafus weeping Pelopidas about their graves, and curfing the LACED EMONIANS: and that he law their futher allo, com- decome and manding him to facrifife a red maiden to his daughters, if they would obtain the victory. This Victory. commandementat the first, seemed very cruelland wicked: whereupon when hearose, he went Longreen to the Prognosticators, and Generals of the army, and told them his dreame. So, some of them faid, this was no matter to be lightly passed ouer, but to be considered of, alledging many examples in the like cases. As of Menecius the sonne of Creon in old time, and of Macarea the daughter of Hercules. And yet of latter memory, the wife Pherceydes, whom the LACED EMONIANS flue, and whose skinne their Kings do keepe at this day, by commandement of an oracle. And Leonidas, who following a prophecy of the gods, did as it were facrifile himfelfe, for the fafety of GRECE. And furthermore, the young boyes which Themistocles did sacrifise to Bacchus omestes (to say seating raw sless) before the battell of Salamina. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the gods, as the victories following did plainely shew. In contrary maneralso King Ageflaus, coming from those very places, from whence King Agamemnon came in the time Aceflaus ofthe warres of Troin, and going also against the same enemies, dreamed one night in the ci- dreams. ty of AVLIDE, he saw the goddesse Diana, asking him his daughter for sacrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meanes performe it and thereupon was compelled to breake off his iourny before he had executed his enterprife, and departed with small honor. Other to the contrary stood to it stoutly, and said, it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abhominable, & brutisha Godly sayfacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the gods, nor to any god, better or mightier then ingreenerours:confidering that they be no impressions in the aire, nor Gyants that rule the world, but the ning God. one onely mighty and eternall God, Father of gods and men. And to beleeue that either gods or demi-gods dodelight in murder, or fliedding of mans bloud, it is a meere mockery and folly. But admit it were fo, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that haue no power atall: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirit, when they have such damnable and horrible defires in them, and specially if they abide still with them. Now the Generals and heads of the Godsproni. army of the THERANS being of fundry opinions, and Pelopidas being more afraid then before, dense and by reason of their disagreement: a yong mare colt, or filly breaking by chance fro other mares, foldain running and flinging through the campe, came to ftay right against them. Then every man began to looke vpon her, and to marke what a faire filly it was, and red coloured enery where, and what a pride she took with her selfe to heare her owne neighing. Theoritas then the soothsayer beingamongst them, did behold her, and knew straight what the filly meant, and so cried out forthwith: O happy Pelopidas, loe here is the facrifice thou lookest for, seeke no other virgine for thy facrifice, but take this that God himfelfe doth fend thee. When Theocritas had faid to, they took the filly, and laid her vpon the tombe of scedafus daughters, and put garlands of flowers abouther, as they handled other facrifices: and then after the prayers made to the gods, they did The file facrifice her with greatioy, and told Pelopidas vision in his dreame the night before through all facrificed. the camp, and the facrifice they had made also according to the fignification therof. Moreoner when they came to joyne battel, Epaminondas being general, drew all his army on the left hand, because he would bring the right wing of the enemies army (where they had placed the natural) Spartans) further from the other Grecians their friends and allies, that were let in the other wing of their battel: that he comming with his whole power together to give a charge vpon Cleombrotus their King (being in a corner by himselfe) might be distressed or ouerthrowne. The cause The enemies finding Pelopidas intent, began to change their order, and having men enough, of the our throw of meant to thrust out their right wing at length to compasse in Epaminondas. But Pelopidas in the intra stated of the Lacods. meane time fodainely preuented them, and running in great fury with his squadron of three moniens. hundred men, heset vpon Gleombrotus before he could disorder his men to put foorth the right wing, and ionne them together againe. And so he found the LACED EMONIANS not yet setled in their rankes, and brake them in this diforder, thrusting one in anothers place to put theselues againe in order: notwithstandiag the LACEDÆMONIANS of all other men were the onely captalnes and most expert souldiers in martiall discipline, as men so trained and practised, that no

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fodgine altering, of forme or order in their rankes, could either trouble or diforder them. For they were men to trained, that they could turne head or fide vpon any fodaine occasion offered and could fight and order themselves in battell every way alike. So Epaminondas going to give the onset vpon them alone, with the whole force of his battell together, not tarying for others: and Peloridas also with an incredible courage and readinesse, presenting himself in battell before them, did put them into such a terrible feare, that they cleane forgot their skill in fighting and their wonted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and there were more LACED EMONIANS flaine arthat day, then euer were before in any former battell. Pelopida therefore, being neither gouernour of Boforia, nor Generall of all the army, but onely can. taine of the holy band; did not with frankling win as much honour and glorie of this victory, as \tilde{E} . paminondas, that was governour of BOEOTIA, and Generall of all the army. Indeed afterwards they were both gouernours of Borotia together, when they inuaded the country of Pelo. PONNESVS: wherethey made most part of the cities and people rebellagainst the LACED ENG. NIANS, and take their part; as the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARGADIA, and the best part of LACONIA selfe: notwithstanding it was in the heart of Winter, and in the shortest dayes of the yeare, and towards the latter end also of the last moneth of their yeares authority and rule, ha uing not many dayes to continue in office, being forced to leave their authoritie, vpon paineof death if they did refuse, vnto other officers new chosen, the beginning of the next monethfollowing. Whereupon their other companions, and gouernours also of the country of Bosoma, what for feare to incurre the danger of the law, as also to avoid the trouble to lie in campe in the sharpest of Winter: they did vrge and perswade them to bring the army backe againe into their countrey. But Pelopidas wis the first that yeelded to Epaminondas opinion, and wanne the other THEBANS also to consent unto it, to be contented to be led by them, to give affaulto the city selfe of Sparta. So, through their perswasion they passed ouer the river of Evrotas, and tooke many litle townes of the Laced Emonians, and wasted and destroyed al the coun. trey to the fea fide, leading under their enfignes an army of threefcore &ten thousand fighting men, and all GRECIANS, the THERANS not making up the twelfth part of them, Now, the honour and great reputation of these two persons, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, brought their friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any resolution of counsell or pub-Eke order, and neuer opened their mouthes against them, but willingly marched vndertheir conduction. And in my opinion, truly methinkes it is the first and chiefest point in the law of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himfelfe, should leane to one that is strong, and able to defend both. Euen much like to fresh-water fouldiers, and raw sea-men, that lying at fea incalme weather, and in fafe harbour, are as luftie and bragge with the mafters and boate fwaines as may be: but let a little florme of weather come vpon them fuddenly, and thatthey be in any danger, then they looke on the masters, hoping for no life but at their hands. And euen in like manner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all affemblies of councell they would ener iarre and striue with the THEBANS, for honour and superiority in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherein they faw there was danger, then their peacockes brauery was gone, and they were glad to obey their Generals commandement. In this iour ney they brought all the cities of the prouince of ARCADIA to be in league with them, and tooke all the countrey of Messenia from the Laced Emonians, which they peaceably enjoyed: and called home againe all the ancient inhabitants of the same; and restored them to their country, and replenished the citie of ITHOME. Then returning afterwards into their countrey by the city of CENCHREES, they ouerthrew the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entring into the straight of PELOPONNESVS, supposing to have stopped their palfage. Thus was the valiant neffe of the fetwo worthie men greatly commended and honoured of enery body for formany notable exploits and victories as they had wonne, and their maruel. Ious good fuccesse, greatly wondered at. But as their glorie and renowne increased abroade, to did their country mens malice and enuie increase against them at home: who had preparedsuch a welcome home for them, as was so bad and vile for so honourable service as they had done. For Epaminondas and Pelepidas both at their returne, were accused of treason. For therewas a special law at THEBES, that commanded all such as should happen to be gouernours of Boso-Framinon-TIA, to refigne their office immediatly to the new officers electratthe beginning of the first moneth of the yeare, which in Boxoria they call Boveation; and they had kept it four ewhole

moneths about their terme appointed, in which time they had done all that we have spoken of before, as well in the province of Messenia and of Arcadia, as also in the countrey of La-CONIA. Pelopidas was the first of the two that was called in by processe, therfore he stood in the greater danger: howbeit in the end, they were both discharged againe. As for Epaminondas, he Epaminon. tooke his accusation and the attempt of his enemies (whereby they sought to have cast them both away) quietly enough iudging, that patience to those that deale in state and gouernement, is a great shew of force and magnanimitie. But Pelopidas being of a hotter nature, and more chokricke, and fet on besides by some of his friends, did take this occasion, to be revenged. Meneclidas the orator was one of those that came into Charons house with Pelopidas and Melon: Menecilidas but not with standing the THERANS did nothing honour him, as they did the rest. He taking trator and this ill at their hands, being maruellous eloquent of speech, but viciously given other-accuses. wayes, and a man of a vile and mischicuous nature: did fondly abuse his eloquence, falsly accufing those that were his betters, in honesty and credite. And not being contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put Epaminondas one yeare from being governour of Bo E O TIA, which he fued for: and moreouer, he was ever against him in all matters of state he tooke in hand. But he could neuer bring Pelopidas out of fauour with the people: and therefore he fought to make debate betwixt him and Charon. For it is the common tricke of all fpitefull persons, who when they cannot be thought so honest men, as those whom they enuy, the of togo about to produc that they are not so honest and meete men, as those whom they preserve frightful and commend. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended Charons noble acts & victories, and specially that victory aboue other, which the THE-BANS wonne before the journey of Leverres, in a skirmish of horsemen, that was before the city of Plates, he having charge of the same: of the which he would leave his memorie. Androclides a Cyzicenian and painter, was at a prife with the Thebans to paint them our forests fome other battell in a table, & he did draw this worke in the city selfe of There es:but as he was in hand withall, the rebellion of the THEBANS fellout against the LACED EMONIANS, and fesforth warre followed on the necke of that, whereupon the painter forfooke THEBES, leauing his their batworke in a manner done and perfect. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this Meneclidas moued the people they would hang it vp in some temple of publike place with an inscription vpon it; faying thus: This was Charons victory: of purpose to deface and obscure the gloric of Pelopidas and of Epaminondas. Too vaine and fond was his ambition, to fet before fo many noble battels and victories, one simple ouerthrow of Charon, in the which Gerandas, one of the meanest gentlemen of all Sparta was slaine, and forty other with him: and this was all he did. Pelopidas misliked Meneclidas motion, maintaining that it was directly against the lawes of THEBES, which did expresly forbid that no private person should be honoured with the title of common victorie, but willed the glorie therof should be attributed to all the people generally. Indeed Pelopidas in his orations did greatly praise and commend Charon, notwithstanding he made open proofe, how Meneclidas was an enuious and spitefull detractour, and a naughtie wicked man, oftentimes asking the THERANES, if they themselues were worthy of no honour! fo as in the end he caused Meneclidas to be condemned in agreat summe of money. But hefinding himselse vnable to pay it, being so great a summe, practised afterwards to alter the whole state and gouernement. I thought good to dilatethis at large, because me thinkes it doth somewhat declare Pelopidas nature & manners, what they were. Now about that time Alexander Alexander thetyrant of PHERES, was at open wars with many people of THESSALY, and did vseall policiehe could, to bring them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free cities sent their Ambassadours vnto Theres, to pray them to fend them a captaine with an armie to aide them. Then Pelopidas sceing Epaminondas occupied about the warres of Peloponnesus, did offer himselse to the Thessalian Ambassadours, being loth to drowne his experience and sufficiencie in warres, with unprofitable and tedious idlenesse, knowing that in those parts where Epaminondas lay, there needed no other captaine. Now when he came with his army into THESSA-17, the citie of LAR 188A yeelded presently vnto him : where the tyrant Alexander came to Lavista meete with him, and to pray him to treate a peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. Pelopi- cip. das attempted to bring it to passe, seeking in steed of a tyrant to make him a gentle, just, and lawfull gouernour of THESSALY. But when he saw no perswasions could take place with the tyrant, and that he grew more stubburne and vntra table, and would not heare reason : and more-

ouer, that he heard many grieuous complaints of his great cruelties, and how they accused him

to be a maruellous diffolute and vnruly person in all his doings, and extreamely couctous be-

fides: then he began to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyrant there.

upon stole away secretly from him, and fled with his guard & fouldiers about him. So Pelopidat

leaving the Thessalians out of all feare and danger of the tyrant, and furthermore in good

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taken pris-

fmart for all the mischiefes he had done: and that he sent him word to his face, he had no reason

to hang and put his poore citizens daily to death as he did, with fundry kinds of cruell torments,

who had in nothing offended him; and did let him alone, knowing that if ever he got out of his

his case was to be pitied, and that he was in no state meete for the glory of his name; wherewith

she fell a weeping for compassion. Pelopidas that knew not what she was, beganne to muse at the first, but when it was told him she was Iasons daughter, then hecourteously saluted her for her

father Islans fake, who while he liued was his very good friend. So Thebe faid vnto him:my Lord Pelopidas, I pitie thy pooreladie and wife. Truly fodo I pitie thee, quoth Pelopidas againe to her:

that thou being no prisoner, canst abide such a wicked Alexander. This answer tickled Thebe atthe heart, who with great impatience did beare the cruelty, violence, & villanie of the tyrant

her husband: that besides all other infamous acts of his detestable life, committed Sodomic with her yongest brother. So she of tvisiting Pelopidus, and boldly making her moune to him,

telling him closely all the iniuries her husband offered her: through Pelopidas talke with her, by

litle and litle she grew to abhorre him, and to conceine a hate in heart against him, desiring reuenge on him. But now the captains of the Theranes that were fent to deliver Pelopidas, being

entred into THESSALY with their army: whether it was through default of ignorance, or their mishappe) they returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THERANES at

deedes he had committed. Notwithstanding, Epaminondas preferring the deliueric and fasetie

of Pelopidas, before the confideration of his owne honour and glory, and fearing left Alexander

seeing himselfe in danger to be turned out of all he had, falling into despaire like a bedlem beast,

would bend all his desperation and furie against Pelopidas: he drew these warres out in length,

compassing him round about, but not fiercely setting vpon him, with colour to prepare his way

the better by delaying still, thereby to soften the cruell mind of this tyrant, going on in this gen-

tlesort; and partly to cut his combe and extreme pride, but specially to preserve Pelopidas from

the danger and crueltie of his beastly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruell man, and one that neuer regarded reason, nor instice in any sort, considering how he made some men to be

them being in league and friendship with him, he spying time one day when the citizens were

affembled in councell together, fodainly compaffed them in with his guard and fouldiers, and

put them every one to the sword, even the litle children. And he consecrated the dart also

wherewith he had staine his owne vnkle Polyphron, and having put garlands vpon it, he did sa

crifife to it, as to a god, and called it Tychon, as one would fay, happy killer. And another time

being in a Theater, where the Tragedie of Troades in Euripides was played, he went out of the

Theater, and sent word to the players notwithstanding, that they should go on with their play,

led them to be of good cheare, telling them the houre was now come that the tyrant should senses.

peace and amilie one with the other, he went into Macedon: where Ptolomie made warre at hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant wondring at this great fromacke of his, and at that time with Alexa ider, being king of MACEDON, they both having fent for him to heare and his maruellous constancy fearing nothing; asked what he meant to long for hastic death? Pelodetermine the quarrell betwixt them, & alfo to help him that had the right, against him that did pidas being told what he said, answered him againe: Marie, said he, because thou shouldest die the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and restored the banished menos the sooner, being more odious to the gods and men, then yet thou art. After this answer, the tyrant would neuer fuffer any man to come and speake with him againe. But Thebe, that was the Thibeshe either fide, to their lands and goods againe. For affurance of peace, he tooke the kings brother in hostage, whose name was Philip, and thirtie other children of the noblest mens sonnes of Mi. daughter of the tyrant Isson deceasifed, and wife at that time of Alexander the tyrant, hearing re-CEDON, whom he brought away with him to THEBES, to let the GRECIANS fee, that the repu port of Pelopidas noble mind and courage by his keepers: the had a maruellous defire to fee him, lixander tation of the Thebans power stretched farre and the renowne also of their maner of gouerne. and to speake with him. But when she came to see him, like a woman she could not at the first discerne the greatnesse of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in such misement and inflice. It is the fame Philip, that made warre afterwards with the GRECIANS, to take their liberry from them, howbeir being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at THEBES in ry: yet coniecturing by exteriour shew, noting his simple apparell, his haires and beard growne very long, and how poorely he was served, and worse entertained: she thought with her selfe

Pammenes house. And this is the cause, why some thought Philip did follow Epaminondas manner and it might be peruduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres. which was indeed baca peece of Epaminondas vertue. But as for the continencie, iustice, magna. nimicie, and elemency, which were the speciall points that made Epiminondas of great fame: Phis lip could neither by nature, education, or study ever attaine vnto. The THESSALIANS having funt afterwards to Thebes, to complaine of Alexander the tyrant of Phebes, that did against molest and trouble the free cities of THESSALY, Pelopidas was sent thither Ambassador withit menias, carying no power with him from THEBES, little thinking he should have needed to have made wars; wherupon he was compelled to take men of the country felt, vpon the instant neces.

five offered. At the very fame time also all MACEDON was up in armes: for Peolomy had flainthe King, and vfurped the kingdome, and the feruants and friends of the dead king called vpon Pells. pidas for aid, who defiring to come even upon the fact, and having brought no men of warreout of his owne countrey with him, did pr fently leny certains men where he was, and fo marched forward with them against Piolomy. Now Piolomy when both their powers met, did corrupt the fooldiers Pelovidus had brought, with money to take his part. But not with flanding this policie he had practiled, yet he was afraid of the name onely, and greatnesse of Pelopidas reputation wherefore he went vnto Pelopidas, as to a better man then himselfe, and making maruellous much of him, and i areasing of him, he made promife, and bound it by oath, that he would keepe

enemies, whom the Thebans did either love or hate. And for affurance of his promise, he game him his fon Philoxenus in hostage, and fiftie other of his friends, all the which Pelopidus fent vno THERES, But in the meane time, being maruelloufly offended with the treason of the souldiers against him, understanding the most part of their goods: their wines, & children, were in the dry of PHARSALE, he thought if he could win that it were a maruellous good way for him to be reuenged of the treachery of the fouldiers against him: whereupon he leavied certaine Thessa-

the Realme for the brethren of the dead King, and that he would take all those for his friends or

LIANS, and went to that city. Pelopi las was no sooner come thither, but Alexander the tyrant arrived of o with his army. Pelopidas supposing he had come to instiffe himselfe, clearing the complaints of the THESSALIANS made against him; went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delighted in murch rand shedding of bloud. Neuerthelesse, he hoped he durft not have attempted any thing against him, for the authority and seigniories sake of Thebes, by whom he was fent thither, as also for his owner eputation. But the tyrant seeing

him flenderly accompanied and without traine of fouldiers, took him prisoner, and wan thecity of PHARSALE at that present time. But this act of his put his subjects in a great feare, who seeing him commit to flumefull a deed against all equity, did thinke straight he meant to spare 10 erant de man, but would vse men, and all things else that came in his hands, like a desperate man, and one that reckoned him selfe cast away. But when the THEBANES vnderstood this newes, they were

maruellous fory, and straight fent an army thither, appointing other captaines then Epaminondas: because then they had some missiking of him, Alexander the tyranthaning brought Pelopidus in the meane time to PHERES, did fuffer any man that would at the first to come to feehim, and fpeak with him: supposing his imprisonment had killed his heart, & had made him very humble.

their returne home condemned them every man in the summe of ten thousand Drachmes, and fent Epaminondas thither againe with another armie: at whole coming, all THESSALY role in- Epaminon. continently, for the reputation of fo great a captaine. And his fortune was fo good, that he had in amount veterly overthrowne the whole fore of the twenty his friends and captaines when to The file. amanner vtterly ouerthrowne the whole state of the tyrant: his friends and captaines were so with anarmuch afraid, and his subjects on the other side so well disposed to rebell, & maruellous glad for wir. thehopethey had, quickely to feethe tyrant haue his deferued hire, for all his former wicked

buried aliue, and others to be put in the skinnes of beares & wild bores, and then to let hounds The brusiff vpon them to teare them in peeces, or else himselse for his passime would kill them, with shoo- errely of ting or throwing of darts at them. And in the cities of Meliber and of Scorvsa, both of Alexander

red Selo .

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king of

Pelopidas

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of Persia: but faid furthermore, that he would have a law made, that in stead of the nine offi-

cers they did yerely chuse to rule the whole city, they shold chuse nine of the poorest & meanest

citizens, and fend them ambassadours vnto the king of Persia, that they might returne home

rich men with gifts. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they very angry the THE-

HANS had obtained all that they had demanded: and confidering that Pelopides estimation and worthines did more prenaile and take better effect, then all the orations the other could make,

& specially to aprince that sought alwaies to entertaine those GRECTANS, which were of grea-

teff force and power in the warres. This ambaffage did greatly increase cuery mans love and

goodwill vnto Pelopidio, because of the replenishing again of Messina with inhabitants, and in-

franchifing and setting at liberty of all the other Grecians. But the tyrant Alexander of Phe-

RES, returning again to his old accustomed cruelty, and having destroyed many cities of THES.

SALY & placed his garrifons through all the country of the PHTHIOTES, ACHAIANS, & MAG-

fauiour: the There's onely at the felfe-fame time took earnes against them, to deliner those

whom the tyrants oppressed, and sought to roote out all tyrannicall government over the $G_{R\,E-}$

CIANS. So when he came to the city of PHARSALE, and had gathered his army together, he

went presently to the field to meet with the tyrant. Alexander perceiving Pelopidas hadvery few THEBANS about him, and that he had twife fo many THESSALIANS with him, then the

other had: he went vnto the temple of THETIS, to meet with Pelopidas. There one telling Pelo-

and good men at armes in the field, fent them before to give charge vpon the enemies, that pref-

fed to winne the vantage of the place; and having ouerthrowne them, they followed the chase

all the valley ouer. But in the meanetime Alexander having his footemenby, marched forwards

&gotthe hils, because the THESSALIANS that were further offcame too late motwithstanding

when they came to the hils, they foughtforcibly to climethem vp, being very high and fleepe:

but Alexander coming downethe hill, gaue charge vpon them to their disaduantage, and slue

the first that gaue the attempt to get vp against the hill; and the residue being sore hurt, retired

againe without their purpose. Pelopidas seeing that, sounded the retraite for the horsemen that

followed the chase, to repaire to the standard, and commanded them they should set upon the footemen of the enemies that were in battell ray; and he himselfe ran to helpe those that fought

to win the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and passing through the rereward, he got to the foremost rankes: to whom, the fight of his person did so redouble their force and courage,

as if he had bene still among them: faying that he came not away for any misliking he had of nondas; and as the common prouer be faith:

Which doth refuse the pit prepar'd, and list not bide the shocke, ferued that turne. Moreouer, he received fourescore milch kine to the paile, and neateheardes to great giftes keepe them, having neede of cowes milke belike, to heale a disease that fell vpon him: & would of the king needs be carried in a litter upon mens armes from the kings Court, unto the Mediterrantum fea, the king rewarded them for their paines that caried him, with four talents. Yet it feemeth the gifts he tooke did not offend the Athenians fomuch, confidering that Epicrates (a drudge

NESIANS: the cities being aduertifed of Pelopidas returne againe to THEBES, they fent ambaffadours immediatly to THEBES, to pray them to fend them an army, and namely, Pelopidas for captaine, to deliner them from the miserable bondage of the tyrant. The THERANES willingly granted them, and put all things in readincfie very fodainely. But Pelopidas being ready to fet Pelopidas forward in his journey, there fell a sudaine eclypse of the Sunne, so as at noone day it was very fecondition. darkein Thebes. Pelopidas seeing enery man afraid of this eclypse aboue, he would not compelthepeople to depart with this feare, nor with foill hope to hazard the loffe of feuen thousand THEBANS, being all billed to go this journey: but notwithstanding, he put himselfe alone into the Thessalians hands, with three hundred horsemen of strangers that were glad to serve of the Sun with him, with whom he took his journy against the fouthfayers minds, & against the goodwill made the of all his citizens, who thought this celypse did threaten the death of some great person like him-afraid. felfe. But Pelopidus though he needed no spurre to be reuenged ypon the tyrant Alexander, being by nature hot, and defirous of himfelfe to reuenge the spite and villany he had offered him: yethe had a further hope to find the tyrants house denided against himself, by the former talke he had with his wife Thebe, in time of his imprisonment there. Neuerthelesse, the same and reputation of the journey undertaken, did wonderfully increase his noble courage, and the rather because he was desirous (all he could) the Greetans should see, that at the very same time when the LACEDEMONIANS did fend gouernors and captaines to Dionyfius the tyrant of SI-CILE, to serue and aide him, and that the ATHENIANS as hirelings tooke pay of the tyrant Alexander of PHERES, in whose honour they had set up a statue of brassein their city, as vnto their

pidas, that Alexander was coming against him with a great power, Pelopidas answered him unbyshe ftraight, All the better we shall kill the more. Now in the midst of the valley, there are certaine people of round hills of a pretie height, which they commonly call the dogs heads: they both friued to have the which of their footemen should first get those hils. Pelopidas hauing a great number of horsmen, durander,

them or of the play, but because he was ashamed his people should see him weepe, to see the miferies of Hecuba and Andromacha played; and that they never faw him pitie the death of any one man, of so many of the citizens as he had caused to be slaine. The guilty conscience therefore of this cruel and heathen tyrant, did make him tremble at the onely name and reputation of Epami. Helet his wings downe fall, not much unlike the cocke, So he sent straight vnto Epaminondas to excuse himselfe. But Epaminondas would in no wise suffer the THEEANS, through his meanes, to make league with fuch an helhound: onely he veel ded to abstinence of armes for thirty dayes, vpon delinerie of Pelopidas and Ismenias into his Epaminon. der Jelines hands, with whom he straight returned into THEBES. Now the THEBANS being aduertised that the Laced Emonians and the Athenians, did fend Ambassadors to Artaxerxes the mighty king of PBRSIA, to make league with him: they fent to him Pelopidas for them also, be. Artanernes ing wifely confidered of them to fend a man of fuch fame and reputation. For Pelopidas passing first through coutries subject to the king of Persia, his fame was such where he came, that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the report of the famous battels he had won of the Lace-DAMONIANS, was not only caried into the next regions and countries of Asia: but fincethe baffadour first newes of the journey of Levetres was brought thither, Pelopidas having after that wonne to the King of Perfia. victory vpon victory, his estimation grew so great, as it was blowne abroad through the world, even to the highest and furthest parts of the East countries. And when he came to the king of PERSIAES court, the Princes, great Lords, and Captaines of PERSIA that faw him, had him in great admiration, faying: Lo this is he that conquered the LACED EMONIANS, and tookeall their seignorie and authoritie from them, both by sea and by land, and draue the SPARTANS be yond the river of Evrotas, and from mount Tavgetvm, who not long before made warres with the great king of Persia being led under their king Agesilans, even in the middest of ASIA, for the realmes of SVSE, and of ECBATANE. So king Artaxerxes felfe was very gladof Pelopidas his coming, and praised him about them all, and made his estimation greater then it was before, by his great and honourable entertaining of him, meaning thereby to returne the honour to himselfe againe: because men should thinke that the most famous men of the world came to honour him, and to fee his Court, as esteeming both him and his greatnesse, the onely happinesse of the world. But when he had feene his face, and heard him speake, & perceived that his words were much greater then the Athenians, and playner then the LACED EMONIANS: he then was further in loue with him then before, and without difguifing, he did honour and fauor him aboue all the other Ambassadours, who found that he made more estimation of him, then of them all. Notwithstanding, he seemed to beare greater goodwill vnto Antalcidas LACEDE. MONIAN, then to any other of the GRECIANS: for that one day being at the table he tookea garland of flowres from his own head, and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it vnto him. Indeed he did not vie Pelopidas with that open familiaritie, yet did he fend him the goodliest and richest presents he could deuise, and granted him besides all his requests he made vnto him: which were, that all the people of GRECE should be free: that the citie and country of MESSI-NA should be inhabited againe and that the citizens of THEBES by their successours should be taken, as ancient friends and allies of the kings of PERSIA. So when he had received these anfwers, he returned home againe, and would by no meanes accept any of the great prefents the Pelopidas king had offered him: which caused the other ambassadours of the GRECIANS to be so ill welcome home to their cities. For among other, Timagoras was accused to the ATHBNIANS, and condemned to die, and was executed; which if they did in respect of the great presents he had taken of the king, truly they had reason, and it was worthily done of them. For he tooke not only gold and filter enough, as much as they would give him: but received a very rich bed also, and PERSIAN chamberlaines to make and dreffe it vp, as if no GRECIAN servants of his could have

great gifts of king Artaxerxes. Ambassa. dor for the

of Perfia

that the enemies themselves thought it had benea fresh supply of new mens hearts & other box dies then theirs with whom they had fought before, that came thus luftily to fet againe voon them. And yet they did abide two or three onsets. Howbeit in the end, perceiuing those men did still more fiercely force to get vp the hill, and moreouer how their horsemen were comein from the chase: they gaue way, and left them the place, tety ring backe by litle and litle. Then Pe lovidas having won the hils, stayed on the top of them, viewing the army of his encmies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waved vp and downe in great disorder. And there he looked all about, to fee if he could spie out Alexander: and at the length he found him out 2. mongst others, in the right wing of his battell, setting his men againe in order and incouracing of them. After he had set eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his heart so rose against him vpon fight of him, that giving place to wrath, he neither regarded his person, nor the intent of his journey, but returning farre before his men, he cryed with a loud voyce to the tyrant, and challenged the combate of him. The tyrant would not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, & hid himselfe amongst his souldiers. But for his souldiers, the first that thought to set vpon Pelopidas, was staine by him, and many left dead in the field. The residue standing floutly to it, and close together, did passe his curaces through with their long pikes, and thrust him into the breaft. The THESSALIANS feeing him thus fore handled & diffressed, for pity sake came running from the toppe of those hilles, to the place where Pelopidas was, to help him. But cuen as they came he fell downe dead before them. Then did they together with their horimen fo fiercely let vpon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flie; and following them in chase a great way from that place, they couered the valley with dead bodies, for they flue about three thousand men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at Pelopidas death tooke it very heavily, and lamented bitterly : calling him their father, their faulour and mafter. as one that had taught the the worthieftthings that might be learned of any. But the THESSA LIANS, and other friends and confederates also of the city of THEBES, besides their exceeding in setting out their common proclamations and edicts in praise of his memory, and doing him all the honour that could be due to the most rare & excellent person that euer was: they did ver more flew their love and affection towards him, by their paffing great forow & mourning they made for him. For it is said, that they that were at the battell, did not put off their armour, nor vnbridle their horses, nor would dresse their wounds, hearing tell of his death, before they went first & saw his body not yet cold with fighting, laying great heaps of the enemies spoiles about it, as if he could have told what they had done, nor before they had clipped off their own haires, and the haire of their horses, in token of sorrow. And many of them also, when they were come into their tents and paullions, wold neither have fire, cate, nor drinke; and all in the campe were full of forow and mourning, as if they had not won a notable victory, but had bene ouerthrown and made subject by the tyrant. Afterwards when the newes of his death was spread throughal the countrey, the Magistrates of every citie through which Pelopidas bodie was conveyed, went to receive it very honourably, accompanied with all the yong men, the Priests and children carying tokens and crownes of triumph, and other ornaments of gold; and when his funerall day was come, and that his bodie should be caried to be buried, the oldest and the noblest perfons of the THESSALIANS went vnto the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might have the burying of him: and one among them being the mouth of the rest, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lords of THEBES, our good beloued friends and confederates, we only craue this good turneat your hands, wherein you shall much honour vs, and in our great calasbs Thebans mity somewhat also comfort vs. For we shall never more accompany Pelopidas alive, nor requite his honorable deferts to vs, that he shall euer know them. But if it please you to let vs handle his body with our hands, and that we may bury him, and fer forth his obsequies, we will imagine 25 then at ý least that you do think that, which we our selucs do certainly belocue: That we These

salians not you Therans, have received the greater losse of both. For you have lost indeed

a worthy Captaine, and we have not onely received the like losse with you, but the hopealso

of recoucring of our libertie. For how dare we againe fend to you for another Captaine, when

, fire and in mine opinion, no funerals could be done with greater pompe and honour, then the

, THESSALIANS performed his, being men that recken not dignitie, magnificence, and pompe

55 to consist in ornaments of Iuorie, nor of purple: as Philistus doth set it out, who praises

we cannot redeliuer you Pelopidas? The THEBANS hearing their petition, granted their de-

to the moone the burying of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracvsa, which was the end of his tyranny, as a sumptuous conclusion of a stately tragedy. And Alexander the Great, at the death The strenge of Ephestion, did not onely clippe his horse haires and mules, but plucked downe also the battelments of the walles of the citie: because it should appeare, that the very walls themselves did forman, of mourne for his death, shewing that deformity in stead of their former beauty. But all such things the Great are done onely by force and compulsion, vpon the Lords commandements, which do but raile for the vpenny against their memory for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are against their death of wils constrained to do the thing they millied and are no influences of honour negativity. wils constrained to do the thing they misliked: and are no inst proofes of honour nor goodwill, but rather vaine shewes of barbarous pompe and pride in him, that disposeth his authority and plenty of goods, in trifling toyes not to be desired. Where contrariwiseit plainely appeareth, that a prinate man dying in a forraine countrey, by reason should be accounted most happy of alother creatures, that having neither his wife, kinne, nor his children by him, he should be conneved to his funerals, accompanied with fuch multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, enuying one another, who should most honour the funerals, as being vnrequested, and least of all compelled. For faith Efope, the death of a happy man is not grieuous, but most bleffed, seeing it bringeth all good mens doings to happinesse, and leaueth fortune to her fickle change, and ing of the fporting pleasure. But in my judgement a LACEDEMONIAN spake better, when he said to Diagorus an old man, that had himselfe in old time gotten victory in the games Olympicall, and had fene befides his own children, and his childrens children (both fonnes and daughters) crowned with victories also in the selfe same games: O Diagoras, die presently, else thou make neuer come Peable to heaven. But these victories of the Olympicall and Pythian games, whosoeuer should put thirty. theall together, are not to be compared with one of the battels only, that Pelopidas hath fought and won having spent the most part of his time in great calling and dignity, and lastly ended the same, being gouernour of Bo E OT IA the third time (which was the highest office of stare in all his countrey) when he had destroyed the tyrants that kept the Thebans in bondage, and was also slaine himself, valiantly fighting for the recourse of the Thessalians liberty, But as Pelopidas death was gricuous to the THERANS friends and confederates: so fell it out very profitable for them. For the THEBANS hearing of Pelopidas death, did not delay reuenge, but fent The The anarmy forthwith of seuen thousand footmen, and seuen hundred horsemen, under the conduct of Milcitas and of Diagiton. They finding Alexanders army ouerthrowne, and that he had lost the most part of his strength, did compell him to give vp the THESSALIANS towns he kept by force against them, & to fet the MAGNETIANS, the PHTHIOTES, and the ACHAIANS aliberty, withdrawing his garrifons he had placed in their strong holds: and therewithall to fweare, that from thenceforth he would march vnder the THEBANS, against any enemy they should leade him, or command him to go against. So the Thebans were pacified vpon these conditions. Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him foone after for Pelopidus death, who (as we hauetold you before) had pretily instructed Thebe his wife, that she should not fearethe outward appearance nor power of his tyranny, although she were enuironed with souldiers of banished men, whom the tyrant entertained to guard his person. Her selfe on the other side, searing his falshood, as also hating his crueltie, conspired her husbands death with her three brethren, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, and executed her conspiracie after this fort. Thetyrants pallace where he lay, was straightly guarded enery where with soldiers, who nightly watched his person: but their bed chamber which they commonly vsed to lye in, was in the toppe of Three of all his pallace, where they kept a dog tyed at the chamber doore to give warning, which was flaine by big a terrible dog, and knew none but the tyrant and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. Nowwhen Thebe purposed to worke her feate, she locked up her three brethren a whole day neare vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, she went her selfe aloneaccording to her manner, into Alexanders chamber; and finding him afleepe, she stole out straight again, and bade the keeper of the dogge to carie the dogge away, for her husband was disposed to take rest, and would have no noise. There was no way to get vp to this chamber but by a ladder, which she let downe: and fearing lest her brethren should make a noise, she had couered the ladder staues with wooll before she let it fall downe. When she had gotten them vp with their fwords, and had fet them before the doore, she went first her selfe into the chamber, and tooke away the tyrants sword that hung at his beds head, and shewed it them as a token gi-In them that he was afleepe. When it came to the pinch to do the deede, these young men

PELOPIDAS.

Pelopidas

The great lamentati ning for Pelopidas

Alexander

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of Pheres

Your the

2542 WAS

Haine by

his wife,

first treat

for their valiantnes and experience in wars, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them

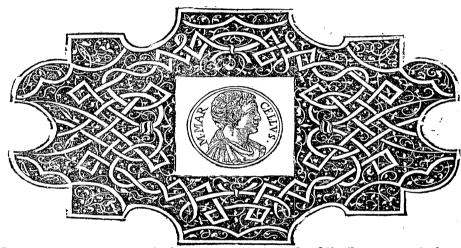
by the Senare and people. Now for Marcellus, there was no battel could make him give ground

being practifed in all fights: but yet he was more valiant in private combate man for man, then

were afraid, and their hearts began to faile them. But she tooke on with them, and called them cowardly boyes, that would not fland to it when it came to the point, and withall, fware in her rage that the would go wake the tyrant, and open all the treason to him. So partly for shame, and partly for feare, the compelled them to come in, and to step to the bed, her selfe holding; lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feete, and bound them hard; another caught him by the haire of his head, and pulled him backward. & the third thrust him through with his fword. So by chance he died fooner then he should have done, and otherwise then his wicked life deserved, for the manner of his death. So Alexander was the first tyrant that was ever flain by the treason of his wife, whose body was most villanously and despitefully vsed after his death. For when the townes men of PHERES had drawne him through the city in the mire and dirt, they cast him out at length to the dogges to deuour.

The end of Pelopidas life:

THE LIFE OF Marcellus.



Marcellas kindred.

Marcellus senditions.

Arcus Claudius that was fluetimes Confullat Rome, was the fonne (as they fay) of another Marcus: and as Posidonius writeth, he was the first of his house surnamed Marcellus, as who would say, a martiall and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at weapons, skilfull in warres, firong and lufty of body, hardy, and naturally given to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great courage, but in wars against the enemie: otherwise he was very gentle, and faire conditioned. He loued learning, and delighted in the Greeke tongue, and much esteemed them that could speake it. For he himselfe was so troubled in matters of state,

that he could not fludy and follow it, as he defired to have done. For if God(as Homer faith) did

To vse their youth in warres, and battels sierce and fell, Till crooked age came creeping on, such feates for to expell:

They were the noblest and chiefest men of Rome at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in SIGIL B: in their middle age, againft the GAVIBS, to keepethem from the winning of all ITALIE: and againe in their old age, against Hannibal and the CAR-THAGINIANS. For their age was no priviledge for them to be differed with, in the service of their warres, as it was elle for common citizens; but they were both for their nobilitic as also

in the field that called him to combat. In Sicila he faued his brother Octavilius life, being Marcellus ouerthrowne in a skirmish for with his shield he couered his brothers body, and slue them that faurthin offerthown and the came to kill him. These valiant parts of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the Geoffsating. nerals under whom he ferued, with many crownes, & warlike honours, vfually bestowed upon valiant foldiers. Marcellus increasing still his valiantnesse and good service, was by the people Marcellus chosen Ædilis, as of the number of those that were the worthiest men, and most honorable; and the Priests did create him Augure, which is a kinde of Priesthood at Rome, having authority by law, to confider and observe the flying of birds, to divine and prognosticate things thereupon. But in the yeare of his office of Ædile, he was forced against his will to accuse Capitolinus his brother in office with him. For he being a rash & dissolute man of life, fell in dishonest loue with his collegues sonne Marcellus, that bare his owne name: who being a goodly young gentleman Capitalinus and newly come to mans state, was as well thought of, and taken of every man for his manhood and good qualities, as any way for his beauty and personage. The first time Capitolinus moued this dishonesty to him, he did of himselfe repulse his shamelesse offer, without any other prinity: but when he faw he came againe to tempt him the second time, he straight reuealed it to his father. Marcellus his father being maruelloufly offended withall, (as he had good cause) went & accused Capitolinus before the Senate. Capitolinus at the first, laid in many exceptions and fained excuses, to keepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: butthey declared plainely they would not receive his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to answer the matter before the Senate, & denied flatly that heattepted ener any fuch thing, because there were no witnesses proue it against him. Wherupon the Senate thought good to fend for young Murcellus, who comming before them, both bushed and wept together. The Senate seeing shamefastnesse in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that could not be pacified; without feeking other proofe, they took it a cleare cafe, and fo condemned Capitolinus prefently in a great funme of mony, which Marcellus converted into filnervessel, to serve at facrifices, & so did consecrate them to the service of the gods. Now when the Romaines had ended their first warre against the Carthaginians, which held them maines had fully the space of two & twenty yeares immediatly after that, they began a new war against the war with GAVLES. For the Insubrians, being a people derived from the GAVLES, and dwelling at the ginians 22. foot of the mountaines of the ALPES on ITALY fide, being able to make a good power of them. Yearestoge. felues, did norwithstanding pray aide of the other GAVLEs inhabiting on the other side of the mountaines: and they caused the Gessates, mercenary people and hirelings to the that would the Ganles, gine pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truly me thinkes it was a maruellous matter, and Giffair wonderfull good hap for the Romaines, that this war of the Gavles came not vpon them, Gaules. whilethey were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES also had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purposely sworne to set upon the conquerors) expecting stil an end bctweene the, & then to fet vpon the conquerors, when they had nothing to fay to any other. Yet the situation of their country did trouble y Romains much, because they were so neare neighbors vnto them, & had wars as it were at their own doores. And so did the ancient reputation of the GAVLES formwhat appaule the ROMAINS, who, as it should seeme, they did seare more then any other natio what soener; because Rome had bin taken before by the GAVLES, Since which timea law was made, that Priefts, & eclefiafticall perfons should be dispenced with from going to the wars, vnleffe the GAVLES did rife against the. The preparation they made for this war at elegalical thattime, did plainely shew the fearethey had then of the Gavles. For it is thought, that neuerbefore nor fince, there were fo many naturall Romains affebled together in field, as were were, then at that present. Moreover, the new come cruckie they ysed in their sacrifices, doth record The Rothis to be true. For before they neuer vsed any strange maner in their facrifice, or barbarous fahion, but were fauourable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religio, & agreeable to the warrer of GRECIANS touching the service of the gods. But then they were copelled to obey certain oracles and ancient prophecies they found written in Sibyls bookes; and they buried two Gr E C 1-Ans aline in the oxe market, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gave es, a man & a woman. sied aline.

Dd 4

in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refused enemie that did challenge him, but slue all those

The Ro

Flaminius and P Fu rius Cofuls. Newes brutezheto Granze things feene in Romania

Flaminica the Gaules

The great

An ordipublik: fa srifice.

Marcellus

and Cness

Cornelius

Vnto them they do yet continue certaine fecret anniuer faries in Nouember, that are not to be feene of every body. The ROMAINE's in their first battels of this warre, were often overcome and did ouercome: but these battels, were to litle purpose for ending of the warres. In the yeare that C. Quintius Flaminius, and P. Furius Philo were Confuls, and fent with great armics to make warre vpon the Insurrans, people subject to the state of Millane, newes were broughtto Rome, there was a river feene in the country of Romania, red as bloud, and three moones also at the very fame time in the citie of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priefts and foothfayers that had observed & confidered the tokens and fignifications of birds on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls they told plainly there was errour in their election, and that they were directly chosen against all fignes and tokens of the birds. Therupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the camp to them, & willed them to come home to depose themselves of their Consulship, before they did attempt any thing as Confuls against the enemies. The Confull Flaminius received the letters in time: but because he was ready to give battell, he would not open them, before he had first overthrown his enemies, and spoiled their country, as indeed he did. But when he was come back to Rome again, and had brought maruellous great spoiles with him, the people for all that would not go out to meete him, because he did not presently obey the letters they wrote ynto him, nor returned upon it as they commanded him, but contemptiously, without any regard of their pleasure, followed his owne fantasie: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honour of triumph. For his triumph was no fooner ended, but they compelled him to give ouer his Confulfhip, and made him a private man with his companion. The ROMAIN'S therein were fo religiously bent, as they would all things should be referred vnto the gods good grace and pleasure, and would suffer none to contemne the observations and prognosticating of the south fayers, nor their ancient vies and customes, for any prosperity and felicitie that could happen For they thought it more necessary and profitable for benefit of the common-weale, that the Senate and magistrates should reverence the ceremonics and service of the gods, then that they should ouercome their enemies in battel. As for example, Tiberius Sympronius, a man as much honored and efteemed of the Romains for his inflice and valiantnesse, as any other of his time. being one yeare Confull, did nominate and elect two other for Confuls the yeare following Scipio W afica, and Caius Martius. These two being entred into their Consulship, and sent from Rome also to their several provinces appointed them by lot. Sempronius by chance took certain litle bookes in his hand, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonics of publike facrifice; and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinance he neuer heard before. And this it was: That if a magistrate were fet in any tent or hired house without the city to behold obscrue the prognostications of birds, & that you any sodain occasion he were driven to come againe into the city, before the birds had given any certaine fignes: the fecond time when hereturned againe to end his observations, there was no remedy, but he must leave his tent or first hired house, and take another, and begin new observations again. Tiberius vtterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his observations twife in one self house, and had chosen there Nasica and Martius, Confuls to fucceed him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it: who would not let flip fo litle a fault, but wrote to the new Confuls, and they straight left their provinces, & returned again to Rome, willingly refigning vp their offices. That was a prety while after. Again also about the very present time we write of now, there were two Priests of noble houses (and noble persons also) the one called Gornelius, & the other Cethegus, both which were difgraded of their Priefthood, because they had not given the intrails of the sacrifised beast in order as they should have done. Quintus Sulpitius in like maner, was difgraded of his Bishopprick, because his miter which the FLAMINS do weare, fel off his head in his sacrififing, Minnius being dictator also, and having chosen Caius Flaminius Generall of the horsemen: becausethey heard the noise of a rat at the election of Flaminius, they were both put out of their authority & other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise even in trifles, it was not by reafon of any superstition mingled with their religion; but because they would not break any iotof the ancient inflitutions & ceremonies of their country. But to our flory againe. Flaminius being deprined of his Confulfhip, Marcellus was created Conful in his place, by the regents at that time called Interreges. Marcellus being instituted in his office, chose Cnens Cornelius for his companion and they fay, that the GAVLE's being inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME, also willing to harken to peace, Marcellus did stir vp the people, & made them defire war. Notwithstanding, they

concluded peaceat that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the wars The Gaules againe. For there came ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, thirty thouland of them, and they make war iovned with the Insubrans, which were many moe in number then themselues. Now, they with Rome, being in a maruellous iollitie, went incontinently to lay fiege to the citie of Acerres, that standethypon the river of Po: and during the fiege, King Britomarus taking ten thousand Gessa- alpes. TES with him, went and destroyed all the countrey about the Po. Marcellus hearing that, left destres, a with his companion Crane Cornelius all the armed frozensor and the children of the line of the property of the propert with his companion Gneus Cornelius, all the armed footemen, and the third part of the horfmen, the riuse in his camp by Acerres: and he himselfe with the residue of the horsmen, and sixe hundred of Po. footmen light armed, marched towards the enemie, trauelling night and day, vntil he met with ten thousand Gessates, neare vnto a village of Gavle on this side & mountaines, called Cla- classidium stidium, which was subject not long before to the Romaines. So he had no leisure to take avilage reft, nor to refresh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew straight he was come, & tooke the mount for no better then by and by overcome because he had a form of the mount of the mount. him for no better then by and by ouercome, because he had so few footmen. And for his horsemen, the GAVLES made no reckoning of the for besides the selues are very good men at armes, and excel al other in that fight, yet were their number of horfmen far aboue Marcellus. Therfore they straight marched towards him in a maruellous furie, and with thundring shouts, as if they would have denoured them at their coming, Britomarus their king, advanced himfelfe before all his companie. Marcellus fearing to be compassed in behind, being so small a number: he put out the wings of his horfmen as much as he could, to have the country at large, fo that his two wings were very sleder, vntil he came neere his enemies. And being ready to gallop towards y enemy, it fortuned his horse being afraid with the noise of his enemies, turned about, & caried Marcellus back again in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the Romaine's superstition, in taking this for an euil token, & that they wold take a conceit vpon the same: plucking the bridle with his lest hand, turned his horse head again vpo the enemy, & then he worshipped the Sun, as though he had not turned his horse by chance, but purposely for that cause. For it is the Romains maner to turne The maner about fo, when they do honor their gods. So when they began to joyne battel, he made a vow to of the Re-Impiter Feretria, to offer him vpthe goodlieft spoiles of the enemies, if he did ouercome. The king of the GAVLES seeing him at that instant, imagined by the marks & tokens he saw, that he shold worlding. bethe General of his enemies: So he fet spurs to his horse, & gallopped towards him from al his company, giving him defiance, & challenged him, shaking his staffe in his hand. He was the goodlieft person & strongest man of all the GAVLES, and his armour was all gilt & siluered, and so fet on horse forth with fundry works & colours, that it shined as the Sun. Mircellus on the other fide having viewed all the army of his enemies throughout, & perceiuing none fo richly armed as the king, timarus thought fraight it was against him, that he had made his prayer & vow to Iupiter. Then he put king of the hishorfe in full cariere against him, and came with such a force and furie to him, that he pierced his armour with his staffe, and ouerthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead whereupon he sodainely redoubled two or three strokes besides upon him, and so slue him right out. Then he starking lighted from his horse, and taking the dead Kings armour in his hand, he lift up his eyes to heauen, and said: O Inpiter Feretrian, thou that doest from heaven behold and direct all martiall sudam. feates and Captaines deeds: thy selfe I call to witnesse, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being Generall of the armie, haue flaine with my owne hands, the King and General of the to tupiter enemies; and I promise here to thee, to offer thee vp the richest spoiles of mine enemies; so thy Ferriran. godhead will vouchfafe to grant vs the like good fortune in all this warre besides. His prayer ended, the men of armes of the Romaine's ranne in among the horsemen and sootemen of the GAVLES, one being unparted from another; and Fortune did so fauour them, that they wan a passing victory, in such a strange and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer seene before nor fince, that so few horsemen did ouerthrow so great a number of men of armes and footmen ranged together. Now when Marcellus had flaine the greater number of them, and 7h: Gaules had gotten their spoiles and all their baggage, he returned againe to his companion Cneus Cornelins, whom he found making warres vnfortunatly with the GAVLES, before the greatest and by Marcel. most populous citie they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLE's on this side the mountaines take for their chiefe citie, and from whence all other had their first originall. Wherupon they did all their possible endeuour to defend it, and did as straightly besiege the Consult Cornelius, as he did them. Now when Marcellus was come to the camp againe, the GESSATES vnderfanding that their king Britomarus was flaine in battell-returned backe again into their country,

Marcellus wan the city of Mil

Marcellus offering up of his rich Spetles. The three terions that offered vp Spalia epima in Reme: Romulus. Coffus, fo called.

Spolin opithey be.

Marcellus feat into Sicile with

310 and the city of MILLAINE was taken. After that althe other cities thereabouts yeelded of the felues, without force of fiege, and the GAVLES wholy fubmitted them felues & all that they had to the mercy of the Romaines, who granted them peace vpon case conditions. For these mous victories, the Senate of ROME gaue all the honour of triumph vnto Marcellus onely, and that was as wonderful and worthy a fight, as any that euer past before him: what for the infinite spoiles, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, as also for the exceeding sumptuousness. and flately flew thereof. But the goodlieft fight of all for the rareneffe, was to behold Marcellus felfe, carying on his shoulders the whole spoile of the barbarous King, to offer vp to Inpiter Fere. trian. For he had cut downe a goodly yong oke of the mountaine, straight, and shut vp very long. which he had trimmed up in forme of triumph, hanging all the aimed preces he had won of the King, very orderly round about it. Then when all the flew of his triumph was past, he himself tooke the oke vpon his shoulders, and got vp vpon his triumphant chariot, & so marched thorough the citie, carying these fignes thereupon: which was the noblest fight, and honourablest thew of the whole triumph. His army followed after the chariot, finging vertes and fongs of victory, in praise of the gods and their Captaine; and when he had passed through the wholeging & was come to the temple of Inpiter called Feretrian, there he fet vp this yong oke, and tokenof triumph, This Marcellus is the third and last ROMAINE cuptaine, to whom happened this honor in our age. For the first man that euer offered vp to Iupiter the spoiles of the General of their enemics, was king Romulus, who wan the like spoiles of Acran king of the CANINIANS. The second was Cornelius Coffus, who flue Tolumnius, Generall of the Tivs cans. And the third was Mar. cellus, who flue with his owne hands Britomarus king of the GAVLES: and after him, no man euer fince could obtain the like good fortune. The god to whom these maner of spoiles are confecrated thus, is called Impiter Feretria, to termed as fome write, because they do cary this token of triumph to him, following the derivation of this greeke word, Ferin, which fignifies to cary. for in those former times, many Greek words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirmeits one of the furnames of Inpiter, fignifying as much as lightning: for Ferire in the Latin toung, fig. retrian who nifieth to strike. And some say also, in wars it is properly to hurtor kil with his own hands for ROMAINS do vie at this day when they give a charge vpon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chase flying to cry incouraging one another, Feri, Feri, which is as much as kil kil And the spoiles taken from the enemies also, are generally called Spolia: but those which Lieute. nants generall, or Generals, do take from the Generals of their enemies, when they have flaine them, they are called particularly, Spolia opima. Yet fome hold opinion that King Numa Pompilins mentioning the rich spoiles, or Spolia opima, in his commentaries, speaketh of the first, the fecond, and the third: and commandeth that the first spoiles which are wonne, should be consecrated to Inpiter Fereirian: the second vnto Mars: and the third vnto Quirinus. And that they should give to him that had wonne the first spoiles, three hundred * Asses, the second, two hundred; and the third a hundred. But not with standing the best opinion, and vsuall taking of spolia opima, referreth them to be the first spoiles wonne in a foughten field, and those which the Lieutenant of an army, or a Generall doth take from the Generall of the enemies, after he hath flain him with his owne hands. And thus much for the declaration of this matter. Furthermore the ROMAINS were so joyfull of this victory, and of their good successe in this warre, that they can fed a maffic cup of gold to be made of the spoile they had gotten, weighing a hundred pound weight, which they fent to offer vp in the temple of Apollo Pythias, in the citie of DELPHES in token of thankes; and they made liberall division besides of the spoiles vnto their friends and confederates, and fent a great part of it vnto Hieron king of Syracy sa, who was their confederate. Not long after Hannibal being entred ITALY. Marcellus was fent with an army by fea, into Sicile. And after the great ouerthrow was given at the battell of CANNES, wherin there died fo many thousand Romaines, and that very few of them saued themselves by flying into the citic of CANNVSIVM: they looked that Hannibal having overcome the flower of all the ROMAINES youth, and their greatest force, would not faile to come straight to Rome. Wherefore Marcellus first sent fifteene hundred of his men by sea, to helpe to defend Rome: & having afterwards received commandement from the Senate he came to CANNVSIVM, where he took fuch as were fled thither for fuccour after the battell, & fo brought them out of the field to defend the countrey. Now the ROMAINS having lost the most part of all their best Captaines, in divers fundry battels before: of all those that remained, Fabius Maximus was the only able and

reputed man for commendation of his honesty and wisdome, yet they misliked of him not withstanding, for a timorous man, and of no courage, as a man too ful of doubts & considerations, & lorhto put any thing in hazard: faying, he was a good captaine to defend, but notto offend the enemy. Wherupon they thought good to joyne Marcellus lively youth and courage, with Fabius feminine feare & wisdome: and therefore some yeares they chose them both Consuls together, orelsthey fent one of them as Consul, & the other as Proconsul, each in his turne, to the countrey where they had wars. And for proof hereof Pifidonius Writeth, that the Romaines at that Pofidonius time called Fabius Maximus their target, and Marcellus their sword. Therfore Hannibal himself words of faid, he feared Fabius Maximus as his gouernor, and Marcellus as his enemy; because the one kept fabius of him from hurring of others & the other did hyerro him fall I am a link to the Marcellus. him from hurting of others, & the other did hurt to himself. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, Hannibals fouldiers became so bold, so carelesse, and disordered, that they kept the field without feare of any thing, & dispersed themselves far fro their camp: wherfore Marcellus fetting vpon those stragglers, he slue them euery man, and so by litle & litle did still lessen the power and strength of his enemy. Afterwards he aided the cities of BIZANTIVM & of NOLA, and fablished the true denotion and lone of the Bizantines towards the Romains: from thence hewentto Nola,& found great sedition there betwixt the Senate & the people, because the Senate could not keep y people in obedience, but they would needs take Hannibals part. The cause ofthe peoples stubburnnesse grew, by occasion of agentleman of the city called Bandius, a nobie Lucius Eans. gentlemento the people, & a valiant man of his hands. This Bandius having fought valiantly at divise No. the battell of CANNES, after he had flaine many a CARTHAGINIAN, was himselfe in the end ast many striken downe, and found lying among the dead bodies, fore wounded and mangled: wherupon Hannibal greatly commending his valiantnesse, did not only let him go without ramsome, but allo gaue him rich gifts, and made him his host and friend. Hereupon Bandius at his coming home to requite Hannibals honor and courtefie, became one of those that most fauoured Hannibal; and most perswaded the people of NoLA to take his part. Notwithstanding this, Marcellus Atareellus thinking it too great a finne against the gods, to put a man to death that had made so great proof gentlenesses of his valiantnesse, and had served with the ROMAINES in their greatest warres and extremest danger, and who besides the goodnesse of his nature, had a maruellous gift also to winne mens good wils by his great courtesie: when this Bandius came one day to do his dutie to him, Marallus of purpose asked him what he was, though he had knowne him long before, only to take occasion to talke with him. The other answered him, his name was Lucius Bandius. Then Marallus feeming to be maruellous glad, and to wonder athim faid: And art thou that Bandius they speake so much of at Rome, who they say did so notable service in person at the battel of Can-RES, and neuer for fooke Paulus Emylius the Confull, but received fo many wounds upon his body in defence of him? Bandius answered, that he was the man, & therewith shewed him many wounds he had vpon his body. Marcellus then replied: Alas, thou that carieft fuch notable marks ofthy vnfained loue toward vs, what diddest thou meane, that thou camest not straight againe vinovs: art thou perswaded we are so miserable and virthankfull, that we will not worthily rewardthe vertue and valiantnesse of our friends, whom our enemies selues do honor. After Marallushad vsed this courteous speech vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a goodly horse for service in the warres, and five hundred Drachmes of silver besides. So after that time, Bandius did euer take Marcellus part, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, and Reward shewed himselfe very seuere and earnest to accuse them that tooke Hannibals part in the citie: distantes which which would be an earnest to accuse them that tooke Hannibals part in the citie: distantes the control of the control of the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which would be a control of the cities that the cities which we can be a control of the cities that the cities which we can be a control of the cities that the cities which we can be a control of the cities that the cities which we can be a control of the cities where the cities which we can be a control o which were many in number, and had conspired among themselves, that the first time the Ro- soies. MAINES should go into the field to skirmish with the enemies, they would shut the gates after them, & take the spoile of all their cariages. Marcellus being informed of this treason, did set his men in battel ray within the city, hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the sumpters and cariage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by trumpet, that no citizen vpon paine of death should approach the walles. This occasion drew Hannibal to come hard to the citie, feeing no watch vponthe walles, and made him the bolder to come in diforder, imagining there had bene some mutiny or sedition within, betweene the noble men and the people. But in themeane time, Marcellus set open the gate being hard by, and sallying out vpon the sodaine Marcellus with the best men of armes he had, he gaue a charge vpon Hannibal in the voward. Immediatly after came out his footmen at another gate, running straight vpon Hannibal, with a wonderfull Hannibal cry and shout: so as Hannibal to withstand the, was driven to devide his men in two companies. 42 Mela,

MARCELLVS.

gine them any crownes or rewards of honour, for any notable service soener they did, as all Ge-

nerals are wont to give to honest men that serve valiantly. This order of the Senate misliked Marcellus very much, who at his returne home out of Sicil B, made his complaint in open Se-

nate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to denie him that fauour, that having done

the commonwealth fuch faithfull service diverse times, as he had done, he might not restore so

many poore Romaines to their honour againe. Now when Marcellus was in Sicile, he

crates had before caused it to be bruited at Syracvsa, that Marcellus had put all the LEON-TINTS to the sword, not sparing litle children; and afterwards Hippocrates coming thither on the

fodame, in the feare and garboile of this false bruite, he casily tooke the citie. Marcellus hea-

ring Hippecrates had taken Syracvsa, left forthwith the LEONTINES, and went with his

wholearmy, and camped hard by Syracvsa: and fent his ambaffadours to tell the Syracv-

sans truly, what he had done in the citie of the LEONTINES, and quite contrary to that they were informed of. Howbeit that prevailed not, for they beleeved not Marcellus, because Hippo-

crates being the stronger, had won the city. Whereupon he began then to approch the wals, and

and full of all forts of artillery & fire works, did affault by fea, & rowed hard to the wall, having

made a great engine, and denice of battery, vponeight gallies chained together, to batter ý wall: trusting in the great multitude of his engines of battery, and to all such necessary provision as

were not his owne fuch, as himfelfe did reckon of, to shew singularitie of worke and deuice. For

those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometrie, and things done to passe the time

fratine, and plaine, to the understanding of the common people by experiment, and to the benefit and commodity of vse. For this inventiue art to frame instruments and engines (which are

called mechanicall, or organicall, fo highly comended and esteemed of all forts of people) were first set forth by Architas and by Eudoxus, partly to beautifie a little the science of Geometry by

two lines meane proportionall, which cannot be proued by reason demonstrative: and yet not-

withstanding is a principle and an accepted ground, for many things which are contained in the art of portraiture. Both of them have fashioned it to the workmanship of certaine instruments,

without body, vnto things fensible and materiall, and to bring it to a palpable substance, where

the vile and base handy worke of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handy crast, or the

art of engines, came to be separated from Geometry, and being long time disposed by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike arts. But Archimedes having told king Hieron, his kinf-

man and very friend, that it was possible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as little

fons passed too and fro, against this succeneuerthelesse it was concluded in the end by the Senate, countries that the Common-wealth made no reckoning of the service of faint-hearted men like women: detected of wherefore if Marcellus thought good of their feruice, yet it should not be lawfull for him to

received great hurts and injuries by Hippocrates Generall of the Syracvsans:-who, to pleasure Wepocrates the Carthaginians, & by their meanes to make himselfe chiefe Lord of Syrac vsa, did put the many Romaine citizens to death. Whereupon Marcellus went and laid fiege to the city of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by affault, he hurt neueratownes man, nor naturalleitizen of the fame: bur such traitours as he found there, who had fled from his campe, and yeelded enter the to the enemies, them he caused to be whipped; and then hanged. But not with standing, Hippo- Lemines.

to affault in enery quarter, as well by fea as by land. Appins took charge of them that gaue affault befregeth by land. Marcellus himselfe, with threescore gallies of fine owers at enery banke, well armed, Sylvesta.

he had for wars, as also in his owne reputation. But Archimedes made light account of all his deuices, as indeed they were nothing comparable to the engines himselfe had invented: and yet desanted

with, at the request of king Hieron: who had prayed him to call to mind a litle his Geometricall speculation, and to apply it to things corporall and sensible, and to make the reason of it demon-

this finenesse; and partly to proue and confirme by materiall examples and sensible instruments, & Endow certaine Geometricall conclusions, whereof a man cannot find out the conceineable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to search out

called Mesolabes or Mesographes, which serue to find these meane lines proportional, by drawing certaine curue lines, and ouerthwart and oblike fections. But after that, Plato was offended reproued with them, and maintained against them, that they did vtterly corrrupt and disgrace the worthineffe and excellency of Geometrie, making it to defeend from things not comprehensible, and and archive the defend from things not comprehensible, and task

But as he was deuiding of them, fodainly a third gate opened vpon them, fro whence all there, fidue of the ROMAINES iffued out, who fet vpon the CARTHAGINIANS on every fide, they be. ing maruelloufly amazed to be fo fodainely fet on, which they looked not for : fo having their hands full with those that came first your them, being scant able to defend themselves against them, and feeing this new and last charge also, they were forced to retire. This was the first time that euer Hannibals fouldiers began to give place to the Romain Es, who draue them back ynto their camp, and flue a great number of them, and did hurt divers of the befides. For some write there were flaine of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, about flue thousand, and of the ROMAINS there died not past five hundred men. But Titus Livius doth not set out the overthrow fo great, and yet confesset hthat Marcellus wan great honor by it, & that it made the ROMAINS maruellous valiant again, after so many and fundry battels as they had lost one after another for the they were perswaded that they fought not with an enemy altegether inuincible, but that he might sometime also, as wel as themselves, receive both losse & hurt. Therfore, one of the Con. fuls dying about that time, the people caused Marcellus to be sent for, & placed him in his roome. and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputation untill his returne from the camp. Marcellus came no fooner to Rome, but he was chosen Confull in the dead mans roome, by all the voices of the people. Notwithstanding, when they went to chuse him, it thundered maruellously, which the Priests and Augures took for an ill token, but yet they durst not openly speake against his election, because they feared the people. How beit Marcellus of himself did willingly given his Confulfhip, and yet was it no exception to him for his feruice in the wars: for they created him Proconfull, and fent him againe to the camp at NoLA, where he did feuerely punish such as tooke Hannibals part who being aducrtifed therof, came thither with all possible freed to helpe them; and even at his first coming he offered Marcellus battell, which he refused at that time, Neuertheleffe he tooke his time, when Hannibal had fent the best part of his army to forage, as meaning to fight no more battels: and then he set vpon him, having given his footemenlong pikes, fuch as they vie in fight vpon the fea, and taught them also, how to hurt the enemie a farre off, keeping them still in their hands. But the CARTHAGINIANS having no skill of their pikes, and fighting with short iauelins in their hands, did strike downe-right blowes: which was the cause, that they being set upon by the Romains, were driven to turne their backes, and sie before them. So there were frue thousand of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the field, some elephants flaine, and two taken aliue: and furthermore, three dayes after the battell, there came three hundred horsemen, some of them Spaniands, and other NVMIDIANS, that submitted themselves to the Romains. Never came there such a missortune before to Hannibal: who had rolled from of long time kept together in loue & amity, an army affembled of fundry barbarous nations and people. How best the fethree hundred continued ever after faithful to the end, both to Marcellus, and to all other Lieutenants and Generals of the ROMAINES. Shortly after, Marcellus being againe chosen Consult the third time, went into Sicile. For Hannibal's prosperous successed and victories, had so incouraged the CARTHAGINIANS, as they sought again to conquer this Iland; and specially because that after the death of Hieronimus the tyrant, there rose some tumultat Sy-RACVSA. Vpon which occasion the Romains had sent an army thither before, and a Prator called Appins; at whose hands Marcellus having received the army a great number of the Ro-MAINES became humble futers to him, to pray him to aid the in their calamity, which was this. Of those that scaped from the battell of CANNES, some faued themselues by flying, other were taken prisoners, of which there was such a number, as it appeared that Rome had not people inough left only to keepe the walles. Neuertheleffe, those few that remained, their hearts were fo great, that they would neuer redeeme the prisoners, which Hannibal was contented to deliver them upon final ransome, but made a decree they should not be redeemed. & so suffered some of the to be killed, others to be fold for flaues out of ITALY. And moreouer, those that faued the felues by flying, they fent straight into Sicil Ecommanding they should not set a footagain in ITALY, whileft they had wars with Hannibal. These were the men that came altogether, and fell downe at Marcellus feet, so soone as he arrived in Stetle, and humbly befought him, to appoint them to serue vnder some ensigne, that they might fight to do their country honour and seruice: promifing him with teares running downetheir cheekes, that their faithfull service then should withefle for them, that the ouerthrow they had at CANNES, fell vpon them rather by misfortune, then through lack of courage. Whereupon Marcellus having compassion on them, wrote to

Certaine

Marcellus the third

to Sicile.

with an enginedrew greateft

The wonderfull force of Archivsedes engines, at Marcellus Gage of Sy.

314 strength as he listed to put to it and boasting himselfe thus (as they report of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proued this coclusion, that if there were another globe of earth, he was able to remouethis of ours, & passe it ouer to the other: king Hieron wondering to heare him, required him to put this device in execution, and to make him fee by experience Archimedes fome great & heavy weight removed by little force. So Archimedes caught hold with a hooke of one of the greatest carects or hulkes of the king, (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, re. quired a maruellous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done fo) and put a great number of men moreinto her, then her ordinary burthen; and he himselfe sitting alone at routes the position his ease afar off, without any straining at all, drawing the end of an engine with many wheeles & had, aftere and foftly with his hand, made it come as gently and fmoothly to him, as it had floted in the sea. The king wondring to see that fight, and knowing by proofe the greatnesse of his art: he prayed him to make him some engines, both to affault and defend in all manner of sieges and affaults. So Archimedes made him many engines, but king Hieron neuer occupied any of them, because he raigned the most part of his time in peace, without any wars. But this prouision and munition of engines, served the Syracysans turne maruellously at that time: and not only the prouision of the engines ready made, but also the enginer and work-master himself that had invented them. Now the Syracvsans feeing themselves affaulted by the Romains both by sea and by land, were maruellously perplexed, and could not tell what to say, they were soafraid:imagining it was impossible for them to withstand so great an army. But when Archimedic fell to handle his engines, and to fet them at liberty, there flue in the aire infinit kinds of shot, and maruellous great stones, with an incredible noise and force on the sodaine, vpon the sootemen that came to affault the citie by land, bearing down, and tearing in peeces all those which came against the, or in what place so ever they lighted, no earthly body being able to resist the violen of so heavy a weight so that all their ranks were maruellously disordered. And as for the gallies that gaue affault by sea, some were sunke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of slips, where they fastentheir sayles, which were sodainly blown ouer the wals with force of theseen. gines into their gallies, and so sunke them by their ouer great weight. Other being hoissed vpby the proocs with hands of Iron, and hookes made like cranes bils, plunged their poupes into the sca. Other being taken vp with certaine engines fastened within one contrary to another, made them turne in the aire like a whirlegig, and to cast them vpon the rockes by the towne wals, and fplitted them all to fitters, to the great spoile and murther of the persons that were within them, And sometimes the ships and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a feareful thing to fee them hang and turne in the aire as they did: vntill that casting their men within them ouer the hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be emptie, and to breake against the wals, or else to fall into the sea againe, when their engines left their hold. Now for Marcellus engine, which he brought against the walles, vpon a bridge made of gallies ioynedtogether: that was called Sambuca, by reason of the fashion it had like to an instrument of musicke of the same name, which is a harpe. The same being yet a good pretie way of from the wals, there fell a great stone upon it sent from the wals, weighing tentalents: then a fecond after that, & a third one after that, the which falling all into this engine with fuch a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the foundation of the engine, and tore all v bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that fustained it. So that Marcellus being amazed withal, not knowing well what it meant, was glad to retire quickly, and fent to make his trumpet found the retraitto those that gaue affault by land. Herupon they sate in councell to determine what was to bedone, & they refolued, that the next morning before day they should approch the wals if it were polfible:because that Archimedes engines, which were very strong and hard wound vp, should by this meanes fend all the force and furic of their stones and shot over their heads, and that neare hand also he could do no good with them, for that they had not the scope of their levell and cariage they should have. But Archimedes had prevented this device by long preparation before, having made provision of engines for far and neare, the levell and carriage whereof was proportioned for all distances: their short short, their arrowes not very long, many holes & arches in the walles one hard by another, where there were store of crosbowes to kill neare at hand, set in fuch places, as the enemies could not fee them without. Wherefore, when the Romaines thought to approch, thinking they had bene fafe and close, that no man faw them: it amazed the all when they were received againe with infinite shot, and striken to the ground with stones that

fell ypon their heads like lead: (for there was no part of all the walls, from whence they had nor the like shot.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retire from the wals. And yet when they were further off from them, the arrowes, stones, and other kinde of shot, that slue in enery place among them, killed a great number of them, scattered farre from thence : so that many of them were flaine and fore wounded, and diverse of their ships splitted, and they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, because Archimedes had placed his engines very closely behind the wals, and not vpon the wals in fight of the enemy. So that it appeared the gods fought against the Romaines, they were so slaine and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstanding, Marcellus escaped with life, safe from hurt, and mocking his workemasters and enginers he had in his campe, he said vnto them: What shall we not leaue to make wars with this Briarian enginer and Geometrician here: who fitting stil vpon the wharfe in sporting manner hath with shame ouerthrowne our nauic, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred hands of the Giants, discharging at one instant so many shot among vs. For indeed, all the refidue of the Syracveans, were as the body and members of Archimedes preparation: and he gines. himselfe was the only creature that moued and did all, all weapons else being quiet, and his ensines onely occupied, to affault and defend, At the length Marcellus feeing his men thus afcard, as if they did but fee the end of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the wall, they ranne away, crying out, that Archemedis was letting loofe fome of his engines vpon them: he would no more approch the wals, nor give affault, determining to fee if he could win it by long fiege. Notwithstanding, Archimedes had such a great mind, and was so profoundly learned, having hidden Archime. in him the onely treasure and secrets of Geometricall inventions, as he would never set foorth any booke how to make all these warlike engines, which wan him at that time the same and glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of divine wisedome. But he esteeming all kind of handicraft and invention to make engines, and generally all maner of sciences bringing common comoditie by the vse of them, to be but vile, beggerie, and mercenarie drosse: emploied his wit& studie only to write things, the beauty and subtilty whereof, were not mingled any thing at all with necessity. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propositions, which are without comparison of any other writings what societ because the subject whereof they treate, doth appeare by demonstration, the matter giving them the grace and the greatnesse, and the demonfiration prouing it so exquisitly, with wonderful reason and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written, in more plain and fimple tearmes, and by more case principles, then those which he hath invented. Now fome do impute this, to the sharpnesse of his wit and vnderstanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre itto the extreme paines he tooke, which made these things come so eafily from him, that they feemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man living of himself can deuise the demonstration of his propositions, what paine socuer he take to seeke it: and yet straight so soone as he cometh to declare and open it, every man then imagineth with himself he could have found it out well enough, he can then so plainely make demonstration of the thing he meaneth to shew. And therfore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him; that he was so rauished & drunke with the sweet enticements of this Syren, which Archimeter as it were lay continually with him, as he forgot his meate & drink, and was careleffe otherwife Spen. of himfelf, that oftentimes his feruants got him against his will to the baths, to wash and annoint him:and yet being there, he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, cuen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oyles and fweete fauours, with his finger he did draw lines vpon his nakedbody: To far was he taken fro himfelfe, & brought into an extasse or traunce, with the delight he had in the study of Geometrie, being ranished with the loue of the Muses. But among many notable things he deuised, it appeareth, that they most esteemed the demonstration of the proportion between the Cylinder (to wit, the round colomne) and the sphære or globe contained in the same; for he prayed his kinsmen and demonstrate friends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder vpon his tombe, containing a massic sphere, with an inscription of the proportion, whereof the continent exceedeth the thing contained. So Archimedes being as you have heard, did asmuch as lay in him, both to save himselfe and Syracvs a from taking. But now againe to Marcellus. Marcellus during the fiege at Syraevsa, wan the citie of MEGARES in Stelle, one of the ancientest cities in all the Hand: and he Marzellus took befides, the camp of Hippecrates, lying by Aciles, where he flue about 8000 men, furprisite in

MARCELLVS

Danibhus 4 Lacedecattaine taken pri foner.

Mercellus minneth Syracufa.

Acradina.

Archimede mathe Assise in hu (ludy.

> Diners chi nions of

fing them vpon the sodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge, and to fortific their campe. Then he ouercame a great part of the champion country of SICILE, & made thecities to rebel that tooke the Carthaginian's part: and in all the battels he fought, he euer ouercame them that durft bid him battel. It chanced afterwards, that he took a LACED EMONIAN captain priso. ner, called Danippus: cuen as he came out of Syracysa by fea. The Syracysan's defirous to redeeme him, lent to him to pray he might be ransomed. They made many parlees about his ransome, and drew out this practise to dinerse meetings: vntill Marcellus had taken good markes of a certainer ower, that had no great watch kept you it, and into the which he might secretly convey a certaine number of men, the wall of the citie in that place being no very hard thing to fcale. Therefore when he had given a good geffe by estimation at the height of that tower, by of. ten approaching to it, having parleed many a time hard by it he provided skaling ladders, and tooke the oportunity of a feast which the Syracvsans solemnized in the honour of Diana, on which day they gaue the selues to al feasting sporting & playes. So he took not only the towerbut filled all the wals round about with armed men before day, & brake open the maine gate & entry of the city called Hexapile. And as the Syracvsans began to stirre, perceiuing the Ro-MAINES on the wals, Marcellus made his men found their trumpets on enery fide. Whereupon the Syracysans were fo affraid and amazed, that they began to fly, thinking although besides had bene taken, where indeed the greatest and strongest quarter of the city called ACRADINA. was not yet touched: because it is walled in round about, and separated from the rest of the city, which is denided into two other parts, the one called the new city, & the other fortune. The two parts wherof being won, Marcellus by the breake of the day forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapile. And when his captaines told him he was happy to win fo goodly a city fo eafily they fay that he (looking about him, and confidering the great neffe and stateline ffe of the same) wept for very pitie, forefeeing whereto it should come, thinking with himselfe what a sudaine change it should have, when his army came to spoile & sacke the same. For there was not a captain that durst deny the souldiers when they demanded the spoile, and yet were there many that would needs haue it burnt and rased to the ground. But Marcellus would not agree to that in any case, and befides, it was fore against his mind to grant them the spoile of the goods & slaues: straightly commanding them not with standing, not to lay hands on any free man, & not to kil, hurt nor to make any Syracvsan flaue. Wherein, though he shewed great fauor and mercy, yet it grieued him to fee fo famous a city, brought to that miserable state; and in the midst of all the iow he had for his victorie, he could not refraine from weeping for pitie to see so rich and welthiea citic, in the turning of a hand, spoiled and brought to nought. For it is faid, that the riches and goods taken away at the facke of Syracvsa, were nothing inferiour to the spoiles of Can-THAGE, which was also sacked not long after that; for the other part of the city of Syracvsa called AGRADINA, was soone after also taken by treason, and spoiled against the captains wilk, fauing the kings treasure, which was reserved to be caried to the comon treasure of Rome. Sy-RACVEA being taken, nothing grieued Marcellus more, then the loffe of Archimedes: who being in his study when the citie was taken, bufily seeking out by himselfethe demonstration of some Geometricall proposition which he had drawne in figure, and so carnestly occupied therein, as he neuer faw nor heardany noise of enemies that ran vp and downe the citie, and much lesse knew it was taken: he wondred when he faw a fouldier by him, that bade him go with him to Marcellus. Notwithstanding, he spake to the souldier, and bade him tarie vntill he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstration; but the fouldier being angry with his answer, drew out his fword and killed him. Other fay, that the Romaine fouldier when he came, offered the fwords point to him to kill him and that Archimedes when he faw him, prayed him to hold his Archimedes hand a litle, that he might not leave the matter he looked for unperfect, without demonstration, But the foldier making no reckoning of his speculatio, killed him presently. It is reported athird way also, saying, that certain souldiers met him in the streets going to Marcellus, carying certain Mathematicall instruments in a little prety coffer, as dials for the Sun, sphæres & angles, wherewith they measure the greatnesse of the body of the Sun by view: and they supposing he hadcaried some gold or silver, or other precious iewels in that litle coffer, slue him for it. But it is most true, that Marcellus was maruellous fory for his death, and euer after hated the villaine that flue him, as a curfed and execrable perfon: & how he made also maruellous much afterwards of Archimedes kinsimen for his sake. The Romaines were esteemed of at that time by all nations, for maruellous

maruellous expert fouldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be delt with: but they neuer shewed any example of their clemencie and courteste, and lest of all of any civill maner to any strangers, vntill Marcellus taught the way, whose acts did shew the Grecians then, that the ROMAINES were more gracious and mercifull then they. For hedid so courteoully intreate those that had to do with him, & shewed such fauour to private persons, and also to whole cities: that if there were any crueltie shewed in the cities of Enna, or at Megares, or against the Syracvsans, it was rather through their own fault and folly that were hurt, then theirs that did them the hurt. And for proofe hereof, I will recite you one example only among many. There is a citie in Sicile called Engrium, it is no great thing, but a very ancient citie Engrium a of name, by reason of the trafficke thither, for that there are certain goddesses to be seene, whom citie in Si. they worship, called the mothers. Some say the CRBTANS were the first builders and founders etc. of the temple there, where you shall see speares and helmets of copper, and vpon them are granen the name of Meriones: and vpon others, Viffes name also, which are consecrated to these goddeffes. This citie stood altogether at the devotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and Nicias beingthe chiefest man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openly in all their councels to take part with the ROMAINES, prouing it by many reasons, that his enemies counselling the contrarie, were unprofitable members of the common wealth. Wherupon Niciasenemies fearing his greatnesse and authority, they did conspire among themselves to apprehendhim, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But Nicias hearing of fuch a matter, and finding that they lay in waite to take him, vied this policy to preuent their treason. He gaue out Wicios openly very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honour: and faid the fight of them (which was a matter of great credite) was but a deuice, and that there was no credit to be given to them. These words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischiefethey pretended against him, to himselfe, as the onely causer of his ownchurt. So they having appointed a day to apprehend him, by chance a common councell was kept that day they had determined of: where Nicias speaking to the people about matters of counsell, in the midest of his oration he fell to the ground, to the great wonder of thewhole affembly, as enery man may coniecture. Howbeit, neuer a man stirred, and a pretie while after he began to lift vp his head alitle, and to looke gaftly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he still gathered higher and lowder by litle and litle, vntil he saw all the peoplewonderoufly affraid and amazed, that not one of them durst speake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and rantowards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddeffes mothers did torment him: and not a man durst once come neare him, nor offer to stop him, they were so superstitious & soolishly affraid of the goddesses, imagining it was some divine punishment. But by this means he cassly got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all, and he was neuer scene after that time, to do or speake like a madman in any thing. His wifethat was made privile to his device, and furthered his intent, went first and fell downe on her knees before the goddesses mothers in the temple, as she had heartily prayed vnto them : and faining afterwards the would go feeke her husband, that ran vp & down the fields like a mad man, she went out of the citie with her little children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without danger, & went unto Marcellus to Syracvsa. The Engie-MIANS afterwards played fuch infolent parts, that Marcellus in the end went thither, and caused them all to be taken and bound, as though he would have put the to execution, But Nicias came tohim with teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kiffing his hands, befought him to take pity vpo his poore citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest enemies. This good nature of Nicias fo pacified Marcellus wrath, that he pardoned them all, and did no hurt to the city, & gaue Nicias certain land, befides many other rich gifts he bestowed vpon him. Thus it is reported in the historie of Pisidonius the Philosopher. Now Marcellus being sent for home Marcellus by the Romaines, because they had wars in their owne country, and euen at Rome gates: he that departed out of Sicile returning towards Rome, and caried the goodlieft tables, pictures, and breaght in statues, and other fuch ornaments as were in Syracvsa, meaning first to beautific his triumph finance with them, and to leaue them afterwards for an ornament to Rome, which before that time nener knew what fuch curious works meant. For, this finencise, and curious tables & imagery, nener came into Romb before, but was throughly fet out with armour and weapons of barbarous people, and with bloudy spoiles, and was also crowned with monuments of victories & triumphs of Syracus.

was an oxe and he that by force, and bloudy battel had obtained victory, only offered vp a cock

for facrifice. For though they were very good foldiers, yet they thought better of his feruice, that by his wildome & wife perswasions obtained victory, then of his, that wan it by valiantnes,

& force of armes. Thus you may fee which of these two law-makers had best reason by his or-

them, and kneeling downe befought them to give them audience, and that they would do them

inflice. The other Conful that was prefent rebuked the being angry that they had so maliciously

foied the occasion of Marcellus absence. But when Marcellus heard of it, he straight left off all, &

came to the Senate, and first fate him downe in his Consuls chaire, where he gaue audience as

Confull and dispatched divers causes: when he had so done, he rose out of his chaire and came

downe among them, standing as a private person to answer at the barre, as other offenders and

menaccused, fusfering the Syracvsans to alledge and say against him what they would. The

werethe Syracus and his staied counte-

nance in all things: and as they had found him before a very valiant man in wars, and vnconque-

rable, they found him then a man no leffe dreadfull in his Confuls robe; so that they hung down their heads, & durst not looke him in the face. Notwithstanding, they being suborned by his enc-

mies, began at the length boldly to accuse him, andyet with forrow and lamentation, the effect

whereof was this: That they being the Romaines friends and confederates, had abidden fuch

inimies at Marcellus hands, as al other Generals neuer offered their very enemies. Wherto Mar-

the tyrants had compelled them to make wars: when they to the contrary because they would enter into wars, were contented to be subject to a tyrant. So, when both parties had spoken their

minds, the Syraevsans (as the manner is) went out of the Senate house, and Marcellus also, lea-

uing his fellow Consul in his place in the Senate; & taried without the doore, attending the sen-

whethe Senators voices were gathered together, & that Marcellus was cleared by most voices:

then the Syrac vs ans fell down at his feet weeping, & befought him not to wreake his anger

vpon them that were present, & moreover that he would have compassion on the residue of the

citizens, who didacknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confessed them-

the liberty & benefit of their own laws, & quietly enjoy their goods also which were left them,

To requite the special grace procured them by Marcellus, the Synacus ans gaue him many ho-

nors, and among others they made a law, that cuer after, as oft as any of Marcellus name or house

came into Sicile, the Syracvsans should keep a solemne feast, with garlands on their heads,

and shold also facrifise vnto the gods. After this, Marcellus went against Hannibal: & where all the

of all ITALY: & that Fabius Maximus standing too much vpon safety, tooke not the way to cure

the disease & weakenes of the comon weale of Rome, looking to end this war, cosuming by litle

and little the strength and power of Rome, comitting a fearefull physitions fault & error, being

afraide to heale the patient sodainely, imagining that to bring them low, doth lessen the disease.

So first of all he went to be fiege certain great cities of the Samnites, which were revolted fro

Marcellus

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of diuerse enemies, which were no pleasant, but rather feareful sights to looke vpon, farre vnsi for feminine eyes. But euen as Epaminodas called the plain of Bozotia, Mars his scaffold, where he kept his games: and Xenophon also called the city of EPHESVS, the armorers shop: even so me thinkes (as Pindarus faid) they might rightly have termed Rome, the temple of Mars fighting. And this wan the peoples good wils much more to Marcellus, because he did so passingly set forth Rome with such excellent fine toyes of Greee. But Fabius Maximus on the other fide, was better beloued of the old men: because he brought no such toyes with him from thecity of TARENTYM, when he wan it. Indeed he brought away gold and ready coine, and much o. ther goods that were profitable; but for images and tables, he left them standing in their places. speaking a thing of great note. Let vs leaue the TARENTINEs their gods offended with them. And furthermore the noble men were angry with Marcellus, faying, that by this act he had purchased Rome great malice & hate. First, because he did not only leade men prisoners in his tri. umph, but the gods also: and secondly, because he had filled the people full of prittle prattle, and idle curiofitie, spending all the whole day in gazing, and wondering at the excellencie of the workemen, and of the works; where before they would fall to their labour, or else they went the wars, not being acquainted with curiofitie, nor idle life, as Euripides faid, speaking of Herculer.

had taught the ROMAINES to effective the wonderful works of GRECE, which they knew not before. But at his returne out of Sicile, his enemies procuted, that his honour of triumph was denied him. So Marcellus knowing that he had yet left somewhat to do in Sicilb, and that the war was not altogether ended, and fearing besides lest a third triumph would make him too much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honor of the great triumph in the mountaine of ALBA only and of the litle triumph, in the city of ROME. This maner of lientratinto tle triumph is called in Greek Enan, and the Romaine's call it Onatie. And this difference there is betweene them: that in the Ouation triumph, the party to whom it is granted, doth not enter into the city vpon a triumphing charior drawne with foure horses, nor doth cary any lawrelt vpon his head in token of triumph, nor hath any trumpets or hornes blown before him, but doth march on foot with a paire of flippers on his feete, having flutes and howbowes playing before him, and wearing a garland of firre tree vpon his head: so as this maner of entries nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasant then fearefull sight. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that these two kindes of entries they granted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victoric, were distinguished in the old time, rather by themanner, then by the greatnesse of their doings. For fuch as had ouercome their enemies by great flaughter and bloudy battels, they did make their entrie with pompe of triumph, that was altogether martiall and terrible, followed with their fouldiers arined, and crowned with lawrell garlands, as their custome was in mustering their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary fide that without any exploit of arms returned home with victory, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law granted them the honour of Onation triumph, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an instrument of pleasure belonging to peace, and the firretree is a tree confecrated to Venus, which goddeffe, about all gods and goddeffes doth most detest warres. This fecond kind of entrie was called ouation, not as many GRECIANS have taken it, coming of this word Enan, which is a voice and fong of ioy, although they did vse also to accompany the The facility. GRECIANS that would have fetched the derivation of this word, from an old common cucustomes of Rome) one or divers oxen; where at the second triumph called the Ouation, he

In wicked practifes be simple was to see, But be exceld in vertuous deeds, and feates that worthy be. Notwithstanding, Marcellus did glory amongst the GRECIANS themselves: saying that he Captaines making their entrie in this fort, crying, and finging Euan: but there were certaine frome they had: and were of opinion befides, that part of this honour did appertaine to god Bacchus, whose furname we call Enius, and sometimes Triambus, Howbeit this is not the true derivation of the name, but after this fort. At the great triumph and entry made, the captaine or generall that triumpheth as a Conqueror, did offer and facrifife (by the old orders and ancient only facrififed a mutton, which the Romain Bs call in their tongue ouem, and there of it was called Ouasion. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the law-maker of the ROMAINE lawes and cultomes, and the law-maker of the LACED EMONIANS: how each of the was contrary to the other, in appointing the facrifices for victory. For at Sparta, the captaine

dinances. But now to Marcellus again. He being chosen Consul the fourth time, his enemies and cuil willers did stirre vp the Syracus and against him, and persuaded them to complaine to The Syrathe Senate of him, that he had cruelly and vncourteoufly vied them, contrary to the ancient cofam acleague and alliances made long before with the Romaines. Marcellus being facrificing one day cufe Marinthe Capitoll, while the Senate were fet in counfell, the Syracvsans deputies came before

cellus straight answered againe to the contrary: That for many injuries the Romain's had receiucd of them, they suffered nothing but that which was vnpossible they should not suffer, that re- full, an fifted vntil they were taken by force: & yet they might thanke themselues for any thing they suffered, because they would not obey nor consent to reasonable capitulations & articles of peace, accusations which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alledge for their excuse, that

tence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenance nor world look, neither for feare of sentece, norformalice nor anger against y Syracvsans, quietly looking for his judgemet. Afterwards constants.

selues bound to him for euer. Marcellus moued with pity by their intreaty, he pardoned them, & Marcellus enerafter did to the Syracvsans what pleasure he could possibly. For through his intreatie & conrespond request, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his grant vnto them, which was: that they might vse forms

other Confuls almost, and Generals, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vied this only policy with him not to come to batter the took a contrary course to them all thinking the took as a contrary course to them all thinking the took as a contrary course to them all thinking the took as a contrary course to them. with him, not to come to battel: he took a contrary courfe to them all, thinking that tract of time Hammbal (wherby they thought to eate out Hannibals force) was rather a direct confuming & destroying in his fearth

Contile Ful. Hius Viceconfull (lain in Apulia by Hanni.

320

Marcellus fought a battelwith Hannibal fron in A. pulia.

The Dicta. tor chosen byshe Comsor, not by thepeople nor Senate. Whereof Dictator cometio.

Quintus Fuluius chofen Di-Elasor, by the people, Marcellus Procon(ult.

Hannibals oralion to bis fouldi.

obedience of the Romains: and those he wan againe with a great provision of corne and month he found in the, besides 3000. souldiers Hannibal left in garrison there, whom he took prisoners: Hannibal after that, having flaine the Viceconfull Cnew Fuluius in Apvlia, with eleven Tribu. ni militum (to wit, Colonels, every one having the charge of a 1000. footmen, and overthrown the greatest part of his armic: Marcellus wrote letters to Rome, hoping to comfort the Senate & people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant the he would drive Hannibal out of App. LIA. Whethe Romains had read his letters, they were nothing the more coforted, but rather (as Ling writeth) more afraid & discouraged: because they doubted the danger to come wold be greater then the losse past, taking Marcellus to be a far greater & better General, then euer was Fuluius. Neuerthelesse, Marcellus performing the contents of his letters written to Rome, drane Hannibal out of APVLIA, and made him retire into LVCANIA. And Marcellus finding him in that country, by a city called Numistron, lodged upon hils, & in place of strength and aduan tage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the first that presented his enemy battel. Hannibal on the other fide, came down into the valley, and they joyned battell. which was fo cruelly fought, and fo long time, as it could not be differred who had the better. For the battel being begun at nine of the clocke in the morning, twas darke night ere they game ouer. The next morning by peepe of day, Marcellus fet his men againe in battell ray, in the mid. dest of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the field, and challenged Hannibal, to proue who should have the field, but Hannibal refused, and marched his way thence: so as Marcellus there. by had good leifure left him to ftrip his flain enemies, & alfo to bury his own fouldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his enemy by the foot, who laid many ambushes for him, but he could neuer trap him in any: and in every incounter or skirmish they had together Marcellus had euer the better, which wan him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to chuse new Consuls, the Senatethought good to send rather for the other Consulthat was in Sicile, then to remove Marcellus thence, who had fought with Hannibal. So when the other Confull was come to Rome, the Senate commanded him to name Quintus Fuluing Dicator, because the Dicator was neither chosen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls or Prators, in open assembly of the people, nameth such a one Distator as he liketh futor Pera- of. Wherefore it feemeth, that this word Dictator, came vponthat word, naming: for, Dicere in the ROMAINE tong, fignifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion, that he was called Dichtor, because he commandeth of himselfe what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, & the voices of the people; and this feemeth to be true, because the commandements of the Senate of Rome are called Edicta, which the Greecians call Diatagmata. Now the other Confull and copanion of Marcellus being come out of Sicile, he would need sname another Dictator then him whom the Senate offered him: and because he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do he stole away one night, and returned again into Sicile. Herupon the people did name and appoint Quintus Fulnius Dictator, and the Senate wrote their leters to Marcellus, to confirme him: which Marcellus did, & authorized the peoples electio. So he himself was chofen again Proconful for the next yeare following: in the which he having conferred with Fabius Maximus about the wars, they were agreed, that Fabius should proue if he could win the cities TARENTYM againe: and that Marcellus in the meane time should keepe Hannibal occupied, that he might not come to aid it. This resolution being taken betweene them, Marcellus went to meet Hannibal by the city of CANNVSIVM: who as he still changed and shifted lodging, because he would not come to the battell against his will, found Marcellus euer in his eye before him. Insomuch as Hannibal remouing thus his campe, Marcellus plied him fo one day with continuall alarums & skirmishes, that he brought him to a battel that held all day long till night, & compelled them both to leaue off till the next morning where Marcellus shewed again in field by breakeof the day, in battel ray. Wherat Hanibal being in a maruellous rage, he called his foldiers together & made an oration to the, earnestly moving the once again to fight with Marcellus, if everthey had heretofore fought for his fake. You fee, faid he, that having fought fo many battels, & gotte fuch victories as we have done, we canot yet take breath as we wold, nor be in quiet, how much focuer we win, if we drive not away yonder fellow Marcellus. Whe Hannibal had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, heled the onto the battel: where Marcellus, to no purpose, & out of time, would needs shew Hannibal a stratageme of war, that turned to himselfe the worst. For Marcellus perceiuing the right wing of his army distressed, made one of his legions that was set

in ray in the rereward of his hoast, to march to the front of his battel, to helpe those that needed aid. But this remouing of the legion, troubled them that fought, & gaue the enemies the victo- Marcellut ry; who flue that day two thousand seuen hundred of the Romain Bs. So, when Marcellus was ouer branch come againe into his campe, he straight called his fouldiers before him, to whom he spake in this unbarren by maner: That he faw a great deale of armour, and bodies of men, but he could fee no ROMAINS. The ROMAINES hearing him fay to, befought him to pardon the fault they had committed. hard wards Marcellus answered, he would never pardon them, so long as they were overcome: but whe shey ouercame again, he was content to remital. So the next morning he agreed to bring them again to fight with the enemie, that fuch as were at Rom & should rather heare newes of their victorie. then of their running away. When he had faid, he appointed they should give those bands that first turned their backes to Hannibal, barly for wheate. So as though many of them were in great danger of their lives, for the fore wounds they had received in the battell: yet there was not a man of them, but Marcellus words did more grieue the then the grieuous wounds they had. The next morning betimes was fet out of the Generals tent, the coat armour died in skarlet, which is the ordinary figne of battel. & the bands that had received dishonor the day before, were placed atheir owne request in the front of the battel. The other Captaines besides, that were not ourthrowne, did leade their bands also to the field, and did fet them in battel ray. Hannibal hearing of that cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that cannot be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune for he is the only odde man, that never giveth rest to his enimies, when he hath overcome Marcellee. him, nortaketh any for himfelfe when he is ouercome. We shall neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I fee, fith shame, whether he win or lose, doth stil prouoke him to be bolder and valianter. After orations made of both fides, both armies marched forwards to joyne battell. The Romains being as strong as the Carthaginians, Hannibal put his Elephants in the voward and front of his battell, and commanded his men to drive the vpon the Romains and fo mibal and they did. Which in deed did somewhat trouble and disorder the first rankes of the Romains: The worst, vntill fuch time as Flauius Tribune of the fouldiers, tooke an enfigne in his hands, and marched at of Fla before the beafts, and gaue the first of them such a thrust with the point of his ensigne, that he was reflected made her turne back. The first beast being turned back thus, ran vponthe second that followed turn. her, and the second made the third go backe also, and so from one to another, vntill they all turned. Marcellus perceiuing that, commanded his horfemen to fet vpon the enemies with all the fury they could in that place where he faw them somewhat troubled with these beasts, that turmed backe againe upon them; and that they should drive them further in among st them. Which they did, and gaue io hot a charge vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their "idors of backes and run away, and they purfued them still, killing them downe right, even to their camp side:where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephantes that were wounded, fell downe starke dead within the gate of their camp. And they fay, of the CARTHAGINIANS there were flaine at this battel, about eight thousand, and of the Romains only three thousand; howbeitall the rest of them for the most part were very fore hurt. Which fel out very well for Hannibal, that he might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, & got him away far off fro Marcellus, as knowing he was not in state to follow him over sodainly, because of the great number of hurt men in his camp; and fo by small journies he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in Hamiltal garrifon althe Sommer, in the citic of SINVESSE, to heale the wounds of his fore mangled foldiers. Hannibal having now gotten himselfe at the length out of Marcellus hands, and having his corn Siarmy free to ferue him as he thought good he burned and destroyed all ITALY where he went, and flood no more in feare of any thing. This made Marcellus ill spoken of at Rome, and caused his enemies to take hold of fuch a matter against him for they straight raised Publius Bibulus Tri- P Bibulus bune to accuse him, who was a hot harebraine man, but very cloquent, and could deliuer his 17thune of mind very wel. So this Bibulus called the people of to counfel, & told the there, that they must needs call home Marcellus, & apppoint fome other to take the charge of the army: for as for him, Marcellus, faid he because he hath fought a litle with Hannibal (and as a man might say, wrestled a litle with him)he is now gotten to the bathes to folace him felf. But Marcellus hearing this, left his Lieuze nants in the camp, & went himfelf to Rome, to answer to y vntrue accusations laid against him and there he perceived at his comming how they intended to profecute the matter against him vpo these informatios. So a day of hearing was appointed for his matter, & the parties came be. Chron Flat fore the people affebled in coucel, in the great lifts or shew place, called Circus Flaminius, to give minus,

Marcellus chofen Con. full the fift

by Marcel. Wonderfell fignes were feene in Rome, vato Marcel-

Marcellus threefcore yeare old, being cho-Sen Confull the fift time. 2 Chrisps. las betwiet the cities of Bancia and Venossa. Mons Pele

iudgement. There Publius Bibulus the Tribune, fitting in his chaire, laid open his accufation with great circumstance: and Marcellus, when Bibulus had told his tale, answered him in a few words, and very discreetly, onely touching his purgation. But the noble and chiefe men of the citie rose vp and spake on Marcellus behalfe, telling the people plainly that they did Marcellus wrone. to reckon worse of his valiantnesse, then their enemy did and to judge of him as a coward, confi dering Hannibal onely fled from him, of all other captaines, and would by no means fight with himmeuer refusing to fight with any other whatsocuer. These perswasions tooke such effect, as where Marcellus accuser looked for his condemnation, Marcellus to the contrary, was not onely cleared of his accusation, but furthermore, they chose him Consull again the fift time. So being entred into his office, he wet first into THVSCAN: where visiting y good cities one after another. and quieting the he pacified a great fedition in the country, when they were all ready to rife. rebel. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to confecrate the temple of honor & vertue, which Thetemples he had built with the spoiles he got in the wars of Sicile. But y Priests were against it, saying, of bonor two gods might not be in one church. Thereupon he built another temple, and joyned it to the first, being very angry the Priests denied so his consecration; and he did take it for an euill token. besides divers others signes in the element that afterwards appeared, & troubled him much. For there were many temples set on fire with lightning at one time: & the rats & mice did gnaw the gold that was in the chappell of Inpiter Capitoline. And it is reported also, that an oxe did speake and a child came out of the head of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Priests & Soochsayers, sacrificing to the gods, to withdraw the enil from them these sinistertokens did threaten: they could neuer find any fauourable fignes in their facrifices. Whereupon they fought to keep Marcellus still at Rome, who had a maruellous earnest desire to be gone with speed to the wars: for neuer man longed for any thing so much, as Marcellus did, to fight with Hannibal. In somuch he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor spake of any matter elsein the day to his friends & copanions, nor prayed to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with Hannibal in the field and I thinke he would willingly have fought a private combat with him, in some walled city or inclosed lists for the combat. And had it not bin that he had already won himselfe a great fame, & shewed himselfe to the world (by fundry great proofes and experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and valiant captaine as any man of his time: I would haue faid it had bin a pang of youth, and a more ambitious defire, then became a man of his age, who was threefcore yeares old at that time, when they made him Confull againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after he had ended al his propitiatory facrifices, & purifications, such as the soothfayers had appointed, he departed from Rome with his fellow Conful Quintus Chrispinus tothe wars. He found Hamibal lying betweene the cities of BANCIA, and VENOVSA, and foughtall nus couful, the means he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit Hannibal being aducrtised by spials, that the Consuls set an army to besiege the city of the Localans furnamed Epizephyrians (as you wold fay) the occidetals, because the Grecians in respect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he laid an ambush for them that went, vnder the hill of PETELIVM, which was directly in their way, where he flue about two thousand flue hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did fet Marcellus on fire, and make him more defirous of battell: whereupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemie. Between their two camps there was a prety litle hil, strong of situation, a wild thing ouergrown with wood: and there was high hillockes, from whence they might difcerne a great way, both the one and the others camps, and at the foot of the same ran prety springs: insomuch as the Ro-MAINES Wondred, that Hannibal coming thither first, did not take that place, but had left itto his enemies. Howbeit Hannibal was craftic enough, leaving it of purpole for as it was commodious to lodge his campe, so it served his turne better for an ambush. So he filled the wood, the hollow places, & the vallies thereabout, with store of shot and spearemen, assuring himself that the place would intice the Romaines thither: and indeed he geffed rightly, for foit fell out. Straight there flue a rumour abroade in the Romaine's campe, that there was a paffing placeto bodge in, and euery man tooke vpon him like a skilful fouldier, to tell what vantage they should haue vpontheir enemies by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort vponit. Whereupon Marcellus determined togo fee the place himselfe, taking a few horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take horse, he called for his soothsayer to facrifise to the gods. The first beast that was facrifised, the Soothiaver shewed Marcellus the

liver of it without a head. The second beast facrificed, had a faire great head of a liver, and all the other parts were also found, & very new; that by them it appeared all the feare of the first signes and tokens were taken away. Yet the foothfayers on the other fide faid, it did make them worfe afraid then before for these so fauourable and luckie tokens of the sacrifice, following immedially after the first foule and naughty signes, made them doubt them much, by reason of so frange and fodaine an alteration. But as the Poet Pindarus faith:

Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of steele nor stone, Nor what soeuer other thing, is here this earth voon: Can keepe abacke the course of fatall destiny,

Nor yet resist the due decrees, which come from heaven on high.

So Marcellus tooke his horse, with Quintus Chrispinus his fellow Confull, and his son one of the Tribunes of the foldiers, having only two hundred & twenty horsemen with him, of the which chrispinus there was not one Romain a among the but all were Thy's can's fauing forty Fregellani- file come ANS, who from the beginning of these warres, had alwaies she wed themselves very faithfull and Marcellee. louing to Marcellus. The hill we spake of before, being thicke covered with wood & bushes, the enemies had fet a skout to watch on the top of it, to give warning if they faw any coming towards it. The ROMAINE'S could not fee him, and he on the other fide might fee cuen into their campe, and perceive what was done: as he did advertise those at that time that lay in ambush for Marcellus coming : and they fuffered him to passe on, vntill he came directly against them. Then they shewed upon the sodain, and compassing in Marcellus, they both shot & strake at him, fome following them that fled, &other fighting with the forty FREGELIANIANS which only flucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the Thyscans were sled) vpon the first crie they hard, to defend the two Consuls, wntill such time as the consuls Chrispinus hauing two wounds on his body with a dart, did turne his horfe to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue Marcellus fuch a fore blow with a speare having a broad iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left aliue, being but a few in number, secing Marcellus flaine, left him lying on the ground, and tooke his sonne away with them, that was very fore hurt, and by the swiftnesse of their horses recoursed their camp, & saued themselves, ambufo at At this ouerthrow, there were not flaine aboue forty men, and flue and twenty taken prisoners, the bill of of which fine of them were the Confuls forgeant, & their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horesemen. Within few dayes after, the other Consul Crispinus died also of his hurts, which was such a misfortune, as never came before to the Romaines, that both factings their Consuls were flaine at one battel. Now Hannibal made no great reckoning of all that were wus flaine. flaine, or taken at this field: but when he hard that Marcellus felfe was flaine at this ouerthrow, he went himself straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, fanding hard by it, and confidering his strength, his stature, and countenance, having taken fulf view of all the parts of him, he spake no proud words against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as fome other would have done, that had flaine fo valiant and dangerous an enemie: but wondering how he came to be flaine fo strangely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that fealed his letters, and giving his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honourably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a filuer pot, on which he himfelfepura crowne of gold, and fent it vnto Marcellus fonne. It fortuned to, that certaine light horsemen of the NVMIDIANS met with them that caried this silver pot, & would have taken it Marcellus from them by force, but they frood to it, and would not part withall, and fo fighting and striuing forced by together for it, the bones and ashes were scattered all about. Hannibal hearing this, said to them Hannibal. that were about him: See, how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So he punished the NVMIDIANS, & cared no more to get Marcellus bones together, but perswaded himself it was the will of their gods he should die so strangely, & that his body should have no burial. Cornelius Nepos, & Valerius Maximus write it thus but Liny and Augustus Cafar fay, that the pot was caried vnto his fonne, and honorably buried. Marcellus did confectate many monuments in divers pla-Marcellus CCS, befides those at Rome. As at CATANA in SICILE: a place for yong mento exercise them- monuments selves in. In the Ile of Samothracia, in the temples of the gods called Cabires; many images and tables he brought from Swacvsa. And in the Ile of Lindos, in the temple of Minerua, where among other, there is a statue of his, and this Epigramme grauen under it, as Posidonius the Philosopher writeth:

O thou my friend (I fay) which passes forth by me, Of Claudius Marcellus bere, the image mayft thou fee: Whose family at Rome, was of the noblest name. Seventimes he Consull chosen was, in which he overcame Great numbers infinite, (in open field and fight) Of such as sought his countries spoile, and put them all to flight.

The Author of this Epigramme reckoneth the two times of his being Viceconfull, for two whole Confulships: but his posteritie continued alwayes in great honour, vnto Marcellus the fonne of Octania, (Augustus Casars fister) and of Caius Marcellus. He died a yong man, being A. dilis of Rome, and maried vnto Iulia, Augustus daughter, with whom he lived no long time. But to honour the memorie of him, Octania his mother built the Library, and Augustus Casar the Theater, which are called to this day, Marcellus Theater and Library.

THE COMPARISON OF

Marcellus with Pelopidas.



Pelopidas and Marcello acts in warres.



Hese are the greatest things and best worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all Pelopidas and Marcellus doings; and for their maners and natural conditions otherwise, they were all one, because they were bothwa. liant, painful, & noble minded: sauing that this difference onely was betweene them : that Marcellus in many cities he tooke by affault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much bloud: where Epaminondas and Pelopidas cotrarily did neuer putany to the sword they ouercame, neitherdid they take away the liberty from any city they took:as it is thought the THEBANS would not have handled the ORCHAMENIANS fo cruelly

Marcellus Pelopidas.

The maner of Marcellus and Pe londas deedes.

as they did, if one, or both of them had bene present. Now for their acts, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of service that Marcellus did, with so small a company of horsemenas he took with him, to ouerthrow fo great a company of horsemen and footmen both, of the GAVLEstathing that neuer Generall but himselfe did, and specially that slue with his own hands in the field the Generall of his enemies: which Pelopidas could neuer attaine vnto; for he feeking to kill Alexane der the tyrant of PHERES, was flaine first himselfe, and suffered that, which he defired to have done to another. And yet for that service may be objected, the battels of Levetres, and of TEGYRA, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or secret practise done by Marcellus, that was any thing like comparable to that Pelopidas did at his returne from exile, when he flue the tyrants that kept THERE's inbondage. For that was as notable a policie and sodaine an enterprise stolen vpon, as none was ener greater, or more famous. It is true Marcellus was yoked with Hannibal, who was a dreadfull & aviolent enemie: fo were the THEBANS also at that very time with the LACED EMONIANS, who notwithstanding were ouercome of Pelopidas, at the battels of TEGYRA, and of LEVETRES. Where is Marcellus did neuer fo much as once ouercome Hannibal, as Polybius writeth,

bur remained vnconquered alwaies, vntil that Scipio ouercame him in battell. Notwithstanding, we do giue best credit to the reports of Casar, Livie, Cornelins, Nepos, and of king Iuba among the GRECIANS: Who write that Marcellus otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of Hannibals companies, howbeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to speake of, and it seemeth rather, it was through some mockery or deceit of that African then otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter and worthy much commendation, that the Romains were brought to that courage, as they durst abide to fight with the Carthaginians, after so many great ouerthrowes, and having so many Generals of their armies slaine in battell, and the whole Empire of Rome being in so great danger of vtter destruction. For it was Marcellus only of all other Generals, that put Marcellus the Romaines in heart againe, after so great and long a feare throughly rooted in them: and incouraged the fouldiers also to long to fight with their enemie, and not only to hope, but to affure themselues of victory. For, where by reason of their continual losses and fearefull ouerthrowes they had, they thought themselves happy men to escape Hamibals hands by running away: he taught them to be ashamed to flie like cowards, to confesse they were in distresse, to retire, and leave the field, before they had ouercome their enemies. And where Pelopidas was neuer ouercome in battell being Generall, and Marcellus did ouercome more then any General in his time: it might seeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, shold compare with the good hap of the other that was never overcome. It is true that Marcellus took the city of Syracus a; and Pelopidas failed of taking the city of Sparta: but yet do I thinke that it was more valiantly done of Pelopidas to come so neare Sparta as he did & that he was the first that passed the river of Evroras with an army, which never enemy did before him, then it was of Marcellus to win all Sicile. Vnleffe some peraduenture wil say againe, this was Epaminondas, not Pelopidas act, as also in the victorie of Levetres: whereas no man living can challenge any part of glory in the doings of Marcellus: for he tooke Syracysa, being only General aione, and didouerthrow the GAVIBs without his fellow Confull, & fought with Hannibal, without any mans helpe or incouragement (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the manner of wars the Romain Bs vsed then, and that trained his souldiers that they durft fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the nothing other, & the strangeneise of either of their deathes doth grieue me maruellously as I do greatly wonder also, how Hannibal in so many battels as he fought (which are innumerable) could albement wayes scape vnhurt. I cannot but greatly commend also the valiantnesse of one Chrysantas, The vall. whom Xexophon speaketh of in his books of the institution of Cyrus, saying that he having lift vp antessearch his fivord in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, & hearing the trumpet found the retraite, obtained of Cherles he softly retired, and would not firike him. How beit it seemeth Pelopidas is more to be excused:

for helider that he was very hors and desirous of harroll his answers horsent land in the seement a solution. for beside that he was very hote and desirous of battell, his anger was honourable and iust, and dir. moued him to seeke reuenge. For as the Poet Euripides saith:

The best that may betide, is when a captaine lines, And doth survive the victories, which he with force atchines: But if he needs must fall, then let him valiantly

Enen thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with honor die.

For so becommeth his death famous, and not dishonorable. But now, besides Pelopidas iust cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he faw his victory ended, in the death of the tyrant : otherwise he hardly should have found so noblean occasion to have shewed his valiantnesse, as in that. And Marcellus contrarily, without any instant necessity, and having no cause or heate of choler (which puttern all men valiant in fight besides themselues, that they know not what they do)did rashly & vnaduisedly, thrust himselse into the middest of the danger, where he died not as a General, but as a light horsman and skote (abandoning his three triumphes, his fine Confulships, and his spoiles and tokens of triumph, which he had gotten of kings with his owne hands) among venturous Spaniards and Nv-MIDIANS, that fold their bloud and lives for pay viito the CARTHAGINIANS: so that I imagine they were angry with the selues (as a man would say) for so great & happy victory, to have slaine Plutare in the second state of the second state amongst Fre Gellanian skouts, and light horsemen, the noblestand worthiest person of the grees speech gree speech Romaines. I would no man should thinke I speake this in reproch of the memory of these two and indeed famous men, but as a griefe only of them and their valiantnesse; which they employed so, as they went of blemished all their other vertues, by vndiscreete hazarding of their persons and lines without mountain.

Pelopidas and Mar-

cause, as if they would and should have died for themselves, and not rather for their countrey and friends. And also when they were dead. Pelopidas was buried by the allies and confederates. of the city of THEBES, for whose cause he was flaine; and Marcellus in like manner, by the enecellus fune rais felues that had flaine him. And fure the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for in such a case: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondred at: That the enemy himselfe should honour his valiantnesse and worthinesse that hurt him, more then the office of friendship performed by a thankfull friend. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honour his dead enemy, then the admiration of his worthinesse: and the friend sheweth friendship many times, rather for respect of the benefits he hath received, then for the love he beareth to his vertue.

The end of Marcellus life.

THE LIFE OF Aristides.



Arifides

chides, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goods and wealth they diverfly write of him. For some say, he lived poorely all the dayes of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their pouerty, liued vnmaried many yeares after their fathers death. And many of the oldest writers do confirme that for troth. Yet Demetrius Phalerius, in his booke intituled Socrates, writeth the contrary: that he knew certainelands Aristides had in the village of PHALERIA, which did yet beare the name of Aristides lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to flew that he was well to liue, and that his house was rich & wealthy, he bringeth forth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare Mayor or Prouost of ATHENS, whom they called Archon Eponymos, because the yeare tooke the name of him that had it yearely. And they say, he came to it by drawing of the beane, according to the ancient vie of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of making their election of the faid office: in which election none were admitted to draw the beane, but such as were highest set in their subsidie bookes, according to the value and rate of their goods, whom they called at ATHENS, Pentacosiomedimnes, as you would fay, those that might dispend five hundred bushels of wheate by the yeare, & vpwards. Secondly, he alledgeth he was banished by the Ostracismon, which banisheth the Nobility & great rich men onely: whom the common people enuie, because of their greatnesse; and neuer dealth

with poore men. The third and last reason he makes, is, that he lest of his gift, three sooted flooles in the temple of Bacchus, which those do commonly offer vp, as have won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other such like pastimes, where they themselues had borne the charge. And those three footed stooles remaine there yet, which they say were given by Aristides and haue this inscription vpon them: The tribe of Antiochides wanne the victorie, Aristides defrayed the charges of the games, and Archestratus the Poet taught them to play his comedies. The last reason, though it seeme likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For Epaminondas (whom euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwayes lived in great pouertie) and Plato the Philosopher, tooke vpon them to defray the charges of games that were of no finall expence: the one having borne the charges of flute players at THEBES, and the other the dance of the children which danced in a round at ATHENS: towards the furnishing of which charges Dion the Syracus an gaue Plato mony, and Pelopidas also gaue Epaminondas money. Now, this is not spoken that vertuous men should alwayes refuse the gifts of their Good men friends, and that they might not in some fort accept their friends courtesie offered them; but because they should thinke it vncomely and dishonourable for them, to take any thing to enrich themselves or to space and hoordyn. Howheir where there is care honorable. The after a sort. themselues, or to spare and hoord vp. Howbeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike shew to be made, not tending to their private benefite: in such a case they should not refuse their friends louing offer and goodwill towards them. And where Demetrius saith, the three footed stoole was offered vp in the temple of Bacchus, Panatius declareth plainely, that Demetrius was deceiued by the semblance of the name. For fince the time of the wars of y MEDES, vnto the beginning of the war of Peloponnesus, in all the registers and records kept of the defrayers of the charges of common playes, there were found but two men bearing name of Aristides that obtained victory; and neither of them both was sonne vnto Lysimachus, whom we write of at this present. For the one is expresly named the son of Xenophilus, and the other was long after the same Aristides we now speake of as appeareth easily by the writing and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we have vied in GRECE ever fince Euclides time. Moreoner it is easie to be knowne, by the name of the Poet Archistrains that is adioyning to it: for there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all the wars of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of Peloponnesvs, many do put him in for an Author and maker of rimes and fongs that were fung in common dances. Yet for all Panatius objections, the matter is to be better looked into, and confidered of. But for the Ostracismon banishment, it is true, that fuch as were great men in estimation about the comon people, either in same, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were subject vnto this banishment. For Damon himselfe, being Pericles schoolemaster, was banished, only because the common people thought him too wise. Moreouer, Idomaneus writeth, that Aristides was their prouost for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by casse be voice of the ATHENIANS that chose him. And if he were prouost fince the journey of PLA- was to TERS, as Demetries writeth, it is likely inough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable service, which other were wont to obtaine for their riches. But this Demetrius doth not only defend Aristides, but also Socrates pouertie, as if it were a foule vice and reproch to be poore. For he writeth, that he had not only a house of his own, but also threescore and ten minas at vsurie, which Criton gaue him interest for. But now to our story againe. Aristides was poore. Clifthenes very friend, he that restored the gouernement at ATHENS after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and did reverence Lycurgus the Law-maker of the LACED EMONIANS for his lawes, aboue all the men in his time: and therefore he euer fauoured the state of Aristocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and hauethe soueraignitie. How beit he euer had Themistocles (Neocles sonne) his continual aduersarie, as taking part with the contrary, and defending the popular state of gouernment. Some say, that being schollers, and brought vp together, they were specified. euer contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were it in sport, or in matter of carnest:and euer after, men beganne to see the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrarie affections. For Themistocles was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and subtill, and would venture on any thing vpon light occasion. Aristides contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant and maruellous well staied, who would for no respect be drawne away from equity and instice, neither would lie, flatter, nor abuse any body, though it were but in sport. Notwithstanding Ari- eles dispofus of CHIO writeth, that their malice beganne first of light loue, and that it grew to greatnesse frience by processe of time betweenethem: (for saith he) both the one and the other of them fell in nature.

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love with Stefileus, borne in the He of CAOs. This fond light love of theirs, fell not eafily from them, nor the enuy they conceived one against another, but cotinued against each other in matters of state: such were their malice towards one another. In which calling, Themistocles sought the way to winne friends, by whose meanes he came to great preferment in short time, and had made himselfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of ATHENS, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall: The gods forbid (quoth he) I should euer occupie the place of a gouernour, where my friends should not find more fauour then strangers, that do me no pleasure. But Aristides taking another course by himselfe, would not stand upon his friends in generacment. First, because he would do no man wrong with pleasuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requests. Secondly, because he faw many rulers and men of authority bold to do iniustice and manifest wrong, bearing themselues vpon their friends: but he carried this opi. nion, that no honest man or good citizen, should trust to any bolstering of friends, but to his owne instand veright doings. Notwithstanding, Aristides perceiving that Themistocles did rashly alter many things, and euer encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings, he was enforced sometime to crosse Themissocles againe, and to speake against that he preferred, partly to be euen with him, but most to hinder his credite and authority, which increased still through the peoples fauour and goodwils towards him: thinking it better by contrarying him a little to difappoint sometime a thing that might have fallen out well for the common-wealth, rather then by giving him the head, to fuffer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that Themistocles having preferred a matter very profitable for the common-wealth, Aristides was so much against it, as Themistocles purpose took no place. Moreouer Aristides was so earnest against him, that when the counsell brake vp after Themistocles motion was rejected, he spake it openly before them all: that the common wealth of Athens would neuer prosper vntill they both were laid in Barathrum, which was a prifon or hole, wherin they put all theeues and condemned men, Another time, Arilides moved a matter to the people, which diverse were against, but yet it went with him. And when the Judge or Prefident of the counsell did put it to the people, to know their allowance of it: Arifides perceiving by the arguments made against it, that the mat. ter he preferred was hurtful to the comon-wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not have it passe. Many times also Ariflides spake by other men, when he would have a thing go forward, for feare left Themistocles spire towards him, would hinder the benefite of the common-wealth. They found him very constant and resolute in matters of state, what socier happened; which wan him great commendation. For he was neuer the prouder for any honour they gaue him, nor thought himselfe disgraced for any ouerthrow he received: being alwayes of this mind, that it was the duty of an honest citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to do his countrey scruice, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honour and glorie. Therefore when certaine verfes were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of Aschilus made in commendation of the ancient foothfayer Amphiaraus, to this effect:

He will not onely feeme, a just man by his face, But inst indeed he will be found, and vertue still embrace With all his thought and foule, from whence there may proceed Grane counsels, for to beautifie his countries crowne indeed.

All the people straight cast their eyes vpon Aristides, as vpon him, that in truth aboue all other most described the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stout and resolute, not only to resist fauour & friendship, but to reject hate and anger also. For in case of justice, neither could friendfhip make him go awry for his friends fake; nor enuy could moue him to do iniustice, to his very enemy. For proofe hereof it is written, that he had an enemy of his in suite of law, and did profecute it to judgement; infomuch as after the plaint was read, the Judges were fo angry with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would have give fentence against him. But Arifides rifing from his place, went and kneeled at the Iudges feete with the offender his enemie, and befought them to give him leave to speake, to instiffe and defend his cause, according to the course of law. Another time he being Judge betweene two private menthat pleaded before him, one of them faid vnto him: Aristides, this fellow mine aduersary here, hath done you great iniury. My friend (quoth Aristides againe) I pray thee tell me only the iniury he hath done thee, for I am Judge here to do thee right, and nor my selfe. Moreouer, he being chosen high treasurer of all the revenues of ATHENS, diddeclare that all the officers before him, Arifide & other his late predeceffours, had greatly robbed and spoiled the common treasure, but speci- the for ally Themistocles: who was a wife man, and of great indgement, but yet somewhat light fin-treasurer. gered. Therefore when Aristides was to give vp his account, Themissocies and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practife they condemned him, as Idomeneus writeth. Yet the noblest driffides citizens feeing what iniury they offered Arifides, tooke his caufe in hand, and found meanes to accepted and procure the people not only to release the fine imposed you him, but to restore him againe to condemned, his office of high treasurer for the yeare following in the which he seemed to repent his former biroffice. ftraightnesse in gouernment the yeare before, & dealt more fauourably with those he had to do with, and would not examine enery thing fo straightly as he did before. Wherupon such as were fed, and he theeues and stealers of the treasure of the comon-wealth, did maruellously praise and like him, made treasure and became futers for him to continue in the office. But when the day of election came, that the furer again. ATHENIANS would chuse him againe, Aristides selfe reproued them, and said: When I distides faithfully discharged the duty of mine office committed to me by you, I then received shame openly reand reproch at your hands: and now that I have diffembled, not feeming to feethe thefts and elofetheurs robberies done vpon your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. in the com-But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more ashamed of the honour you do me and deternow, then I was of the fine you did set voon me, when you condemned me the last yeare: and I feelb their am foryto speake it, that you should thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then Praise to preferue the common-wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the common thefts the officers of the city did commit, he stopped the theeues mouthes that so highly praifed and commended him for so honest a man: but yet of the noble and honest citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when Dathis Lieutenant to Darius king of Persia, was come with all his nauy to go aland about Marathon, in the countrey of Artica, vpon pretence (as he faid) to be reuenged only of the ATHENIANS, that had burnt the city of SARDIS, but indeed of mind to conquer all GRECE, and to destroy the whole country before him: the Athenians chose ten captaines to go to the warres among whom Miltiades was the chiefest man of authority. But Aristides drew very neare him in reputation and credite, be- chiefe of cause he did very good service in obtaining the victory, specially when he agreed with Miltia- the ten cepdes in counsell, to give battell vpon the barbarous people: and also when he willingly gave taines that Miltiades the whole rule and order of the army. For every one of the ten captaines did by turnes gainft Da. leade the whole army for one whole day; and when Aristides turne came about, he gaue his this the preferment thereof vnto Militades, teaching his other companions, that it was no shame, but Persons honour for them to be ruled by the wifest. Thus by his example he appealed all strife that might Lieutenans haue growne among them, and perswaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counfell, that had best experience in the war. And so he did much advance Miltiades honor. For after that Arifides had once yeelded his authority vnto him, euery one of the rest did the like when it came to their turne; and fothey all fummitted themselues vnto the rule and leading. But on the day of the battel, the place where the Athenians were most combred, was in the middest of the battell, where they had set the tribes of the Leontides, and of Antiochides: for thither the barbarous people did bend altheir force, & made their greatest fight in that place. By which occasion, Themistocles & Aristides fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the tribe Leontites, and the other of Antiochides, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one another: so as the barbarous people at the last being ouerthrowne, they made them flie, and drauethem to their ships. But when they were imbarked and gone, the captaines of the ATHE- victorie. NIANS perceiuing they made not towards the Iles, which was their direct course to returne into of the Per-As 1A, but that they were driven backe by storme of wind and pyrries of the sea, towards the coast of ATTICA & the city of ATHENS, fearing lest they might find ATHENS vnfurnished for defence, and might fet vpon it: they thereupon fent away prefently nine tribes that marched thither with fuch speed, as they came to ATHENS the very same day, and left dristides in the campe at Marathon, with histribe and countreymen, to looke to the prisoners and spoile they had won of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceived the opinion they had of his wif-

dome. For notwithstanding there was great store of gold and silver, much apparell, moveables,

and other infinite goods and riches in all their tents and paulions, and in the ships also they

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had taken of theirs: he was not fo couetous as once to touch them, nor to fuffer any other to meddle with the vnleffe by stealth some prouided for themselves. As amongst other, there was one Callias, one of Ceres priefts, called Dadouchos, as you would fay, the torch-bearer, (for in the The wieled fecret facrifices of Geres, his office was to hold the torch) whom when one of the barbarous people faw, and how he wore a band about his head, and long haire, he tooke him for some king, and falling on his knees at his feet, kitfed his hand, and shewed him great store of gold he had, hidden and buried in a ditch. But Callias, like a most cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth took away the gold and killed the poore foule that had flewed him the place because he should not tell it to others. Hereof it cometh, that the comicall Poet do call those that came of him in mockerie. Laccoplutes, as made rich by a ditch because of the gold that Callias found in it. Immediatly after this battell, Arifides was chosen prouoft of ATHENS for the yeare; albeit Demetrius Phalerius writeth, that it was a little before his death, after the journey of PLATERS. For in their Chronicles, where they fet in order their prouofts of ATHENS for the yeare, fince Xanthippides time, there appeared no one name of Ariftides in that yeare that Mardonius the king of Persians Lieutenant was ouerthrowne by Platæes, which was many yeares after: but contrariwife, they find Ariftides enrolled among the prouofts immediatly after Phanippus, in the yeare the battell was fought at MARATHON. Now the people did most commend Aristidee instice, before all his other vertues and qualities; because that vertue is most common and in vie in our life, and deliucreth most benefite to men. Hereof it came, that he being a meane man obtained the worthieft name that one could have to be called by the whole city, a just man. This furname was neuer defired of kings, princes, nor of tyrants, but they alwaies delighted to be fur. named fome Poliorcetes, to fay, conquerors of cities: other Cerauni, to fay, lightning or terrible other Nicanores, to fay fubduers: and fome other, Ati and Hieracles, to fay, Eagles or Faulcons, or fuch like birds that prey: defiring rather (as it should appeare by those surnames) the praise and reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that rifeth by vertue and goodnesse. Yet not with standing, God whom they defire most to be likened to, doth excellall humane nature in three seuerall things: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the most honourable & precious thing. For as the naturall Philosophers reason. all the four elements & Vacuum, are immortall and vncorruptible, and so are force and power. carth-quakes, lightning, terrible fromes, running rivers, and inundations of waters; but as for iustice and equity, no man is partaker of them, saue onely God by meanes of reason and ynderstanding. Therefore, because men commonly have three sundry affections of the gods: the first. that they thinke them bleffed; the fecond, that they feare them; the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleffed, for the eternity and immortalitie of their godbead: that they feare them, because of their omnipotency and power; and that they love and worship them, for their iustice and equitie. And yet not with standing, of those three, men do couet immortality, which no flesh can attaine vnto: and also power, which dependeth most vpon fortune; and in the meane time they leave vertue alone, whereof the gods of their goodneffe have made vs capable. But here they flew themselves fooles. For Iultice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, seeme divine and celestiall: where without instice, and dealing vniuftly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the world. But now againe to driftides. This surname of a just man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwards it turned him to greatill will, and specially by Themistocles practife: who gaue it out euery where, that Aristides had ouerthrowne all iustice, because by consent of the parties he was euer chosen Arbitrator to end all controuersies; and thatby this meanes he secretly had procured the absolute power of a king, not needing any gard or soldiers about him. The people .moreouer being grown very diffolute & licencious, by reason of the victory of Marathon, and feeking to have all things paffe by them and their authority, began now to mislike, and to be greatly offended, that any private man should go before the rest in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all shires of ATTICA into the city of ATHENS, and sobanished Aristides with the Ostracismon: disguising the enuy they bare to his glory with the name with the O- of feare of tyranny. For this maner of banishment called offracismon, or Exostracismon, wasno ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to give it an honest cloke, they efileoftea. faid it was onely a pulling downe and tying fhort of too much greatnesse and authority, exceeding far the matter and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwife, then a gentle meane to qualifie the peoples enuy against some private person: which enuy bred no malice to him whose greatnesse did offend them, but onely tended to the banishing of him for ten yeares. But afterwards when by practife, this Ofracismon banishment was laid upon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon Hyperbolus that was the last man so banished, they never Hyperbolus after vsed it any more at ATHENS. And by the way it shall not be amisse to tell you here, why the last man and wherefore this Hyperbolus was banished. Alcibiades and Nicias were the chiefest men of A. banished THENS at that time, and they both were ever at square together, a common thing among st great Office is the control of the con men. They perceiving now by the peoples affembling, that they went about to execute the O- The case fracismon, were maruellously affraid it was meant to banish one of them: wherefore they spake of Haperbook luckanish. together, and made both their followers friends with each other, and ioyned them in one tribe ment together, infomuch, when the most voices of the people were gathered to condemne him that should be banished, they found it was Hyperbolus. The people therewith were much offended, to fee the Ostracismon fo embased and scorned, that they never after would vie it againe, and so lestit off for euer. But briefly to let you vnderstand what the oftracismon was, and after what sort they vsed it: ye are to know, that at a certain day appointed, euery citizen caried a great shell in his hand, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would have banished, and brought it into Ofracisacertaine place railed about with woodden barres in the market place. Then, when every man had brought in his shell, the magistrates and officers of the city did count and tell the number of them: for if there were leffe then 6000 citizens, that had thus brought these shels together, the Ostracismon was not full and perfect. That done, they laid apart enery mans name written in these shels: and whose name they found written by most citizens, they proclaimed him by found of trumper, a banished man for ten yeares, during which time nor withstanding, the party did enioy al his goods. Now every man writing thus his name in a shel, whom they would have banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the countrey (very simple) that could neither write nor reade, who came to Aristides (being the first man he met with) and gave him his shell, praying him to write Aristides name vpon it. He being abashed withall, did aske the countrey man, if Arillides had euer done him any displeasure. No, said the country man, he neuer did me hurr, nor I know him not but it grieues me to heare euery man call him a just man. Arifides hea- fort, to ring him fay so, gaue him no answer, but wrote his own name vponthe shell, and deliuered it a- prayhimto game to the country man. But as he went his way out of the city, he lift vp his hands to heauen, fides name and made a prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, befeeching the gods that the ATHENI- init. ANS might neuer haue such troubles in hand, as they should be compelled tocall for Aristides againe. Notwithstanding, within three yeares after, when Xerxes king of PERSIA came with his Aribides army through the countries of THESSALY and BOEOTIA, & entred into the heart of the country of Attica, the Athenians renoking the law of their of tracifmon, called home again eall those they had banished, and specially, because they were affraid Aristides would take part with the barbarous people, and that his example should move many other to do the like; wherin they were greatly deceived in the nature of the man; for before that he was called home, he continually translled vp and downe, perswading and incouraging the GRECIANS to maintaine and defend their liberty. After that law was repealed by proclamation, & that Themistocles was chosen the only Lieutenant general of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully aid and affift him in althings. as well with his trauell, as also with his counsell; and thereby wan his encmies great honour, because it stood vpon the safety and preservation of his countrey. For when Euribiades, Generall of the army of the GRECIANS, had determined to for sake the He of SALAMINA, and that the gallies of the barbarous people were come into the middest of the seas, and lad enuironed the Iles all about, and the mouth of the arme of the straight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus inclosed in: Aristides departing out of Egina with a maruellous boldnesse, ventured through the middest of all the barbarous ships and sleete, and by good hap got in the night into Themistocles tent, and callinghim out, spake with him there in this fort: The mistocles, if we be both wife, it is high time we should now leave off this vaine enuy and spire we deslides haue long time borne each other, and that we should enter into another fort of enuy more ho- acts and nourable and profitable for vs both: I meane, which of vs two should do his best endeauour to faue GRECE: you, by ruling and commanding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counfelling you the best, and executing your commandement: considering you are the man alone that will roundliest come vnto the point that is best which is in my opinion, that we should

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should hazard battell by sea within the straight of SALAMINA, and that assoone as might be possible. But if our friends and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you your enemies do helpe it forward. For it is faid, that the fea both before and behind vs. & round about vs, is coursed all ouer with their ships, so as they that would not before, shall now be compelled of force, and in fpight of their hearts, to fight and bestirre them like men: because they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to estape, nor to fic Whereunto Themistocles answered I am fory, Aristides, that herein your honesty appeareth greater then mine: but fince it is fo, that you have deferued the honor in beginning, and procuring fuch an honourable and commendable strife betweene vs. I will henceforth indeauour my felfe to exceed you in continuing this your defire. After which answer, he told Ariftides, how be purposed to mocke the barbarous king, and praied him to intreate Eurybiades to yeeld to his deuice, and to perswade him that there was no other way to saue GRECE, but to fight by sea; for Eurybiades gaue more credit to Ariftides perswasions, then he did to Themistocles words for when all the captaines were called to councell, to determine whether they should give battell, or nor one Cleocritus Corint Hian faid to Themisocles, that his counsel did not like Aristides at allasi feemed, because he spake neuer a word to it being present. Aristides answered him straight, that he vtterly mistooke him. For (quoth he) if I did not thinke his counfell good, I would not hold my peace as I do; but now I am mute, not for any goodwill I beare him, but because I find his counfell wife and found, While the captaines of the GRECIANS were reasoning in this fort, Arifida sceing PSYTTALEA (a litle Iland before SALAMINA within the straight) full of men of warren their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valiantest and lustiest fouldiers he had of all his countrey men, into the least foystes or pinnaces he had among all his galleys: and went with them. and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrew all the barbarous people he found there, and put them to the fword enery man, taking the chiefest of them only prisoners: among which were three sons of Sandauce, the kings fifter, whom he fent vnto Themistocles. These three Lords were all slainby the commandement of Euphrantidas the foothfayer, and facrififed to Bacchus Omestes, as to fav. the cruell Bacchus, and cater of raw flesh, and all vpon an Oracle they had received. That done, Aristides dispersed his souldiers about the Ile, to receive all such as were by fortune of war, or of the fea, cast into the Ilandito the end that no enemy of theirs shold scape their hands, nor any of his friends should perish. For the greatest fleete of all their ships, & the sharpest encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Hand: and therefore the tokens of triumph were fet there, After the battell was won. Themistocles to feele Ariftides opinion, faid vnto him: We have done good peece of service, but yet there is another behind of greater importance, & that is this: We must bring all Asia into Evrope, which we may casily do, if we saile with all speed to the ftraight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then Arifides cried out, Stay there, neuer speake of that: but I pray you let vs rather seeke all the waies ween, how to drive this barbarous king out of GRECE, left if we keepe him in still with so great anaimy (and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we drive him then to fight like a desperate man, and perill our felues, we cannot tell to what. When Themistocles had heard his opinion, he fecretly fent the Eunuke Arnaces his prisoner, vnto king Xerxes, to aduertise him fro him, thathe had altered the GRECIANS purpose, which was fully bent to have broken up the bridge helad made at the straight of Hellespont to passe over his army and that he was the willinger to let him understand it, that he might the better prouide for the safety of his person. King Xerxus being netled with this aduertifement, tooke straight his journey, and with all speed went to recouer the straight of Helles PONT, & left Mardonius his Lieutenant generall in GRECE, with three hundred thousand of the best souldiers of his army. This Mardonius was maruellously dreaded of all the GRECIANS, for the wonderfull great army he had by land, and he didthreaten them also by his letters he wrote vnto them: You have (said he) with your ships by sea, o. uercome men acquainted to fight by land, and that neuer handled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fields of BOEOTIA, are very faire and large for horsemen and some men to make proofe of their valiantnesse, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the ATHENIANS, by the king his mafters commandement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build vp their city againe, to give them a great penfion, and furthermore to make them Lords of all GRECE, so they would give over, and leave off these warres. The Laced Amonians being forthwith advertised of his letters written to the Athenians,

and fearing left they would have bene perfwaded by them: fent their Ambaffadours with all fpeed to Athens, to pray them to fend their wives and children vnto Sparta, and also to offer them victuals, to relieue their poore old people, because of the great scarcity that was at A-THENS, for that their city was burnt and razed, and all their country besides destroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS having heard the offers of the Ambassadors of LACEDE. Mon, made the a maruellous answer through Aristides cousel, & this it was: That they bare with The mobile the barbarous people; though they thought all things were to be fold for gold & filuer, because Athenians. they efteemed nothing more precious nor better in this world, then to be rich and wealthy; but on the other fide, they were greatly offended with the LACED EMONIANS, that they onely regarded the present pouerty, and necessity of the Athenians, and did forget their vertue and noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preservation of GRECE, by offering them victuals to line withall. The people approuing this answer, Ariftides then caused the Ambassadours of Spartatocome to the assembly, and commanded them to tell the La-CED EMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the gold aboue, or under the ground, could not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any fumme of money or reward, to leave the defence of the liberty of GRECE. And to the herauld that came from Mardonius, he shewed the Sunne, and faid vnto him: So long as yonder Sunne keepeth his course about the world, so long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies vnto the Persians; because they have spoiled and destroyed all their country, and have defiled and burnt the temples of their gods. Besides, he willed that the pricits, by commandement of the people, should excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to fend vnto the Persians to make peace with them, and to breake their league and alliance with the other GRECIANS. Hercupon, when Mardonius came againe the second time to ouerrun the country of ATTICA, the ATHENIANS got them againe into the lleof Salamina, and then they fent Aristides Ambassadour vnto the LACED AMONIANS. He sharpely tookethem vp, and reproued their sloth & negligence, because they had againe fortaken ATHENS, and left it to the spoile of the barbarous people: & prayed them yet they would looke to faue the rest of GRECE. The Ephori(which were certaine officers that ruled all things within the city of Sparta) when they had heard Ariftides persuasions, straight tooke order for aide, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their folemne feasts they called Hyacinthia. Howbeit the next night following, they fentour five thousand citizens born in Sparta, into the field, al proper men & valiant soldiers. enery one of them carying with him feuen Ilotes (which are the country men and flaues in the country of Laced Emonia) not making the Ambassadors of Athens print to it at al. Wherfore Aristides came againe another time into their counsell, to coplaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and faid he dreamed, or else he mocked them: for their army which they had sent against the strangers (for so they called the Persians) was already at the city of O-RESTION in ARCADIA. Aristides hearing their answer, replied, that they were to blame to mock them in that fort, to fend away their men fo fecretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was notime for them now to go about to deceive their friends, but their enemies rather. Idomineus in his ftory reporteth the matter thus in every point: notwithstanding, in the decree that was made to fend Ambassadours to Sparta, Aristides is not named for Ambassadour, but there are other appointed : as Cimon, Xanthippus, and Mironides. Afterwards Ariftides was cho- Anilides fenby voices of the people, Lieutenant generall of the army of ATHENS; in this warre against Lieutenant the Persians, and went vnto the campe of the Grecians by the city of Plates, with the 4the. eightthousand footemen well armed and appointed. There he found king Pausanias the onely mians a Generall of all the whole power and army of the GRECIANS, who brought with him the force of Sparta: and there came daily into his campe one after another, a maruellous great multitude of other GRECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incamped all Paulanta along the river of Asopvs: but because their campe stretched out a marvellous way in length, Lacedemon they were not intrenched at al, but had only fortified a peece of ground foure square with a wal General of about, which was ten furlongs on every fide, to place all their cariage and chiefest things in. And for the Grand the fact has been supposed by the fact has for the GRECIANS againe, the foothfayer Tifamenus, borne in the city of Elide, had told Pausand all the GRECIA'NS together, that they should have the victory, so they did not assault oracles of atall, but only defend. And Aristides, that had sent to the Oracle of Apollo at DELPHES, in the the victorio name of § ATHENIANS, had answer: They should ouercome their enemies, so they did sacrifise of Planes,

and make speciall prayers vnto Inpiter and Iuno of mount CITHERON, vnto Pan, and vnto the

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Nymphes Sphragitides, and also vnto the demy gods, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates Haplion, Action, and Polyidus; and fo that they did hazard battel also within their own territories and in the plaine of Geres Eleusinian, and of Proserpina. This Oracle troubled Aristides marvel lously, because the demy gods whom they had commandement to do sacrifice vnto, were the founders and ancestors of the PLAT EIANS: and the caue of the Nymphes Sphragitides, is one of the tops of the mount Cirh Eron, looking towards the West, where the Sunne settethin Somer. They say there was an Oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants thereabouts, & bestraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, Nimi pholepti, as who would fay, taken with the Nymphes. And againe, to tell the ATHENIANS they should have the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of Ceres Eleusinian, and within their owne teritory: it was even to fend them backe againe into the country of ATTICA. drilli-Arymnellus des being thus perplexed, Arimnestus captaine of the PLATEIANS, had fuch a vision in the night in his sleepe. He thought, that Iupiter the fauiour did appeare vnto him, and asked him whatthe GRECIANS intended to do: and that he answered: My Lord, we must to morrow remoueour campe into the territories of ELEVSIN, & there we wil fight with the barbarous people, accor. ding to the comandement the Oracle of Apollo hath given vs. Then that Impiter replied that they were greatly deceived: for all that Apollo had declared by his Oracle was meant within theter. ritories of the Plat Elans, and that they should find it true, if they considered it well. Arimu. fus having plainly feene this vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight fent for the oldest citizens, and considering with them where this place should be, he found at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHERON, by the city of Nysia, there was an old temple they called the temple of Geres Eleusinian, and of her daughter Proferpina. When he heard them fay fo, he went straight and told Arifides of it, and found that it was an excellent place to fet an army in battell ray, that had but few horsemen: for that the foot of mount CITHERON did let the horsemen, they could not go to the place where the temple stood, and where the plaine and valley did end: befides also, that the chappell of Androcrates was even in that place. which was all hidden with thicke wood round about it. And because they should lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commandement of the Oracle for hope of victorie, the PLATEIANS (through Arimnestus counsell and advice) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLAT ÆE's should be taken away towards ATHEN'S side, & that the land therof shold beginn The magnaclearely vnto the ATHENIANS, because they should fight with the barbarous people in ther the Plataiowne land, for the defence and preservation of GRECE, according to the commandement of Alexander the Oracle. This noble gift and present of the PLAT ELANS was so famous, as many yeares as ter, king Alexander the great having conquered the Empire of Asia, built vp the wals again of the city of PLATÆBs, and when he had done, made a herauld openly proclaime it at the games Olympical, that Alexander had done the PLATEIAN's that honor and dignitie, for a memoral their noble and honour of their magnanimitie; because in the warre against the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally giuen away their land vnto the Athenians, for the fafety of the Grecians: and had shewed themselues of a noble courage also, and very willing to defend the state of GRECE. Now when the army of the GRECIANS came to be fet in order of battell, therefella strife between the Athenians & the Thegeates, because the Athenians would need (according to their old custome) have the left wing of the battel if the LACED EMONIANS had the right wing: and the TEGBATES on the contrary part, would have the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alledging the famous acts & notable service of their ancestors in former wars, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutine. But Aristides stept betweene them, and toldthem, that it was notime now to contend with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valiantnesses and as for you, my Lords of Sparta (faid he) and you also my masters of Grece: we tell you that the place neither giveth nor taketh vertue away, and we do affure you that wher foeuer you place vs, we will so defend and keepe it, as we will not impaire nor blemish the honour we have won in former foughten battels and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quartell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to brag of our anceftors doings, but to fnew our felues valiant in defence of all GRECE. For this battell will make good proofe of all the GRECIANS, how much estimation energy city, energy captaine, and particular person will deserve for his part. When Aristides had spoken, the captaines and all other of

of the battell. But by this meanes all GRECE flood in maruellous garboile at that time, and the fate of the ATHENIAN'S specially in great danger. For a number of the noblest citizens of A-THENS, and that brought great substance with them to the wars, being now at low state, and in nouerty, their goods being fpent and gone, and feeing themselves discountenanced, not bearing that rule and authoritie in the commonwealth they were wont to do, because other were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the cities they gathered together, and met at a house Through in the city of PLAT ÆES, and there conspired to overthrow the authority of the people at A- ray of the THENS: and if they could not obtain their purpose, then that they would rather lose all, and rich nobleherray their country vnto the barbarous people. While these things were practised in the camp there many being of the confpiracy, Arilides came to an inckling of it, and was maruelloufly affraid. breaufe of the time: wherefore he began to be carefull of the matter, being of fuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vider stand the whole conspiracy, little knowing what anumber might be drawn into this treason, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected that which was just, then what was profitable for the time. So he caused eight persons onely of the great number to be apprehended, & of these eight, the two first whom they would have indited as principals, and were most to be burdened for the conspiracy, Assistances of the town of LAMPRA & Exelias of the towne of Acharna, they found meanes to flie out of the camp and to fauethemselves. And for the other, Arilides set them at liberty, and gaue them occasion that were not discourred, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: saying, that the battel should be their judge, where they shold purge themselves of all accusations laid against them, and show the world also, that they neuer had any other intention but honest & good, towards their country. Mardonius, to proue the courage of the GRECIANS, had fent all his horsemen (wherein he was farre stronger then the GRECIANS) to skirmish with them. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITH ERON, in strong places and full of stones, saving the three thousand MEGARI- Mount ci-ANS, that camped in the plaine; by reason whereof, they were fore troubled & hurt, by the hors. theren. men of the barbarous people that fet vpon them on every fide, for they might charge them where they would. In fo much, in the end, perceiving they alone could no longer refift the force offogreat a multitude of the barbarous people, they fent with all speed possible to Paulanias, to prayhim to fend them prefent aide. Paulanias hearing this newes, and feeing in his owne fight the campe of the MEGARIANS almost covered with shot and darts which the barbarous peoplethrew at them, and that they were compelled to fland close together in a litle corner: he wist notwhat to do. For togothither in person with the LACED EMONIANS that were footemen heavy armed, he thought that was no way to helpe them. So he proved to put some ambitious desire & enuy of honor, among the private captaines & generals of the army of the other GR E-CIANS, which were then about him: to fee if he could moue any mans courage and defire, to offer himselfe willingly to aide the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deafe cares, but dristides who promifed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought Olympiodorus into the field (one of the valiant of taptaines that forued under him) with his company of 300 chosen men, and certain shot mingled amongst them. These souldiers were ready in a moment, & marchedstraight in battel ray, a great pace towards ý barbarous people. Massfius, that was General of the horfmen of the Persians, a goodly tall man, perceiving their coming towards him; tur- Goment of medhis horse, and galloped to them. The ATHENIANS tarried him, and kept their ground, and the horse the encounter was very hote, because both the one and the other side did the best they could at Persians. this first onser to put the rest of the battell in icopardy: and they fought so long, that Massistins horsewas shot through the body with an arrow, that put him to such paine as he neuer left flinging, til he cast his master on the ground, armed as he was at all peeces. So being on the ground, he could not rife againe, as wel for the weight of his armor, as for that the ATHENIAN'S came so fodainly vpon him. And not with standing there were many about him to hew him in peeces, yet they could find no way how to kil him, he was so throughly armed & loden with gold, copper, and iron, not only you his body and his head, but also on his legs and armes: until at the length there was one that thrust y head of his dartthrough his beuer, & fokilled him. The Persians Mafiling perceiving that, fled immediatly, & forfooke the body of their General. Shortly after it appea- flaine by

enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous people made for the loss of Massisius. For

red to the GRECIANS that they had ped well at this skirmish, not because they had slainmany

his deathdid so grieve them, that they polled themselves, they clipped off their horseand movles haires, and filled besides all the field thereabouts with pitifull cries & shreekes, as those that had lost the valiantest and chiefest man of authority of all their camp, next vnto Mardonius the kings Lieutenant. After this first skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their campe. and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the foothfayers did promife both fides the victorie, as much the Persians, as the Grecians, fo they did but only defend and con. trariwise, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowne, that did affault. But Mardonius finding vi. ctuals waxed fcant, and that they were stored but for few dayes, and moreover how the GRE CIANS daily grew stronger by continual repaire to their camp, the longer he delayed; in the end he resolued to tarry no longer, but to passe the river As opvs the next morning by breake of the day, and suddenly to set vpon the GRECIANS. So he gaue the captaines warning thenioh before what they should do, because every man should be ready. But about midnight there came a horseman without any noise at all, so neere to the Grecians campe, that he spaketo the watch, and told them he would speake with Aristides Generall of the ATHENIANS, Aris flides was called for ftraight, and when he came to him, the horseman said vnto Aristides; Jam Alexander king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great goodwill I beare you, haue put my king of Ma- felf in the greatest danger that may be, to come at this present time to aduertise you, that to mor. row morning Mardonius will give you battell: because your enemies sudden coming vponyou nealeth the should not make you affraid, being suddenly charged, and should not hinder also your valifecret counant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to Mardonius, that makes him to fight, but onely scarcity of victuals that forceth him to do it, confidering that the Prognosticators are all against it that he should give you battel, both by reason of the ill tokens of their facrifices, as also by the answers of their Oracles, which hath put all the army in a maruellous seare, & stand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at a venture, or els if he wil needs lie still to be starued to death for very famine. After king Alexander had imparted this fecret to Arifides, he prayed him to keepe it to himselse, and to remember it in time to come. Aristides answered him then that it was no reason he should keepe a matter of so great importance as that from Paulanius, who was the Liuetenant generall of their whole army; notwithstanding, he promised him he wouldtell it no man else before the battel, and that if the gods gaue the GRECIANS the victorie, he didasfure him, they should all acknowledge his great fauour and goodwill shewed vnto them. After they had talked thus together, king Alexander left him, and returned backe againe : and Arillides also went immediatly to Paulanias tent, and told him the talke king Alexander and he hadto. gether. Thereupon the private captaines were fent for straight to councell, and there order was ginen, that cuery man should have his bands ready, for they should fight in the morning. So Paufanias atthat time (as Herodotus writeth) faid vnto Ariftides, that he would remoue the A-THENIANS from the left to the right wing, because they should have the Persians them-selves right before them, and that they should fight so much the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they had ouercome them before in the first encounter; and that himself would take the left wing of the battel, where he should encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS fide. But when all the other private captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderstood it, they were maruellous angry with Pausauias, and said he did them wrong, and had no reason to let all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, & onely to remoue them, as if they were flaues, to be appointed at his plea. fure, now on the one fide, then on the other, & to fet them in fight with the valiantest foldiers they had of all their enemies. Then faid Aristides to them, that they knew not what they faid, and how before they misliked, and did strine with the TEGEATES, onely for having the left wing of the battell; and when it was granted, they thought themselves greatly honoured that they were preferred beforethem, by order of the captaines: and now where the LACED EMO-NIANS were willing of themselues to give them the place of the right wing, and did in manner offer them the preheminence of the whole army: they do not thankfully take the honor offered them, nor yet do reckon of the vantage and benefit given them to fight against the Persians felues, their ancient enemies, and not against their naturall countreymen anciently descended of them. When Arifides had vsed all these perswasions vnto them, they were very welcontented to change place with the LACED ÆMONIANS: and then all the talke among them was to encourage one another, and to tell them that the Persians that came against them, had no

them, had no better hearts nor weapons, then those whom they before had ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For faid they, they have the same bowes, the same rich imbrodered gownes, the same golden chaines and carcanets of womanish persons, hanging on their cowardlybodies & faint hearts: where we have also the same weapons & bodies we had, and our hearts more lively and couragious then before, through the fundry victories we have fince gotten of them. Further, we have this advantage more: that we do not fight as our other confederates the GRECIANS do, for our city and country only, but also to continue the fame and renown of our former noble fernice, which we wan at the journeys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the end, the world should not thinke that the glory of these triumphes and victories was due vnto Miltiades onely, or vnto Fortund; but vnto the courage and worthinesse of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied to change the order of their battell in haft. The THERANS on the other side that tooke part with Mardonius, receiving intelligence of the altering of their battell, by traytors that ranne betweene both campes, they straightfold Mardonius of the Theofit. He thereupon did suddenly also change the order of his battell, and placed the right wing of the Persians against the left wing of his enemies: either because he was affraid of the A-THENIANS, or elle for greater glory that he had a defire to fight with the LACED EMONI-ANS, and commanded the GRECIANS that tooke his part, that they should fight against the ATHERIANS. This alteration was fo openly done, that every man might fee it: whereupon Paulanias removed the LACED EMONIANS againe, and fet them in the right wing. Mardonius feeingthat, remoued the Persians againe from the right wing, and brought them to the left wing (where they were before) against the LACED #MONIANS: and thus they consumed all that day in changing their men too and fro. So the captaines of the GRECIANS fate in counfell at night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remoue their campe, and lodge in some other place where they might have water at commandement : because their enemies did contimally trouble and spoile that water they had about them, with their horses. Now when night came, the captaines would have marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed: but the people went very ill willing, and they had much ado to keepe them together. For they were no sooner out of the trenches & fortifications of their campe, but the most part of them ran to the city of PLAT ÆES, and were maruelloufly out of order, differfing themfelues here and there, and fet vp their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that taried behind, but the LACED EMONIANS onely, and that was against their wils: for one of their captaines called Imompharetus, a maruellous The stubhardie man, that feared no danger, and longed fore for battell, he was in fuch a rage with these trifling delayes that he crycd it out in the camp, that this remouing was a goodly running away, pharetus and fware he would not from thence, but would there tary Mardonius coming with his com- Captains of pany. Panfanius went to him, and told him he must do that the other GRECIANS had consented demonians. to in counfell, by most voices. But Amompharetus tooke a great stone in his hands, and threw it downe at Paulaneas feete, and told him, There is the figne I give to conclude battell, and I paffe not for all your cowardly conclusions. Amompharetus stubburnnesse did so amaze Pausanias, that hewas at his wits end. So he fent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwards on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might go together, and therwithall made the rest of his men to march towards the city of PLATÆES, supposing thereby to have drawne Amompharetus to haue followed him, or else to let him remaine alone behind. But in trifling his, the day brake: and Mardonius vnderstanding that the GRECIANS did for sake their first lodging, he made his The battell army presently march in battell ray to set upon the Laced Emonians. So the barbarous peo. of the Green ple made great shoutes and cries, northinking to go fight, but to sacke and spoile the GRECIstans, with:

ANS should be saided the said beautiful beautifu ANS flying away, as indeed they did little better. For, Paufanias seeing the countenance of his enemics, made his enfignes to fray, and commanded enery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to give the GRECIANS the fignall of the battell, either for the anger he took against Amompharetus, or for the fudden onset of the enemies, which made them that they came not in straight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begun, but stragling in small companies, some here, and somethere. In the meane time, Paulanias was busic in facrificing to the gods, and seeing that the first facrifices were not acceptable unto them, by the Soothsayers observations they made, he commanded the Spartans to throw their targets at their feete, and not to stirre out of their places, but onely to do as he bade them, without refifting their exemies. When he

Maratha obedience ef the Spar tan fouldi ers vnts death.

Battell betwist the Grecians and Perfi.

> The Greftories of

had given this straight order, he went againe & did sacrifice, when the horsemen of the enemies wereat hand, and that their arrowes flew amongst the thickest of the LACED EMONIANS, and did hurt diverse of them, & specially poore Callicrates among the rest, that was one of the good. flainewith- lieft men in all the GRECIANS hoaft and army. He having his deaths wound with an arrow out fighting before he gaue up the ghost, said, His death did not grieve him, because he came out of his country to die for the defence of GRECE: but it grieued him to die fo cowardly, having giuen the enemy neuer a blow. His death was maruellous lamentable, and the constancie of the Span TAN'S wonderfull: for they neuer stirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to de. fend themselues against their enemies that came vpon them, but suffered theselues to be thrust through with arrowes, and flaine in the field, looking for the houre the gods would appoint them, and that their captaines would command them to fight. Some write also, that as Paulanias was at his prayers, and doing facrifice vnto the gods a litle behind the battel, certaine of the Ly. DIAN'S came vpon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his facrifice; and that Pansanias, and those that were about him (having no other weapons in their hands) draue them away with force of staues and whips. In memory whereof, they say there is a solemne procession keptat Sparta on that day, which they call the Lydian's procession, where they whip and beate yong boyes about the altar. Then was Paulanias in great distresse, to see the priests offer sacrifice vpon facrifice, and that not one of them pleased the gods: at the last he turned his eyes to the temple of Iuno, and wept, and holding vp his hands, befought Iuno Citharon, and all the other gods (patrons and protectours of the country of the Plat Etans) that if it were not the will of the gods the GRECIANS should have the victory yet that the conquerors at the least should buy their deaths dearely and that they should find they fought against valiant men and worth fouldiers, Paulanias had no sooner ended his prayer, but the sacrifices fell out very fauourable. in so much as the Priests and Soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gaue commandement to march toward the enemy, which flew from man to man incomi nearly that they should march. So as he that had seene the squadron of the LACED EMONI-ANS, would have faid it had bene like the body of a fierce beaft raifing vp the briftles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people faw they should have hot battell, and that they should meete with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they couered their bodies with great targets after the Persian fashion, & bestowed their arrowes lustily vpon the Laced A. MONIANS, but they keeping close together, and couering themselues with their shields, marched on still vponthem, vntil they came to ioyne with the enemy so lustily, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thrusts and blowes of the pikes & speares vpon their breasts, & ouerhwart their faces, that they flue many of them, & laid them on the ground. For all that, they died not cowardly, but tooke the LACED EMONIANS pikes & speares in their bare hands, and breake them in two by strength of their armes; and then they quickly plucktout their cimiters and axes, and lustily laid about them, and wrung the LACED EMONIANS shields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now whilest the Laced Emonians were builly fighting with the barbarous people, the Atheni-ANS flood fill imbattelled farre off, and kept their ground. But when they law the LACED #NO. NIANS tary folong, and that they came not, & heard a maruellous noise of men as thoughthey were fighting, and befides that there came a speedy messenger vnto them sent from Paulanias, to let them understand they were fighting: then they marched with all speed they could to helpe them. But as they were coming on a great pace ouer the plaine, vnto that part where they heard the noise, the GRECIANS that were on Mardonius side came against them. Aristides seeing them coming towards them, went a good way before his company, and cried out as loud as he could for life, and conjured the GREGIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GRECE, to leave off these warres, and not to trouble the Athenians that were going to helpe them that ventured their liues, to defend the commonwealth and fafety of all GRECE. But when he faw they would needs fight for any request and conjuration he could vie, and that they came still vpon them, bending themselues to give charge; then he stayed his going to relieve the LACEDA. MONIANS, and was compelled to make head against those that set vpon him & his company, they being about fifty thousand men; of the which, the most part notwithstanding went their waies, and left the army, specially when they understood the Persians were ouerthrown and fled. The furie of the battell and cruellest fight (as they fay) was where the THEBANS were be-

cause the Nobility & chiefest men of the country sought very carnestly for the Persians, but the people refused, being led by a smal number of the Nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the LACED EMONIANS being the first that ouerthrew § Persians, and made them flie: & they flue Mardonius the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one Mardonius Arimnestus a Spartan gaue him vpon his head, rightly as the Oracle of Amphiaraus had prophecied before vnto him. For Mardonius before the battell had fent thither a Lydian, & a Cari- aspartan AN vnto the Oracle of Throphonius, of the which the prophet made answer vnto y CARIAN, in with ablow the Cartan tongue: and the man of Lydia lay within the fan Guary of Amphiaraus, where he thought in his dream that one of the priests of the temple willed him to go out of the place hewas in and he denying it, the priest took a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was flaine with the blow. And thus it is written. And furthermore, the LACEDEMONIANS did chase the Persians flying into their fortifications they had in a wood: and the Athenia ANS also shortly after ouerthrew the THERANS, whereof they slue in the field three hundred of the noblest and chiefest of them. For even as the Theban's began to turne tails, newes came vnto the Athenians, that the Persians had intrenched the felues within their fort & strength in the wood, where the Laced Emonians did befiege them. The Athenians fuffered the GRECIANS that fled to faue themselves, and they went to helpe the LACED AMONIANS, to take the fort of the barbarous people: who went before but flenderly about it, because they had no experience to make an affault, nor force vpon a wall. But so some as the Athenians came in tothem, they straight tooke it by assault, and made great slaughter of the Persians and barbarous people. For of three hundred thousand fighting menthat Mardonius had in his campe, there were faued onely but forty thousand led vnder ArtabaZus: and of the GRECIANS side there dred and were not flaine aboue thirteene hundred and threescore in all; amongst which also there were streescore two and fiftie Athenians, all of the tribe of Antides, the which had done more valiantly that day, then any other tribe, as Clidemus writeth. And this is the cause why the Antides made a solemne facrifice vnto the Nymphes Sphragitides, at the common charge, according to the order Athensand given them by the Oracle of Apollo, to give them thankes for this victorie. Of the LACEDE. MONIANS there died fourescore and cleuen: and of the TEGEATES fixteene. But I maruell He- intresser rodotus faith, that none but these people onely fought in that iourney against the barbarous na. tion, and no other GRECIANS befides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues also do shew that it was a generall victory and exploit of all the GRECIANS together. And moreouer, if there had bene but these three people onely that had fought against them, and that all the resthad stood and looked on, and done nothing: sure there had bene no such Epigram as this, engrauer upon the altar or tombe that was fet up in the place of the battell:

When the victorious Greekes, had driven out of their land The Persians by force of armes, which long did them withstand, They built to mighty love, this holy altar here, And made it common for all Greece, as plainely may appeare, In guerdon of the good, which he did them restore, In gwerdon of their liberty, which lik'd them enermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call Eadronion, that is, about the moneth of July, or after the Bororians account, the fixe and twentieth of the moneth they call Panemus, on which day there is kept a common affembly of the estates of GRECE, in the citie of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a folemne facrifice vnto Inpiter, protectour of their liberty, to give him thankes alwayes for this victory. It is no maruell that there was fuch difference then betwixt the moneths and dayes, confidering that euen now when Astronomie is more perfectly vnderstood then it was then, some do yet beginne and end their moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great battell and overthrow of the barbarous people, there arose a great strife betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACED #-Monians, touching the reward and honour of the victorie. For the ATHENIANS would not give place vnto the Laced Amonians, nor fuffer them to fet vp any tokens or fignes Athenians of triumph. Whereupon the GRECIANS running to armes in mutinie together, by this occafion they had almost spoiled one another: had not Aristides through his wisdome and wise perswafions, staied and quieted the other captaines his companions, and specially one Leocrates of the viand Asyronides, whom he wan with fuch different and gentle words, that they were contented there.

Cerinth the third city of estimation in Greece Sparta. Atheni, Corinili. The Gresi. ans grant of the vi-Etary vato the Plata

The won derfu!l (peede of Euclisdas the Plate. ian, an ferre. Diana Euclia.

Enchidas Epitab.

citie of Platees.

to referre it wholly vnto the arbiterment and judgement of the other people of GRECE. Sothe GRECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their controuersies. In this councell holden there, Theogiton a captaine of the MEGARIANS, faid for his opinion, that tonuoide the ciuill warre might grow betweene the GRECIANS vpon this quarrell: he thoughtir more requisite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victory vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose vp Cleacritus Corinthian, seeming to every manthere that he would have requested this honour for the citie of CORINTH, being indeed the third city in estimation of all GRECE, vnto SPARTA and ATHENS: howbeir he made an oration in commendation of the PLATÆIANS, which was maruellously liked. and well thought of by enery man: for his opinion went flatly with the PLATEIANS, that to end this strife, they should give the honour of this victory vnto the city of Plat ÆES, and fo would neither of both parties be angry that they should be honoured. Vpon his words ristides first agreed on the Athenians behalfe, and then Pausanias for the LACED EMO. NIANS, That the PLAT ÆIANS should haue the reward. Now they both being agreed, before the spoile was divided betweenethem, they set aside fourescore talents that were given to the PLAT EIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto Minerua, and gaue her an image. and set out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDE. MONIANS notwithstanding, did set vp their tokens of victorie by themselues, and the A-THENIANS theirs also by themselves. So they sending vnto the Oracle of Apollo in the citie of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they should do facrifice: Apollo answered them that, they should build up an altarunto Inpiter, protectiour of their liberty; howbeit that they should put no facrifice vpon it, vntill they had first put out all the fire through the whole country, because it had bene polluted and defiled by the barbarous people; and then, that they should fetch pure and cleane fire at the common altar, whereon they do facrifice vnto A. pollo Pythias, in the citie of DELPHES. This answer being delinered, the great Lords and officers of GRECE went through all the countrey to put out the fire enery where. And there was a man of the same city of PLAT ÆE's at that time called Euchidas, that came and offered himselfe, and promised he would bring them fire from the temple of Apollo Pythias, withall possible speed that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he had sprinkled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of laurell vpon his head, and went in that manner to take fire from the altar of Apollo. When he had done, he hied him againe as fust as he could runne for life, vnto the city of PLATÆES, and came thither before the Sunne was fet, having come & gone that day a thousand furlongs. But after he had saluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fire he brought, he fell downe dead at their feet, and gaue up the ghost. The PLAT EIAN's lift him vp starke dead, and buried him in the temple of Diana Euclia, to say, of good renowne: and caused afterwards this Epitaph following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

ARISTIDES.

Engraved heere doth lye, Euchidas speedy man, Who in one day both too and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne: Enenfrom this selfe same place, which thou doest here behold, such haste, post haste, he (wiftly made; thereof thou maist be bold.

Many thinke that this goddesse Euclia is Diana, and so they call her. But other hold opinion she was the daughter of Hercules, and Myrto the Nymph Menetius daughter, and Patroclus fifter, that died a virgin, and was honored afterwards as a goddeffe of the Boe otians, and of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an altar and image dedicated vnto her and all that are maried, do facrifice to her vpon that altar. Afterwards there A General was a generall councell holden by all the GRECIANS, in the which Arillides made a mocompetbal tion, that all the cities of GRECE should yearely send their deputies at a certaine day appointed, vnto the citie of Play ÆEs, there to make their prayers and facrifices vnto the gods: and that from five yeares, to five yeares, they should celebrate common games, that should be called the games of liberty: and that they shold also leavie through all the provinces of GRECE, for maintenance of the warres against the Persians and barbarous people, ten thousand footemen, a thousand horsemen, and a sleete of an hundred saile. Also that the Plat Eians thenceforth should be taken for deuout and holy men, and that no man should be so hardy as to hurt or offend them; and that they should onely tend the facrifices vnto the gods, for the

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health and prosperity of GRECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and manner aforefaid, and the PLAT EIANS bound themselves yearely to keep solemne facrifices and aniversaries for the soules of the Grecians that were flaine in their teritories, fighting for defence of facrifice the liberty of the GRECIANS. And this they observe yet vnto this day in this fort. The fixteenth day of the moneth of Memasterion (which the Bo E OTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the the Platei moneth of Ianuary) they go a procession, and before the procession goeth a trumpetter that ans pearely foundeth the alarum. Then there follow certaine chariots loden with branches of firre tree, and Gredans with nofegayes and garlands of triumph: then a blacke bull, and certaine yong gentlemen noble that were men fonnes, that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, fuch as they vieto faint at powre vpon the graues of dead men for propitiatory oblations; and other yong boyes free of Platet. borne, that carry oiles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in viall glasses: for no seruant or bondinan may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this mystery, for that they whose memory they honor, died all fighting for defence of the liberty of GRECE. After all this shew, followeth the prouost of the PLAT ÆIANS for that time being, last of all who may not al the rest of the yeare besides so much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coare, and holderh a funerall pot in one of his hands, which hetaketh in the towne-house, and a naked sword in the other hand, and so goeth through the city in this fort after all the pompe aforesaid, vnto the Church-yard where all their granes be that were flaine at that battell. So when he cometh thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the fouresquare pillars and images that stand voon those tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and sweete sauours: afterwards, he facrificeth a bull, and layeth him vpon a heape of wood hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men-and making certaine prayers and petitions vnto Inpiter and Merturie, gods of the earth, he doth folemnly inuite the foules of those valiant men that died fighting for the liberty of GRECE, vnto the feast of the funerall facrifice. Then he taking a cup full of wine in his hand, and spilling it all vpon their tombes, he speaketh these words aloud: I drinke to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in defence of the liberty of GRBCE. This folemne ceremony and aniuerfarie, the PLAT ÆIANS do duely obserue vnto this present day. Now whenthe ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, Aristides perceining the people were bent to stablish a popular state, where the people might beare the whole rule and authority, judging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noble service and valiant courage they had shewed in this warre: and confidering also that they would hardly be Arifides brought to like of any other gouernement, being yet in armes, and very frout, by reason of the preservesh famous victories they had obtained: he caused a law to be made, that all authority of gouernementshould runne in equality among the citizens, and that thence foorth all burgesses (as well a wicked poore as rich) should be chosen by voices of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreouer, when Themistocles told in open assembly, that he had athing in his head would be greatly to the profit and commodity of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diverse respects: the people willed him to tell it vnto Aristides onely, and to take his aduice in it, to know whether it was meete to be done, or not. Then Themistocles told him secretly missocles betweene them, that he thought to fet the arcenall on fire, where all the GRECIANS ships lay: alledging, that by this meanes the ATHENIANS shold be the greatest me of power in al GRECE. of the A-Aristides hearing that, without any more, came presently to the people againe, and told the themians. whole councell openly, that nothing could be more profitable indeed for the whole commonwealth, and withall more wicked and vniust, then that Themistocles thought good to do. generals of When the people heard Aristides answer, they willed Themistocles to let his device alone the Ather whether the Aristides are the Aristides and the much did they still a still against the Aristides are still as a stainst the Aristides are still as a stain as a stain are still as a stain are sta whatsoeuer it were: so great insticers were the Athenians, and so much did they trust A. the barba, ristides wisdome and equity besides. So they made Aristides afterwards Generall of the armie rom pape. of the Athenians together with Cimon, and fent them to make warre against the barbatous people. Arifides at his coming thither, feeing Paulanias, and the other captaines that were verine General's ouer the whole army, dealing hardly & churlifuly with the people their confederates, tookefrom he on the contrary fide. Tooke gently you shall a many the Lacehe onthe contrary fide, spake gently vntothem, and shewed himselfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and just to every at their body, not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the warres. Aristides ta substitute and live to be substituted to the substitute of the king this course, it was not noted how by little and little he cut off the rule and authority of the

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cities of Grece.

LACED EMONIANS in GRECE, not by force of armes, nor by flips, not by numbers of horfes but onely by his graue and wife gouernment. For if the inflice and vertue of Arifides, and the mildnesse and curtesse of Cimon made the government of the ATHENIANS to be liked of and accepted of althe other people of GRECE: the conetous field, pride and fiercenesse of Paulanias made it much more to be defired. For Paulanias never spake vnto the other captaines of the peo. ple, allies, and confederates, but it was euer in choler, and he was too sharpe with them: and for the poore private fouldiers, he would caufe them to be cruelly whipped for every finall of fence, or elfe make them stand a whole day together on their feete, laying a heavy iron anker vpontheir shoulders. No man durst goe forrage, neither for straw, nor reedes to make their couches of, nor durst water their horse before the Spartans: for he had set skouts for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when Ariftides thought to have spoken to him, and to have told him fornething, he frowned vpon him: and faid he had no lev. fureto speake with him now, and so would not heare him: whereupon the captaines of the other GRECIANS, and specially those of CHIO, of SAMOS, & of LESBOS, did afterwards follow Arie. fides, and persuaded him to take youn him the charge & authority to command the other peo. ple of GRECE, and to take into his protection the allies and confederates of the same, who long fithens wished to renolt from the gouernement of the LACED ÆMONIANS, and onely to sub. mit themselves ynto the Athenians. Aristides answered them thus: that they had not onely reason to do that they faid, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the Athenians might have good ground and assurance of their vindoubted sidelity and good feruice, they should deliuer them manifest testimony and assurance thereof, by some samous act attempted against the LACED EMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durst ne. uer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. Vliades SAMIAN, and Antagoras of CHIO hearing him fay fo, both captaines of galleys confedered together: they wet one day to fet vpon the Admirall galley of Panfanias, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one fide of her, and the other on the other fide, as she was rowing before all the sleete. Paulanias feeing them, stood vp straightin a maruellous rage against them, & threatned them that before it were long he would make them know they had bene better to have affaulted their owne naturall country, then to have fetypon him as they had done. But they answered him, and bad him get him away quickly if he were wife, and let him thanke Fortune hardly, that granted the GRECIANS victory at the battell of PLAT ÆB s vnder his leading and that it was nothing else but the onely reverence and respectof the fames that had made the GRECIANS hold their hands till now from giving him that inft punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserved. So the end was, they left the LACED EMONI. ANS, and flucke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherein was eafily differed the great courage and Wonderfull magnanimity of the LACED &MONIANS. For when they faw their captaines were marred and corrupted, through the ouer great authority and liberty they had, they willingly gaue vp their commandement over the other GRECIANS, and did no more fend their captaines to be Generals of the whole army of GRECE: thinking it better for their citizens, that they shold be obcdient, and in enery point observe the discipline and law of their country, then if they had bene otherwise the onely rulers and Lords over the whole country. Now at what time the La-CED ÆMONIANS did commandall GRECE, as Lords, the cities and people of GRECE did pay a certaine film of money, towards defraying of the charges of the warres against the barbarous people. But after that their feigniority and rule was taken from them, the GRECIANS were contented araxe should be leauied, and that every city should be reasonably sessed, according to their wealth and ability because every city might know what they should pay. And for this purpose, they prayed the Athenians they wold appoint Arifides to take order for it, vnto whom did fesse they gave full power and authority to taxe and sesse every city indifferently, considering the greatnes of the territory, & the reuenues of the same, as every one was reasonably able to beare it. But if Aristides were poore when he entred into that great charge & office of authority, wherein all GR ECE in maner did refer themselves vnto his discretion; he came out of that office more poore, and had made his affesticment and taxation not onely justly and truly, but also so indifferently according vnto every mans ability, that there was no man could find fault with his doings. And like as the ancient men in old time did celebrate and fing out the bleffednesse of those that lived vnder the reigne of Saturne, which they called the golden age: even so did the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwards honour the affestement made by aristides

calling it the fortunat & bleffed time of GRECE, and specially, when shortly after it did double. and treble on the sudden. For the taxe Aristides made, came to about sourch undred and threefcoretalents, and Pericles raised it almost vnto a third part. For Thucydides writeth, that at the beginning of the warres of Peloponnesus, the Athenians leavied fixe hundred talents vearely upon their confederates. And after the death of Pericles, the oratours & counsellors for matters of state, did raise it vp higher by little and litle, vntill it mounted to the summe of thirteene hundred talents. And this was not because the warres did rise to so great a charge, by reafon of the length of the same, and of the losses the Athenians had received: but for that they did accustomethe people to make distributions of money by hand vnto enery citizen, to make them fet vp games, and make goodly images, and to build vp sumptuous temples. Thus was Ariflides therefore iustly honored, praised and esteemed about all others, for this iust imposition of taxes, fauing onely of Themistocles: who went up and downe fleering at the matter, faying it was nomeete praise for an honest man, but rather for a coffer well barred with iron, where a man might fafely lay vp his gold & filter. This he spake to be even with Aristides, which was nothing toward the space that the like the sharpe gird Aristides gaue him openly, when Themstooles talking with him, told him it misecles was an excellent thing for a captaine to be able to know, and to preuent the counsels and doings and stiffiof the enemies : And so it is, said Aristides againe, not onely a needfull, but an honest thing, and meete for a worthy Generall of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So Arifides made all the other people of GRECE to fweare, that they would truly keepe the articles of the alliance, and he himselfe as Generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their oaths in the name of the Athenians: and so pronouncing execrations and curses against them that should breake the league and oath taken, he threw iron wedges red hot into the fea, and prayed the gods todestroy them even so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstanding, afterwards (in my opinion) when there fell out great alteration in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced torule more straightly then before: Aristides then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the danger & burthen of periury and execration, and that they should not let for fearether of to do any thing what foeuer they thought meete or necessary. To conclude, Theophrastus writerh, that Arillides was not onely a perfect, an honest, and inst man, in private matters betwixt party and party: but in matters of state, and concerning the commonweale, he did many things oftentimes according to the necessity of the time, and troubles of the city, wherein violence and iniuflice was to bevsed. As when the question was asked in open councell, to know whether they mighttake away the gold & filuer, that was left in the Ile of DELOS fafely laid vp in the temple necessities of of Apollo, to beare out the charges of the warres against the barbarous people, and to bring it fro thence vnto Ar HENS, vpo the motion of the Samians, although it was directly against the articles of the alliance, made and fworne among all the GRECIANS: Aristides opinion being afked in the fame, he answered it was not iust, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding Aristides had brought his city to rule and command many thousands of people, yet was he still poore for all that, and till his dying day he gloried rather to be praifed for his pouerty, then for all the fa- Arifides mous victories & battels he had won and that plainly appeared thus. Callias Ceres torch-bearer, gloried in was his peared binforce who through enemies camero be accused and stood in hazard of life is happeners. was his neare kinfman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other bymatters, left the chiefe matter, and spake thus to the Judgesmy Lords, you all know Arifides the fon of Lysimachus, and you are not ignorant also that his vertue hath made him more estecmed, then any man else is, or can be, in all GRECE. How thinke ye doth he liue at home, when yousee him abroad vp and downe the city, in a threed-bare gowne all to be tattered. Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all see quake for very cold, being so ill arraied and clothed. And yet M. Calls as here his cosin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable, that notwithstanding Aristides hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authority among you, he suffered him and his poore wife & children ready to beg & starue for any helpe he giueth him. Callias perceiuing the ludges more angry with him for that, then for any matter else he was accused of: he prayed Aristides might be fent for, and willed him to tell truly whether he had not offered him good round fums of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take it, which he euer refused, and answered him alwayes, That he could better boast of his pouerty, then himselfe could of his riches:

A hard thing to a. way with Who may be alhamed of powerty. Arillides esmmended

of Plato.

Aristides vate The. mistocles.

Ariflid's

Ariflides condemned

Ariflides tambe.

The Athe. mias thank fulnesse Rides children.

> ristides daughters

(which he faid many did vse ill, and few could vse them well) and that it was a hard thing to find one man of a noble mind, that could away with pourty, and that fuch onely might be ashamed of pouerty, as were poore against their wils. So Aristides confirmed all he spake to be true: & c. uery man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as Aristides, then rich as Callias. This tale is writtethus by Aschines the Socratian philosopher: & Plate reporteth of him also, that not with standing there were many other famous and noble men of ATHENS, yet he gaue Aristides praise aboue them all. For others, said he: (as Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles) have beautified the city with stately porches, & sumptuous buildings of gold and filuer, and with store of other fine superfluous deuices: but Aristides, was onely he, that vertuoufly disposed himselfe and all his doings, to the furtherance of the state and common weale. His inffice and good nature appeared plainly in his doings, and behauiour towards Themistocles. For though Themistocles was cuer against Aristides in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practife he was banished from ATHENS: ver when Themistocles was accused oftreason to the state, having diverse sharpe enemies against him. as Cimon, Alemaon, with diverse other, Aristides sought not revenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither spake nor did any thing against him at that time to hurt him : neither did he reioyce to fee his enemie in mifery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his profperity. And touching driftides death, some write that he died in the realme of Pontvs, being fent thither about matters of the state: and other thinke he died an old man in the citie of A. THENS, greatly honoured and beloued of all the citizens. But Craterus the MACEDONIAN writeth of his death in this fort: After that Themistecles (saith he) was fled, the people of ATHENE became very stubburne and infolent; wherupon, many lewd men grew to be comon appeachers and accusers of the noble men and chiefest citizens, and to stirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people against them, who were waxen proud by reason of their prosperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Among the rest, Aristides was condemned for extortion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, vpon one Diophantes accusation, of the village of AMPHITROPE who burthened him, that he tooke money of the Ionians, to make the annual tribute ceffe which they payed vnto ATHENS: and so Craterus faith, that because Aristides was not able to pay the fine they fet vpo his head (which was fine Minas) he was driven to for fake ATHENS. & to get him into Ion 1A, where he died. Yet doth not Craterus bring forth any probable matter to proue this true he writeth as his pleading his fentence and condemnation, or any decree pal. fed against him, although he vsed great diligence else in collecting all such matters, and vouching his authors. Furthermore, all other writers that have specially noted the faults & offences committed by the people of ATHENS in former times against their captaines and governours: they do declare Themistocles exile, Miltiades captiuity that died in prison, Pericles fine wherein he was condemned, and Paches death that flue himselfe in the pulpit for orations, when he saw he was condemned: and tell diverse such stories, adding too also Aristides banishment: but yet they make no matter of mention of the condemnation which Craterus speaketh of Moreouer, Arifides tombe is to be seene arthis day vpon the hauen of Phalervs, which was set vp for himat the charge of y common wealth, as it is reported, because he died so poore a man, as they found nothing in his houseto bury him with. Other go further, and say that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the commonwealth, & that the city gaue enery one of them three thousand Drachmas: and his sonne Lysimachus, a hundred Minas of silver, anda hundred Iugera; and at Alcibrades request, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him source Drachmas a day besides, of ordinary allowance, Furthermore, when this Lysimachus died, helest aliue one onely daughter called Polycrite, whom the people appointed, as Callifthenes writeth, as much prouision to line withal, as they gave to any that wanthe Olympian games. And sithence, Demetrius PHALERIAN, Hyeronimus RHODIAN, Aristoxenus the Musitian, and Aristotlethe Philosopher, at the least if the booke intituled of Nobility be any of Aristotles works: all these agree together, that one Myrto, Aristides daughters daughter, was maried to the wife Socrates, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) because she was a poore widow, and could not be maried for her pouerty, having much ado to line. Yet Panatius doth write against him, in his booke of Socrates life. But Demetrius PHALERIAN writeth in his booke he intituled Socrates, that he could remember very well he had feene one Lysimachus, Arifides sonnes sonne, or his daughters sonne, that was very poore, and lived of that he could get to interprete dreames, by certaine tables, wherein was written the artto interprete the fignification of dreames; and that he kept commonly about the temple of Bacchus called Iacchion, vnto whom, together with his morher and his fifter, he faid he had caused the people to give them a Triobulum apeece, every day towards their living. It is very true that the selfe same Demetrius PHALERIAN, when he reformed the state of Athens, ordained that his mother and fister should have each of them a Drachma by the day to find them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new nor strange thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe and to relieve the The Albert women that dwelt in the city: confidering that in times past, Aristogicon having a litle daughter manuem. in the Ile of Lemnos, in very hard and poore estate, and that could not be bestowed in mariage their libra for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to Athens, and maried her in one of the no- rally. blest houses of the city, & made her a joynter besides in the village of Potamos. Which great courtesicand humanity of theirs, hath euer descrued great fame and commendation, and yet continueth euen vitill this day, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery manthere.

The end of Aristides life.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Cato the Cenfor.



ARCVS Cate and his ancestors, were (as they fay) of the city of Thys-CVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and dealt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and lived in the countrey of the Sa-BYNES, vpon certaine land his father left him. And thoughto many his ancestors were knowne to haue bene obscure: yet he himselfe did highly commend his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and faying he was a fouldier, and had ferued valiantly in the field. And he telleth also of another Gato that was his great grandfather, who for his valiant service had bene of rewarded of the Generals, with such hono-

rable gifts, as the Romaine's diduse to give unto them that had done some samous act in any battell: and how that he having lost fine horses of service in the warres, the value of the same was restored to him againe in mony of the common treasure, because he had shewed himselse trusty and valiant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speech at Rome, to call them vpftarts that were no gentlemen borne, but did rife by vertue: it fortuned Cate to be cate called called one of them. And for his part he did confesse it, that he was the first of his house that an applare,

euer had honour, and office of state; but by reason of the noble acts and good service of his and ceftors he maintained he was very ancient. He was called at the beginning after his third name Priscus: but afterwards by reason of his great wisedome and experience, he was surnamed Cate. because the Romain Bs call a wife man, and him that hath feene much, Cato. He was somewhat giuen to be red-faced, and had a paire of staring eyes in his head, as this mantelleth vs, that for ill tion of this will wrote these verses of him after his death:

Pluto (the god) which rules the Furies infernall, Will not receive the damned ghost, of Porcius in his ball. His fawcy coppered no fe, and fierie staring eyes, His common flanderous tales, which be did in this world deuife. Made Pluto stand in dread, that he would brawle in hell,

Cataerman ners and lifè.

Late a font. dier at feuenteene yeares of age.

Agrim lock Tineth terenemy.

ouerthrew ral of the Tarentines. Cato the elder wondered at thetbrifti. neffe of Manites Curius. The mode deration of Manius

Curius.

Although his bones were drie and dead; on earth he was so fell. Furthermore, touching the disposition of his body, he was maruellous strong and lustic, and all because he did vse to labour and toile euen from his youth, and live sparingly, as one that was cuer brought vp in the warres from his youth: fo that he was of a very good conflictution, both for strength of body, and for health. As for vtterance, he esteemed it as a second body, and most necessary gift, not only to make men honest, but also as a thing very requisit for a manthat should beare sway and authority in the common wealth. He practised to speake well in litlevillages neare home, whither he went many times to pleade mens causes in courts judiciall, that would retaine him of counfell: fo as in short time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in processe of time became an excellent Orator. After he was thus well known, they estent ora that were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certaine noble mind in him, worthy to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For healid not onely refule to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he maintained : but furthermore made no reckoning of theestimation he wan by that manner and practife; as though that was not the onely marke he florat. But his defire reached further, rather to win himfelfe fame by feruice in the warres, and by valiant fighting with his enemy, then with fuch a quiet and pleafing manner of life. Infomuch as when he was but a young stripling in manner, he had many cuts voon his breast, which he had received in diverse battels and encounters against the enemies. For he himselfe writeth, thathe was but seuenteene yeares old, when he went first vntothe warres, which was about the time of Hannibals chiefe prosperity, when he spoiled and destroyed all ITALY. So when he came to sight he would firike luftily, and neuer firre footenor give backe, and would looke cruelly vponhis enemie, and threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voice, which he vied himfelf, and wifely taught other alfo to vie the like for fuch countenances, faid he many times do feare the enemis more then the fword ye offer them. When he went any journey, he cuer marched on foote and caried his armor vpon his backe, & had a man waiting on him that caried his victuals with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they fay) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or supper, but did helpe to dresse it himselse for the most part, if he had any leisure, when he had done the dutie of a private fouldier in fortifying the campe, or fuch other needfull businesse. All the while he was abroad in feruice in the wars, he neuer dranke other then cleane water, vnlesse it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a little vineger: but if he faw he nius cui sus were weake, he wold then drinka litle wine. Now it fortuned that Manius Cirius the Romaine who had triumphed thrife, had a prety house & land hard by Cato, where he kept in times past, bing Gen. which Guo for a while would visite off. And he confidering how little land he had to his house, & what a little house he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondred with himselfe what manner of man Curius had bene, that having bene the greatest man of Rome in his time, and hauing subdued the mightiest nations and people of all ITALY, and driven king Pyrrus also out of the same yet himself with his owne hands did manure that litle patch of ground, and dwell info poore & finall a farme. Whither notwithstanding after his three triumphs, the SAMNITES fent their Ambassadors to visite him, who found him by the fires side seething of parseneps, and presented him a maruellous deale of gold, from their state and communalty, But Curius returned them again with their gold, and told them, that fuch as were contented with that fupper, had no need of gold nor filuer; and that for his part, hethought it greater honor to command them that had gold, then to haue it himselfe. Cate remembring these things to himselfe, went home againe,

and began to thinke upon his house, of his liuing, of his family and servants, and also of his expences, and to cut off all superfluous charges, and fell himselfe to labour with his owne hands, morethen euer he had done before. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus tooke the city of TARENTYM againe, Cate served vnder him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with Nearchus the Pythagorian Philosopher, in whom he took maruellous de- 200 stribes light to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which Nearchus held the same opinion of pleasure, that the Extre Plate did, by calling him the sweete poyson and chiefest baite to allure men to ill: and saying that Thiefest the body was the first plague vnto the soule, and that her onely health, remedie, and purgation phersones flood vpon rules of reason, good examples and contemplations, that drive sinfull thoughts and shooting. carnall pleasures of the body, farre off from her. Cato moreouer gaue himselfe much to sobriety Platoes and temperance, and framed himselfe to be content with litle. They say he fell in his very old of this weight of the same of t age to the studie, of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited some Catolearwhat by Thucydides, but much more by Demosthenes, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent; ned the which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, and flories tongue in taken out of the Greeke authors; and many of his sentences and morals, his adages and quicke his olige. answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a noble man of Rome at Construction that time, one of great authority, & a deepe wife man befides, who could eafily differne buds of by Domovertue sprouting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable disposition to "themselse." helpe forward, and to advance fuch: his name was Valerius Flaccus, a necrencighbour vnto Cato, greece. who was informed by his feruants of Catoes strange life., how he would be doing in his ground Flactors with his owne hands: and how he would be gone enery day betimes in the morning to little vil- grave wife lagesthereabours, to pleade mens causes that prayed his counsell, and that when he had done he Gateet would come home againe: & if it were in Winter, that he would but cast a litle coat on his shoul- strange life, ders, and being Sommer he wold go out bare-necked to the wast, to work in his ground among his seruants and other workmen; and would besides, sit & cate with them together at one boord, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him alfo a world of fuch maners and fashions he vfed, that shewed him to be a maruellous plaine man, without pride, & of a good nature. The they told him what notable wife fayings and grave fentences they heard him fpeake. Valerius Flaccus hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with Cato, and perceining he was of a very good nature, and well given, and that he was a good graffe to be let in a better ground, he per swaded him to come to Rome, and to practife there in the affembly of the people, in the common causes and affaires of the comonweale. Cate followed his counsell, who having bin no long practifer among them, did grow cate goath straight into great estimation, and wan him many friends, by reason of the causes he tooke in to Reme by hand to defend and was the better preferred and taken allo, by meanes of the special fauour and Valerius countenance Valerius Flaccus gaue him. For first of all, by voice of the people he was chosen Tribune of the fouldiers (to fay, colonell of a thouland footmen) & afterwards was made treasurer: Calechofen and so went forwards, and grew to so great credite and authority, as he became Valerius Flaccus milium. companion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consult with him, and then Censor. But cancer of to begin withall, Cato made choise of Quintus Fabius Maximus, about all the Senators of Rome, free in the and gaue himselfe to follow him altogether: and not so much for the credit & estimation Fabius Cato follow Maximus was of (who therein excelled all the Romaines of that time) as for the modesty and ed Fabrus discreet gouernment he saw in him, whom he determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour &example. At which time Cato passed not for the malice and cuill will of Scipio the Great, who did catossemus Ariue arthar present being but a yong man, with the authority and greatnes of Fabius Maximus, lation with as onethat seemed to enuy his rising & greatnesse. For Cato being sent treasurer with Scipio, when Scipiothe he underrook the journy into A and or and perceiping Scipiothe hountiful nature & disposition Great. he vndertook the journy into Africk e, and perceiving Scipioes bountiful nature, & disposition to large gifts without meane to the fouldiers: he told him plainely one day, that he did not fo much hurt the commonwealth in wasting their treasure, as he did great harme in changing the treasurer ancient manner of their auncestours: who vsed their souldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to spend their superfluous mony (al necessaries provided for) in vaine toics & trifles can, reproto scrue their pleasure. Scipio made him answer, he would have no treasurer should controll him uddim in this fort, northat should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the for his wars, with full failes as it were, and that he would (and did also determine) to make the state prinicto all his doings, but not to the mony he spent. Cato hearing this answer, returned with speed

feth Scipio

Catoes eloquence, his continent life, and extreams

Catoes won

Catees sharpnesse. Genslenesse goeth further then ju fice. tobe rfed wnto bruit beafts. A gentle law made bothe Athenians in fauous of their la

out of Sicila vnto Rome, crying out with Fabius Maximus in open Senate, that Scipio fpeni infinitely, and that he tended playes, comedies, and wreftlings, as if he had not benefent to make warres, inuafions, and attempts upon their enemies. Vpon this complaint the Senate and pointed certaine Tribunes of the people, to go and fee if their informations were true: and finding them so, that they should bring him backe againe to Rom B. But Scipio shewed farre other. wife to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparent victory, through the necessary preparation and prouision he had made for the warres; and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great businesse, and was at any leafure, he would be privately merrie with his friends: and though he was liberall to his fouldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his dutie and charge in any matter of importance. So Scipio tooke shipping, and failed towards AFRICKE, whither he was sent to make warre. Now to returne to Cato. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, fo that diverfe called him the Demofthenes of Rome: howbeit the manner of his life was in more estimation then his cloquence. For all the youth of Rome did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of words, and one enused another which of them should come nearest: but few of them would file their hands with any labour as their forefathers did, & made a light supper and dinner without fire or pronisson. or would be content with a meane gown, and a poore lodging, and finally would thinke it more honourable to defie fancies and pleasures, then to have and enjoy them. Because the state was waxen now of such power and wealth, as it could no more retaine the ancient discipline, and for mer aufterity & straightnesse of lifeit vsed:but by reason of the largenesse of their dominion and scigniority, at the numbers of people and nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medley of fundry countrey fashions, examples, and maners. This was a cause. why in reason mendid so greatly wonder at Catoes vertue, when they saw other straight wearied with paines and labour tenderly brought vp like pulers; and Cato on the other fide neuer ouer. come, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coueted honor. nor in his age also when he was gray headed and bald, after his Confulship and triumph: but like a conquerour that had gotten the maistery, he would neuer give over labor even vnto his dying day. For he writerh himselfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backethat cost him aboue 100 pence, and that his hinds and workemen alwayes drunke no worfe wine, when he was Confull and Generall of the army, then he did himselfe; and that his cater neuer bestowed in meatefor his supper, aboue thirty Aises of Romain money, and yet he said it was because he might be the stronger, and apter to do service in the wars for his country & the common wealth. He said furthermore, that being heire to one of his friends that died, he had a peece of tapeftry by him with a deepe border, which they called them the BABYLONIAN border, and he caused it straight to be fold: and that of all his houses he had abroad in the country, he had not one wall plasfered, nor rough cast. Moreouer he would say, he never bought bondman or slave dearer, then a thoufand fine hundred pence, as one that fought not for fine made men and goodly perforages, but frong fellowes that could away with paines, as carters, horse-keepers, neat-heards, & suchlike and againe he would fell them when they were old, because he would not keepe them when they could do no feruice. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a man bought any thing deare, that was for litle purpose; yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to beflow so little, for that which needed not. He wold have men purchase houses, that had more store of arable land and pasture, the of fine hortyards or gardens. Some fay, he did thus for very misery and couetousnesse: other thinke, and tooke it that he lived so sparingly, to move others by his example to cut off all superfluity and waste. Neuerthelesse, to sell slaues in that fort, or to turne them out of doores when you have had the service of all their youth, & that they are grownold, Gentlenesse as you vie brute beaftes that have ferued whilest they may for age : me thinkes that must needes proceed of too seuere and greedy a nature, that hath no longer regard or consideration of humanity, then whilest one is able to do another good. For we see, gent kenesse goeth further then inflice. For nature teacheth vs to vse instice onely to them, but gentlenesse sometimes is shewed vnto bruite beasts: and that cometh from the very fountaine and spring of all courtesseand humanity, which should never dry vp in any man living. For to fay truly, to keep cast horses spoiled in our feruice, and dogs also, not only when they are whelpes, but when they be old, be even tokens of loue and kindnes. As the ATHENIANS made a law, when they builded their teple called Hecatompedon: that they should suffer the moyles and mulets that did service in their cariages

about the building of the same, to graze every where, without let or trouble of any man. And they fay there was one of their moiles thus turned at liberty, that came her felfe to the place to labour, going before all the other draught beafts that drew vp carts loden towards the caftell. and kept them company, as though she feemed to encourage the rest to draw; which the people liked fo well in the poore beaft, that they appointed she should be keept whilst she lived, at the charge of the town. And yet at this present are the graues of Cimons mares to be seene, that wan him thrice together the prize of the horse race at the games Olimpian, and they are hard by the grave of Cimon himselfe. We heare of diverse also that had buried their dogsthey brought up in their house, or that waited on them: as among other, old Xanthippus buried his dog in the top of a Xanthippu cliffe, which is called the dogs pit til this day. For when the people of ATHENS did for like their days least the dogs pit til this day. For when the people of ATHENS did for like their days like their day city at the coming downe of the king Xerxes, this dog followed his mafter, fwimming in the fea by his galleys fide, from the firme land, vnto the He of Salamina. And there is no reason, to be igalvse lining and sensible things, as we would vse an old shoo or a rag, to cast it out vpon the dunghill when we have worn it, and can serve vs no longer. For if it were for no respect else, but to vie sheurto sa vs alwaies to humanity, we must ever shew our selves kind and gentle, even in such small points lamina, and of pitie. And as for me, I could neuer find in my heart to fell my draught Oxe that had ploughed belanded. my land a long time, because he could plough no longer for age: and much lesse my slaue, to sell him for a little money, out of the countrey where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his old trade of life, wher with he was best acquainted, & then specially, when he shall be as vnprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But Cato on the other side gloried, that he left his horse in Spaine he had served on in the warres during his Consulship, because he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing him home by feainto ITALIE. Now a queftionmight bemade of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was noblenesse or aniggardlinesse in him: but otherwise to say truly, he was a man of a wonderfull abstinence. For when he was Generall of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three bushels of wheate carees amoneth of the commonwealth, for himselfe and his whole family and but a bushel and a halfe life. of barly a day, to keepe his horse and other beasts for his cariage. On a time when he was Precede to Calo Precede to the common wealth, for himselfe and but a bushel and a halfe life. tor, the gouernement of the Ile of SARDINIA fell to his lot: and where the other Prætors be- tor insarforchim had put the countrey to exceeding great charge, to furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and fuch like stuffe, and burthened them also with a maruellous traine of servants and their friends that waited on them, putting them to great expense in feasting and banqueting of them: Cato in contrary manner brought downcall that excesse and superfluitie, vntoa maruellous neare and vncredible fauing. For when he went to visite the cities, he came on foote to them, and did not put them to a peny charge for himselfe; and had onely one officer or bailiffe nearinesse. of the state that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine in bis cirto the gods in his facrifices. But though he came thus fimply to the fubiects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed himselfe seuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iu- catees Gflice and spared no man, in any commandement of service for the state, and commmonwealth: werity. for he was therein so precise, that he would not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the Sardinians vnder his gouernement, both to loue and feare the Empire of Rome, more then euer they had before: as appeareth plainely by the manner both of his spea- causes king and writing: because it was pleasant and yet graue: sweete and fearefull:merry and seucre, speech and sententious and yet familiar, such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared vnto Socrates: who (as Plato faith) at the first fight was a plaine simple manto them that knew him The praise but outwardly, or else a pleasant taunter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and of socrates, found him throughly, they saw he was full of graue sentences, goodly examples, and wife perfwafions, that he could make men water their plants that heard him, &leade them as he would by the care. Therefore I cannot fee any reason that moues men to say, Cate had Lysias grace and vttcrance. Notwithstanding, let vs referre it to their judgements that make profession to difcerne Oratours graces and stiles: for my part I shall content my selfeto write at this present, only certaine of his notable fayings and fentences, perswading my self that mens maners are better discerned by their words, then by their lookes, and so do many minke. On a time seeking to diffwade the people of Rome, which would needes make a thankefull distribution of corne vnto enery citizen, to no purpose, he beganne to make an oration with this presace. It is a hard catter say thing (my Lords of Romb) to bring the belly by persuasions to reason, that hath no cares.

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And another time, reprouing the ill gouernment of the city of Rome, he faid it was a hard thing to keepe vp that state, where a litle fish was fould dearer then an Oxe. He said also that the Ro-MAINES were like a flocke of sheepe: for faith he, as enery Weather when he is alone, doth nor obey the shepheard, but when they are altogether they one follow another for loue of the formost even so are you for when you are together, you are all contented to be led by the noses by a fuch, whose counsell not a man alone of you would vie in any private cause of your owne. And talking another time of the authoritie the women of Rome had over their husbands, he faid to ther men commanded their wives, and we command men, and our wives command vs. But this last of all he borrowed of Themistocles pleasant sayings. For his sonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day: The ATHENIANS command all GRECE, I command the ATHENIANS, you command me, and your sonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vse the liberty he hath with some better discretion, soole and affe as he is fithence he can do more by that power and authoritie, then all the GRECIANS besides. He faid also that the people of Rome did not only delight in diverse forts of purple, but likewisein dinerse fores of exercises. For said he, as dinerse comonly die that colour they see best esteemed and is most pleasant to the eye:euen so the lusty youthes of Rome do frame themselues to such exercife, as they fee your felues most like and best esteeme. He continually aduised the Ro-MAINES, that if their power and greatnesse came by their vertue and temperance, they should take heed they became no changelings, nor waxe worfe; and if they came to that greatneffe by vice and violence, that then they should change to better, for by that meanes he knew very well they had attained to great honour and dignity. Again he told them, that fuch as fued ambitious. ly to beare office in the commonwealth, and were common futers for them, did feeme to beafraid to lofe their way, and therefore would be fure to have others and fergeants before them to shew them the way, left they should lose themselves in the city. He did reprove them also, that often chose one man to continue one office stills for it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you have not many choice men you think worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that led a maruellous wicked and an abhominable life, of whom he was wont to fay, that when his mother prayed vnto the gods that she might leaue her some behind her, the did not thinke to pray, but to curfe: meaning to have him live for a plague to the world. And to another also that had vnthriftily fold his lands which his father had left him lying upon the sea fide, he pointed unto them with his finger, & made as though he wondred how he came to be fo great aman, that he was stronger then the sea: for that which the sea hardly cofumeth and eateth out by litle and litle a long time, he had confumed it all at a clappe. Another time, when king Eumenes was come to Rome, the Senate entertained him maruellous honourably, and the nobleft citizens did ftriue, enuying one another, who should welcome him best. But Cato in contrary maner shewed plainely, that he did suspect all this feasting and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friends told him, I maruell why you flie from king Eumenes company, that is so good a Prince, and loues the Romains so wel: Yea, faid he, let it be fo, but for all that, a king is no better then a rauening beaft that lives of the prey: neither was there euer any king so happie, that deserved to be compared to Epaminondas, to Pericles, to Themistocles, nor to Manius Curius, or to Hamylear, surnamed Barca. They say his enemies did malice him, because he vsed commonly to rise before day, and did forget his owne businesse to follow matters of state. And he affirmed that he had rather lose the reward of his well doing, then not to be punished for doing of euill: and that he would be are with all other offending ignorantly, but not with himselfe. The ROMAINES, having chosen on a time three punifb kins. Ambailadors to fend into the Realme of BYTHINIA, one of them having the goute in his feet, the other his head full of cuts and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: Cato laughing, faid, the Romains fent an Ambaffade that had neither feet, head nor *heart. Scipio fued once to Cate at Polybius request about those that were banished from Achaia. The matter was argued afterwards in the Senate, and there fellout divers opinions about it. Some would have had the seasof them restored to their countrey and goods againe to ther were wholly against it. So Catorising reason was vp at the last, said vnto them: It seemes we have little else to do when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these old GRECIANS, whether the ROMAINES or the ACHA-IANS shall burie them: In the end, the Senate tooke order they should be restored vnto their country againe. Wherupon Polybius thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the

banished men whom they had restored by their order, might enjoy their former estates and honours in Acharasthey had at the time of their banishment; but before he would moue the suite vinto the Senate, he would feele Catoes opinion first, what he thought of it. Who answered him, fmiling: Me thinkes Polybius thou art like Vlyffes, that when he had teaped out of Cyclops caue the Giant, he would needs go thither againe, to fetch his hat and girdle he had left behind him there. He faith alfo, that wife men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wife men. For wife men faith he, do fee the faults fooles commit, and can wifely avoide them; but fooles never studie to follow the example of wife mens doings. He said also that he ever liked voung men better that blushed, then those that ever looked whitely: and that he would not have Blushing in him for a fouldier, that wags his hand as he goeth, remoues his feete when he fighteth, and row- Joing men teth and snorteth louder in his sleepe, then when he cryeth out to his enemie. Another time when he would taunt a maruellous fat man: See, faith he, what good can such a body do to the commonwealth, that from his chinne to his codpeece is nothing but belly? And to another man that was given to pleasure, and defired to be great with him: My friend said Cate, as refufine his acquaintance: I cannot live with him that hath better judgement in the palate of his mouth, then in his heart. This was also his faying, that the foule of a louer, lived in anothers bodie. And that in al his life time he repented him of three things. The first was, if that he euer told live is in fecret to any woman: the fecond, that ever he went by water, when he might have gone by land: arothers the third, that he had bene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he faw a vicious oldman, he would fay to reproue him: O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not befides with your vice. And to a feditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a poy foner, and would needs paffe fome wicked law by voice of the people, he would fave O yong man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drinke the drugges thou giuest, or to receive the lawes thou offerest. Another time, being reuiled by one that led a lewd and naughtie life: Go thy way, faid he, I am no man to foold with thee; for thou art fo yfed to reuile, and to be reuiled, that it is not dainty to thec: but for my felfe, I neuer vieto heare foolding, and much leffe delight to fcold. These behis wife sayings we find written of him, whereby we may the easilier confecture his manners and nature. Now when he was chosen Confull with his friend Valerius Cato and Flaceus, the government of Spaine fell to his lot, that is on this fide of the river of Beris. So Flaceus Cato having subdued many people by force of armes, & won others also by friendly means: fodainly there came a maruellous great army of y barbarus people, against him, & had enuironed carres do. him io, as he was in maruellous danger, either ihamefully to be taken prisoner, or to be flaine in Spaine. the field. Wherefore he fent prefently vnto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbors vnto the marches where he was. Thefe CELTIBERIAN s did aske him two hundred talents to come and helpe him: but the Romain's that were about him, could not abide to hire the barbarous peopleto defend them. Then Cato told them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonor vnto them. For said he, if the field be ours, then we shall pay their wages we promifed, with the spoile and money of our enemies; and if we lose it, then our selucs and they lyeby it, being left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the end he wan the battell, after a sore conflict, and after that time he had maruellous good fortunc. For Polybius writeth, that all the wals of the cities that were on this fide the river of Bæris, were by his commandement razed in one day, which were many and full of good fouldiers. Himfelfe writeth, that he tooke moe cities in Spaine, then he remained there dayes: and it is no vaine boaft, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of them. Now, though the fouldiers ynder him had gotten well in this journey, and were rich, yet he caused a pound weight of filuer to be giuen to euery fouldier besides: saying he liked it better that many should returne home with filuer in their purses, then a few of them with gold onely. But for himselfe he affirmed: that of Catonab. all the spoile gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thing, saving that which he took in meate finence and drinke. And yet faid he, I speake it not to reproue them that grow rich by such spoiles: from poile but because I would contend in vertue rather with the best, then in money with the richest, or in concroufnesse with the most anaritious. For not onely he himselfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his Officers also vnder him kept the same course. In this Spanish iourney, he had fine of his fernants with him, whereof one of them called Paccus, brought three young boyes that were taken in the warres, when the spoile was fould to them that would give most. So Cato knew it. But Paccus being affraid to come neare his mafter, hanged himfelfe: and then

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Cato fold the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treasurie chests of sauine at Rome. Now while cato was in Spaine, scipio the Great that was his enemie, and fought twist cate to hinder the course of his prosperity, and to have the honour of conquering all the rest of SPAINE, he made all the friends he could to the people, to be chosen in Catoes place. He was no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible speede he could to be gone, that he might make Catoes authority ceaffe the fooner. Cato hearing of his haftie coming, tooke onely fine enfignes of footemen, and fine hundred horsemen to attend vpon him home: with the which, in his journy homeward, he ouercame a people in Spaine called the Lacetant-ANS, and tooke fixe hundred traitours also that were fled from the Romaine's campe to their enemies, and did put to death enery mothers child of them. Scipio storming at that, faid Cata did him wrong. But Cato to mocke him finely, faid: It was the right way to bring Rome to flourish, when noble borne citizens would not suffer meane borne men, and vpstarts as himselse was, to go before them in honour: and on the other side when meane borne men would contend in vertue, with those that were of noblest race, and farre about them in calling. For all that, when Cato came to Rome, the Senate commanded that nothing should be changed nor altered otherwise, then Cato had appointed it, whilest he was in his office. So that the gouernement for which Scipio made such earnest sute in Spaine, was a greater disgrace vnto him then it was vnto Cato: because he passed all his time and office in peace, having no occasion of feredhim to do any notable feruice worthy memoric. Furthermore, Catoafter he had beene Confull, and had granted to him the honour to triumph, did not as many others do, that feele not after vertue, but onely for worldly honour and dignitie: who, when they have bene called to the highest offices of state, as to be Consuls, and have also granted them the honour to triumph, do then leave to deale any more in matters of state; and dispose themselves to live merily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themselues any more. Now Cato farre otherwise behaued himselfe; for he would neuer leaucto exercise vertue, but began afresh, as if he had bene a yong nouice in the world, and as one greedy of honour and reputation, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his friends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their causes for them that required his counsell, and go with his friends also into the warres: as he went with Tiberius Sempronius the Confull, and was one of the Lieutenants at the conquest of the country of THRACE, and vnto the provinces adioyning to the riner of DANVBY vpon those marches. After that, he was in GRECE also, Co-Ionell of a thousand footemen, under Manius Aquilius, against king Antiochus surnamed the Great, who made the Romaines fo much affraid of him, as ever they were of enemy, but Hannibal. For, when he had conquered all the regions and provinces of Asia, which Seleucus Nicanor enjoyed before, and had subdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was so proud hearted, as he would needs have wars with the Romains, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest shew and pretence of warres, faying it was to fet the GRECIANS at liberty, who had no cause thereof, confidering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of king Philip, and of the Macedonians, through the goodnes of the Romaines. Notwithstanding, he came out of Asia into Grece with a maruellous great army, and all Grece was straight inarmes and in wonderfull danger, because of the great promises and large hopes the governours of diuerfe cities (whom the king had wonne and corrupted with money) did make vnto him. Whereupon Manius dispatched Ambassadours vntothecity, and sent Titus Quintus Flaminius among others, who kept the greatest part of the people from rebelling (that were easily drawn to giue care to this innouation) as we have expressed more amply in his life: And caso being sent Ambassadour also, perswaded the Corinthians, those of Patras, and the Ægians, and made them sticke still to the Romain es, and continued a long time at Athens. Some say they find an oration of his written in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their auncestours: wherein he said, he tooke great pleasure to see ATHENS, for the beauty and statelinesse of the citie. But this is false: for he spake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he could have vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene disposed but he did like the lawes and customes of his own country, and the Komaine tongue fo well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke Posthumius Albinus, who wrote an history in the Greek tongue, praying the readers

in his preface to beare with him, if they found any imperfection in the tongue: Marie faid Ca- cate mare to, he had descrued pardon indeede, if he had beene forced to have written his storie in the miss albi-Greeke tongue, by order of the states of GRECE, called the councel of the Amphictyons. They fav the ATHENIAN'S wondered to heare his ready tongue. For what he had vitered quickly in maint for few words vino the interpreter, the interpreter was driven to deliver them againe with great fortein the circumstances & many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS Words Greeke lay all in their lippes, and the Romaines words in their heads. Now king Antiochus kept all King Antithe straights and narrow passages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinary orbus army, way and entrie into GRECE) and had fortified them aswell with an army that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as also with walls and trenches he had made by hand, besides the naturall strength and fortification of the mount it selfe in sundry places : and so he determined to remainethere, trusting to his ownestrength and fortifications aforesaid, and to turne the force of the warres some other way. The ROMAINS also they dispaired vtterly they should be able any way to charge him before. But Cate remembring with himselfe the compasse the Persi- caron do-ANS had fetched about before time likewise to enter into GRECE, he departed one night from the campe with part of the army: to prove if he could find the very compasse about, the barbaother. rous people had made before. But as they climed up the mountaine, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken in the countrey, lost his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruellous steepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore souldiers were in maruellous ill taking. Cato seeing the danger they were brought into by this lewd guide, commanded all his fouldiers not to stir a foote from thence, and to tarrie him there : and in the meane time he went himselfe alone, and Lucius Manlius with him, (a lustie man, and nimble to clime vponthe rockes) and so went forward at aduenture, taking extreme and vncredible paines, and in much danger of his life, grabbling all night in the darke without Moone light, through wild Oliue trees, and high rockes (that let them they could not see before them, neither could tell whither they went) vntill they stumbled at the length vpon a litle path way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they fet vp certaine markes and tokens, vpon the highest toppes of the rockes they could choose, by view of eye to be discerned furthest off vpon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had Monne done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the fouldiers, whom they led towards the marks call dro they had fet vp. vntill at the length they found their path-way againe, where they put their fouldiers in order to march. Now they went not farre in this path they found, but the way failed them straight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worse case then before, and in greater feare, not knowing they were so neare their enemies, as indeed they were. The day beganne to breake a litle, and one of them that marched foremost, thought he heard a noise, and that he faw the GREEKE's campe at the foote of the rockes, and certaine fouldiers that kept watchthere. Whereupon Cato made them stay, and willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, because he had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commandement. They were with him at a trice, to know his pleasure: so Cato said vnto them: My fellowes, I must have some of our enemies taken prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that paffage, what number they be, what order they keepe, how they arecamped and armed, and after what fort they determine to fight with vs. The way to worke fouldiers. this feate standeth vpon swiftnesse and hardinesse to runne vpon them sodainely, as Lyons do, which being naked feare not to runne into the middest of any heard of searefull beasts. He had no sooner spoken these words, but the FIRMANIAN souldiers beganne to runne downe the The bildmountaines as they were, vpon those that kept the watch: and so fetting vpon them, they being medicand out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man prisoner. When they had him, they semps of ftraight brought him vnto Cato, who by oth of the prisoner, was aduertised how that y strength Catoes soulof their enemies army was lodged about the person of the King, within the straight and valley of the said mountaine : and that the souldiers they saw, were sixe hundred Arollans, all braue wised of the fouldiers, whom they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer King freezib of Antiochus campe. When Cato had heard him, making small account of the matter, as well for shus camp. their small number, as also for the ill order they kept: he made the trumpets sound straight, and his fouldiers to march in battell with great cryes, himselfe being the foremost man of all his troupe, with a fword drawne in his hand. But when the ATOLIANS faw them coming

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downe the rockes towards them, they began to flie for life vnto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all diforder. Now Manius at the fame prefent also, gaue an affault vnto the walles and fortification the king had made ouerthwart the vallies and straights of the mountaines: at which affault king Antiochus selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake fome of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for very paine and anguish he felt, he turned his horse back, and got him behind the preasse. And then there were none of his army that made any more refistance, or that could abide the fiercenesse of the Romaines. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, because it was unpossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high rockes on the one fide of them, and with bogges and deepe marishes on the other side, which they must needes fall into if their feete slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yetthey fell one vpon another in the straights, & ran so in heapes together, that they cast them. felues away, for feare of the ROMAINES Iwords that lighted vpon them in enery corner. And there Marcus Cato, that neuer made ceremonie or niceneffe to praise himselfe openly, nor reckened it any shame to do it, did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out vponall victoricand hing dmio- famous exploits: and so did fet it out with all the oftentation and brane words he could gine For he wrote with his owne hands; and fuch as faw him chafe and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driven to fay, that Cato was not bound to the ROMAINES, but the ROMAINES bound vnto Cato. And then Manius the Confull selfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced Cato a great while, that was also hote with chasing of the enemie, and spakes. loude with great toy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of Rome could recopence Cato, for his valiant feruice that day. After this battell, the Confull Manius fent Cato to Rome. to be the messenger himselfe to report the newes of the victorie. So he imbarked incontinently, and had fuch a faire wind, that he pailed ouer the feas to Brindes without any danger, and went from thence vnto TARENTVM in one day, and from TARENTVM in foure dayes moreto Rome. And so he came to Rome in five dayes after his landing in ITALY, and made such speed that himselfe was indeed the first messenger that brought newes of the victory. Whereupon he filled all ROME with iou and facrifices, and made the ROMAINES fo proud, that euer after they thought themselves able men to conquer the world both by sea and land. And these bealt the martiall deedes and noble acts Cato did. But for his doings in civill policy and state, hesemed to be of his opinion : that to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good gouernour of the commonwealth could employ himselfe vnto: for he accused many, & subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be short, he did alwaies stirre vp some accuser, as he did Petilius against Scipio. But Scipio, by reason of his nobilitie, the greatnesse of his house, and the magnanimitic of his mind, passed not for any accufation they could lay against him: being out of all seare, they should be able to condemne him: and so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he joyned withother that accused Lucius Scipio, his owne brother, and followed the matter io fore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the common-wealth: who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people renoked his condemnation. It is faid that Cato coming through the market place one day, and meeting with a yong man by the way that had ouerthrowne his aduerfarie in suite, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemics to open shame & foile before the people, he embraced him with a good countenance, and faid vnto him: Oh my fonne, facrifices that good children should offer to their fachers soule, be not lambs nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free himselfe from danger, in administration of the commonwealth. For if they could catch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so as they fay he was accused almost fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of sourcescore yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: That it was a harder thing to give vp an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongst whom he liued. And yet was not this the last fute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was fourescore and tenne yeares of age, he accused Sernius Galba. And thus he lived as Nestor, in manner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall fuite and action. For when he wrestled with the first scipio the African about matters of flate and common wealth, he went on vnto the time of the fecond, that was adopted by the first Scipioes sonne, the naturall sonne of Paulus Amylius, who ouercame Perseus, king of MACEDON.

Forthermore, Marcus Cato ten yeares after his Confulship, sued to be Censor, which was in Rome the greatest office of dignitie that any citizen of Rome could attain evaco and as a man The dignite may fay, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authoriand fices ties, the Cenfor had power to examine mens lives and manners, and to punish every offendor. she cooper. For the Romains were of that mind, that they would not have men marry, beget children, line prinately by themselues, and make feasts and bankets at their pleasure, but that they should stand in feare to be reproued and enquired of by the magistrate; and that it was not good to give every body liberty, to do what they would, following his owne lust and fancie. And they judging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other things that are openly done at noone dayes, & in the fight of the world, vsed to choose two Censors, that were two Surneyors of maners, to feethat enery man behaued himfelfe vertuoufly, & gaue not themselues to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes of the common welch. These officers confers were called in their tong, Cenfores, and alwayes of cultome, one of them was a PATRICIAN, and were chofen the other a commoner. These two had power and authority to disgrade a Knight, by taking away his horse, and to put any off the Senate, whom they saw line dissolutely and disorderly. It was their officealfo, to felfe and rate enery citizen according to the estimation of their goods; to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of enery man, & to keep books of them, besides many other prerogatives they had belonging to their office. Therfore whe Carocameto fue for this office among other, the chiefest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very enuy, The Senathinking it shame and dishonor to the Nobility, to suffer men that were meanely borne, and vp- tours and flarts (the first of their house and name, that cuer came to beare office in the state) to be called & Robinsia preferred yntotheir highest offices of state in all their comon wealth. Other also that were illiuers, and knowing that they had offended the lawes of their country, they feared his cruelty too Cattee fue. much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the law in his owne hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did fet up septen competitors against him, who flattered the people with many faire words and promifes, as though they had need of magistrates to vse them gently, and to do things for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shewing, no countenance that he would viethem gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning those that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they must reforme their citie, and perswaded the people not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest Phistions: and that himselfe was such a one as they needed, and among the PATRICIANS Valerius Flaceus another, in whose company he hoped (they two being chose Censors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burning and cutting off (like Hydraes heads) all vanitie and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongst them: and that he saw well inough, how all the other futers fought the office by diffionest means, fearing such officers as they knew would deale instly and vprightly. Then did the people of R om E shew themselves nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refused not the sowernesse or seueritie of Cato, but rejected these meale-mouthed men, that feemed ready to please the people in all things: and thereupon chose Marcus Cato Cenfor, and Valerius Flaceus to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had bene present officer, and no suter for the office, being in themselves to give it to whom they cannot set thought good. The first thing he did after he was stalled in his Censorship, was that he named cinhin Con Lucius Valerius Placeus his friend and fellow Cenfor with him, prince of the Senate: and among Cato put many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Se-Lucius nate, that had bene Consull seuen yeares before, and was brother also vnto Titus Quintius Fla- Quintius minius that ouercame Philip king of Macedon in battell, which was greater glorie to him, of the So. then that he had bene Confull. But the cause why he put him off the Senate, was this: This Lu-nate. cius Quintius caried cucr with hima young boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenance and credite vnto, as to any of his best familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned on a put Quin. time whilest Lucius Quintius was Consull and gouernor of a prouince, that he made a feast, time of the and this boy being fet at his table, hard by him, as his maner was, he began to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was pretily merrie; and foothing him, told him he loued him fo dearely, that vpon his departing from Rome, when y fword-players were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated swords, to shew the people passime, he came his way, & left the sight of that he neuer faw, that was very defirous to have feen a man killed. The this Lucius Quintius, to make him seethe like, said:care not for y sight thou hast lost, boy, for I wil let thee see as much

Lucius Quintius wickednesse and cruel-

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And when he had spoken these words, he commanded a prisoner condemned to die, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hang-man with his axe: which was forthwith done according to his commandement. Then asked he the boy, if he would ftraight fee the man killed: Yea fir faid the boy; and with that he bade the hang-man strike off his head. Most writers report this matter thus: And Cicero to confirme it also, wrote in his booke de Senecture, that the same was written in an oration Cato made before the people of Rome. Now Lucius Quintius being thus shamefully put off the Senate by Cato, his brother Titus being of. fended withall, could not tell what to do, but befought the people that they would command Cato to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereupon Cato openly before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when Lucius denied it, affirming it was not fo: Cate would have him fwome before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But Lucius prayed them to pardon him, who faid he would not fweare. whereupon the people judged fraight that he deserved well that shame. So not long after certainegames being shewed in the Theater, Lucius came thither, and passing beyond the ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Confuls, he went to fit aloofe offamongst the multitude. The people tooke pitie on him, and made such ado about him, as they forced him to rife, and to go fit among the other Senators that had bene Confuls: faluing the best they could, the shame and dishonour happened vnto so noble a house. Cate put out of the Senate also, one *Manlius*, who was in great towardlinesse to have bene made Confull the next yeare following, onely because he kissed his wifetoo louingly in the day time, and before his daughter: and reproouing him for it, he told him, his wife neuer kiffed him, but when it thun. dered. So when he was disposed to be merrie, he would say it was happy with him when Inpiter thundered. He tooke away Lucius Scipioes horse from him, that had triumphed for the victor rics he had wonne of the great King Antiochus: which wanne him much ill will, because it ap-Merry with peared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare Scipio the African, that was dead. But the thing that most grieved the people, of all other extremities he vsed, was his putting downe of all feasts and vaine expenses. For a man to take it cleane away, and to beothundereth. penly scene in it, it was unpossible, because it was so common athing, and every man was given fo to it. Therefore Case to fetch it about indirectly, did praise every citizens goods, and rated their apparell, their coaches, their litters, their wives chaines and iewels, & al other move. ables and houshold stuffe, that had cost aboue a thousand five hundred Drachmes apeece, at ten times as much as they were worth to the end that fuch as had bestowed their mony in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were over valued at Moreover he ordained for every thousand Asses that those trifling things were praifed at the owners thereof should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasurie to the end that they who were grieved with this taxe, and saw other pay lesse subsidie (that were as much worth as themselves, by living without, such toyes) might call home them. felues againe: and lay afide fuch foolish brauery and finenesse. Notwithstanding Cato, was ennied euery way. First, of them that were contented to pay the taxe imposed, rather then they would leaue their vanitie: and next, of them also, that would rather reforme themselves, then pay the taxe. And somethinke that this law was deuised rather to take away their goods then to let Superfluous them to make any shew of them: & they have a fond opinion besides, that their riches are better things rec-koned for feene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Whereat they say Aristotle the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And Scopus the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar friends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, and to make him grant it the fooner, told him it was a thing he might well spare, and di integer, did him no good: Mary faid he, all the goods I haue, are in fuch toyes as do me no good. So this couetous defire we have to be rich, cometh of no necessary defire in nature, but is bread in vs by a false opinion from the common fort. Now Cate caring least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grew to be more straight and seucre. For he cut off the pipes and quils private men had made to conuey water into their houses and gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their common conduit heads, and did plucke downe also mens porches that were made before their doores into the streete, and brought downe the prises of common workes in the city, and moreouer raifed the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could

all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of most men. Wherefore Titus Flaminius, and certaine other being bentagainst him in open Senate, caused all Catees couenants and bargaines made with the mafter worke-man, for repairing and mending of the common buildings & holy places, to be made voide, as things greatly prejudiciall to the commonwealth. And they did also stirre vp the boldest & rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him, because they should accuse him vnto the people, and make request he might be condemned in the fumme of two talents. They did maruelloufly hinder also the building of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate house: which pallace was finished notwithstanding, and called after his name, Basilica Porcia: as who would Basilica fay, the pallace Percius the Cenfor built. Howbeit it seemed the people of Rome did greatly like Perciability by Cato. and commend his gouernement in the Cenforship: for they set up a statue of him in the temple Catesi. of the goddeffe of Health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nortriumph, but only ingrauedthis inscription word for word, to this effect by translation: For the honour of Marcus Cato in the temple of the the Censor: because he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rome (that was farre goddesses) out of order, and given to licencious life) by his wife precepts, good maners, and holy institutions. Indeed, before this image was fet vp for him, he was wont to mockeat them that delighted, getheondiand were defirous of fuch things: faying, they did not confider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image-makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for himselfe, the people did alwayes cary liuely images of him in their hearts, meaning the memorie of his life and doings. When some wondered why diverse meane men and vnknowne persons had images set vp of them, and there were none of him, he gaue them this answer: I had rather men should aske why Cato had no image fet vp for him, then why he had any . In the end, he would have no honest man Bould as abide to be praised, vnlesse his praise turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was bide to be he one of them that would most praise himselfe. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awrie, praise but and show the praise himselfe. and that men had gone about to reproue them, he would fay they were not to be blamed, for the common. they were no Catoes that did offend. And fuch as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and weath. came short of his manner, he called them left handed Catoes. He would say that in most dangeroustimes the Senate vsed to cast their eyes vpo him, as passengers on the sea do looke vpon the master of the ship in a storme : and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, vntill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other as by himselse. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wisedome, his cloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendation, they praised him for what cate agood father to his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good fauer for his profit: for he hims in was neuer carelesse of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore me thinkes I must bus house, needs tell you by the way some part of his well doing, to follow our declaration of him. First of towards of all he maried a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both would make and chither proud and front enough: but yet he thought the nobler borne, would be the more ashamed dren. of diffhonefty, then the meaner borne: and therefore they would be more obedient to their thickends in all honeft management and reaferable ships to be the rehusbands, in all honest manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he said: that he that beate blebenes his wife or his child, did commit as great a facriledge, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest greatly things of the world : and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband then a tel wines. good Senatour. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of old So- Socrates crates, then his patience, in vfing his wife well, that was fuch a shrew, and his children that were fo hare-brained. After Catoes wife had brought him a fonne, he could not have fo carneft bearing businesse in hand, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to with the go hometo his house, about the time his wife did vnswaddle the young boy to wash and shift of his wife. him: for she gaueit sucke with her owne breasts, and many times would let the slaues chil- caton wife dren sucke of her also, because they might have a natural loue towards her sonne, having to be sume to be such as the sum of the sum sucked one milke, and bene brought vp together. When his sonne was come to age of discretion, and that he was able to learne any thing, Cato himselfe did teach him, notwithstanding he had a staue in his house called Chilo (a very honest man, and a good Grammarian) who this a did also teach many other: but as hesaid himselse, he did not like a saue should rebuke his Gramma. fonne, nor pull him by the cares, when peraduenture he was not apt to take very fodainely that """ was taught him: neither would he haue his sonne bound to a slaue for so great a matter as that, as to haue his learning of him. Wherefore he himfelfe taught him his grammer, the law,

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Male how Cato altered his maner and o. pinion by wealth.

Tousbandry

358 and to exercise his body, not onely to throw a dart, to play at the sword, to vawt, to ride a horse brought op and to handle all forts of weapons, but also to fight with fifts, to abide cold and heate, and to fwim ouer a swift running river. He said moreover, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his owne hand, because his fon might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell the He said alfo, that he tooke as great heed of speaking any foule or vncomely words before his son, ashe would have done if he had bene before the Vestall Nunnes. He never was in the hot house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the Romaines at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathethemselues with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one another naked, But afterwards they having learned of the GREEKES to wash themselves naked with men, it tauoh themalfo to be naked in the bathe euen with their wines. There lacked no towardlinesse, nor good disposition in Catoes some, to frame himselfe vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himselfe willing to follow whatsoener his father trad taught him. Howbeit hewas fuch a weake puling, that he could not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painefull life, which himselfe had kept. Yet he became valiant in the warres. For he fought maruellous stoutly in the battell, in which Perseus King of Macedon was overthrowne by Paulus Amylius: where his fword being striken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweater besides, he fell into a great sury, and prayed some of his friends to help him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vpon the enemies in that place where his fword fell out of his hand, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them; and clearing the place, found it in #the end, but with much ado, being vnder such an heape of dead bodies and other weapons as well Romaines as Macedonians, one lying on another. Paulus Emplius the General hearing of this act of his, did highly commend the yong man. And at this day there is a letter ex. tant from Cato to his son, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the reconering of his fword againe. Afterwards, this Cato the yonger maried Tertia, one of Paulus Emylius daughters, and fifter vnto Scipio the fecond, and fo was matched in this noble house, not only for his owne vertues fake, but for respect of his fathers dignitie and authority: whereby the great care, paines, and study that Cato the father took in bringing vp his sonne, in vertue & learning, was honourably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great num. ber of young litle slaues which he bought, when any would fell their prisoners in the warres. He did chuse them thus young, because they were apt yet to learne any thing he would trainethem vnro, and that a man might breake them like young colts, or little whelpes. But none of themall, how many focuer he had, did euer go to any mans house, but when himselfe or his wifedid fend them. If any manaske them what Cato did: they answered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or els they must sleepe for he loued them well that were fleepy, holding opinion that flaues that loued fleep were more tractable and willing to do any thing a man would fet them to, then those that were waking And because he thought that nothing did more prouoke slaues to mischiese and naughtinese, then lust and defire of women: he was contented his slaues might company with his bondwomen in his house, for a peece of mony he appointed them to pay, but with straight commandement befides, that none of them should deale with any other woman abroad. At the first when he gaue himselfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his feruants did about his person saying that it was a soule thing for a gentleman or nobleman, to fall out with his servants for his belly. Afterwards as he rose to better state, & grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his friends and familiars, they were no some gone, but he wold fcourge the with whips & leather thongs, that had not waited as they should haue done at the boord, or had forgotte any thing he would haue had done. He would euercraftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they should be friends, being euer icalous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deferued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to die, he would put him to deathbecations good fore them all: Howbeit in his later time he grew greedy, & gaue vp his tillage, saying that it was more pleasant then profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his mony surely, and bring a certaine reuenue to his purse, he bestowed it vpon ponds, and naturall hote bathes, places sit for fullers craft; vpon medowes and pastures, vpon copises and young wood; and of all these

he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would fay, Iupiter himselfe could not diminish. Furthermore he was a great vsurer, both by land and by sea: and the vsury he tooke cate by fea, was most extreme of all other, for he vsed it in this fort. He would have them to whom he great fish lent his mony vnto, that trafficked by sea, to have many partners, to the number of fifty; and that He tooke they should have so many ships. Then he would venture among them for a part onely, whereof Quintius his flaue whom he had manumiffed, was made his factor, and vied to faile and traf- 2007 to ficke with the merchants, to whom he had lent his mony out to viury. And thus he did not venture all the mony he lent, but a litle peece onely for his part, and got maruellous riches by his v. furic. Moreouer he lent money to any of his flaues, that would therewith buy other yong flaues, whom they taught and brought vpto do feruice, at Catoes charge and cost: and then they fold them againe at the yeares end, and some of them Cato kept for his owne service, and gave his saues as much for them as any other offered. Therefore to allure his son in like maner to make profit of his mony, he told him it was no wife mans part to diminish his substance, but rather the part of a widow. Yet this was a token of a most greedy couetous mind, that he durst affirme him to be divine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more then his father left him. Furthermore, when Case was growne very old, Carneades the ACADEMICK, and Diogenes the Stoicke, were fent from Athens as Ambassadors to Rome, to sue for a release of a fine of fine hundred talents which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS vpon a condemnation passed against them for a contempt of appearance, by the sentence of the Sieroni- carrendes ANS, at the fuite of y Oropians. Immediatly when the fetwo philosophers were arrived in the the Philosophers were arrived in the Philosophers w city of Rome, the yong gentlementhat were giuen to their books, did visit and welcome them, sophers sent and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to Carneades: ambassas whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse then the same ranne of him, Rome, &specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppresse his praise. Rome straight was ful, as if a wind had blowne this rumor into enery mans eare:that there was a Grecian arrived, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence wold leade a man as he lift. There was no other talke a while through the whole citie, he had fo inflamed the yong gentlemens minds with loue and defire to be learned; that all other pleafures and delights were fet afide, and they disposed themselues to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophie, as if some secret and divine inspiration from about had procured them to it. Wherof the Lords and Senators of Rome were glad; and reioyced much to feetheir youth fo well giuen to knowledge, and to the studie of the Greeke tongue, and to delight in the companie of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcus Cato, euen from the beginning that yong menbegan to study the Greeke tongue, & that it grew in estimation in Rome, did dislike caso mission in Rome, did dislike ked the of infearing left the youth of Rome that were defirous of learning and cloquence, would viter- Grace ly giue ouer the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he faw the estimation and same songwee. of thesetwo personages did increase more and more, and in such sort that Caius Aquilius, one of the chiefest of the Senate made sute to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the city by some honest meane and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambassadours were long there, and had not dispatch: considering also they were cunning men, and could easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might perswade them to determine some answer for them, and so to send them home againe to their schooles, to teach their children of GRECE, and to let alone the children of Rom B, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any private ill will or malice he bare to Carneades, as some men thought but because he generally hated Philosophie, and of ambition despised the muses and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had said, the ancient Socrates was but a busie man, and a stirrer vp of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to vsurp tyranny and rule in his country: by peruerting and changing the manners and customes of the fame, and alluring the subjects thereof to a disliking of their lawes and ancient customes. And he laughed at Socrates schoole, that taught the art of Eloquence: saying his schollers waxed old, and were still so long in learning, that they meant to vse their eloquence and pleade causes in another world before Minos, when they were dead. Therefore to plucke his sonne from the study of the Greeke tongue, he said to him with a strained voice, and in a bigger found then he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecie or inspiration)

MARCUS CATO

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Cato talk

306 that folong as the ROMAINE's disposed themselves to study the Greeke tongue, so long would they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proued his vaine words false and vntrue. For the city of Rome did neuer flourish so much, nor the Romaine Empire was ever fogreat. as at that time, when learning and the Greeke tongue most flourished. Howbeit Cato did nor onely hate the Philosophers of GRECE, but did mislike them also that professed phisicke in Rome. For he had either heard or read the answer Hippocrates made, when the King of PERSIA fent for him, and offered him agreat summe of gold and filuer, if he would come and serve him: who sware he would neuer serue the barbarous people that were naturall enemies to the GRECIANS. So Cato affirmed it was an oath that all other Phisitions sware euer after: where fore he commanded his sonne to flie from them all alike, and said he had written a little booke of phisticke, with the which he did healethose of his house when they were sicke, and did keepe them in health, when they were whole. He neuer forbade them to eate, but did alwayes bring them vp with hearbs, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringdoues and hares: for fuch meates faid he, are good for the fick, and light of digestion, saving that they make them dreame & snort that eate them. He boasted also how with this maner of phisicke, he did alwayes keepe himselfe in health, & his family from ficknesse. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of for he buried both his wife and his sonne also. But he himselfe was of a strong nature, and a lust body, full of strength, & health, and lived long without sicknesses so that when he was a very old man and past mariage, he loued women well, and maried a yong maiden for that cause onely. After his first wife was dead, he maried his sonne vnto Paulus A Emylius daughter, the sister of Scipio, the second African. Cato himselfe being a widower, tooke paines with a prety yong maide that waited in his house, and came by stealth to his chamber: howbeit his haunt could not long continue secret in his house, and specially where there was a young gentlewoman ma. ried, but needs must be spied. So, one day when the young maid went somewhat boldly by the chamber of yong Cato, to go to his father, the yong man faid neuer a word at it: yet his father perceiued that he was fomewhat ashamed, and gaue the maide no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his sonne and daughter in law were angry with the matter, saying nothing to them of it, nor shewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the market place (as his maner was with a trainethat followed him, amongst whom was one Salonius that had bene his clearke, and waited upon him as the rest did. Cato calling him out aloud by his name, asked him if he had not yet bestowed his daughter. Salonius answered him, he had not yet beflowed her, nor would not before he made him privy to it. Then Cato told him againe: I have found out a husband for her, and a fonne in law for thee, and it will be no ill match for her vnlesse she mislike the age of the man; for indeed he is very old, but otherwise there is no fault in him. Salonius told him againe, that for that matter he referred all to him, and his daughter allo, praying him euen to make what match he thought good for her: for she was his humble servant, and relyed wholly vpon him, standing in need of his fauour and furtherance. Then can be. gan to discouer, and told him plainely he would willingly marrie her himselfe. Salonius therewith was abashed, because he thought Cato was too old to marriethen, and himselfe was no sit man to match in any honourable house, specially with a Consull, and one that had triumphed: howbeir in the end, when he saw Cato meant good earnest, he was very glad of the match, and fo with this talke they went on together to the market place, and agreed then vpon themariage. Now while they went about this matter, Cato the fonne taking fome of his kinne and friends with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in anything, that for spite he should bring him a steppe-mother into his house. Then his father cried out, frer to his and faid: O my sonne, I pray thee say not so, I like well all thou doest, and I find no cause Senne of his fecond many to complaine of thee: but I doit, because I desire to have many children, and to leave many such like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some say that Pissfratus the tyrant of A-THENS, made such a like answer vnto the children of his first wife, which were mengrowne ed Salonius when he maried his second wife Timonassa, of the towne of Argos, of whom he had (as being are it is reported) lophon, and Thessalus. Butto return again to Cato, he had a sonne by his seguing a conduction of the state of cond wife, whomhe named after her name, Cato SALONIAN: and his eldest sonne died in his and had a office being Prætor, of whom he often speaketh in diuers of his bookes commending himfor a fon by her. very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very patiently, and like a graue wise man, not leaving therfore to do any feruice or busines for the state, other wise then he did before

And therein he did not as Lucius Lucullus, and Metellus furnamed Pius, did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouernement and state, after they were waxen old. For hethought it a charge and dutie, whereunto every honest man whilest he lived was bound in al piety. Nor as Scipio African had done before him, who perceiving that the glory & fame of his doings did but purchase him the ill will of his citizens, he changed the rest of his life into quietnesse, and for sooke the city and all dealings in commonwealth, and went and dwelt in the countrey. But as there was one that told Dionysius the tyrant of Syraccys, as it is written, that ting and he could not dye more honorably, then to be buried in the tyranny: euen fo did Cato thinke, that Catouras honorably and then in Carolina Catouras hecould not waxe more honeftly old, then in feruing of the comonwealth unto his dying day. So at vacant times, when Cato was defirous a litle to recreate and refresh himselse, he passed his time away in making of bookes, and looking vpon his husbandry in the countrey. This is the cause why he wrote so many kinds of bookes and stories. But his tillage and husbandry in the countrey, he did tend and follow in his youth, for his profite. For he faid he had but two forts of reuenue, tillage and sparing: but in age what soener he did in the countrey, it was all for pleafure, and to learne fomething euer of nature. For he hath written a book of the country life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth how to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe fruits: he would needs shew such fingularitie and skill in all things. When he was in his house in the country, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and fuch as had land lying about him, to come and suppe with him, and he would be merry with them: for that his company was not onely pleasant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleasant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but alfoto the younger fort. For he had feene much, and had experience in many things, and vied fambul to old and the beauty of the head feene much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much, and had experience in many things, and vied to old and the beauty of the head feet had been much and the head feet had been head feet had been head feet had been head feet had been head f much pleasant talke profitable for the hearers. He thought the boord one of the chiefest means young. to breed loue amongst men, and at his ownetable would alwayes praise good men and vertuous The table a citizens, but would fuffer no talke of enill men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is soprocure thought the last notable act and service he did in the common wealth, was the overthrow of live, and CARTHAGE: for indeed he that wan it & razed it vtterly, was Scipio the fecond, but it was chiefly through Catoes counsell and aduise, that the last warre was taken in hand against the CAR- be red. THAGINIANS, and chanced vpon this occasion. Cato was sent into Africk e to understand the cause and controuersie that was betweene the CARTHAGINIANS and Massinista, King of Nv- Cato au-MIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was fent thither because King Massinissa shorosihe had euer bene a friend vnto the Romaines, and for that the Carthaginians were become left war their confederates fince the last warres, in the which they were ouerthrowne by Scipio the first, against the who tooke for a fine of them a great part of their Empire, and imposed vpon them besides, a nian. great year cly tribute. Now when he was come into that country, he found not the city of Can-THAGE in misery, beggery, and out of heart, as the Romains supposed but full of lusty youths, very rich and wealthy, and great store of armour and munition in it for the wars, fo that by reafon of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high faile, and stooped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the Romains to leaue to vinderstand the controuersiesbetwixt the CARTHAGINIANS and Massinisa, and ratherto provide betimes to destroy CARTHAGE, that hath euer bene an ancient enemie to the Romaines, and cuer fought to be reuenged of that they had suffered at their hands before, and that they were now growneto that greatnes and courage in fo short time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the Romaines, ascuer they did before. Therfore fo foone as hereturned to Rome, he plainely told the Senate, that the losses and harmes the Cartha-GINIANS had received by the last wars they had with them, had not so much diminished their power and ftrength, as the same had shewed their owne folly and lacke of wisdome: for it was to be feared much, lest their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakned them for the wars. And that they made warres now with the NVMIDIANS, to exercise them only, meaning afterwards to war with themselues; and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission and stay of warres, only expecting time and oportunitie to breake with them againe. They fay moreouer, that befides the perswasions he vsed, he brought with him of purpose Africk e figs in his long sleeues, which he shooke out among st them in the Senate: & when the Senators maruelled to see so goodly faire greene figges, he said: The country that beareth them, is not about three dayes failing from Rome. But yet this is more strange which they report of him besides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this

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was ever the one end of his tale: Me thinketh ftill Carthage would be vtterly destroyed. p_4 . blius Scipio Nassca, vsed cuer in like maner the contrarie speech: that he thought it meete CAR-THAGE should stand. This Publius Scipio saw, in my opinion, that the Romaines through their gainst Cates pride and infolencie were full of abfurdities, and caried themselves very high, by reason of their for the de . happy fixed the and victories and were so lostic minded that the Senare could hardly milest for the de happy successe and victories, and were so lostie minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them from of happy successe and victories, and were so lostie minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them and that by reason of their great authority, they imagined they might bring their citie to what height they would. Therfore he spake it that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwaies continue as a bridle, to raine in the insolencie of the people of Rom B, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS Were of no sufficient power to make wars with the Romaines, nor yetto ouercome them: and euen so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all. Cato still replied to the contrary, that therin consisted the greatest danger of all: that a city which was ener of great force and power, and had bene punished for former warres and miserie, would alwayes haue an eye of reuenge to their enemies, and be much like a horse that had broken his haltar, that being vnbridled, would run vpon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor found aduice, so to suffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward danger, and the feare they stood in to lose their conquest:and specially, when they lest meanes within the citie selfe to fall still again to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose Cato was the occasion of the third and last war the Romaines had against the Carthaginians. But now when the warre was begun, Cato died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would fay, who it should be that shouldend thosewars. And it was Scipio the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge one ly as a Colonel ouer a thousand footmen: but in all battels, and wherefocuer there was wars, he shewed himselfe euer valiant and wise. Insomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto Rome, and Cato hearing them, spake (as they say) these two verses of Homer:

This onely man right wife reputed is to be, All other seeme but shadowes, set by such wise men as he.

Which prophecie Scipio soone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreouer, the iffue Cato left behind him, was a sonne he had by his second wife: who was called (as we said before) Cato Sa-LONIAN, by reason of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldest son that died before

him. This Cato SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a sonne behind him that came to be Confull, and was grandfather vnto Cato the Philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

THE



THE COMPARISON OF Aristides with Marcus Cato.



300 W that we have let downe in writing, these notable and worthic driftides things of memorie: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life and carons of the other, perhaps the difference betweene the one and the other the com. will not casily be discerned, seeing there be so many similitudes and resemblances one of another. But if we come to compare them in cuery particularitie, as we would do Poets workes, or pictures drawne in tables: first, in this we shall find them much alike, that having had nothing else to preferre and commend them, but their onely vertue and wisedome, they have bene both governours in their common wealth,

and hane thereby atchieued to great honour and estimation. But me thinkes when Aristides came to deale in matters of state, the common wealth and Seigniorie of ATHENS being then of nogical power, it was easie for him to aduance himselfe, because the other Gouernours and Captaines of his time, and that were competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authoritie. For the taxe of the richest persons then at ATHENS in reuenue, was but at five hundred bashels of corne and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni. The second taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushels, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where Marcus Cato coming out of a litle village from a rude countrey life, went at the first dash (as it were) to plunge himselfe into a bottomlesse sea of government in the common wealth of Rome: which was not ruled then by fuch gouernours and Captaines, as Curius Fabricius, and Ostilius were in old time. For the people of Rome did no more bestow their offices upon such meane labouring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke; but they would looke now vponthe nobilitic of their honfes, and upon their riches that gauethem most money, or sued earnestly to them for the office. And by reason of their great power and authority, they would be waited vpon and fued vnto, by those that sought to beare the honourable offices of the state and commonwealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to have Themistocles an adversary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they fay, that all the goods his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fine hundred talents, when he began to deale in state) in respect as to contend for the chiefest place of honour and authority against Scipio African, Seruilius Galba, or Quintius Flaminius, having no other maintenance, nor helpe to trust vnto. but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnesse. Moreouer, Aristides at the battels of Marathon, and of Platzes, was but one of the ten captaines of the Athenians: where Cato was chosen one of two Confuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Cenfors, before seuen other that made suite for it, which were all men of great reputation in the city, and yet was Cato preferred before them all. Furthermore, Arifides was never

Lato in affaires exselled Aris 364

Aristides and Catees manmealth

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the chiefest in any victory. For arthe battell of Mararnon, Militades was the Generall; and at the battell of Salamina, Themistocles: and at the journey of Plat Els, king Pausaias as Herodotus faith, who writeth that he had a maruellous victory there. And there were that ftrined with Aristides for the second place, as Sophanes, Amynias, Callimachus, and Cynegirus, euery one of the which did notable valiant service at those battels. Now Cato was Generall himselfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthinesse and counsell, during the warre he made in Spaine while he was Confull. Afterwards also in the journey where king Antiochus was ouerthrowne in the countrey of THERMOPYLES, Cato being but a Colonell of athousand footmen, and serving vn. der another that was Confull, warme the honour of the victory, when he did fuddenly fet vpon Antiochus behind, whereas he looked only to defend himselfe before. And that victory without all doubt was one of the chiefest acts that ever Cato did, who drave As IA out of GRECE, and opened the way vnto Lucius Scipio to passe afterwards into Asia. So then for the wars, neither the one for the other of them was euer ouercome in battell but in peace and civill governement Aristides was supplained by Themistocles, who by practise got him to be banished Athens for a time. Whereas Cato had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of Rome that were in dipleasures histime, sworne enemies vnto him and having alwayes contended with them even to his last houre, he euer kept himfelfe on found ground, like a front champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foile. For he having accused many before the people, and many also accusing him, himself was neuer once condemned, but alwaies his tongue was the buckler and defence of his life and inno-The power cencie. Which was to him fo necessary a weapon, and with it he could helpe himselfe in fo great matters, that (in my opinion) it was the only cause why he neuer received dishonor, nor was vniustly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truly, cloquence is a fingular gift, as Antipater witnesseth, in that he wrote of Ariffetle the Philosopher after his death faying that amongst many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could perfiwade what he lifted. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or know. Occomonia, ledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a citie: a part whereof is Occomomia, commonly called house-rule, considering that a city is no other, then an assembly of many housholds and houses together; and then is the city commonly strong and of power, when as therownes men and citizens are wife and wealthy. Therefore Lycurgus that banished gold and filter from LACED EMON, and coyned them mony of iron, that would be marred with fire and vinegar when it was hote, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that ever went before him, he did not only cut off all superfluousexpences that commonly waite upon riches, but did also provide that his people should lacke nothing necessary to line withall, fearing more to see a begger and needy person dwelling in hiscity, and enjoy the priviledges of the fame, then a proud man by reason of his riches. So me thinks, Cato was as good a father to his houshold, as he was a good governour to the commonwealth: for he did honeftly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by sauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof in his booke he wrote fundry good rules and precepts. Arefides contrariwife, made inflice odious and flanderous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans selfe that vsed instice. And yet Hesiodus the Poet, that commendeth instice so much, doth wishvs withall to be good husbands, reprouing floth and idleneffe, as the roote and original of all iniuftice. And therefore me thinkes Homer spake wisely when he said:

In times past, neither did I labour, carke nor care For businesse, for family, for food, nor yet for fare: But rather did delight, with hips the feaes to faile. To draw above, to fling a dart in wars, and to prenaile,

As giving vs to vnderstand, that instice and husbandry are two relatives, and necessarily linked one to the other: & that a man who hath no care of his ownethings nor house, doth live vniustly, and taketh from other men. For inflice is not like oyle, which Phisitions fay is very wholsome for mans body, if it be applied outwardly and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke it neither oughtainst man to profit strangers, & in the end not to care for himself nor his. Therefore me thinkes this governing vertue of Aristides had a fault in this respect, if it be true that most Authors write of him: that he had no care nor forecast with him to leave so much, as to marry

his daughters withall, nor wherewith to bury himselfe. Where those of the house of Cato, continued Prætorsand Consuls of Rome, euen vnto the fourth descent. For his sons sonnes, and yet lower, his sonnes sons sons came to the greatest offices of dignitie in Rome. And Aristides, who was in his time the chiefest man of GRECE, left his posterity in so great pouerty, that some were whether compelled to become foothfayers (that interpret dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy thing. him. But to cotrary this, it might be faid pouerty of it felf, is neither ill nor dishonest: but where it groweth by idlenesse, carelesse life, vanity and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth vpon any man that is honest, & liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iust, valiant, wise, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great figne of a noble mind: for it is vnpoffible that man should do any great things, that had such a base mind as to thinke alwaies vpon trifles; and that he should releeue the poore greatly, that lacketh himselfe reliefe in many things. And fure, riches are not fo necessary for an honest man that will deale truely in the commonwealth, and gouernement; as is sufficiency: which being a contentation in it selfe, and desirous of no superfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the common wealth, that enioyeth the same. For God is he alone, who simply and absolutely hath no need of any thing at all: wherefore the chiefest vertue that can be in man, that cometh nearest vnto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to have need of least things. For like as a lustic body, and well complexioned, hath no need of superfluous fare and curious apparell: euen fo a cleane life, and found house, is kept with a litle charge; and so should the goods also be proportioned, according to vse and necessitie. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no defire to spend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do defire it, and dare not for niggardlinesse spend part of that he laboureth for, then he is miserable. Now would I aske Cato with a good will, if riches be made butto vsethem, why doe you boast then you have gotten much together, when a litle doth suffice your And if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you find, to drinke of the same tappe workmen & labourers do, not to care for purple died gownes, nor for houses with plastered walls: it followeth then that neither Aristides, nor Epaminodas, nor Manius Curius, nor Caius Fabritius, haue forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not vie nor occupy. For it was to no purpole for a man that effected rootes and parsenips to be one of the best dishes in the world, and that did seeth them himselfe in his chimney, whilest his wife did bake his bread, to talke so much of an Asse, and to take paines to write, by what art and industrie a man might quickly inrich himself. For it is true, that sufficiencie and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thing: but it is because it taketh from vs all defire of vnnecessary things, and maketh vs not to passe for them. And therefore we find that Arifides faid, when rich callias case was pleaded, that such as were poore against their wills, might well be ashamed of their pouerry; but such as were willingly poore, had good cause and might justly rejoyce at it. For it were a mad part to thinke that Aristidespouerty proceeded of a base mind and slouthfulnes, since he might quickly have made himfelfe rich without any dishonestie at all, by taking onely the spoile of some one of the barbarous people whom he had ouercome, or any one of their tents. But enough for this matter, Furthermore, touching the victories and battels Cato had won, they did in maner litle helpe to increase avillides the Empire of Rom B: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no greater. But Aristides feets or cause did victories are the greatest conquest and noblest acts that the GRECIANS ever did in any wars: as most benethe journy of Marathon, the battel of Salamina, & the battel of Plat Hes. And yet there is no reasons a second of the salamine, is no reason to compare king Antiochus with king Xernes, northe wals of the townes of Spain B which Cato ouerthrew and razed, vnto fo many thousands of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrown and put to the fword by the GRECIANS, as well by land as by sea. In all which seruices, Aristides was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valiantnesse in fighting: not withstanding he gaue other y glory of it, that defired it more then himselfe, as he did easily leaue the gold & filuer vnto those that had more need of it then himself. Wherein he shewed himself of a nobler mind then all they did. Furthermore, for my part, I wil not reproue Catoes maner, to commend & extoll himselfso highly about all other, since he himself faith in an oration he made that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himself; but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect that desireth other should not praise him, then he that comonly doth vie to praise him-

ARISTIDES AND CATO.

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_4mbition a hatefull thing in the common wealth.

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felfe. For not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanitie, and necessary for him that will line amongst men of gouernment : and cuen so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuicynto him that is infected withall. Of the which Ariflides was cleare, and Caro farre gone in it. For A. ristides did helpe Themistocles his chiefest enemie, in all his noblest acts, and did serue him (asa man would fay) like a private fouldier that guarded his person, when Themsseeles was Generall being the onely instrument and meane of his glory: which was indeed the onely cause that the city of ATHENS was faued, and reftored again to her former good state. Cato contrariwise, cross fing Scipio in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and journey vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame Hannibal, who vntill that time was ener inuincible; and so in the end. continuing him still in icalousie with the state, and ever accusing of him, he never left him till he had driven him out of the citie, and caused his brother Lucius Scipie to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperancy & modesty which Cato did euer commend so highly, Aristides truly kept them most fincerely. But Catoes second red for his wife, who maried a maid (that was neither fit for his dignitic and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a letcherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he cannot be excused with honestie, that being a man past mariage, brought his sonne that was maried; and his faire daughter in law, a step-mother into his house, and but a Clerks daughter, whose father did write for mony, for any man that would hire him. Take it Cate maried her to fatisfic his luft. or else for spite to be reuenged of his son, because his son could not abide his young filth he had before: either of these turneth stil to his shame, as well the effect as also the cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his sonne why he maried, was a lye. For if he had grounded his desire indeed, to have gotten other children, as he faid, that might be as honest men as his eldest sonne; then surely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him another wife soone after, that had bene of an honest house; and not to have lyen with a young harlatry filth. till his fonne had spied him; and then when he saw it was knowne, to go and mary her.

and to make alliance with them, not because it was honourable for him to do it, but easiest tobe obtained.

The end of Marcus Catoes life the Cenfor.

THE



THE LIFE OF Philopæmen.





BOOGN N thecitie of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called Caffander, one that was as nobly borne & of as great authoritie in gouernment there, as any man of his time what soener. Not with standing, Fortune frowned on him in the end, infomuch as he was driven out of his country, & went to lie in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto Crauses, Philopamens father, a rare man, and nobly given Thilese in all things, and one that loued him also very well. Now so long as mem fa-Cransis lived, Cassander was so well vsed at his hands, that he could lack ther. nothing: and when he was departed this world, Caffander, to requite caffander, the love Crauss bare him in his life time, tooke his sonne into his charge, being an orphane, and Philere.

taught him, as Homer faid Achilles was brought vp by the old Phanix. So this child Philopamen misschooles prove to have noble conditions & increased always from an Achilles was brought vp by the old Phanix.

grew to haue noble conditions, & increased alwayes from good to better. Afterwards, when he came to grow to mans state, Ecdemus and Demophanes, both MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke Ecdemus him into their gouernment. They were two Philosophers that had bene hearers of Arcesilaus, in and Demo-

the schoole of Academia, and afterwards employed all the Philosophie they had learned, vpon Philosophie their gouerning of the common welth, and dealing in matters of state, as much or more, then to shiling. any other men of their time. For they deliuered their city from the tyrannie of Aristodemus, who kept it in subjection, by corrupting those that killed him. And they did helpe Aratus also to drive thetyrant Nicecles, out of SICYONE. At y request of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with civil diffention & factions among them, they went vnto CYRENA, wherethey did reforme the state of the common wealth, and stablished good lawes for them. But for the selections, they reckoned the education and bringing vp of Philopamen, the chiefest act that ever they did indging that they had procured an vniuerfall good vnto all GR E C 1, to bring vpa man of fo noble a nature, in

the rules & precepts of Philosophy. And to fay truly, GRECE did loue him paffingly wel, as the relation last valiant man she brought forth in her age, after so many great and famous ancient captaines: manthe last and did alwayes increase his power and authority, as his glory did also rife. Whereupon there formers was a Romaine, who to praise him the more, called him the last of the Grecians: meaning forest

whole image is yet to be scene in the city of DBLPHES, excelletly weldone, as if he were aline.

that after him, GRECE neuer brought forth any worthy person, deseruing the name of a GRE-CIAN. And now concerning his person, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had: for his

PHILOPOEMEN.

Philopae. men taken

Philopa -

And for that they report of his hostesse in the citie of MEGARA, who tooke him for a serning man; that was by reason of his courtesie, not standing vpon his reputation, and because he went plainly besides. For she understanding that the General of the Achaians came to Innethereal night, she bestirred her, and was very busie preparing for his supper, her husband peraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane feason came Philopamen into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his back. The fimple woma feeing him no better apparelled, took him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and fo praied him to lend her his hand in the kitchin. He straight cast off his cloke, and began to fall to hew wood. So as Philopamen was busic about it, in cometh her husband, and finding him riving of wood: Ha ha ha, faid he, my Lord Philopemen, why what meaneth this? Truly nothing elfe, faid he in his DORICAN tongue, but that I am punished, because I am neither faire boy, nor goodly man. It is true that Titus Quintius Flaminius faid one day vnto him, feeming to mocke him for his personage: O Philogamen, thou hast faire hands and good legs, but thou hast no belly for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Notwithstanding, I take it this iesting tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body, because he had both good horsemen and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. These ieasts, schollers have taken vp in schooles, of Philepainen. But now to descend to his nature and conditions: it feemeth that the ambition & defire he had to win honour in his doings, was not without some heatcand wilfulnesse. For, because he would altogether follow Epaminondas steps, he sliewed his hardinesse to enterprise any thing, his wisedome to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no mony could corrupt him: but in civill matters and controuerfies, he could hardly other whiles keep himself within y bounds of modestie, patience. and curtefie, but would often burst out into choler, and wilfulnesse. Wherefore it seemeth, that he was a better captaine for warres, then a wife gouernor for peace. And indeed, euen from his youth he euer loued foldiers & armes, and delighted maruellously in all martiall exercises in Philopa handling of his weapon well, riding of horses gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And because he men delighfeemed to have a naturall gift in wreftling, certain of his friends, & fuch as were careful of him. red in mar did wish him to giue himself most vnto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made fuch profession, wold be no hinderance to their martial exercises. Answer was made him again. That the disposition of the person, & maner of life that wrestlers vsed, and such as followed like exercifes, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a fouldier, and specially touching life and limme. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe themselues in good plight, by much fleeping, cating, and drinking, by labouring, and taking their case at certaine houres, by not misfing a iot of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to lose the force and strength of their bodie, if they did furfeit neuer so litle, or passed their ordinarie course and rule of diet: where fouldiers contrariwiseare vsedtoall change and diversitie of life; and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnesse and scarcitie, and to watch in the night without sleepe. Philopamen hearing this did not onely for fake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwards being generall of an armie, he fought by all infamous meanes he could to put downe all wrestling and fuch kind of exercise, which made mens bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become wrefiling. fouldiers to fight in defence of their countrey, that otherwise would have bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his book and schoolemasters, and began to weare armour in inuations the Mantineans vsed to make vpon the Laced & Monians, to get fome spoile on a sodaine, or to destroy a part of their countrey: Philopamen then would ener be the foremost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leisure, he vied much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his bodie with toile and trauell, or else he would be digging of his grounds. For he had a faire mannor, not passing twentie furlongs out of the citie, whither he would walke comonly after dinner or supper and then when night came that it was bedtime, he would lie vpon some ill fauored mattresse, as the meanest labourer he had, & in the morning by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine-men to labour in his vineyard, or els with were em his plough-men to follow the plough, and sometimes returned againe to the city, and followed

matters of the common wealth, with his friends and other officers of the same. What soeuer he

could spare & get in the wars, he spent it in buying of goodly horses, in making of saire armors,

or paying his poorecountry mens ranfome, that were taken prisoners in the warres: but for his

goods and revenue, he fought only to increase them by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed

the inftest and best way of getting of goods. For he did not trifle therin, but imployed his whole

Philopa mens baines

Philopæ

men did

reprose

care and studie vpon it, as one that thought it fit for every noble man & gentleman so to travel, Philopa. gonerne, and increase his owne, that he should have no occasion to couet or vsurpanother mans. men such He took no pleasure to heare all kind of matters, nor to reade all forts of books of Philosophy: and car but those onely that would teach him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to reade Homers workes, faming those places only that stirred vp mens hearts most vnto valiantnes. But of all other stories, he specially delighted to reade Enangelus bookes, which treated of the Pelopar discipline of warres, how to set battels, and declared the acts and gests of Alexander the Great: lights. faying, that men should ever bring words vnto deeds, vnlesse they would take them for vaine reade Efories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in his books of the seates of warre, and how books of the battels should be ordered, he was not only contented to see them drawn and set out in charts and discipline maps, but would also put them in execution, in the places themselues as they were set out. And therfore when the army marched in order of battel in the field, he would confider & fludy with himselfe, the sodaine cuents and reproches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they coming 'downe to the valley, orgoing out of a plaine, were to passe a riner or a ditch, or through some straight; also when he should spread out his armic, or else gather it narrow; and this he did not only forecast by himselse, but would also argue the same with the captaines that were about him. For Philopamen doubtleffe was one of the odde men of the world, that most esteemed the discipline of warre, and sometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the most large field & most fruit ful ground, that valiantnes could be exercised in: so that he despised and contemned althat were no foldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, Gleonenes King of LACED AMON, came one night vpon the fodaine, and gaue an affault to the citic of LEGALIPOLIS, fo lustily that he draue backe the watch and got into the marketplace, and wanne it. Philopamen hearing of it, ran immediatly to the rescue. Neuerthelesse, though he fought very valiantly, and did like a noble fouldier, yet he could not repulse the mensued enemics, nor drive them out of the city: but by this meanes he got the citizens leifure, and fome the Meanes time to get them out of the town to faue themselves, staying those that followed them: & made from Close Change College Colleg Chomenes still waite vpon him, for hat in the end he, had much ado to faue himselfe, being the last mene. King manand very fore hurt, and his horse also slaine vnder him. Shortly after, Cleomenes being aducttiled that the MEGALIPOLITANS were gotte into the city of MESSINA, he fent vato the tolet men very them understand, that he was ready to deliuer them their city, lands, & goods, againe. But Philo- forthurs. pamen seeing his countrymen very glad of these newes, and that every man prepared to returne againe in halt, he staid them with these perswasions, shewing them that Cleomenes denice was. not to deliuer them their city, but rather to take them together with their city: for eleeing well inough, that he could not continue long there, to keep naked walles and empty houses, and that himselfein the end should be compelled to go his way. This perswasion staid the MEGALIPG-LITANS, but withall it gaue Cleomenes occasion to burne and plucke downea great part of the city, and carried away a great fumme of money and a great spoile. Afterwards when king Anti- King Antigonus was come to aide the Achaias against Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the top of gonus came the mountaines of Sellasia, and kept all the passages, and wayes vnto them out of all those Actorians quarters: King Antigonus fet his army in battell hard by him, determining to fet vpon him, and grains todrine him thence if he could possibly. Philopamen was at that time amongst the horsinen with King of his citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the fide of them, being a great number of footmen and Lareda. excellent good fouldiers, which did shut in the taile of all the army. So they were commanded men. to fland ftil, & to keep their place, until fuch time as they did shew them a red coate of armes on the top of a pike, from the other wing of the battell, where the King himselfe stood in person. Notwithstanding this straight commandement, the captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to see if they could force the LACED EMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The Achaians contrariwife, kept their place and order, as they were commanded. Eudidas, Cleomenes brother, perceiuing how their enemies footmen were seuered from their horsmen, sodainly sent the lightest armed souldiers and lustiest fellowes he had in his bands, to Philope. giuea charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behind, to proue if they could make them turne their faces minifal in onthein, because they had no horsemen for their guard. This was done, and these light armed men did maruelloufly trouble and diforder the ILLYRIANS. Philopæmen perceiuing that, and ing closconsidering how these light armed men would be easily broken and driven back, since occasion weres. selfeenforced them to it: he went to tell the Kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes.

Philot ame fight.

But when he saw he could not make them vnderstand it, and that they made no reckoning of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, because he had not yet attained any credit or estimation to be judged a man that could inuent or execute any startegeme of warre, he went thither himselfe and tooke his citizens with him: and at his first coming, he so troubled these light armed men. that he made them flie, and flue a number of them. Moreouer, to encourage the better king Antigonus men, and to make them giue a lustic charge vpon the enemies; whilest they were thus troubled and out of order, he left his horse and marched on foot vp hill and down hill, in rough and stonie wayes, full of springs and quauemires, being heauily armed at all peeces as a manat armes, and fighting in this fort very painfully and vncafily, he had both his thighes past through with a dart, having a leather thong on the middest of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the flesh, yet was it a strong blow; for it pierced both thighes through and through, that the yron was feene on the other fide. Then was he fo cumbred with this blowas if he had bene shackled with irons on his fect, and knew not what to do: for the leather fastened in the middest of the dart, did grieve him maruellously, when they thought to have pulled the dart out of the place where it entred in, so as neuer a man about him durst fet his hands to it. Philopamen on the other fide, feeing the fight terrible on either fide, and would foone be ended; it fpited him to the guts, he would so faine have bene among them. So at the length he made such firugling, putting backe one thigh, and fetting forward another, that he knapped the staffe of the dartasunder, and made them pull out the two truncheons, the one on this side, and the otheron the other side. Then when he saw he was at liberty again, he took his sword in his hand, and ran through the midst of them that fought, vnto the foremost rankes, to meete with the enemies forhathe gaue his mena new courage, and did fet them on fire with enuy, to follow his valiantnesse. After the battel was wonne, Antigonus asked the MACEDONIAN captaines, to proue them; who moued the horsemen to denide themselues, and give the charge, before the signe that was commanded. They answered him, that they were forced to do it against their wils, becausea young Megalipolitan gentleman gaue acharge with his company, before the fignewas giuen. Then Antigonus laughing, told them the young gentleman played the part of a wife and valiant captaine. This exploit, together with Antigonus testimony, gaue great reputation vino Philogemen, as we may eafily imagine. So King Antigonus maruelloufly intreated him he would ferue with him, and offered him aband of men at armes, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But Philopamen refused his offer, and chiefly because he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commanded by any. Not with standing, because he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into CRETA, where he knew there was warres, only to continue himselsein exercise therof. So when he had serued a long time with the CR BTAN s, which were valiant soldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of war, and moreouer were men of a moderate& fpare diet: he returned home again to Achaia, with fo great credit and reputation of enery one that he was presently chosen General of all the horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found many horfmen very ill horfed, vpon litle iades, such as might be gotten cheapest, and that they vsed not to go themselves in person to the warrs, but did send other in their stead: and to Generalof be short, that they neither had hearts, nor experience of the wars, and all because the Generals and captaines of the people of the Achaias that serued before him, did take no heed to those matters, as fearing to offed any, because they had the greatest authority in their hands, to punish or reward whom they thought good. Philopamen fearing none of all these things, would leave no part of his charge and dutie vindone, but went himselse in person to all the cities, to perswade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horsed, and well armed, that they might win honour in the field, be able to defend themselves, & overthrow their enemies. And where perfwafion could do no good, there he would fet fines vpon their heads that fo refused, and did vse to muster them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turneying, and barriers, and one to fight with another, and at fuch times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the looking on: that in short space he made them very forward, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chiefest property is, to keepe their order and rankes in the battell. Soas when necessitie served for the whole company of horsemen to turne together, halfeturne, or whole turne, or elseuery man by himself: they were so throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe fet in battell ray, did seeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued so together, and withal focasily, and at all times, and so oft, as they should turne, on the one side, or on the other.

Now in agreat battel the Acharans had with the ÆTOLIANS, & the ELIANS, by the river of Lariffus, Demophantus Generall of the horsemen of the ATOLIAN'S, came from his company. fight with Philopame, who also made towards him, & gaue him first such ablow with his speare, that he strake him starke dead. When Demophantus fell to the ground, his souldiers fled by & by vpon it. This wan Philopamen great honour, who gaue no place to the yongest men in fighting rail years most valiantly with his own hands:nor to the oldest men in wisdome, for the wise leading of his the street armie. Indeed the first man that made the people of Achaia grow in power and greatnes, was Aratus: for before his time Achaia was of smal reckoning, because y cities of the same stood devided betweene themselues, & Araius was the first manthat made them ioyne rogether, and stablished among them an honest civil government. Wherby it happened, that as we see in brooks status raiand rivers where any litle thing stoppeth & falleth to the bottome, which the course of the wa- fed Athaia terbringeth down the streams there the rest that followeth doth wis to the course of the water bringeth down the streame, there the rest that followeth doth vie to stay, and go no further: cuen so in the cities of GRECE that were in hard state, & sore weakened, by faction one against another, the Achaians were the first that staid themselves, and grew in amity one with the other, & afterwards drew on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederates. Some by helping & deliuering them from the oppression of tyrants, and winning other also by their peaceable government and good concord: they had a meaning in this wise to bring all the country of Peloponnesvs into one body & league. Neuertheleffe, while Ara- Philopatus lined, they depended most vpon the strength and power of the MACE DONIANS: first with men and flicking vnto king Ptolomy, and then vnto Antigonus, and last to Philip, who ruled in maner all the compared. flate of GRECE. But when Philopemen came to gouerne, and to be the chiefest man, the ACHAI-ANS being strong inoughto resist the strongest, would march then no more under any other bodies enfigne, nor would suffer any more strange gouernours or captaines ouer them. For Aratus Aratus (asir feemed) was somewhat too soft and cold for the wars, and therfore the most things he did, Refi maning were by gentle intraction by intelligences & by the Lines friendship with the most things he ware. were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, & by the kings friendships with whom he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But Philopamen being a man of execution, hardy & valiant of person, & of very good fortune, in the first battel that ever he made, did maruellously increase the courage and hearts of the Achaians: because vnder his charge they cuer foiled their enemies, & alwayes had the vpper hand of them. The first thing Philopamen began withal at his Philopacoming, he changed the maner of setting of their tables, & their fashion of arming the sellies: for meachan-before they caried litle light targets, which because they were thin & narrow, did not couer half challenges. their bodies, &vsed speares far shorter then pikes, by reaso wherof they were very light, & good der and distoskirmishand fight afar off:but when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then had great ipline of them. As fourth and a february of their based of th vantage of them. As for the order of their battels, they knew not what it meant, nor to cast the. selues into a snaile or ring, but only vsed the square battell, nor yet gaue it any such front where the pikes of many rankes might push together, and where the fouldiers might stand so close, that their targets should touch one another, as they do in the squadron of the battell of the Ma-CEDONIANS: by reason whereof, they were soone broken and ouerthrowne. Philopamen reformed all this, perfwading them to vie the pike and shield, in stead of the litle target, speare, or bore-staffe, and to put good morrians or burganets on their heads, corsclets on their bodies, and good taffes and greaues to couer their thighes & legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not giving a foote of ground, as light armed men runne to and fro in a skirmish. And thus having perswaded and taught the yong men to arme themselves throughly, first he made them the bolder and more couragious to fight, as if they had bene men that could not have bene overcomethen he turned all their vaine superfluous charge, into necessary and honest expences. But he could not possibly bring them altogether from their vaine and rich apparell they had of long timetaken vp, the one to exceed another: nor from their sumptuous furniture of houses, as in beds, hangings, curious seruiceat the table, and delicate kind of dishes. But to begin to withdraw this defire in them, which they had to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous & vnnecessaric things, and to like of things necessarie and profitable: he wished them to looke more nearest philepset to their ordinarie charges have the profitable and profitable a to their ordinarie charge about themselues, taking order as well for their apparell, as also for all curioftheir diet, and to spare in them, to come honourably armed to the field, for defence of their tie and countrey. Thereupon, if you had looked into the gold-smithes shoppes, ye should have fare into feene nothing else in their hands, but breaking and battering of pots of gold and filuer, to be brane and cast and molten downe againe, and then gilding of armours and targets, and silvering of bits.

Braue ar

Philopæ. men made Machani. das tyrant of Lacedamon.

Battell fought bezweene Phi lopæmen

> men onercame Machanidas

In the shew-places for the running of horses, there was managing and breaking of yong horses. and young men exercifing armes. Womens hands also were full of morians and head peeces. whereto they tied goodly braue plumes of feathers of fundry colours, and were also full of im. brodered arming coates and caffocks, with curious and very rich workes. The fight of which brauery did heave vp their hearts, and made them gallant and lively: fo as enuy bred straight in them who should do best seruice, and no way spare for the warres. Indeed, sumptuousnesseand brauery in other fights, doth fecretly carry mens minds away, & allure them to feeke aftervani. ties, which makes them tender bodied, and womanish persons: because this sweet tickling and inticing of the outward sence, that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and courage of the mind. But againe, the sumptuous cost bestowed vpon warlike surniture, doth incourage and make great a noble heart. Euen as Homer faith it did Achilles. when his mother brought him new armour and weapons she had caused Vulcan to make for him, and layed them at his feete: who feeing them, could not tarrie, but was straight set on fire with defire to occupy them. So when Philopamen had brought the youth of Achaia to this good passe, to come thus brauely armed and furnished into the field, he began then to exercise them continually in armes: wherein they did not only shew themselues obedient to him but did moreouer striue one to excell another, and to do better then their fellowes. For they liked maruellous well the ordering of the battel he had taught the, because that standing so closetogether as they did, they thought furely they could hardly be ouerthrown. Thus by continuance oftime, being much vied to weare their armour, they found them a great deale easier and lighter then before, beside the pleasure they tooke to see their armour so braue, and so rich: insomuchas they longed for some occasion to trie them straight vpon their enemies. Now the Achains at that time were at warres with Machanidas, the tyrant of LACED EMON, who fought by all device he could with a great army, to become chiefe Lord of al the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was brought that Machanidas was come into the countrey of the MANTINEANS, Philapamen straight marched towards him with his army: so they met both not farre from the citie of Mantinea, where by and by they put themselues in order of battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of strangers to serue them, besides the whole force of their country; and when they came to ioyne battell, Machanidas with his strangers gaue such a lusty charge vpon certaine flingers and archers, being the forelorne hope whom Philopamen had put before the battell of the Achaians to begin the skirmish, that he overthrew them, and made them flie withall. But where he should have gone on directly against the Achaians that were ranged in battell ray, to have proved if he could have broken them, he was very buffe and earnest stil to follow the chase of them that first fled, & so came hard by the Acharans that stood sil in their battell, and kept their rankes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many menthought the Achaians were but cast away. But Philopæmen made as though it had bene nothing, and that he set light by it; and spying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the spurre, whom they had ouerthrowne, and staying so farre from the battell of their footmen, whom they had left naked, and the field open vpon them: he did not make to wards them to stay them, nor did striue to stop them that they should not follow those that sled, but suffered them to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his men march vpon the LACED EMONIANS, whose sides were maked, having no horsemen to gard them: and so did set vpon them on the one side, and ranne so hastily on them to win one of their flankes, that he made them flie, and slue withall a great number of them. For it is faid, there were foure thousand LACED EMONIANS slaine in the field, because they had no man to leade them. And moreouer, they say they did not looke to fight, but fupposed rather they had wonne the field, when they saw Machanidas chasing stilthose vponthe spurre, whom he had ouerthrowne. After this Philopamen retired to meete Machanidas, who came backe from the chase with his strangers. But by chance there was a great broad ditchbetweenethem, so as both of them rode vpon the bankes side of the same, a great while together, one against another of them; the one side seeking some convenient place to get over and flie, and the other fide feeking meanes to keepe them from starting away. So to fee the one beforethe other in this fort, it appeared as they had bene wilde beafts brought to an extremitie, to defend themselues by force, from so fierce a hunter as Philopamen was. But whilest they were striuing thus, the tyrants horse that was lustie and couragious, and felt the force of his masters spurres

pricking in his fides, that the bloud followed after, did venture to leape the ditch, coming to the bankes fide, flood vpon his hindmost legs, & aduanced forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other side. Then Simmias and Polyanus, who were about Philopamen when he fought, ran thither straight to keepe him in with their borestaues that he should not leape the ditch. But Philogamen who was there before them, perceiving that the tyrants horse, by lifting vp his head fo high, did couer all his masters body: for sooke by and by his horse, & tooke his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyrant with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memory Philete. wherof, the Acharas that did highly efteeme this valiant act of his, and his wifedome alfo in Machange leading of the battell, did fet vp his image in braffe in the temple of Apollo in Delphes, in das. the forme he flue the tyrant. They fay, that at the affembly of the common games called Nemea, (which they folemnize in honour of Hercules, not farre from the citie of AR GOS) and not long after he had won this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the second time of the tribe of the Achaians,& being at good leasure also by reason of y feast; he first shewed at the Gre-CIANS that were come thither to fee the games & pastimes, his army ranged in order of battell, and made them fee how easily they remoued their places enery way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their rankes, and that with a maruellous force and readinesse. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the Musicians play and fing to their instruments, who should win the best game, being accompanied with lustic young gentlemen apparelled in purple cloakes, & in skarlet coates & cassocks they wore vpon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well giuen & disposed who did greatly honor & reuerence their Captaine, & besides that shewed themselues inwardly of noble hearts, being incouraged by many notable battels they had fought, in which they had cuer attained ŷ victory, & gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chance, as they were entred into the Theater, Pylades the Mulitian, singing certaine poems of Timotheus, called the Perfes, fell into these verses:

O Greekes, it is enembe, which your prosperitie Hath ginen to you; and therewith all a noble libertie.

When he had fiveetly fung out aloud these noble verses, passingly well made, the whole assembly of the GRECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to fee the games, cast all their eyes fraight vpon Philopamen, and clapped their hands one to another for ioy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soone recouer their ancient repuration; and fo imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy minds of their ancestours. And as young horses that do alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinary riders, if any strangerget vp on their backes, do straight waxe strange to be handled, and make great ado: euen so when the Achaians came to any dangerous battell, their hearts were even done, if they had any other Generall or leader then Philopamen, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they faw him, euer the whole army reioyced, and defired fraight to be at it, they had fuch confidence in his valiantnesse and good fortune: and truely not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stand before him; because they were afraid to heare his name onely, as it seemed by their doings. For Philip King of Mac & Don (imagining that if he should find meanes to dispatch Philopamen out of the way, how socuer it were, the A-CHAIANS Would straight take part againe with him) fent men secre.ly into the city of ARGOS, to kil him by treason: howbeit the practise was discouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the Grecians generally, and taken for a wicked and cowardly Prince. It fortuned oneday when the Bo Eotians layed fiege to the city of Megara, and thought certainely to haue won it at the first affault, thererose a rumor suddenly amongst them, that Philopamen came Theones, to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a false report. Notwithstan-name of ding, the Bo E OT IANS were fo scared, that for feare they left their scaling ladders behind them, Philopers which they had fet against the walles, to haue scaled the towne, and fled straight to saue themfelues. Another time, when Nabis the tyrant of LACED EMON, that succeeded Machanidas, had tians fire taken the city of MBSSINA vpon a fudden: Philopamen being then a private man, and having no for fearer charge of fouldiers, went vnto Lysippus Generall of the Achaians that yeare, to perfivade him that he would fend present aide vnto the of MESSINA. Lysppus told him, it was too late now to sedement gothither, and that it was but a lost towne, not to be holpen: considering the enemies were in it was the already. Philosophy and the control of the office of already. Philopamen perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither himselfe with the Melfins. force of Messina onely, not flaying for the assembly of the Megalipolitans, that were

Nabis fly. ein Phila pænica.

Philipamen deliue red the city the tyrant of Laceda. Philopæ.

Philota. cities to rebel azzinst she Meza. lipolitans.

The Cretas mesauf war.

Philora men made Ginerall chaians again? Na.

> Philopa coms by fc.s.

in counsel about it, to give them commission by voyces of the people to take him with him; but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthiest of all other to command them. Now when he came nere vnto Messt N. R. Nebis hearing of his coming, durst not tarrie him, though he had his army within the city but stole out at another gate, and marched away in all the hast he could, thinking himselse a hanpy manif he could fo scape his hands, and retire with safety, as indeed he did. And thus was MESSINA by his meanes delinered fro captinity. All that we have written hitherto concernino Philopemen, falleth out doubtleffe to his great honour and glory: but afterwards he was greatly dispraised for a journey he made into CRETA, at the request of the GORTYNIAMS, who sented pray him to be their captaine, being fore troubled with warres at that time. Because Philogamen went then to serue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyrant Nabis had greatest wars with the MEGA-LIPOLITANS in their own coutry, they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the wars. or else that he sought honour out of season with forraine nations, when his poore citizens the inurmyinio MEGALIPOLITANS were in such distresse, that their countrey being lost and destroyed, there were driuento keepe them within their city, and to fow all their void grounds and fireets in the fame with corne, to fustaine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almost hardat their owne gates. And the rather, because himselfe making wars with the CRETANS, and seruing strangers beyond the sea in the meane time, gaue his enemies occasion to slander him that he fled, that he would not tarry to fight for defence of his own country. Againe, there were that faid, because the Achains didchuse other for their Generall, that he being a privat man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the Gorthnians, who had mar. nelloufly intreated him to take the charge; for he was a manthat could not abide to line idely. and that defired specially about all things to serue continually in the wars, and to put in practice his skill & discipline in the leading of an army. The words he spake one day of king Ptolomie do witnesse as much: for when there were some that praised king Ptolomie highly, saying thathe tray ned his army well, and that he fill continued his person in exercise of armes: It is not commendable for a king (faid he) of his yeares, to delight in training his men to exercise armes, but to do some act himselse in person. Well, in the end, the MEGALIPOLITANS tooke his absence in fuch euill part, that they thought it a peece of treason, and would needs have banished him, & put him from the freedome of the city: had not the ACHAIAN'S fent their Generall Arifaneus vnto them who would not fuffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although o therwise there was euer contention betweene them about matters of the commonwealth. Asterwards Philopamen perceiuing his countrymen made no more account of him, to spite them withall, he made divers small villages and cities rebell against them, and taught them to say, and to give it out, that they were not their subjects, neither paid them tribute fro the beginning and he made them stand to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the citie of MEGALIPO. LIS, before the counfell of the ACHAIANS. These things hapned shortly after. But whilesthe made wars in Creta for the Gortynians, he shewed not himselfa Peloponnesian, not like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open wars; but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vie their own policies, fine deuices, and ambushes against themselues. And made them know also, that all their crasts were but childish sports as it were, in respect of those that were deuifed, & put in execution, by a wife experienced captain, and skilful to fight a battell. So Philopemen, having wongreat fame by his acts done in CRETA, returned again to PELOPONNEsvs, where he found, that Philip king of Macedon had bin ouercome in battel, by T. Q. Flaminius; and that the Achaian's loyning with the Romains, did make war against the tyrant Nabis, against whom he was made General immediatly vpon his return, and gaue him battel by sea. In the which it feemed he fel into like misfortune, as Epaminondas did: the event of this battell falling out much worse with him then was looked for in respect of his former courage and valiantnes. But as for Epaminondas, some say he returned willingly out of Asia, & the Hes, without an/exploit don because he wold not have his courime stellhed with spoile by sea as fearing lest of valiant foldiers by land, they wold by litle & litle (as Plato faid) become diffolute mariners by ica. But Philopamen cotrariwife, prefuming on the skil he had to fet the battell in good order by lad, wold needs take vpo him to do the fame by fea. But he was taught to his coft to know what exercise & experiece meant, & how strong it makeththe that are practised in things. For he lost not only the battel by fea being ynskilful of that feruice; but he comitted besides a fouler error.

For he caused an old ship to be rigged, which had bin very good of service before, but not occupied in 40. yeares together; & embarked his countrymen into the same, which were all likely to perish, because the ship had diverse leakes, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his enemies despisehim vtterly, perswading theselues he was fled for altogether, & had gine thesearoome: whereupon they laid fiege to the citie of GYTHIVM. Philopamen being advertised there. Noth beof, imbarked his men suddenly, and set vpon his enemies erethey wist it, or had any thought of its of g. his coming : and found them stragling vp and downe, without watch or guard, by reason of thinm. the victory they had lately won. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fire voon his enemies campe, and burnt it enery whit: and in this feare and hurly burly, flue a great number of them. Shortly after this stealing upon them, the tyrant Nabis also stole upon him againe vnwares, as he was to go through a maruellous ill and dangerous way: which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the first, thinking it unpossible for them that they could cuer scape that danger, confidering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But Philopemen bethinking himselfe, and considering the nature and situation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainely then, that the chiefest point of a good fouldier and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, according to the time and situation of the place. For hedid but alter the forme of his battel a litle, and forced it according to the fituation of the place, wherin he was compassed: and by doing this without trouble or businesse, he tooke away all feare of danger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a short time he put them all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not flie all introupes together towards theci- Philopæty, but scattering wise, abroad in the fields in enerry place, he cansed the trumpet to found the retraite. Then he commanded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the country thereabout was full of thicke woods and groues, very ill for horfemen; and also because there were of taceder many brooks; vallies and quantum which they should natio over he encoursed him Cilena. many brookes, vallies and quauemires, which they should passe ouer, he encamped himself prefently, being yet broad day. And fo, fearing left his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after another, and by couples: he fent a great number of Achaians, and laid them in ambush amongst the brookes and hils neare about it, which made great slaughter of Nabis fouldiers, because they came not altogether in troopes, but scatteringly one after another as they fled, one here another there, and fo fell into their enemies hands, as birds into the fowlers net. These acts made Philopemen singularly beloued of the GRECIANS, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters & comon affemblies. Whereat T. Q. Flaminius, of nature very ambi- Tim Quin tious & couctous of honor, did much repine, & was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Con-tius enuiful of Rome shold have place & honor among the Achaian's before a mean gentleman of Arpamen.

CARLA And be imposined behad deleveed better of all Garage them. CADIA. And he imagined he had deferued better of all GRECE, then Philopeme had confidering how by the only proclamatio of an herald, he had restored GRECE again to her ancient liberty, which before his coming was subject to king Philip, & vnto the MACEDONIANS, Afterwards, T. Quintius made peace with the tyrat Nabu, who was shortly after very traiterously slain by the Nabis slain ÆTOLIANS. Wherupon the city of Sparta grew to a tumult, & Philopamen straight taking the by the Æ. occasió, went thither with his army, & handled the matter so wisely, that partly for loue, & partly folians. by force, he wan the city, & ioyned it vnto the tribe of the Achaians. So was he maruelloufly comended & esteemed of the Achaians for this notable victory, to have wontheir tribe and comunalty fo famous a city, & fo great estimation. For the city of Sparta was no small increase of their power, being io yned as a meber of Achaia. Moreouer he wan by this meanes the loue & goodwil of althe honest men of LACED EMON, for the hope they had to find him a protector and defendor of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant Nabis house and goods were fold, as forfeited to the state: they resolved in their counsell to make him a present of the money thereof, which amounted to the fum of fixescore talents, and sent ambassadours purposely vnto him, to offer it him. Then Philopamen shewed himselfe plainely to be no counterfeit honest man, but agood man indeed. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACE BEMONIANS that durst men free prefume to offer him this mony, but every man was afraid to tell him of it: and every body that from every was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for themselves. Notwithstanding, in the end towns. they made one Timolaus to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar friend, and also his hoft. And yet the fame Timelaus when he came vnto MEGALIPOLIS, and was lodged & entertained in Philopemes house, did so much reuerence him for his wise talke and conversation, for his moderate diet, & iust dealing with all menthat he saw there was no likely possibility to cor-

Kk 2

Philopaeconn(ell to she Lacedemoniano how they Phould begifts.

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rupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, but found some other occasion to excuse the cause of his coming vnto him: And being fent ynto him again the fecond time; he did euen as much as at the first time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good. will the city of Sparta did beare him. Philopamen became a glad manto heare it and when he had heard all he had to fay to him, he went himself vnto the city of Sparta. There he declared vnto the counfell, that it was not honest men and their good friends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with money, confidering they might command their vertue vpon any occasion. without cost vnto them; but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by feditious orations in councell did mutine, and put a whole city in vprore: to the end that having their mouths stopped with gifts, they should trouble them the lesse in the comonwealth. For faid he, it is more necessary to stop your enemies mouths, & to fow up their lips from liberty of speaking, then it is to keepe your friends from it. So noble a man was Philopamon against all couctous field of mony. Shortly after, the LACEDEMONIANS beginning to stir again, Diophanes (who was then general of the Achaians) being aduertised of it, began to prepare to punishthe. The LACEDEMONIANS on the other fide preparing for the wars, did fet all the country of PE. LOPONNESUS in armes. Hercupon Philopæmen fought to pacific Diophanes anger, declaring vnto him, that king Antiochus, and the Romain as being at wars, together at that present time, and they both having puissant armies one against another in the middest of GRECE, it was meet for a good generall and wife governor, to have an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the fame, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his country at that instant, but there. ther to diffemble it, & not to feeme to heare any fault what foeuer they did. Diephanes would not be perswaded but entred the territories of LACEDEMON with a great army, & T. Quintius Flaminius with him and they together marched directly towards the city of Sparta. Philopamen was so mad with their doings, that he took vpon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether iustineuerthelesse his attempt proceeded of a noble mind & great courage. For he got into the city of Sparta, and being but a private person, kept out the generall of the Achaians, and the Conful of the Romains for entring the city; and when he had pacified all troubles and feditions in the fame, he deliuered it vp again as it was before, into the hands of the communalty of the Achaians. Neuertheles himselfe being afterwards general of the Achaians, did compel the LACED & MONIANS to receive those home again whom they had banished for certain faults. & did put 80 naturall borne citizens of Spart a vnto death, as Polybius writeth:or 350, as Arifucrates another historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and razed them to the ground, and took away the most part of their territories, and gaue them to the ME-GALIPOLITANS. All those whom the tyrants had made free denizers of Sparta, he compelled them to depart the country of LACEDEMON, and forced them to dwel in ACHAIA, three thoufand onely excepted, who would not obey his commandement: all those he sold for flaues, and with the money he made of them (to spite them the more) he built a goodly faire walke within the city of ME GALIPOLIS, Yet furthermore to do the LACED EMONIANS all the mischiefehe could, and as it were, to treade them under the feete in their most grieuous miserie, he dida most cruell and vniust act toward them. For he compelled them to leauethe discipline and manner of education of their children, which Lycurgus had of old time inftituted: and made them to follow the maner the ACHAIANS vsed in lieu of their old grounded countrey custome, because he faw they would neuer be humble minded, folong as they kept Lycurgus order and inflituion. Thus were they driven to put their heads in the coller, by the miferable mishap that befell them; and in all defpite, to fuffer Philopamen in this manner to cut afunder (as it were) the sinewes of their comonwealth. But afterwards they made fute to the Romains, that they might be suffered to enjoy their ancient discipline againe, which being granted them, they straight lest the maner of the Achaians, and did fet vp againe as much as was possible (after fo great miserie and corruption of their maners) their old ancient customes & orders of their country. Now about the time the wars began in GRECE betweene the ROMAINES and king Antiochus, Philopæmen was then a priuate man, and without any authority. He feeing that king Antiochus lay still in the city of CHALCES, and did nothing but feast and love, and had maried a young maid farre vnmeete for his yeares: & perceiuing that his Syrian souldiers wandred vp & downthe towns ingreat disorder, playing many lewdeparts without guide of Captaines, he was very sory he

was not at that time Generall of the Achains, and told the Romaines, that he enuied their victoric, having warres with enemies that were so easily to be ouercome. For said he) if Fortune fanoured me that I were Generall of the Achaian's at this present, I would have killed men counthem energy man in the cellars and tippling houses. Now when the Romaine's had ouercome stagainst the Romaine of the Romaine o Antiochus, they began to haue furer footing in GRECE, and to compasse in the ACHAIANS on maines. all fides, and specially, by reason the Heads and gouernours of the cities about them did yeeld to the Romaines, to win their fauour. And now their greatnesse grew in hast, by the fauour of the gods, fo as they were become the monaich of the whole world, who brought them now to the end that Fortune had determined. Philopamen in the meane time did like a good pylot, refifting against the billowes and roughnesse of the waves. And though for the time he was forced to gine place, and to let things paffe, yet for all that he was against the Romain s, and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by seeking ever to defend the liberty of those, who by their cloquence and well doing carried great authority among the ACHAIANS. And when Aristanesus Magalipolitan, (aman of great authoritie among the Achaians, and one that ener bare great denotion to the ROMAINES) faid in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they should denie the Romaines nothing, nor shew themselves vnthankfull to them: Philogamen hearing what he faid, held his peace a while and fuffered him to speake (though it boiled in his heart, he was so angry with him) and in the end, breaking all patience, and as one onercome with choler, he faid: Ariftanetus, why have you fuch hafte to fee the vnfortunate end of GRECE? Another time when Manius Confull of Rome (after he had conquered king Antiochus) did make request to the councell of the Achains, that such as were banished from LACED EMON, might return home into their country againe, and that Titus Quintius Flaminius also did earnessly intreat them: Philopemen was against it, not for any harred he bare vnto the banished men, but because he would have done it by his owne meane, and the onely grace of the ACHAIANS, to the end they should not be beholding for so good a turne, neither vnto Titue, nor yetto the ROMAINES. Afterwards he himfelfe, being Generall of the Achains, did reftore them wholy to their owne againe. Thus was Philopamen fometime a litle too bold and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomack: & specially when any man sought for to haue things by authority. Lastly, being threescore & ten yeares of age, he was y eight time chosen General of the Achains, and hoped well, not only to passe the yeare of his charge in peace and quietnesse, manchair but all o all the rest of his life without any stir of new wars, he saw the affaires of GRECE take so the right good successe. For like as the force and strength of sicknesse declineth, as the natural strength of need of n the fickly body impaireth: fo through all the cities & people of GRECE, the defire of quarrel & the Athabe ofwars furceafed, as their power diminished. Neuertheles, in the end of his yeares government, the gods divine (who in the purished linfolder words and deeds a through him to the ground as 70 years the gods divine (who infly punish all infolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as oil. they fuffer a rider vnfortunately to take a fall of his horse, being come almost to the end of his cariere. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good company, where one was maruellously praised for a good captaine, said vnto them: Why masters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner aline of his enemies. Shortly after came newes that Dinocrates MESSINIAN (a private enemie of Philopamens for certaine controversies past betweene them, and a man generally hated befides of all honourable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawne the city of MESSINA from the denotion of the ACHAI-ANS ; and moreover, that he came with an army to take a towne called Colonide. Philippemen was at that time in the city of AR GOs, sicke of an Ague, & yethearing these newes, took his iorney towards MEGALIPOLIS, making all the hafte he could possible, for that he came about 4. meniour hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence towards MBS SINA, and taried not, but neg against tooke with him a company of men at armes of the lustiest and wealthiest MEGALIPOLITANS: Dinocrates. who were all young noble men of the city, and willingly offered themselves to go with him for the good will they bare him, & for the defire they had to follow his valiantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of Messina, & marched fo long, that they came neare to the hill of Euander, where they met with Dinocrates and his company, and gaue fo fierce an onset on the that they made them all turne taile:howbeit in the meane while, there came a relecte of 500 men under, to Dinocrates, which he had left to keepe the countrey of MESSINA. The flying men that were scattered here and there, seeing this supply, gathered themselves agains together, and shewed vpon the hils. Philopamen fearing to be enuironed, & being defitous to bring his men fafe home

PHILOPOEMEN.

Philopamens mif. fertune.

Philora. mentaken.

againe, who most of louchad followed him: began to march away through narrow bushy pla: ces, himfelf being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, and skirmished with them, onely to drive them away from following of the rest of his company, and not a man that durst once set upon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him. Howbeit Philopamen fundry times venturing farre from his company to giue these young noble men leafure to faue themselues one after another tooke no heede to himselfe that he was alone enuironed on euerie fide with a great number of enemies. Notwithstanding, of all his enemies there was not a man that durft come to handstrokes with him, but still slinging and shooting at him a farre off, they draue him in the end among ft ftony places between hewne rocks, where he had much ado to guide his horse, although he had spurred him that he was al of a gore bloud. And as for his age, that did not let him but he might have faued himselfe; for he was strong and luftie by the continual exercise he tooke: but by curfed happe his body being weake with ficknesse, and wearie with the long journey he had made that day, he found himselfe very hea. uie & ill difposed, that his horse stumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and brused all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and never stirred nor Tpake: fo that his enemies thinking he had bene dead, came to turne his bodieto ftrip him. But when they faw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once vpon him and tooke him, and bound both his hands behind him, and did all the villany and mischiese they could vnto him, and fuch, as one would little haue thought Dinecrates would have vied in that fort or that he could have had fuch an ill thought towards him. So they that tarried behind in the city of Messina, were maruellous glad when they heard the fenewes, and ran all to the gates of the citie to see him brought in. When they saw him thus shamefully bound and pinioned, against the dignitic of so many honours as he had received, and of so many triumphs &vi-Ctories as he had passed: the most part of them wept for pity, to consider the mishap and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is folitle certainetic, as in manner it is nothing. Then beganne there some courteous speech to run in the mouthes of the people by litle & litle that they should remember the great good he had done them in timespaft, and the liberty he had reftored them vnto, when he expulled the tyrant Nabis out of Messina. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to pleafe Dincerates, faid they should hang him on a gibbet, & put him to death as a dangerous enemy, and that would never forgive man that had once offended him; and the rather, because he would be more terrible to Dincerates then ever he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving fuch open flame by him. Neuertheleffe, in the end they carried him into a certaine dungeon under the ground, called the Treasurie, (which had neither light nor aire at all into it, nor doore, nor halfe doore, but a great from rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and fo they did let him downe the fame, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these young noble Achaian horsemen had fled vpon the spurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred themselves, and looked round about for Philogomen: and finding him not in fight, they supposed straight, he had bene slaine, Thereupon they staid a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiving he answered not, they began to fay among themselues, they were beasts and cowards to fly in that fort; and how they were dishonoured for ever so to have for saken their Captaine, to save themselves, who had not ipared his owne life to deliuer them from danger. Hereupon riding on their way, and enquiring still for him, they were in the end aduertised how he was taken. And then they went and carried those newes through all the towns and cities of Achaia, which were very forry for him, and tooke it as a figne of great ill fortune toward them. Wherupon they agreed to fend ambassadors forthwith to the MESSINIANS, to demand him: and in the meane time every man should prepare to arme themselves to go thither, and get him either by force or love. When the ACHAIANS had thus fent, Dinocrates feared nothing To much, as that delay of time might faue Philopamens life: wherefore to preuent it, as foone as night came, and that the people were at rest, he straight caused the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to Philopamen with a cup of poison to offer him, who was commanded also not to go from him, vntill he had drunke it. When the hangman was come downe he found Philopamen laid on the ground upon a little cloake, having no lift to fleepe, he was so gricuously troubled in his mind. Who when he faw light, and the man standing by him, holding a cup in his hand with this poison, he sate vpright vpon his couch, how beit with great paine, he was so weaks

and taking the cup in his hand, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen that came with him, specially of Lycortas. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them Philotas were faued. Then he cast his hands a litle ouer his head, and looking merrily on him, he said: It is mentage wel, feeing we are not all vnfortunate. There with speaking no mo words, nor making other ado, wirds. he drunke vp all the poison, and laid him down as before. So nature strong not much withal, his body being brought fo low, and thereupon the poison wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The news of his death ran prefently through all Achaia, which generally fro philogehigh to low was lamented. Wherupon althe Acharans youth & counsellers of their cities & meni diath towns, affembled themselves in the city of MEGALIPOLIS, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made Lycortas their General, under whose conduct they inuaded The Achaithe MESSINIANS, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and fword: fo as the MESSI- ungge Phi-NIAN'S were fo feared with this mercileffe furie, that they yeelded themselves and wholly confented to receive the Achaians into their citie. But Dinecrates would not give them leifure to death. execute him by inflice, for he killed himfelfe; and fo did all the reft make themselves away, who gaue aduise that Philopamen should be put to death. But those that would have had Philopamen sile. hanged on a gibbet, Lycortas caused them to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with alkind of torments. That done, they burnt Philopames body, & did put his after into a pot. Then Philopames they straight departed from MESSINA, not in disorder, one vponanothers necke as every man mentionslifted:but in fuch an order & ray, that in the middeft of the funerals, they did make a triumph of rad. victory. For the foldiers were all crowned with garlands of laurel in token of victory, notwithstanding, the teares ran downe their checkes intoken of forow, and they led their enemies prifoners, shackled and chained. The funerall-pot in the which were Philopemens ashes, was so couered with garlands of flowers, no fegayes, & laces, that it could feant be feene or differned, and was carried by one Polybius a young man, the fon of Lycortas, that was General at that time to the ACHAIANS: about whom there marchedall the noblest & chiefest of the ACHAIANS, and after them also followed all the fouldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not fo forowful in their countenance, as they are commonly which have great cause of sorowinor yet so loyful, as those that came conquerors fro so great a victory. Those of the cities, towns, & villages in their way as they past, came and presented themselves vnto them, to touch the funerall-pot of his afties, even as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres : and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of Megalipolis: at the gates whereof, were old men, women and children, which thrusting thefelues amongst the souldiers, did renew theteares, sorrowes, & lamentations of all the miserable and unfortunate citie: who took it that they had lost with their citizens, the first & chiefest place ofhonour among the Achaians. So he was buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other prisoners of MESSINA, were all stoned to death, about his sepulcher. Althe other cities of Achaia, besides many other honours they did vnto him, did set vp statues, as like to himas could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of GRECE, when the citie of CORINTH Was burnt & destroyed by the ROMAINS, there was a malicious ROMAINE that did Worth what he could to haue the same pulled downeagaine, by burdening and accusing Philopamen (as humanitie if he had bene yet aliue) that he was alwayes enemie to the Romaines, and enuied much their of the Roprosperitie and victories. But after *Polybius* had answered him, neither the Consul *Mummius*, keeping sor his counsellors, nor lieutenants, would suffer them to deface & take away the honors done their encin memory of so famous and worthy a man, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto mies monu.

Titue Opining Planning and vnto a Marine So, the so and man then made a difference had ment from Titus Quintius Flaminius, and vnto Manius. So, these good menthen made a difference betweene duty and profite: and did thinke honestie and profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason & instice. More over they were persivaded, that like as menreceiue courtesie and goodnesse of any, so are they bound to requite them againe with kindnesse and dutic. And as men vse to acknowledge the same; even so

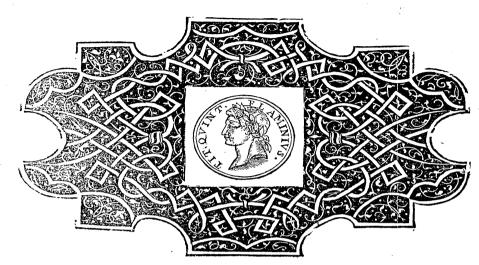
The end of Philopamens life.

ought men to honour and reuerence vertue.

Philopamen.

And thus much for the life of

THE LIFE OF Titus Quintius Flaminius.





T is easie to see Titus Quintius Flaminius forme and stature, by Philepamen statue of brasse, to whom we compare him: the which is now fet vp at Rome, neare to great Apollo that was brought from CAR-THAGE, and is placed right against the coming into the shew-place, under which there is an infeription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they fay of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleafure men againe. For if he did punish any man that had angred him, he would do it gently, but his anger did notlong continue with him. He did good alfo to many, and euer loued them

whom he had once pleasured, as if they had done him some pleasure: and was readie to do for them fill whom he found thankfull, because he would ever make them beholding to him, and thought that as honourable a thing as he could purchase to himselfe, because he greatly sought honour aboue all things, when any notable feruice was to be done, he would do it himfelfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would cuer be rather with the that needed his helpe, then with those that could help him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercife his vertue with the other, he took them as his fellowes and followers of honor, with him. He came to mans flate, when the city of Roma had greatest warres and trouble: At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to carie weapon were sent to the war to learne to traile the pike, and how to become good captaines. Thus was he entred into martiall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against Hannibal of CARTHAGE, where he was made Colonell of a thousand footemen, under Marcellus the Consull: who being flaine by an ambush Hannibal had laid for him betweene the cities of BANCIA and VENVSA, then they did chase Titus Quintius Flaminius gouernour of the province and city of TARENTYM, which was now taken againe the second time. In this government of his, he wannethe reputation as much of a good and iust man, as he did of an expert and skilfull captain. By reason whereof, when the Ro-MAINES were requested to fend mento inhabite the cities of NARNIA and Cossa, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefly gaue him heart and courage to afpire at the first to che Consulship, passing ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other yong men were wont to attain the Confulfhip. Therefore when

ties firft sharge in warre.

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the time came that the Confuls should be elected, he did present himselfe among other, accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabite the two new townes, who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes Fulnius & Manlius, spake against him, and faid: it was out of all reason, that so yong a man should in such manner prease to have the office of the highest dignitic, against the vse and custome of Rome, before he had passed through the inferiour offices of the common wealth. Neuerthelesse, the Senate preferred it wholy to the voices of the people: who presently pronounced him Consult openly, with Sextins Elius, al- To Flathough he was not yet thirtie yeares old. Afterwards, Alins and he deuiding the offices of the series Aflateby lot, it fel vpon T. Quintius to make war with Philip king of MACE DON. In the which me lius Coffus. thinkes fortune greatly fauoured the ROMAINS affaires, that made such a man General of these T.Q. Flawars: for, to have appointed a Generall that by force and violence would have fought all things kelb warre at the MacEDONIANS hands, that were a people to be won rather by gentlenes & perswasions, with Philip then by force and compulsion: it was all against themselves. Philip to maintaine the brunt of a Macedon. battell against the Romain es, had power enough of his own in his Realme of Macebon: but to make war any long time, to furnish himselfe with mony and victuals, to have a place & cities toretire vnto: and lastly, to haue all other necessaries for his men and army, it stood him vponto get the force of GRECE. And had not the force of GRECE bene politically cut fro him, the wars against him had not bene ended with one battell, Moreouer, GRECE (which neuer before bare the ROMAINE sany great good will) would not have dealt then fo inwardly in friendship with them, had not their General bene (as he was) a gentle person, lowly and trasfable, that wan them The correspond more by his wifedome, then by his force, and could both cloquently vtter his mind to them, and the Greek courteoufly also heare them speake, that had to do with him, and chiefly ministred instice, and equitie to every man alike. For it is not to be thought that GRECE wold otherwise so some have then be withdrawne themselves from the rule of those, with whom they were acquainted, and gouerned and have put themselves vnder the rule of strangers, but that they saw great instice and lenitiein them. Howbeit that may more plainely appeare by declaring of his acts. Titus was informed, that the Generals before him sent to the warre in Macedon (as Sulpitius, and Publius Island) vsed to come thither about the latter end of the yeare, and made but cold wars, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against Philip, & all to take some straight, or to cut off victuals: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarrying at home, confumed the most of their Consulship at Rome, in matters of gouernment, and fo enjoyed the honour of their office. Afterwards in the end of their yeare, they would fet out to the wars, of intent to get another yeare ouer their heads in their office, that speding one yeare in their Cosulship at home, they might employ the other in the wars abroad. But Tities not minding to trifle out y half of his Conful ship at Rome, & the other abroad in the wars: did willingly leaue al his honors & dignities, he might have enjoyed by his office at Romn and befought the Senate that they wold appoint his brother Lucius Quintius lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he took with himself about three thousand old soldiers of those that had first overthrowne Asarubal in Spaine, and Hanibal afterwards in Afrike, under the conduct of Scipio, which yet were able to serue, and were very willing to go with him in his journey, to be the strength of his army. With this company he passed the seas without danger, & landed To little in Errays, where he found Publius Iulius encamped with his army before King Philip, who of in Epirus. long time had lien in camp about the mouth of y river of Apfus, to keep their straight & passage Apfust. which is the entry into Erinvs. So that Publius Iulius had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the natural force & hardnes of the place. Then Titus took the army of him, & sent him to Rome. Afterwards, himself went in person to view & consider the nature of the courty, which was in this fort. It is along vally walled on either fide with great high mountains, as those which that in the vally of Tempe in Thessaly: howbeit it had no fuch goodly woods, nor greene feription of forests, nor fairemedows, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had but it was a great the country deep marish or quauemire, through the middest wherof the river called Apsius did run being in greatnesse & swiftnesse of streame, very like to the river of PENEY's. The river did occupy al the ground at the feete of the mountaines, faning a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, & a narrow straight path by the waters side, very vnhandsome for an army to passe that way, though they found not a min to keep the passage. There were some in the army that

counselled Titusto fetch agreat compasse about by the country of Dassarerips, and by the

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Philip king of Mace-donflicth,

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city of Lynevs, where the countrey is very plaine, and the way maruellous caffe. Howbeit he stood in great feare he should lacke victuals, if he staid far from the sea; and haply if he fellinto any barren or leane countrey, (Philip refusing the battel, and purposing to slie) he should be constrained in the end to return again towards the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherfore he determined to croffe the mountaines to fet vpon his enemies. & to proue if he could win the passage by force. Now Philip kept the top of the mountaines with hisarmy, and when the ROMAINES forced to get up the hilles, they were received with darks flings and shot, that lighted amongst them here & therein somuch as the skirmish was very hote for the time it lafted, and many were flain and hurs on either fide. But this was not the end of the warre; for in the meane time there came certaine neat-heards of the countrey vnto Titus (who did victo keep beafts on these mountaines) and told him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not by the which they promifed to guide his army fo, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bring them on the top of the mountaine. And because they might be affored that their words were true, they faid they were fent to him by Charopus, the sonne of Machatas. This Charopus was the chiefest man of the Epirors, who loued the Romain's very welyet he fauoured them but underhand, for feare of Philip. Titus gaue credit unto them, and fo fear one of his captaines with them, with foure thousand footmen, and three hundred horsmen. The heard-men that were their guides, went before fill, fast bound, and the Romain's followed after. All the day time the army refted in thick woods, & marched all night by moon light, which was then by good hap at the ful, Tiens having fent thefe men away, refted all the reft of his camp: fauing that fome dayes he entertained them with fome light skirmishes to occupie the enemie withal, But the fame day, when his men that fetched a compasse about, should come vnto thetop of the mountaine about the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, and deuided them into three troupes: with the one of them he himselfe wenton that fide of the river where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the fide of the hill. The MACEDONIAN'S again, they floo luftily at them from the height of the hil. and in certaine places amongst the rockes they came to the sword. At the selfesame time, thetwo other troupes on either hand of him, did their endeuor likewise to get vp the hil, & as it wereen uying one another, they climed up with great courage against the sharp and steep hanging of the mountaine. When the Sun was vp, they might fee afarre off as it were, a certaine simoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mifts we fee comonly rife from the tops of the mountaines. The encinies could fee nothing because it was behind them, & that the top of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The Romaines, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they sawit increased stil more & more, and in such fort, that it darkned althe aire: then they did assure the sclues it was certainly the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they began to crie out, climing up the hils with fuch a luftie courage, that they draue their enemies up the hil stil, euen ynto the very rough & hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did answer them with like loud cries from the top of the mountaine; wherewith the enemies were so associated, that they fled presently upon it. Notwithstanding, there was not flaine aboue two thousand of them, because the hardnes and straightnes of the place did so guard them, that they could not be chased. But the Romaine s spoiled their camp, took all that they found in their tents, tooke also their flaues, and wan the passage into the mountaines, by the which they entred the country of Epinvs and did passe through it so quietly, and with so great abstinence, that though they were far from their ships and the sea, and lacked their ordinary portion of come which they were wont to have monthly, & that victuals were very feant with the at that time, yet they never took any thing of y country, though they found great store & plenty of al riches in it. For Titus was advertised, that Philip passing by THESSALY, & slying for feare, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountaines, & then to set fire on their houses, & to leave those goods they could not cary away, by reason of the weight & vnhadsom cariage thereof, to the spoile of his fouldiers: & fo(as it feemed) he left the whole country to the conquest of the Romains. Whereupon Titus looking consideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to passe through the courty without doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their own. So they taried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly & wife forbearing of the country. For 10 foone as they were entred THESSALY,

the cities willingly yeelded themselves vnto them; and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyond the country of THERMOPYLES, did maruelloufly defire to fee Titus, asking no other thing, but to put themselves vnto his hands. The Acharan salso on the other side, did renounce the league & alliancethey had made with Philip and furthermore did determine in their counsell, to make war with him on the ROMAINES side. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time friends and confederates with the Romainss, and that they did shew themselves very louing to take their part in the wars:neuertheleffe when they defired the Opyntians that they wold put their city into their hands, and were offered that it should be kept & defended from Philip: they would not hearken thereto, but fent for Titus, and put themselves and their goods wholy into his protection. They fay, that when king Pyrrus first faw the ROMAINS army range in order of battell from the top of a hil, he faid: This order of the barbarous people setting of their me in battell ray, was ingefibe not done in a barbarous maner. And those also that never had seene Titus before, & came for to Remaines speake with him: were compelled in a manner to fay as much. For where they had heard the Ma-CEDONIANS fay, that there came a captain of the barbarous people that defroyed al before him by force of armes, and fubdued whole countries by violence: they faid to the contrary, that they found him a man indeed young of yeares, howbeit gentle, and courteous to looke on, and that faske the Greek tongue excellently well, and was a louer only of true glory. By reason wherof they returned home maruellous glad, and filled all the cities & towns of Grece with good wil towards him, & faid they had seene Titus the captaine, that would restore them to their ancient liberty againe. Then it much more appeared, when Philip shewed himselfe willing to have peace and that Titus also did offer it him, and the friendship of the people of Rome, with these conditionsthat he wold leave y Grecians their whole liberties, & remove his garrifons out of their ciries and strong holds: which Philip refused to do. And thereupon all GRECE, and even those which fauoured Philip, faid with one voice: that the Romaines were not come to make wars with them, but rather with the Macedonians in fauour of the Grecians. Whereupon all GRECE came in, & offered themselves vnto Titus without compulsio. And as he passed through the countrey of Bosotia, without any flew at all of warres, the chiefest men of the citie of THEER'S went to meet him: who though they took part with the king of MACEDON, because of aprivate man called Barchylelus, yet they would honour Titus, as those which were contented to keepe league and friendship with either side. Titus embraced them, and spake very courteously vino them, going on his way still faire and foftly, entertaining them fometime with one matter, and sometime with another, & kept the talke of purpose, to the end his souldiers being wearied, with journying, might in the meane time take good breath; and fo marching on by litle and litle, heentred into the city with them. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleased, but yetthey durst not refuse him, though he had not at that time any number of souldiers about him. When he was within THERES, he prayed audience, and began to perswade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already, that they would rather take part with the Ro-MAINES, then with the king of MACEDON. And to further Titus purpose, king Attalus being by chance at that time in the affebly, did help to exhort y Thebans very earneftly, that they wold doas Titus perswaded them. But Attalus was more earnest then became a man of his yeares, for thedefire he had (as was imagined) to shew Titus his eloquence: who did so straine and moue himselfe withall, that he swouned sodainely in the midst of his oration, whereby the rewme fell down so fast vpon him, that it took away his senses, so as he fell in a trance before them all, and few daies after was conneied again by fea into Asia, where he lived not long after. In the mean King datatime, the Bobotians came into the Romains, & took their part. And Philip having fent Am-The Boni. baffadors to Rome, Titus also sent thither of his men to solicite for him, in two respects. The ans yell one if the wars continued against Philip, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, Remaines, if the Senate did grant him peace: that they would do him the honor, as to make and conclude it Quinting with Philip. For Titus of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare least they would fend a diminious. fucceffor to continue those wars, who should take the glory from him, & make an end of them. But his frieds made fuch earnest sute for him, that neither king Philip attained that he praied neither was there fet any other General in Titus place, but he stil cotinued his charge in these wars. Wherefore, so soone as he had received his commission and authority from the Senate, he went ftraight towards THESSALY, with great hope to ouercome Philip. For he had in his army aboue fixe and twenty thousand fighting men whereof the ÆTOLIANS made sixe thousand footemen,

King Philip and Quintins mes with theirarmies

and three thousand horsemen. King Philips army on the other side was no lesse in number, and they began to march one towards the other, vntil at the length they both drew neare the city of Scorvsa, where they determined to trie the battell. So neither they nor their men were afraid to fee themselves one so neare another but rather to the contrary, the Romains on the one side tooke greater heart and courage vnto them, defiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what great honor they should winto our come the MACEDONIANS, who were so highly esteemed for their valiantnesse, by reason of the famous acts that Alexander the great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other fide also taking the ROMATNES for other maner of foldiers then the Persians, beganne to have good hope if they might winne the field, to make King Philip more famous in the world, then cuer was Alexander his father. Titus then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to shew themselues valiant souldiers in this battell, as those which were to show the proofe of their valiant nesses in the heart of G_{RECF} the goodlieft Theater of the world, and against their enemies of most noble fainc. Philip then by chance, or forced to it by the speed he made, because they were both ready to joyne, didget vo vnwares vpon a charnell house, (where they had buried many bodies, being a little hill raised vp aboue the rest, and neare the trenches of his campe) and there began to encourage his fouldiers, as all Generals do before they give battel. Who when he faw them all discouraged, for they took it for an ill figne that he was gotten vp on the top of a graue to fpeak vnto the be of a coceir at the matter, did of himfelf deferre to give battel that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by reason the South windes had blowne, the clouds were mined to a mist, and filled all the valley with a darke groffe thicke ayre, coming from the mountaines thereabours. which couered the field betweene both campes with a mift all the morning; by reason whereof the skouts on both fides that were fent to discouer what the enemies did, in very shorttime met together, and one gaue charge vpon another, in a place they call the dogges heads, which are points of rockes placed vpon little hilles one before another, and very neare one vnto another. which had bene called fo because, they have had some likenesse of it. In this skirmish there were many changes, as commonly falleth out when they fight in fach ill fauored frony places: for fometime the ROMAINES fled, and the MACE DONIANS chased them: another time the MACE. DONIANS that followed the chafe, were glad to flie themselves, and the Romaines who fled before, now had them in chafe. This change and alteration came by fending new supplies still from both camps, to reliene them that were diffressed and driuen to flie. Now began the misto breake vp, and the aire to cleare, so that both Generals might see about them what was done in either camp: by reason whereof both of them drew on their army to the field and battel. So Phi-Inp had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, from which they came to amaine to fet vpon the Romaine s, and with fuch a fury, that the frongest & valiantest that could be, had never bin able to abide the front of their battel, so close. ly were they io yned together, & their wall of pikes was fo strong. But on his left wing it was not To, because the ranks of his battell could notion to neare nor close target to target, the place being betwixt the hils and the rocks, where the battel was coming, so as they were copelled by reason of the straightnesse & vneuennesse of the ground, to leave it open, and vnfurnished in many places. Titus finding that disaduantage, went from the left wing of his battell which he saw Battellbeouerlaid by the right wing of his enemies, and going foduinely towards the left wing of King Philips battell, he fet vpon the MACEDONIAN'S Onthat fide, where he faw they could not close their ranks in the front, nor joyne them together in the middeft of the battel (which is the whole lip King of ftrengthand order of the MACED ONIAN fight) because the field was vp hill and downe hilland to fight hand to hand they were fo peffered behind, that one thronged and overlaid another. For the battel of the MACEDONIANS hath this propertie, that follong as the order is kept close and ioyned together, it feemeth as it were but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, and that they are fundred and not joyned together, it doth not only lose the force & power of the wholebody, but also of cuery private souldier that fighteth: partly by reafon of the diuersity of the weapons wher with they fight, and partly for that their whole strength confifteth most, in the disposing and ioyning together of their ranks & orders, which doth stay vp one another, more then doth euer y private fouldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was broken, and that they ran their way: one part of the Romains followed the chafe, & the other ran to give a charge vpon the flanks of the right wing which fought yet,

and they made great flaughter of them. Wherupon they now which before had the vantage, began to stagger and breake, and in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing down their only in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing down their weapons: infomuch as there were flaine of them eight thousand in the field, and fine thousand our came taken prisoners in their chase. And had not the fault bin in the ÆTOLIANS, Philip had not faued Philips are himselfe by flying as he did. For whilest the Romain's had their enemies in chase, the Atoli-Maurie ANS tarried, and rifled all king Philips campe, fo as they left the Romaines nothing to spoile between the at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell and hot words betweene them, and one and the with another. But afterwards it angred Titus worse, challenging the honour of this victory to Romaines. themiclies, because they gaue it out through GRECE, that they alone had ouerthrowne king philip in the battell. So that in the fongs and ballades the Poets made in praise of this victory, which every country and townes-man had in his mouth, they alwayes put the ÆTOLIANS before the ROMAINES: as in this that followeth, which was currently fung in enery place: Ob friend, which paffest by : here lye we wretched pheares,

Withouten honour of the grave, without lamenting teares. We thirty thousand were, which ended have our dayes: In cruell coasis of Theffaly, which caufed our decaies. We have bene overthrowne by th' Atolians men of warre. And by the Latine crewes likewife, whom Titus led from farre, Even out of Italy, to Macedonie land, Vs to destroy, be (captainelike) did come with mighty band: And Philip flout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face, Is fled, more froift then Harts do run, which are pursude in chase.

The Poet was Alexus that made these verses for to sing, who did them in disgrace of king Philip, fallely increasing the number of his men which died in the battell, onely to shame and spite him the more: howbeit he spited Titus thereby, more then Philip, because it was sung in every place. For Philip laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a fong to counterfeit his, as followeth:

This gibbet on this bill, which paffers by may marke, Was fet to hang Alceus up withouten leaves or barke.

But Titus tooke it grieuously, who chiefly desired to be honoured amongst the Green, by reason wherof from that time forwards he dealt in the rest of his matters alone, without making account of the Ærolians: wher with they were maruellous angry, and specially when he received an ambassador from Philip, and gave eare vnto a treatie of peace which he offered. For gradge bethen they were so netled against him, that they gave it out through all GRECE, that Titus had times fold peace vnto Philip, when he might altogether haucended the war, and vtterly haue deftroyed Philips whole power and Empire, who had first brought GRECE into bondage. These stans. derous reports and false tales which the Atolians spread thus abroad, did much trouble the Romaines friends and confederates: but Philips selfe pulled this suspition out of their heads, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit himself wholly to the discretion of Titus and the Romaines. Titus then granted him peace, and delinered to him his realme of Ma- To Quintins CEDON, and commanded him he fhould give over all that he held in GRECE; and besides, that Philip he should pay one thousand talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by sea, sauing onely ten ships; and for assurance of this peace, he tooke one of his sons for hostage, whom he sent to Rome. Wherein Titus certainly did very well, & wifely did foresee the time to come. For then Hannibal of CARTHAGE (the great energy of the Romaines) was banished out of his countrey, Hannibal andcame to king Antiochus, whom he put in the head, and earneftly moued, to follow his good was with fortune, and the increase of his Empire. Whom Hannibal so followed with these perswasions, and the increase of his Empire. that king Antiochus at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notableacts, whereby in the wars before he had attained the furname of Great, he began now to an spire to the monarchie of the whole world, and sought how to find occasion to make wars with the ROMAINES. So that if Titus (foreseeing that a far off) had not wisely inclined to peace, but that the wars of Antiochus had fallen out together with the wars of king Philip, & that these two the mightiest Princes of the world had ioyned together against the city of Rome: then it had bene in as great trouble and danger, as euer it was before in the time of their wars against Hannibal. Howbeit, Titus having happily thrust in this peace betweene both wars, he cut off the warre

difgrace of

The properan battell.

PIECENS

Quintins

and Phi-

À acedon.

Chalcide. Corinth, Demeiria-Macedon, of Greece.

that was present, before the other that was coming: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kings his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meane time the ten commissioners that were fent by the Senate from Rome to Titus, to aide & affilt him in the order of the affaires of GRECE, did counfell him to fet all the rest of GRECE at liberty, and onely to keepe in their hands with good garrison, the cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTH, and of DEMETRIADE, to make fure that by practife they should not enter into league and alliance with Antiochus. Then by Philip of the ETOLIAN'S (that were the common flanderers of Titus proceedings) began openly to make these cities to rebell, and did summon Titus to loose the chaines of GRECE for so did king Philip call the fethree cities. Then they asked the GRECIANS in mockery, whether they were willing now to have heavier fetters on their legs then before, being somewhat brighter and fairer then those they had bene shackled with: and also whether they were not greatly beholding to Titus for taking offthe fetters from the GRECIANS legs, and tying them about their necks. Titus being maruelloufly troubled and vexed with this, moued the ten Counfellors fo earneflly, that he made them grant his request in the end, that those three cities also should be delivered from garrison: because the GRECIANS thenceforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed and accomplified in every respect on them all. Wherfore when the feast called Ishmia was come, there were gathered together an infinit multitude of people, come to fee the sport of the games played there: for GRECE having bene long timetroubled with wars, they seeing themselves now in sure peace, & in very good hope of sull liberty, looked after no other thing, but delighted onely to see games, and to make merry . Proclamation was then made by found of trumpet in the assembly, that enery man should keepesi-Icnce. That done, the herald went forward, & thrust into the middest of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloud: that the Senate of Rome, and Titus Quintins Flaminius, Conful of the people of Rome, (now that they had ouerthrowne king Philip and the Macedonians in battell) did thenceforth discharge from all garrisons, and set at liberty from all taxes, subsidies, & impositions for ever to live after their old ancient lawes, and in fulliberty: the Corint Hians, the Lo-CRIANS, those of PHOCIDE, those of the Iles of EVBOEA, the ACHAIANS, the PHTHIOTES, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perro effians. At the first time of the Proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the herald, and the most part of those that heard him, could not tell directly what he faid: for there ran vp and down the shew-place where the games were plaid, a confused bruite and tumult of people, that wondered, and asked what the matter meant, so as the herald was driven againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after filence made, the herald putting out his voice far louder then before, did proclaime it in such audible wife, that the whole affembly heard him: and then rose there such a loud shout and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the found of it was heard to the fea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were fet to fee the Sword-players play, rofe vp al on their feet, letting the games alone, and went together with great toy to falute, to embrace, and to thanke Titus the recourier, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of $G_{R,E}$ o z. Then was seene (which is much spoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crowes fell downe at that present time among the people, which by chance flew ouer the shew-place at that time that they made the same outthe found of shour. This came to passe, by reason the aire was broken and cut asunder with the vehemencie mens voices and firength of the voyces, to as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe up the flying of the birds: which were driven of necessity to fall to the ground, as slying through a voide place where they lacked aire. Vnleffe we will rather fay, that it was the violence of the crie, which stroke the birds passing through the aire, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and so made them fal down dead to the earth. It may be also, that there was some hurling wind in y aire, as wedo fee sometime in the sea, when it riseth high, & many times turneth about the waves, by violece of the storme. So it is, that if Titus had not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to fee him, & that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended he had hardly escaped from being stifled amongst the the people came so thicke about him fro every place. But after that they were weary of crying and finging about his paulion vntill night, in the end they went their way; and as they went, if they met any of their kin, friends or citizens, they did kiffe and embrace one another for ioy, and so supped and made merric together. In their more reioycing yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table, but of the warsof GRECE, discoursing among the what fundry great wars they had made, what they had endured heretofores

heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet for all that, they could neuer fo joyfully, nor more affuredly obtaine is, then they did even at that prefent, receiving the honorableft reward, and that which deferued greatest fame through the world: that by the valiantnesse of strangers who fought for the same (without any spilt bloud of their ownein comparison, or that they loft the life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their ancient freedome and liberty. It is a very rarething amongst men, to find a man very valiant, and wife withall: but yet of all forts of valiant men; it is harder to find a iust man. For Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, Alcibiades, and all other the famous captaines of former times, had very good skill to leade an army, and to win the battell, as well by sea as by land: but to turne their victories to any honourable benefite, or true honour among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you do except the battell against the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battel of SALAMINA, the lourny of PLAT ÆEs, the battel of THERMOPYLES, the battel Cimon fought about Cyprvs, and vpon the river of Eurymedon: all the other wars and battels of GRECE that were made, fell out against themselves, and did ever bring them into bondage; and all the tokens of triumph which euer were set up for the same, was to their shame and losse. So that in the end, GRECE was vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowne, and that chiefly through the wickednesse and selfe-will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying anothers doing. Where a strange nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to moue them to do it, (for that they had no great familiaritie with ancient GRECE, and through the counsell and good wisdome of the which, it should seeme very strange that GRECE could receiue any benefite) haue notwithstanding with dangerous battels and infinite troubles, delinered it from oppression and seruitude of violent Lords and tyrants. This and such like talke, did at that time occupie the GRECIANS heads: and moreover, the deedes following did answer and performe the words of the proclamation. For at one selfetime, Titus sent Lentulus into A- Quintin SIA, to fet the BARGILIANS at liberty, and Titillius into THRACIA, to remoue the garrifons out care to flat of the Iles and cities which Philip had kept there: and Publius Iulius was sent also into Asia, vnto liberty of king Antiochus, to speake unto him to set the GRECIANS at liberty which he kept in subjection. the Greek. And as for Titus, he went himselfe vnto the citie of Chalcide, where he tooke sea, and ans. went into the province of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tookeall the garrifons of the cities, and redelinered the government of the commonwealth vnto the citizens of the same. After- The feel of wards when time came that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of AR GOS in the ho- Nemea nour of Hercules, Titus was chosen judge and rector of the games that were plaid there; where, af- kpr at Arter he had set all things in very good order, pertaining vnto the solemnitie of the feast, he caused 2006. againe folemne proclamation to be made openly, for the general liberty of all GR BC B. Furthermore visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed instice, and did set the inhabitants & citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amitie and concord one with another; and dideall home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, & pacified all old quarrels and discentions among them. The which did no lesse please and content him, that by periwasions he could bring y GRECIANS to be reconciled one with the other, then if he had by force of armes ouercome the MACEDONIANS. In fomuch, as the recovery of the liberty which Titus had reflored vnto the GRECIANS, seemed vnto them the least part of the goodnesse they had received athis hands. They fay that Lycurgus the orator feeing the collectors of taxes, cary Zenocrates the Lycurgus Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the stran-theorator, gers inhabiting within the citic of ATHENS were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, restruct and moreouer profecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fine for the iniurie they had done with so worthy a person. And showed the them had so the fine for the iniurie the philothey had done vnto fo worthy a person: And they tell, that the same Philosopher afterwards sopher, and meeting Lycurgus children in the city, said vnto them: I do well requite your fathers good turne fauedhim he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of enery man, for the kindnesse he shewed on my behalfe. So the good deedes of the ROMAINES, and of Titus Quintius Flaminius vnto the GRECIANS, did not only reape this benefite vnto them, in recompence that they were praifed and honoured of all the world: but they were cause also of increasing their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the world afterwards had great affiance and trust inthem, and that most iustly. So that the people and cities did not onely receive the Captaines and Gouernours the ROMAINES fent them: but they also went to ROME vnto them, and procuredthem to come, and did put themselves into their hands. And not only the cities and commu-

Nero did

Why Quin

Lacedamon

nalties, but kings & princes also which were oppressed by other more mighty then themselves had no other refuge, but to put themselves vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very fhort time (with the fauour and helpe of the gods, as I am perswaded) all the world came to sub. mit themselves to their obedience, & vnder the protection of their Empire. Titus also did glory more that he had reftored GRBCB againe vnto liberty; then in any other feruice or exploit he had ever done. For when he offered vp vnto the temple of Apollo in the city of DELPHES, the targets of filter with his owne shield, he made these verses to be grauen youn them, in effect as followeth:

> O noble twins Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare, Throw out lowde shouts of ioy and mirth reioyce and make good cheere. O noble kings of Spartan soyle, which take delight to ride Your trampling steeds with fomy bit, and trappings by their side: Reioyce you now, for Titus he, the valiant Romaine Knight. Thefe gifts fo great to you bath got, even by his force and might: That having taken cleane away from off the Greekish neckes, The heavy roke of seructude, which heldshem thrall to checkes, Unto their former liberty he hath restorde them free, Which altogether perisht was, as men might plainely see.

He gauea crowne of massie gold vnto Apollo, vpon the which he made this inscription to be written:

> A valiant Romaine Knight, even Titus by his name, A captaine worthy by defert of high renowne and fame: To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine gold Hath given, thy godhead to adorne with iewels manifold: Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace) With fauour to requite this love to him and to his race: That his renowned fame and vertue may be spred, And blazed through the world so wide, to shew what life he led.

So hath the city of Corinth enjoyed this good hap, that the Grecians have bene twice proclaimed to be set at liberty: the first time by Titus Quintius Flaminius, and the second time by Nero in our time, and at the felfe fame instant when they solemnely kept the feast called Ishmia. Howbeit the first proclamation of their liberty (as we have told you before) was done by the voice of an herald. & the fecond time it was done by Nero himself, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open affembly, in the market place of the city of Corint H. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, Tiens began then a goodly and iust warre against Nabis the curfed and wicked tyrant of LACEDEMON. Howbeit in the end he deceived the expectation of GRECE: for when he might have taken him, he would not do it, but made peace with him, forfaking poore Sparta, vnworthily oppreffed under the yoke of bondage: either because he was affraid that if the warre held on, there should come a successour vnto him from Rome, that should carry the glory away to end the same or else he stood icalous and enuious of the honour they did vito Philopamen: who having shewed himselfe in every place as excellent a captaine as cuer came in GRECE, and having done notable acts and famous service, both of great wisdome, and also of valiantnesse, and specially in the Achains warre; he was as much honoured and reuerenced of the Achaian's in the Theater and common affemblies, euen as Titus was. Whereat Titus was maruelloufly offended for he thought it vnreasonable that an Ar-CADIAN who had neuer bene Generall of an army but in small litle wars against his neighbors, should be as much esteemed and honoured as a Confull of Rome, that was come to make wars for the recourry of the liberty of GRECE. But Titus alledged reasonable excuse for his doings, faying, that he faw very well he could not deftroy this tyrant Nabis, without the great losseand mifery of the other Spartans. Furthermore of all the honours the Achaian's euer did him (which were very great)me thinkes there was none that came neare any recompence of hishonourable and well deferuing, but one only prefent they offered him, and which he about all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. During the second warres of Africk E, which the Ro-MAINES had against Hannibal, many Romaines were taken prisoners in fundry battels they loft, and being fold here and there, remained flaues in many countries: and among ft other, there

were differ fed in GRECE to the number of twelve hundred, which from time to time did move men with spitcand compassion towards them that saw them in so miserable change and state Trelue of fortune. But then much more was their mifery to be pitied, when these captines found in the hundred Romaines army, some of them their sonnes, other their brethren, & the rest their fellowes and friends, free and conquerours, and themselves slaves and bondmen. It grieved Trus much to slaves. fee thefe poore menin fuch miferable captituitie, not with standing he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the Achains redeemed and bought them for fine hundred pence a man, and having gathered them together into a troupe, they prefented all The Addition the Romain captines vnto Titus, euch as he was ready to take ship to returne into Iral viwhich any redee present made him returne home with greater toy and contentation, having received for his noble deeds fo honourable a recompence, and worthy of himfelfe, that was follouing a man to his that were citizens and country. And furely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most flater in beautifie his triumph. For these poore redeemed captines did that, which the slaves are wont to Greece. do on that day when they be fet at liberty: to wit they shaue their heads, and do weare little Thecete. hats vpon them. The Romaines that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and so followed flutte man Titus chariot, on the day of his triumph and entry made into Rome in the triumphing maner. It remissed was a goodly fight also, to see the spoiles of the enemies, which were carried in the shew of this T Quintius triumph: as ftore of helmets after the Grecian s fashion, heapes of targets, shields, and pikes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull summe of gold and filter. For Itanus the Hiftoriographer writeth, that there was brought a maruellous great maffe of treafure in niggots of gold, of three thousand seuen hundred and thirteene pound weight; and of filter, of forty three thousand two hundred, threescore and ten pound weight; and of gold ready coyned in peeces called Philips, four eteene thousand, fine hundred & four teene, besides the thousand talents king Philip should pay for a ransome: the which summe, the Romaines afterwards forgaue him, chiefly at Titus fite and interceffion, who procured that grace for him, & caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of Rome, and his fon Demetrius to be fent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hostage of Rome. Shortly after king Antiochus went out of Manius Asia into Grece with a great fleet of ships, & a very puissant army, to stir vp the cities to forfake their league & alliance with the Romains, and make a differtion among them. To further this his defire and enterprife, the Atolians did aide and backe him, which of long time had Livutenant borne great and fecret malice against the Romains, and defired much to have had warres with fent anto them. So they taught king Intiochus to fay, that the war which he tooke in hand, was to fet the Grees. GRECIANS at liberty, wher of they had no neede, because they did already enjoy their liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make warre they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he could. Wherfore the Romaine's fearing greatly the rifing of the people, and the rumour of the power of this great king, they fent thither Manius Acilius their Generall, and Titus, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS fakes. Which arrivall did more affure the that already bare goodwill to the ROMAINES, after they had once feene Manius and Titus: and the rest that began toflie out, and to shrinke from them, those Titus kept in obedience from starting, remembring them of the friendship and goodwill they had borne him, even like a good skilfull Phisitian that could give his patient. Phisieke to preserve him from a contagious ditease. Indeede there were fome(but few of them) that left him, which were won & corrupted before by the Atolians: and though he had just cause of offence towards them, yet he saued them after the battell. For king Antiochus being overcome in the country of THERMODYLES, fled his way, & in great haft tooke the sea to returne into As I A. And the Consul Manius following his victory, entred into Antioinus the country of the Arolians, where he took certaine townes by force, and left the other for a constitution prey vnto king Philip. So Philip king of MACEDON on the one fide, spoiled and sacked the Do- in Thermo-LOPLANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMIANS, & the APERANTINES: and the Confull Ma-Maninithe nius on the other fide, destroyed the city of Heracle a, and laid fiege to the city of Navpac- confull. TVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But Titus taking compassion of them to see the poore people of GRECE thus spoiled and turned out of all went out of PELOPONNES VS (where he was then) vnto Manius Acilius campe, and there reproued him for fuffering king Philip to vsurpe the benefit and reward of his honourable victory, ftill conquering many people, kings and countries, whilest he continued siege before a city, and onely to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwards,

when they that were befreged faw Titus from their walls, they called him by his name, and held

Duintius intreateth for the A. tolians king Antios Cleoptole mu daugh . ter in the Chalcide.

vp their hands vnto him, praying him he would take pitie vpon them'; but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with Manius, and appealing his anger, got him to grant the ÆTOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might fend Ambassadors to Rome, to see if they could obtain grace & pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreat for the CHALCIDIANS. with whom the Confull Manius was more grieuoufly offended, then with all the rest because that king Antiochus after the wars was begun, had maried his wife in their citie, when he was paff yeares of mariage, and out of all due time. For he was now very old, and being in his extreme age, and in the middelt of his wars, he fel in dotage with a young gentlew oman, the daughter of Cleoptolemus, the fairest woman that was at that time in all GRECE. Therefore the CHALCIDI. AN s were much affected vnto king Antiochus, and did put their city into his hands, to serue him in this warre, for a strong and safe retiring place. Wherevpon, when Antiochus had lost thebartell, he came thither with all possible speed, and taking from thence with him his passing faire young Queene which he had maried, and his gold, his filuer and friends, he tooke the feas incontinently, and returned into As ra. For this cause the consult Manins having wonne the bartell, did march straight with his army towards the city of Chalcide in a great rage and furie. But Titus that followed him, did alwaies lye vpon him to pacific his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other Romaines of state and authoritie in councell: that in the end, he got him to pardon them of CHALCIDE also. Who because they were preserved from perill by his meanes, they to recompence this fact of his, did confecrate vnto him, all their most flately and fumptuous buildings and common works in their city, as appeareth yet by thefuperferiptions remaining to be feene at this day. As in the shew-place of exercises: the people of CHALCIDE did dedicate this shew-place of exercises, vnto Titus and Hercules. And in the temple called Delphinium; the people of CHALCIDE did confecrate this temple vnto Titus, and vnto Apollo. And furthermore, vinto this present time, there is a Priest chosen by the voice of the people, purposely to do sacrifice vnto Titus: in which sacrifice after that the thing sacrifised is offered vp, and wine powred vpon it, the people standing by, do sing a song of triumph made in praise of him. But because it were too long to write it all out, we have onely drawne in briefe the latter end of the same : and this it is:

The cleare unspotted faith of Romaines we adore, And vow to be their faithfull friends both now and enermore. Sing out you Muses nine to Ioues eternall fame : Sing out the honour due to Rome, and Titus worthy name. Sing out (I (ay) the praise of Titus and his faith : By whom you have preserved bene from ruine, dole and death.

Quintins courtefie and good nature. Emulation tius and Philopæ.

Honours

T. Quintius

for Javing the Chalci

dians and

Now the Chalcidians did not along honour and reverence Titus, but he was general rally honoured also by the GRECIANS as he deferued, and was maruellously beloued for his courtesse and good nature: which argueth plainely that they did not fainedly honour him, or through compulsion, but even from the heart. For though there was some iarre betwixt him and betwize Ti- Philopamen at the first about service, for emulation of honour, and after betwixt him and Diophanes also, both Generals of the Achaians, yetheneuer bare them any malice in his heart, net. ther did his anger moue him at any time to hurtthem any way, but he ever ended the heate of his words in counfell and affemblies, where he vttered his mind frankely to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eager of reuenge: but many haue thought him rash, and hastie of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as possible could be, and would vse as pleasant wise mirth as any man. As when he said to the Achaians, on a time, who would needs vniustly vsurpethe Ile of the Zazinthians, to diffwade them from it: My Lords of Achaia, if ye once go out of Peloponnesus, you put your sclues in danger, as y torteyfes do, when they thrust their heads out of their shelles. And the first time he parled with Philip to treate of peace: when Philip faid vnto him, you have brought many men with you, and I am come alone: Indeede it is true you are alone, said he, because you made all your friends and kin to be flaine. Another time, Dinocrates MESSINIAN being in ROME, after he hadtaken in his cups in a feast where he was, he disguised himselfe in womens apparell, and danced in that maner: and the next day following he went vnto Titus, to pray him to helpe him through with his fute, which was, to make the city of MESSINA to rebell, and leave the tribe of the ACHAIANS.

Tim made him answer; that he would thinke vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (faid he) how you can dance in womens apparel, & fing at a feast, having such matters of weight in your head. In the councel of the Achaias, king Antiochus Ambafladors being come thither, to moue the to breake their league with the ROMAINES, and make their alliance with the king their mafter, down do they made a maruellous large discourse of y great multitude of souldiers that were in their mafters army, and did number them by many divers names. Whereunto Titus answered, and told great army. how a friend of his having bidden him one night to supper, and having served so many dishes of little Quin. meat to his boord, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost vpon him, as wondring affirer to how he could so sodainly get so much store of meat, and or so divers kinds: my friend said to the the Ambast againe, that all was but porke dreffed fo many wayes, and with fo fundry favores. And cuen fo fadors transfer bragger. (quoth Tisus) my lords of ACHAIA, esteeme not king Antiochus army y more, to heare of so manymen of armes, numbred with their lances: and of such a number of footmen with their pikes: for they are all but Syrians, diucifly armed, only with ill fauored litle weapons. Furthermore, after Titus had done the fethings, & that the war with Antiochus, was ended, he was chofen Cenfor at Rome, with the fon of that same Marcellus, who had bene fine times Consul. This office is T. Quini. ofgreat dignitie, and as a man may fay, the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of Rost a can using in haue in their common wealth. They put offthe Senate, foure men onely, but they were not fa- Conformation mous. They received all into the number of citizens of Rome, that would present theselves to beenrolled in their common register: with a prouiso, that they were borne free by father & mother. They were compelled to do it, by Terentius Culeo, Tribune of the people, who to despite the Nobility perswaded the people of Rome to comand it so. Now at that time two of the noblest &most famous men of Rome were great enemies one against another: Publius Scipio African, Psapie, and Marcus Portins Cato. Of the letwo, Titus named Publius Scipio African, to be prince of the and st. Senate; as the chiefest & worthiest person in the city: and got the displeasure of the other, which was Cato, by this mishap. Titus had a brother called Lucius Quintius Plaminius, nothing at all like Secret him incondition: for he was so dissolutely & licentiously ginen to his pleasure, that he forgotal grudge becomlinesse and honesty. This Lucius loued well a yong boy, & caried him alwaies with him whe hewent to the wars; or to the charge and gouernment of any prouince. This boy flattering him, cate. oneday faid vnto Lucius Quintius, that he loued him fo well, that he did leave the fight of the fword-players at the sharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had neuer scene man killed before, to waite vpon him. Lucius being glad of the boyes words, answered him straight. Thou shalt lose nothing for that my boy, for I will by and by please thee as well. So he commanded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whohe willed to strike off his head in the midst of his supper, that the boy might see him killed. Valerius Antias the Historiographer writeth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But Tetus Linius declareth, that in an oration which Cato himselfe made, it was written that it was one of the GAVLEs: who being a traitor to his countrymen, was come to Flaminius gate with his wife and children, and that Flaminius making him come into his hall, kilkdhim with his own hand, to please a boy he loued, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howbeit, it is very likely that Cato wrot in this fort, to aggravate the office, & to make it more cruell. For, many haue written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offender condemned todie: & among other, Cicero the grator doth recite it in a book he made of age, where he made itobe told vnto Catoes owne person. Howsocuer it was, Marcus Cato being chosen Censor, and cleanling the Senate of all vn worthy persons, he put off the same Lucius Quintius Flaminius, alcensor did though he had bin Confull: which difgrace did feeme to redound to his brother Titus Quintius put Lucius Flaminius also. Wherupon both the brethren came weeping with al humility before the people, Quintius and modes a partition that some description that some weeping with all humility before the people. and made a petition that seemed very reasonable and civill which was that they would comand off the St. Cato to come before the, to declare the cause openly why he had with such open shame defaced water. so noble a house as theirs was. Cate then without delay, or shrinking back, came with his copanio into the market place, where he asked Titus out aloud, if he knew nothing of the supper where sucha fact was comitted. Titus answered, he knew not ofit. Then Cato opened the whole matter as it was, and in the end of his tale, he bad Lucius Quintius sweare openly, if he would denie that he had faid was true. Lucius an swered not a word. Wherupon the people judged the shame was infly laid vpon him : and so to honour Case, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home vnto his owne house. But Titus being much offended at the difgrace of his brother,

Provorthy act against

Lucius

Quin'ins

restoredto

his place by

T.Quintius

T Quinti.

Hannibals

the people

T. Quintins became enemy to Cato, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practife he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leafes, & all deedes of fales made by Cato during his office, were called in, and made voide: and caused many suits also to be commenced against him. Wherein, I cannot fay he did wifely or civilly, to become mortall enemy to an honest man a good cirizen, & durifull in his office for his yeare, for an vnworthy kinfinan, who had iutly deferued the shame laid vpon him. Notwithstanding, shortly after when the people were assembled in the Theater to fee games played, & the Senators were fer according to their custome in the most honourable places: Lucius Flaminius came in also, who in lowly and humble manner. went to fit downe in the furthest seates of the Theater, without regard of his former honour which when the people faw, they tooke pity of him, and could not abide to fee him thus diffionoured. So they cried out to have him come and fit among the other Senators and Cofuls, who made him place, and received him accordingly. But to returne again to Titus. The naturallambition and conetous greedy mind he had of honour, was very well taken & effected, fo long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the wars, which we have spoken of before. For after he had bene Confull, of his owne feeking he became a Colonell of a thousand footemen. not being called to it by any man. So when he began to stoupe for age, and that he hadginen ouer as a man at the last cast, to beare office any longer in the state: they faw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himselfe in old age to be ouercome with such youthfull violence, being far vnmeete for any of his yeares. For methinkes his ambition was the only cause that moved him to procure Hannibals death, which bred him much difliking & ill opinion with many. For, after Hannibal had fled out of his owne country, he went first vnto king Antiochus who, after he loft the battel in Phrygia, was glad the Romains granted him peace, with fuch conditions as themselues would. Wherfore Hannibal fled again from him, and after he had long wandered vp and down, at the length he came to the Realme of BITHYNIA, & remained there about king Prusias, the Romaines knowing it well enough: and because Hannibal was then an old broken man, of no force nor power, and one whom fortune had spurned at her seete, they made no more reckening of him. But Titus being fent Ambassadour by the Senate, vnto Prusas king of BITHYNIA, and finding Hannibal there, it grieved him to feehim alive. So that not withflanding Prusias maruellously intreated him, to take pitie vpon Hannibal a poore old man, & his friend who came to him for fuccour; yet he could not perfwade Titus to be content he should live. Hannibal long before had received answer of his death from an oracle to this effect:

Titus fant ambaff z. der voto Prusias king of Bithynia Hannibal deceined by angraele conserving bis death.

Hannobal

byffa in

Buhmia.

Gept at El.

Hannibals death.

Midas and Themistoclas baifomed them-

Hannibals luft words.

The land of Labor, Shall couer under mould, The valiant corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.

So Hannibal understood that of Libya, as if he should have died in Afrik E, and bene buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certain fandy country in BITHYNIA, neare to the feas fide, where there is a litle village aclled Librasa, and where Hannibal remained continually. He mistrusting king Prufits faintheart, and fearing the Romains malice also, had made feuen privile caues and vaults vaider ground long before, that he might fecretly go out at either of them which way he would, and every one of them came to the maine vault where himfelfe did lie, and could not be discerned outwardly. When it was told him that Titus had willed Prusias to deliver him into his hands, he fought then to faue himfelfe by those mines but he found that all the vents out, had watch and ward vpon them by the kings commandement. So then he determined to kil himfelf Now fome fay, that he wound a limin towell hard about his necke, and commanded one of his men he should fet his knee vpon his buttocke, and weighing hard vpon him, holding the towell fast, he should pull his necke backward with all the power and strength he could, and neuer leave pressing on him, til he had strägled him. Others say that he drank buls bloud, as Midas & Themiflocies had done before him. But Titus Livius writeth, that he had poison which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a cup he held in his hands, & before he drank he spake these words: Come on, let vs deliner y Romains of this great care, fith my life is fo grieuous vnto them, that they thinke it too long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet Titus by this shal winne no honourable victory, nor worthy the memory of the ancient ROMAINES, who aductifed king Pyrrus their enemy, even when he had warres with them, and had won battels of them, that he should beware of poisoning which was intended towards for the flery him. And this was Hannibals end as we find it written. The newes wherof being come to Rome vnto the Senate, many of them thought Titus too violent and cruell, to have made Hannibal

kill himfelf in that fort, when extremity of age had ouercome him already, and was as a bird left naked, her feathers falling from her for age and fo much the more, because there was no instant occasion offered him to vrge him to do it, but a couetous mind of honour, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause & Author of Hannibals death. And the in contrariwise they did much honour and commend the elemencie & noble mind of Scipio AFRICAN: who having overcome scipio d-Hannibal in battell, in Africk felfe, being then indeed to be feared, and had bene neuer ouer- fricans elecome before: yet he did not cause him to be driven out of his country, neither did aske him of the wended. CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, and before the battell, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke Hannibal courteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the conditions of peace he gaue them, he neuer spake word of hurt to Hannibals person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his mifery. And they tell how afterwards they met againe together in the city of Eph Bsvs, Talke beand asthey were walking, that Hannibal took the vpper hand of Scipio and that Scipio bare it pa- twist seitiently, and left not off walking for that, neither shewed any countenance of miss iking. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they descended in the end to talke of ancient Captains; and bal. Hamibal gave indgement, that Alexander the Great was the famousest Captaine, Pyrrus the se- Hannibals cond, & himfelf the third. Then Scipio smiling, gently asked him: What wouldest thou say then, of captains, if Ihad not ouercome thee: Truly, quoth Hannibal, I would not then put my selfe the third man, but the first, and about all the Captains that cucr were. So diverse greatly comending the goodlyfayings and deeds of Scipio, did maruelloufly miflike Titus, for that he had (as a man may fay) laidhis hands vpon the death of an other man. Other to the contrary againe faid, it was wel done ofhim, faying, that Hannibal fo long as he lined, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMAINES, which lacked but one to blow it:and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not hishand nor body that troubled the Romains fo much, but his great wisdome, & skill he had in the wars, & the mortal hate he bare in his heart towards the Romains, which neither yeares, norage would diminish or take away. For mens naturall conditions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwaies keepe in a state, but changeth still, and then quickneth vp our desires to set willingly vpon thosethat war against vs, because they hate vs in their hearts. The things which fell outafterwards, did greatly proue the reasons brought out for this purpose, indischarge of Titus. Aristonica For one Aristonicus, son of the daugher of a plaier vpon the citherne, vnder the fame and glorie of Eumenes, whose bastard he was, filled all As 1 A with war and rebellion, by reason the people rose in his fauour. Againe Mithridates, after so many losses he had received against Sylla & Fimbia, and after so many armies ouerthrowne by battell and wars, and after so many famous captaines lost and killed: did yet recouer againe, and came to be of power both by sea and land against Lucullus. Truly Hannibal was no lower brought then Caius Marius had bene: for he had a King to his friend that gaue him entertainement for him and his family, and made him Admiral Marius. of his ships, and General of his horsmen & footmen in the field. Marius also went vp and down AFRICKE a begging for his liuing, infomuch as his enemies at Rome laughed him to scorne: & some after notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murthered, and flaine within Rome by his commandement. Thus we see no man can sycertainly he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertainty of things to come: considering Tobemeane there is but one death, and change of better life. Some fay also, that Titus did not this act alone, or great in and of his owne authority, but that he was fent Ambassador with Lucius Scipio to no other end, nothing thus

but to put Hannibal to death, by what meanes foeuer they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not find any notable thing written of Titus worthy of memory, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he died quietly of a

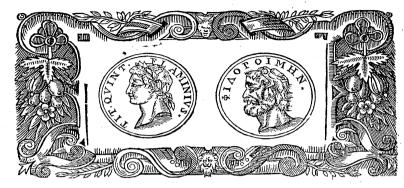
naturall death at home in his

countrey.

death brin.

THE COMPARISON OF

Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopæmen.



T Quintius benefits vnlo Grece.



T is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefites that came to the GRECIANS, neither Philosamen, nor all the other former captains are to be compared with Titus. For all the ancient Captaines almost being GRECIANS, made warres with other GRECIANS: but Titus being a Romaine, and no Gre-CIAN. made warrs for the liberty of GRECE. When Philopæmen was not able to help his poore citizens distressed fore & vexed with wars, he failed away into CRETA. Titus having overcome Philip King of MACEDON in battell, did restore agains to liberty all the people and

mens n:a-

cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any will narrowly examine the battels of either party, they shall find that Philopamen being Generall of the Achaians, made more GRECIANS to be flaine, then Titus did of the MACED ON IANS, fighting with them for the liberty of the GRECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of the was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke & fodainly angred, the other was very hard to be pacified. Titus left King Philip his Realme and Crowne after he had ouercome him, and vsed great clemency towards the Atolians: where Philopamen for spite and malice, took townes & villages from his owne native country and city wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, Titus continued a found friend to them, to whom he had once professed friendship, and done pleasure vnto: and Philopamen in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had given, and to overthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For Philopamen when he had done the Laced DEMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwards raze the wals of their city, and spoiled and destroyed all their countrey; and lastly, ouer threw their whole gouernement. It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate choler, he was himselfe cause of his owne death, for that he made more hast then good speed, to go out of time to set ypon those of Masssina: and not as Titus, who did all his affaires with wifedome, and euer confidered what was best to be done: But if we look into the number of battels, and victories: The warre which Titus made against Philip was ended with two battels: whereas Philopamen in infinit battels in which he had the better, neuer left it doubtfull, but that his skill did cuer help him more to the victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreouer, Titus wan honour by meanes of the power of Rome, when it flourished most, and was in best prosperitie: Philopemen made himselfe, famous by his deedes, when GRECE began to stoupe and fall altogether. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the Romaine s: and the deeds of the other, were private to himselfe alone. For Titus was Generall ouer good and valiant fouldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and Philopamen being chosen Generall, didtraine his men himselfe, and made them afterwards very expert and valiant, that were but meane and greene fouldiers before. And whereas Philopamen had continuall warres with the GRECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it

TitmQainthen Philo

Quinting commanded good foul-Philopæ men made

made a certain proofe of his valiantnesse. For where all other things are answerable to his, there we must judge that such as ouercome, have the most courage. Now Philosemen making warres with the most warlike nations of all GRECE, (as the CRETANS, & the LACED EMONIANS) did ouercome the subtillest of them, by finenesse and policie; and the most valiant by prowesse and hardinesse. But Terms ouercame, by putting that onely in practise, which was already found and flablished: as the discipline of warres, and order of battell, in the which his souldiers had long before bene trained. Whereas Philopamen brought into his country, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accustomed vnto. So that the chiefest point how to win a battell, was found out anew, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vieit, and had found it out already before. Againe, touching the valiant acts done in the person of themselues, many notable acts may be told of Philopemen, but none of Titus: but rather to the contrary. For there was one Archedamus an ATOLIAN, who flouting Titus one day, said in his reproch: that at a day of battel, when Philopamen ran with his fword in his hand, to that fide where he faw the MACE DONIANS fighting and making head against the enemy, Titus held vp his hands vnto hea- A Generall uen, and was busine at his prayers to the gods, not stirring one foote, when it was more time to must not be uen, and was butte at his prayers to the gous, not itirring one roote, when it was more time to handle the fword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds Titus ever did, were done alwayes as a Confull, or Lieutenant, or Magistrate: whereas Philopæmen shewed himselfe vnto Bould or the Acharan s, a man no lesse valiant and of execution, being out of office; then when he was supple his company to the Acharan s, a man no lesse valiant and of execution, being out of office; then when he was a Generall he did drive Nabiathe tyrant of values of the company o a Generall. For when he was a Generall, he did drive Nabisthe tyrant of ŷ Laced Amonians out of Messina, and deliuered the Messinians out of bondage; and being a privateman, he shut the gates of the city of Sparra, in the face of Diophanes (Generall of the Achaians) and of Titus Quintius Flaminius, and kept them both from coming in, and thereby faued the citie from facking. Thus being borneto command, he knew not onely how to command according to the law, but could command the law it felfe vpon necessity, and when the common wealth required it. For at fuch a time he would not tary while the Magistrates which should gouerne him, did giue him authority to command, but he tooke it of himselse, and vsed them when the time ferued: esteeming that he which knew better then they what was to be done, was moretruly their Generall, then he whom they had chosen. And therefore they do well, that do Quintino commend Titus acts, for his elemencie and courtesse vsed to the GRECIANS: but much more the elemente noble and valiant acts of Philopamen vntothe Romaines. For it is much easierto pleasure and to the Gregraisse the weake, then it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therefore sithence we have throughly philopormis examined & compared the one with the other, it is very hard to judge altogether the difference lowels the

that is between them. Peraduenture therefore the judgement would not feeme very ill, if we do giuethe GRECIAN for discipline of warre, the preheminence and praise of a good Captaine: and to the Romaine for

iustice and clemencie, the name and dignitic of a most instand courteous gentleman.

The end of Titus Quintius Flaminius life



THE LIFE OF Pyrrus:



and b.gin-

Tis written, that fince Noes floud, the first King of the THESPROTE ANS, and of the Molossians, was Phaeton, one of those who came with Pelasgus into the Realme of Epirvs. But some say otherwise, that Dencation, and his wife Pyrra remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the country of the MOLOSSIANS. But how to over it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus the fonne or Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the country, and after him lefta fuccession of Kings, which were called after his name, the Pyrrides : because that fio his infan-

cie he was furnamed Pyrrus, as much to fay, as red: and one of his legitimate fonnes whomhe had by Lanaffa, the daughter of Cleodes the sonne of Hillus, was also named by him Pyrrus. And this is the cause why achilles is honored as a god in Erravs, being called in their language, Afpetos, that is to fay, mighty, or very great. But from the first kings of that race vntill the time of Tharrytas, there is no memory nor mention made of them: nor of their power that raigned in the meane time, because they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voide of civility. Tyrritas was indeed the first that beautified the cities of his countrey with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in ciuilllawes and customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed, This Tharrytas left a sonne called Alcetas; of Alcetas came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troiade his wife, came MEacides, who maried Phthia the daughter of Menon THESSALIAN, a famous man in the time of the warres, furnamed Lamian, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the confederates, after Leosthenes. This Eacides had two daughters by his wife Phthia, to fay, Deidamea and Troiade, and one fonne called Pyrrus. In his time the Molos sians rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, and put the crowne into the hands of the fons of Neoptolemus. Whereupon a'l the friends of Asacides that could be taken, were generally murthered and flaine outright. Androclides and Angelus in the meane time stole away Pyrrus, being but a sucking babe, (whom his enemies neuertheleffe eagerly fought for to have destroyed) and sled away with him as fast as possibly they might, with few feruants, his nurses and necessary women only to look to the child and give it fucke: by reason whereof their flight was much hindred, so as they could go no great iorneys, but that they might eafily be ouertake by the that followed. For which cause they pur the child into the hands of Androclion, Hippias, & Neander, three lufty yong men whom they trusted withhim, and commanded them to runne for life to a certaine city of MACEDON,

rus being

called MEGARES, and they themselves in the meane time, partly by intreaty, and partly by Megares a. force made flay of those that followed them till night. So as with much ado having driven them on of Mabacke, they ran after them that carried the child Pyrius, whom they ouertooke at Sunne set. And now, weening they had bene fafe, and out of all danger, they found it cleane contrary. For when they came to the river vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they faw it so rough and fwift, that it made them afraid to behold it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vn-possible to wade through, it was so high risen & troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darknesse of the night made enery thing seeme searefull vnto them. So as they now that carried the child, thought it not good to venture the passage ouer of themselues alone, with the women that tended the child: but hearing certaine countriemen on the other fide, they prayed and befought them in the name of the gods, that they would helpethem to passe ouer the child, shewing Pyrrus vnto them afarre off. But the countrimen by reason of the roaring of the river understood them not. Thus they continued a long space, the one crying, the other listning, yet could they not understand one another, till at the last one of the company bethought himselfe to pill off a peece of the barke of an oke, and vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the child. Which hetied to a stone to give it weight, and so threw it ouer to the other fide of the river:other fay, that he did prick the barke through with the point of a dart which he cast ouer. The countriemen on the other side of the riner, having read what was written, and vnderstanding thereby the present danger the child was in: felled downe trees in all the haft they could possible, bound them together and so passed ouer the river. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed ouer, and tooke the child, was called Actilles: the refidue of the countrimen passed ouer also, and tooke the other that came with the child, and conueyed them ouer as they came first to hand. And thus having escaped their hands, by easie iourneys they came at the length vnto Glaucias king of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his house sitting by his wife: and layd downe the child in the middeft of the floore before him. The king ting of the floore before him. hereupon staiced a long time without vttering any one word, weighing with himselfe what was best to be done : because of the feare he had of Cassander, a mortall enemie of Aacides. In the meane time, the child Pyrrus creeping of all foure, tooke hold of the kings gowne, and fcrawled vp by that, and so got vp on his feete against the kings knees. At the first, the king laughed to see the child: but after it pitied him againe, because the child seemed like an humble suter that came to feek sanctuary in his armes. Other say, that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but vnto y altar of the familiar gods, alongst the which he got vp on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods providence, presently delivered the child to his wife, gave her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought vp with his owne. Shortly after, his enemies fent to demand the child of him : and moreouer, Casander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer y child Pyrress into his hands. Howbeit Glancias would neuer grant thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was come to twelue yeares old, he brought him into his countrey of Epires with anarmy, and stablished him king of the realme againe, Pyrrus had a great maiefly inhis countenance, but yet indeed more fearefull then friendly. He Prrus con. had also no teeth in his vpper iaw that stood distinctly one from another, but one whole bone through the bound between the state of th throughout his gumme, marked a litle at the top onely, with certaine rifes in the place where the teeth should be deuided. Men held opinion also, that he did healethem that were sicke of the spleene, by facrificing a white cock, & touching the place of the spleene on the left fide of them that were ficke, fof ly with his right foot, they lying on their backs: and there was not so poore that were nor simple a man that craued this remedy of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he fa- ficke of the crificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleafed him very wel. They fay also, that the great toe filene. of his right foot had some secret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they burnt his body, all the rest being consumed to ashes, his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all: but of The fire that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was scuenteene yeares of age, thinking himselfe fure inough of his kingdome, it chanced him to make a journey into IL EYRIA, where he rugress maried one of Glaucias daughters, with whome he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no fooner turned, but the Molossians rebelled againe against him, and draue out his friends and Pyron feruants, and destroyed all his goods, and yeelded themselues vnto his aduersary Reoptolemus, realments King Pyrrus having thus loft his kingdome, and feeing himselfe for saken on all sides, went to Demetrius (Antigonus sonne) that had maried his fister Deidamia, who in her yong age was affured absence.

metrius for helpe, and called in Pyrrus alfo to his aide. Demetrius being troubled with other mat-

taine lands also that were not belonging to the ancient crowne & reuentics of the kings of Ma-CEDON, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia. All

these, the yong king Alexander leaving vnto him, he tooke possession thereof, and put good gar-

rifons into the fame in his owne name: and conquering the rest of MACEDON in the name of

Alexander, put his brother Antipater to great distresse. In the meane time king Lysimachus lacking

nogoodwill to help Antipater with his force, but being bussed in other matters, had not the mean

to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that Pyrrus in acknowledging the great pleasures he had

dred talents. Pyrrus opening the letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch & denice of Lyfi-

machus. For king Ptolomies common manner of greeting of him, which he vied at the beginning

of his letters, was not in them observed: To my son Pyrrus, health. But in those counterfeit was,

King Ptolomie, vnto king Pyrrus health. Whereupon he presently pronounced Lysimachus for a

naughty man: neuerthelesse, afterwards he made peace with Antipater, and they met together

at aday appointed, to be sworne vpon the facrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three

bealts brought to be facrififed, a goate, a bull, and a ramme; of the which, the ramme fell downe

dead of himself before he was touched, whereat all the standers by fell a laughing. But there was

him, knowing well inough at his coming that Alexander had no more need of his aide, and that

hedidit onely but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but the one beganne to mistrust the other, and to spie all the waies they could to intrappe each other: but Demetrius

embracing the first occasion offered, preuented Alexander, and slue him, being a yong man, and proclaimed himselfe king of Macedon in his roome. Now Demetrius had certaine quarrels

before against Pyrrus, because he had ouerrun the country of THESSALIE: and furthermore,

tweene them, and were to make division of one selfe kingdome: now I say began the matter and

occasion of quarrell to grow the greater betweene them. Whereupon Demetrius went with his

tell of Hip.

Pirraima ti;ona the dangleer of Unilip hing of and of bis mife Berekingdeine againe. Pirrus de

Ziceptole-

to Alexander the sonne of Alexander the Great, and of Roxane, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, Demetrius then maried her, being come to full & able age. And in that great battell which was striken neareto the city of HIPSVS, where all the kings fought together, Pyrrus being then but a yong man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valiantest prince amongst them all. Furthermore, when Demetrius was ouercome, and had loft the battell, Pyrrus neuer forfooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of GRECE, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt Demetrius and Ptolomie, Pyrrus was fent an hostage for Demetrius into the realme of Agypt: where he made Ptolomie know (both in hunting and in other exercises of his person) that he was very strong, hard, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiuing that Berenice amongst all king Ptolomies wives, was best beloued and esteemed of her husband, both for her vertue and wisedome, he began to entertaine and honour her aboue all the rest. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himselfero-Pirrue be- wards the great (by whom he might win benefit) and knew also how to creepe into their credit: and in like maner was he a great scorner and despiser of such as were his inferiours. Moreouer, for that he was found maruellous honourable and of faire condition, he was preferred beforeal other yong princes, to be the husband of Antigona, the daughter of Queene Berenice, whom she had by Philip, before the was maried unto Ptolomie. From theneeforth growing through the alliance of that mariage, more and more in estimation and fauour by meanes of his wife Antigona: who shewed her selfe very vertuous and louing towards him; hee found meanes in the end, to get both men and money to return eagaine into the Realme of Erinvs, and to conquerit; for was he then very well received of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to Neople. lemus, because he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That not with standing, Pyrrus fearing lest Neoptolemus would repaire vnto some of the other kings, to seeke aide against him, thought fored to his good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed between them, that they should both rogether be kings of Epirvs. But in processe of time, some of their men secretly made strife againe betweene them, and fet them at defiance one with another: and the chiefest cause as it is faid, that angred Pyrrus most, grew vpon this: thekings of Epirvs had an ancient custome of great antiquity, after they had made folcome facrifice vnto Inpiter Martiali, in a certaine place in the province of Molosside (called Passaron) to take their oath, and to be fworners the Epirors, that they would reigne well and infly, according to the lawes and ordinances of the countrey: and to receive the subjects oathes interchangeably also, that they should defende and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like manner. This ceremony was done in the presence of both the kings, and they with their friends did both give and receive prefents each of other. At this meeting and folemnity, among other, one Gelon a most faithfull servant and affured friend vnto Neoptolemus, who besides great shewes of friendship and honour hee did vnto Pyrrus, gaue him two paire of draught oxen, which one Myrtilus a cup-bearer of Pyrrus being present, and seeing, did craue of his master. But Pyrrus denyed to giuethem vnto him, whereat Myrtilus was very angry. Gelon perceiuing that Myrtilus was angrie, prayed him to fup with him that night. Now some fay, he sought to abuse Myrtilus, because he was faire and young: and beganne to perswade him after supper to take part with Neoptolemus, and poyfon Fyrrus. Myrtilus made as though hee was willing to give care to this perswasion, and to be well pleased withall. But in the meane time, hee went and told his mafter of it, by whose commandement he made Alexicrates, Pyrrus chiefe cup-bearer, to talke with Gelon about this practife, as though hee had also given his consent to it, and was willing to bee partaker of the enterprise. This did Pyrrus to hauetwo witnesses, to proue the pretended poyloning of him. Thus Gelon being finely deceined, and Neoptolemus also with him, both imagining they had cunningly spunne the threed of their treason: Neoptolemus was so glad of it, that he could not keepe it himselfe, but told it to certaine of his friends. And on a time going to be merie with his fister, he could not keepe it in, but must be pratting of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her selfe, because there was no living creature neare them, faving Phanarcta Samons wife, the Kings chiefe heardman of all his beafts, and yet she was layd upon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: so that flie seemed as though she had slept. But having heard all their talke, and no body mistrusting ber: the next morning she went to Antigona King Pyrrus wife, and told her enery word what

thing at that time: but having made facrifice vnto the gods, he bad Neoptolemus to supper to his house, wherehe slue him, being well informed before of the goodwill the chiefest men of the realme did beare him, who wished him to dispatch Neoptolemus, and not to content himself with a peece of Epiros only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great things: and for this cause, this suspitionalso falling out in the meane while, he preuented Neoptolemus and flue him first. And furthermore, remembring the pleasures he had received of Ptolomy and Berenuce, he named his first sonne by his wife Antigona, Ptolomie, and having built a city in the PRES-QVE, an Ile of Epirvs, did name it Berenicida. When he had done that, imagining great E-micida.

matters in his head, but more in his hope, hee first determined with himselfe how to winne that which lay nearest vnto him; and so tooke occasion by this meanes, first to set foot into the Empire of Macedon. The eldeft fonne of Cassander, called Antipater, put his owne mother Projans. Thessalonica to death, and draughis brother Alexander out of his owne country, who sentto De-

ters, could not fo quickly go thither. And Pyrrus being arrived there, demanded for his charge Pyrrus fr fustained, the city of NYMPH ÆA, with all the sea coasts of MACEDON: and besides all that, cer-

received of Ptolomy, would deny him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit letters to him machine in Ptolomies name, and thereby inftantly to pray and require him to leaue off the warres begun eraft to

a Sooth fayer, one Theodotus, that perfivaded Pyrrus not to five are: faying, that this figure and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with sudden death. For which cause Pyrrus indgements, a Sooib. concluded no peace. Now Alexanders warres being ended, Demetrius notwithstanding came to fager.

greedy couetousnesses to have the more (which is a common vice with princes and noble men) made, that being so neare neighbours, the one stood in feare and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of Deidamia. But now that they both occupied all Macedon be-with De-

army to fet vpon the ÆTOLIANS, and having conquered the countrey, left Pantanchus his Lieu-Pantanchus tenant there with a great army and himselfe in person in the meane time marched against Pyrrus, char. and Pyrrus on the other fide against him. They both missed of meeting, and Demetrius going on Lieutenant further on the one side, entred into the realme of Epirvs, & brought a great spoile away with

him: Pyrrus on the other fide marched on, till he came to the place where Pantauchus was. To Pyrrus whom he gaue battell, & it was valiantly fought out betweene the fouldiers of either party, but fight was specially betweene the two Generals. For doubtlesse Pantauchus was the valiantess captaine, the

Parrus victorie (Pantani

Perrus lakened to the Great.

Parrus skill in warlike dif cipline.

Hannibals

Prerses wife an*swer* Pyrras gaudnesse and cour

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> > Pyrrus wines and shildren.

floutest man, and of the greatest experience in armes, of al the captaines and souldiers Demetrius had. Whereupon Pantauchus trusting in his strength and courage, aduanced himselfe forwards. and luftily challenged the combat of Pyrrus. Pyrrus on the other fide being inferiour to no king in valiantnesse, nor in desire to win honour, as he that would ascribe vnto himselfe the glory of Achilles, more for the inuitation of his valiancie, then for that he was descended of his bloud! passed through the midest of the battell vnto the first ranke, to buckle with Pantauchus. Thus they began to charge one another, first with their darts; and then coming nearer, fought with their fwords, not only artificially, but also with great force and furic : vntill such time as Pyrrus was hurt in one place, and he hurt Pantauchus in two; the one neare vnto his throte, and the other in his leg: fo as in the end Pyrrus made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground. but neuertheleffe killed him not. For, fo foone as he was downe, his men took him vp, & caried him away. But the Epirors encouraged by the victory of their king, and the admiration of his valiantnes, stucke to it so lustily, that in the end they brake the battell of the MACEDONIAN footmen: and having put them to flight, followed them fo lively, that they flue a great number of them, and took five thousand prisoners. This ouerthrow did not so much fill the hearts of the MACEDONIANS with anger, for the lossethey had received, nor with the hate conceived against Pyrrus: as it wan Pyrrus great fame and honour, making his courage and valiantneffe to be wondered at of all such as were present at the battel that saw him fight, and how he layd about him. For they thought that they faw in his face the very life and agility of Alexander the great, and the right shadow as it were, shewing the force and furie of Alexander himselfe in that fight. And where other kings did but onely counterfeit Alexander the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of fouldiers and guards about their persons, and in a certaine fashion and bowing of their necks a litle, and in vttering their speech with an high voice: Pyrrus only was like vnto him, and followed him in his martial deeds and valiant acts. Furthermore, for his experience & skill in warlike discipline, the bookes he wrote himselfe thereof, do amply proue and make manifest, Furthermore, they report, that king Antigonus being asked, whom he thought to be the greatest Captaine: made answer, Pyrrus, so farre forth as he might live to be old, speaking onely of the captaines of his time. But Hannibal generally faid, Pyrrus was the greatest captaine of experience indexment and skill in wars of all other, scipiothe second, and himselfethe third: as we have written in the life of Scipio. So it feemeth that Pyrrus gaue his whole life and studie to the discipline of warres, as that which indeed was princely & meete for a king, making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that he being at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of the flute, Python or Cephesius: whereunto he answered, that Polyperchon in his opinion was the best captaine, as if he would have faid, that was the only thing a prince should seeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learneand know. He was very gentle and familiar with his friends, casie to forgiue when any had offended him, and maruellous defirous to requite & acknowledge any courtefie or pleasure by him receiued. And that was the cause why he did very vnpatiently take the death of Aropus, not so much for his death (which he knew was a common thing to every living creature) as for that he was angry with himselfe he had deferred the time so long, that time it selfe had cut him off from all occasion and meanes to require the courtesies he had received of him. True it is, that mony lent may be repaied againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it grieueth an honest nature, when he cannot recompence the goodwill of the lender, of whom he hath received the good turne. Another time Pyrrus being in veity of Ambracia, there were certaine of his friends that gaue him counfell to put a naughty man out of the city, that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he answered: It is better (quoth he) to keepe him here still, speaking ill of vs but to a few, then driuing him away to make him speake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youths were brought before him on a time, who making merrietogether, drinking freely, were bold with the king to fpeake their pleasure of him in very vndutiful sort. So, Pyrrus asking them whether it was true they said so, or no: It is true, and it please your grace, said one of them, we said it indeed, and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The King laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of Antigona, he maried many wives to increase his power withall, and to get more friends. For he maried the daughter of Autoleon King of PEONIA, and Bircenna the daughter of Bardillis, King of ILLYRIA, and Lanassa the daughter of Agathocles, tyrantof Si-RACVEA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of CORPHVE, which her father had taken.

By Antigona his first wife, he had a son called Ptolomie: by Lanassa another called Alexander: and by Eircenna, another (the yongest of all) called Helenus: all which though they were martiall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in wars, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradle. They write, that one of his fonnes being but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leave his kingdome: Pyrrus answered the boy, To him that hath the sharpest sword. That was much like the tragicall curse wherewith Oedipus cursed his

Let them (for me) denide, both goods, yearents and land, With trenchant sword, and bloudy blowes, by force of mightie hand.

Socruell, hat efull, and beaftly is the nature of ambition and defire of rule. But after this battell, Pyrms returned home againe to his countrey, full of honour and glory, his heart highly exalted, and his mind throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTS his subjects called him called an an Eagle, he answered them: If I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons Eagle. are the kings wings that raised me vp. Shortly after, being aduertised that Demetrius was fallen ficke, and in great danger of death, he fuddenly went into MACEDON, onely to inuade it, and to make prey thereof: howbeit he had indeed almost taken the whole realme, and made himself Maceton. Lord of all without stroke striken. For he came as far as the city of EDESSA, and found no refiftance:but rather to the contrary, many of the countrey willingly came to his campe, and fubmitted themselues. The danger Demetrius was in to lose his Realme, did moue him more, then the disease and sicknesse of his body. And on the other side, his friends, seruants, and Captaines, having gathered a great number of men of warre together in a maruellous short time, marched with great speed towards Pyrrus, being earnestly bent to do some exploite against him: who being come in to Macenon but to make a roade only vpon them, would not tarrie them, but fled, and flying, lost part of his men, because the MACEDONIANS followed him hard, and set vpon him by the way. But now, though they had driven Pyrrus thus casily out of MACEDON, Demetrius for all that did not make light account of him: but pretending greater things (asto recouer the lands and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thousand fighting army both men, and of fine hundred saile which he put to the sea) would not stand to make warres against by land or Pyrrus, neither yet leanethe MACEDONIANS (whilft he was absent) so dangerous a neighbour, and so ill to deale withall. But lacking leisure to make wars with Pyrrus, concluded a peace with him, to the end he might with the more liberty fet vpon the other kings. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt Demetrius and Pyrrus, the other kings and princes began to find out Demevius intent, and why he had made fo great preparation; and being affraid thereof, wrote vnto Pyrus by their Ambassadours, that they wondered how he could let goe such oportunity and occasion, and totary till Demetrius might with better leisure make wars vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary and fight with him for the altars, temples, sepulchers of the Molossians, when he should be of greater power, and have no warres elsewhere to trouble him: then now that hee might easily drive him out of MACEDON, having so many things in hand, and being troubled as he was in other places. And confidering also that very lately he had taken one of his wines from him, with the city of Corphys. For Lanassa misliking, that Pyrrus loued his other wines better then her (they being of a barbarous nation) got her vnto Corphy E: and defiring to marie fome other king, fent for Demetrius, knowing that he of all other kings would foonest be won thereunto. Whereupon Demetrius went thither, and maried her, and left agarrison in Langfa hiscity of Corphy E. Now these other kings that did aduertise Pyrrus in this fort, themselucs Prime did trouble Demetrius in the meane while: who tracted time, and yet went on with his preparation notwithstanding. For on the one side Prolomy entred GRECE with a great army by sea, where he caused the cities to revolt against him; and Lysimachus on the other side also, entring into high Mace Don by the countrey of THRACIA, burnt and spoiled all as he went. Pyrrus also arming himselfewith them, went vnto the city of BERGEA, imagining (as afterwards it fell out) that Demetrius going against Lysimachus, would leaue all the low country of Macedon naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that Pyrrus departed, he imagined that Pyrrus king Alexander the Great did call him, and also that he went vnto him, and found him sicke in dreams his bed, of whom he had very good words and entertainement: in so much as he promised to helpe him throughly. And Pyrrus imagined also that he was so bold to demand of him againe: How(my Lord)can you helpe me, that ly fick in your bed: & that Alexander made answer: With Mm_3

fecundiour.

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my name only. And that moreouer he fuddenly therwithall got vp on his horse Nisea, and rode before Pyrrus to guide him the way. This vision he had in his dreame, which made him bold. and furthermore encouraged him to go on with his enterprise. By which occasion, marchine forward with all speed, in few dayes he ended his intended iourney to the city of Beroea. which suddenly he tooke at his first coming to it : the most part of his army hee layed in garrifon there, the residue he sent away vnder the conduct of his captaines, here & there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. Demetrius having intelligence hereof, and hearing also an ill rumour that ran in his campe amongst the Macedonians, durst not leade them any further, for searclest (when he should come neare to Lysimachus, being a Machon lanking by nation, and a prince esteemed for a famous captaine) they should shrinke from him, and take Lysimachus part: for this cause therefore he turned againe vpon the sudden against Pyrrus, as against a strange prince, & ilbeloued of the Macedonians. But when he came to encampe neare him, many coming from BEROEA into his campe, blew abroad the praises of Pyrrus, faying, that he was a noble prince. inuincible in wars, and one that curreoufly intreated all those he tooketo his party and amongst these, there were other that were no naturall Macedonians borne, but set on by Pyrrus, and fained themselves to be Macedonias, who gaucout, that now occasion was offered to set them at liberty, from Demetrius proud & stately rule, & to take king Pyrrus part, that was a curteous prince, and one that loued fouldiers and men of war. These words made the most part of Demetrius army very doubtfull, in so much as the Macedonians looked about, to see if they could find out Pyrrus to yeeld theselues vnto him. He had at that present lest off his head-peece. by meane whereof, perceiving he was not knowne, he put it on againe, and then they knew him afar off, by the fight of his goodly faire plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the top of his creaft. Wherupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his part, as vnto their fourraigne lord & king, & required the watchword of him. Other put garlands of oken boughs about their heads, because they say his men crowned after that fort. And some were so bold affo, as to go to Demetrius himfelfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he should do very well and wifely to giue place to fortune, and referre all vnto Pyrrus. Demetrius hereupon, seeing his campe in such vprore, was so amazed, that he knew not what way to take, but stole away secretly, difguised in a threed-bare cloke & a hood on his head to keep him from knowledge. Pyrrus foorthwith seazed vpon his campe, tooke all that he found, and was presently proclaimed in the field, king of Mac E DON. Lysimachus on the other side, came straight thither after him, and said that he had holpen to chase Demetrius out of his Realme, and therefore claimed halfethe kingdome with him. Wherefore, Pyrrus not trusting the Macedonians too farre as yet, but rather standing indoubt of their faith: granted Lysimachus his desire, and thereupon devided all the cities and provinces of the Realme of Macedon between them. This partition was profitable for them both at that present, and stood then to good purpose to pacific the warre, that otherwise Liftwarbus might suddenly haue risen betweene them. But shortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and diffention betweene them. For they whose audrice & vnsatiable greedy appetite, neither the sea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable deserts could containe, nor yet the confines that separate Asia from Evrope determine: how should they be content with their owne, without vsurping others, when their frontiers ioyne so neare together, that nothing deuides them? Sure it is not possible. For to say truly, they are willingly together by the eares, having these two cursed things rooted in them: that they continually seeke occasion how to surprise each other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in appearance they vse these two termes of peace and wars, as they do mony: vsing it as they thinke good, not according to right and instice, but for their private profit. And truly they are men of far greater honesty, that make open war, & auow it, then those that disguise & colour the delay of their wicked purpose, by the holy name of instice or friendship. Which Pyrrus did truly then verifie. For desiring to keepe Demetrius downe from rising another time, and that he should not reviue againe, as escaped from a long dangerous disease: he went to aide the GRECIANS against him, and was at ATHENS, where they suffered him to come into the castle, and to do sacrifice there vnto the goddesse Minerua. But coming out of the castle againe the same day, he told the A ... unians he was greatly beholding vnto them for their courteste, and the great trust they ha posed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counsell, neuer to suffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if

they were wife, nor once open their gates vnto them, So after that he had made peace with Demetrius, who within short time being gone to make wars in As 1A, Pyrrus yet once againe (perfwaded thereunto by Lysimachus) caused all THESSALY to rise against him, and went himself to fet voon those garrisons which Demetrius had lest in the cities of GRECE, liking better to continue the Macedonians in war, then to leave them in peace: besides that, himselfe also was of fuch a nature, as could not long continue in peace. Dimetrius thus in the end being vtterly ouerthrowne in Syria, Lysimachus seeing himself free from feare on that side, and being at good Institution leifure, as having nothing to trouble him otherwaies went straight to make warre vpon Pyrrus, with Porwho then remained neare vnto the city of Edessa, & meeting by the way with the conuoy of rush victuals coming towards him, fet vpon the conducters, and rifled them wholly. By this meanes, first he distressed Pyrrus for want of victuals: then he corrupted the princes of Mace Don with letters and messengers, declaring vnto them, what shame they sustained to have made a stranger their king (whose ancestors had euer bin their vassals & subjects) and to have turned all those out of Macedon, that had bene familiar friends of king Alexander the Great. Many of the Mace-DONIAMS were won by these perswasions: which fact so feared Pyrrus, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIROTS, and other his confederates: and foloft Ma-CEDON by the selfe same meanes he wan it. Kings and princes therfore must not blame private men, though they change and alter fometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teach them al difloyaltie, treason, & infidelity, judging him most worthie of gaine, that least observeth instice and equity. So Pyrrus being come home againe to his kingdome of Epirvs, forfaking Macedon altogether, Fortune made him happy inough and indeed he had good meanes to live peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could have contented himfelfe only with the four raignty over his own naturall fubicets. But thinking, that ifhe did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to spend his time, and by peace he should pine away for forrow, as Homer said of Achilles:

He languished and pin'd by taking ease and rest: And in the warres where tranell was he liked ever beft.

And thus feeking matter of new trouble, Fortune prefented him this occasion. About this time, the ROMAINES by chance made warre with the TARENTINES, who could nether beare their force, nor yet devise how to pacifie the same, by reason of the rashnesse, folly, and wickednesse oftheir gouernors, who perswaded them to make Pyrrus Generall, and to send for him forto tine has conduct these warres: because he was lesse troubled at that time, then any of the other kings a- ming war bout them, and was esteemed of every man also to be a noble souldier, and famous captaine. The wishbe Ro. elders and wife men of the city, vtterly misliked that counsell: but some of them were put to silence, through the noise and fury of the people, who cried for warres. Some other seeing them make king checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this maner, would no more repaire to their common thin Geaffemblies. Among the rest, there was one Meton, an honest worshipfull citizen, who when the norall. day was come that the people should conclude in coucel, the decree for the calling in of Pyrrus: Meton all the people of TARENTVM being affembled, and fer in the Theater, this Meton put an old feeling the withered garland of flewers vpon his head, and carying a torch in his hand as though he had bin foleswifely drunke, and having a woman minstrell before him playing on a pipe, went dancing in this good-the Taren. ly aray through the middest of the whole assembly. And there (as it happeneth commonly in times not enery hurly burly of people that will be maisters themselves, and where no good order is kept) to send for fome of them clapped their hands, other burst out in a laughter, and every man suffered him to Tarentum do what he lust: but they all cried out to the woman minstrell, to play and spare not, and to acity in Meton himselfe, that he should sing and come forward. So Meton made shew as though he prepa- Italia. red himself vnto it: and when they had given silence to heare him sing, he spake vnto them with aloudvoice in this maner: My Lords of TARENTVM, ye do wel fure, not to forbid them to play Metons and to be merry that are so disposed, whilest they may lawfully do it; and if ye be wise, every of the sares you alfo (as many as you be) wil take your liberty whilest you may enjoy it. For when king Pyr. tines. rus shall be in this city, you shall live I warrant you after another fort, & not as ye now do. These words of Meton moued many of the TARENTINES, and fuddenly there ran a rumor through all the affembly, that he had faid truly. But they that had offended the ROMAINES, fearing if peace were made, that they should be deliuered into their hands, they checked the people, asking them if they were such fooles, as would abide to be mocked & played withall to their teeth; and with

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those words al ranne voon Meton and draue him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voices of the people, they fent Ambassadors into Epirov s, to cary presents vnto king Pyrrus. not only from the TARENTINES, but from other GRECIANS also that dweltin ITALY, saying that they stood in need of a wise and skilfull captaine, that was reputed famous in martiall discipline. And as to the rest, for numbers of good souldiers, they had men inough in ITALY, and were able to bring an army into the field, of the Lycanians, the Messapians, the Sam-NITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thousand horse, and three hundred thousand footmen being al affembled together. These words of the Ambassadors did not only lift vp Pyrrus heart. but made the Eptro Ts also maruellous desirous to go this journey. There was in King Pyrrac court one Cineas THESSALIAN, a man of great understanding, and that had bene Demossiblenes the orators scholer, who seemed to be the only man of all other in his time in common reputation, to be most cloquent, following the liucly image and shadow of Dimesthenes passing cloquence. This Cineas, Pyrrus ever entertained about him, and fent him Ambalfador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he verified Euripides words:

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty hand may do, So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer to.

And therfore Pyrrus would often fay that Cineas had won him more towns with his cloquence. then he himfelfe had done by the fword:for which he didgreatly honor & imploy him in al his chiefe affaires. Cineas perceiving that Pyrrus was maruelloufly bent to thefe wars of ITALY, finding him one day at leifure, difcourfed with him in this fortilitis reported, and it pleafe your maiefly, that the Romaines are very good men of war, and that they command many valiant and warlike nations: if it please the gods we do ouercome them, what benefit shal we have of that victory: Pyrrus answered him againe, Thou dost aske me a question that is manifest of it selfe for sion mind. When we have once overcome the Romaines, there can neither Grecian nor barbarous city in all the countrey withfland vs, but we shall straight conquer all the rest of ITALY with ease. whose greatnesse, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then my selfe. Cineas pawsing a while, replied: And when we have taken ITALY, what shall we do then: Pyrrus not finding his meaning yet, said vnto him: Sicilia, as thou knowest, is hard joyning to it, and doth as it were offer it felfe vnto vs. and is a maruellous populous and rich land, and eafie to be taken; for all the cities within the Iland are one against another, having no head that governes them since Agatho. cles died, more then orators only that are their counfellors, who will foone be won. Indeed it is likely which your grace speaketh, quoth Gineas but when we have won Sicilia, will thenour wars take end. If the gods were pleased, said Pyrrus, that y victory were atchieued, the way were then broad open for vs to attaine great conquests. For who would not afterwards go into A-FRICKE and fo to CARTHAGE, which also will be an easie conquest, since Agathodes secretly Hying from Syracvsa, and having passed the seas with a few ships, had almost taken it: And that once conquered, it is most certaine there durst not one of all our enemies that now do daily vexe and trouble vs. lift up their heads or hands againft vs. No furely, faid Cineas: for it is a cleare case, that with so great a power we may easily recouer the realme of MACEDON againe, & commandall GRECE besides, without let of any. But when we have all in our hands, what shall we do in the end . Then Pyrrus laughing, told him againe: We will then (good Cineas) be quiet, and take our ease, and make feasts every day, & be as merry one with another as we can possible. Cineas having brought him to that point, said, againe to him: My Lord, what letteth vs now to be quiet, and merry together, fith we enjoy that prefently without further trauell & trouble, which we wil now go feeke for abroad, with fuch shedding of bloud, & so manifest danger and yet we know not whether euer we shall attaine vnto it, after we haue both suffered, and caused otherto fuffer infinite for rowes and trouble. The fe last words of Cineas, did rather offend Pyrrus, then make him to alter his mind: for he was not ignorant of the happy state he should thereby forgo, yet could he not leaue offthe hope of that he did so much desire. So he sent Cineas before vnto the Tarbutines, with three thousand footemen: and afterwards the Tarbutines having sent him great store of flat-bottomes, gallies, and of all sorts of passengers, he shipped into them twenty Elephants, three thousand horsemen, and two and twenty thousand footemen, with fine hundred bowmen and flings. All which thus ready, he weighed ankers, and hoifed fails, and was no fooner in the maine fea, but the North wind blew very roughly, out of feafon, and draue him to leeward. Notwithstanding, the ship which he was in himselfe, by great

toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windward, and with much ado, and maruellous dangers recovered the coast of ITALY. Howbeit the rest of his fleete were violently dispersed here and there, whereof some of them failing in their course to Iral y were cast into the seas of Ly-RIA. and SICILIA. The other not able to recouer the point of Apvlia, were benighted, and the fea being high wrought, by violence cast them upon the shore, and against the rockes, and made shipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely reserved, which through her strength, and the greatnesse of her burthen, resisted the force of the sea that most violetly beate against her. But afterwards, the wind turning and coming from the land, the fea cruelly raging over the height of her forecastell, in fine brought her in manifest perill of opening, and splitting, and in danger to be driven from the coast, putting her out againe to the mercie of the winds, which changed enery howre. Wherefore Pyrrus casting the perill every way, thought best to leape into the sea. After him foorthwith leapt his guard, his feruants, & other his familiar friends, venturing their liues to faue him. But the darknesse of the night, and rage of the waves (which the shore breaking, forced fo to rebound back you them) with the great noise also, did so hinder their swimming, that it was even day before they could recover any land, and yet was it by meanes that the wind fell. As for Pyrrus, he was fo fea-beaten, and wearied with the waves, that he was able to do no more: though of himielfe he had fo great a heart and ftout a courage, as was able to ouercome any perill. Moreouer, the MESSAPIANS (ypon whose coast the storme had cast him) ran Pyrim cast outto helpe him, and diligently laboured in all they could possible to fauchim, and received also certaine of his ships that had scaped, in which were a few horsemen, about two thousand footemen, and two Elephants. With this small force, Pyrrus marched on his journey to goe by land vnto TARENTYM: and Cineas being advertised of his coming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to Tare not was at the first he would do nothing by force, nor against the goodwill of the inhabitants: vntill such time as his ships that had escaped the dangers of the raof the fea, were all arrived, and the greatest part of his army come together againe. But when he rentine, rehad all his army he looked for, feeing that the people of TARENTYM could neither faue themfelues, nor be faued by any other, without ftraight order and compulfion, because they made voluptions their reckoning that Pyrrus should fight for them, and in the meane time they would not stirre out of their houses from bathing themselues, from banqueting, and making good cheere: first of all he caused all the parks and places of shew to be shurve, where they were wont to walke and disport the seluces in any kind of exercise, & as they walked to talke of wars as it were in pastime, and to fight with words, but not to come to the blows. And further he forbadal feastings, mummeries, and such other like pleasures, as at that time were out of season. He trained them out also to exercife their weapons, and shewed himself very seuere in musters, not pardoning any whose names were billed to ferue in the warres: infomuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with fuch rough handling & gouernment) for fooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue liberty to liue at their pleasure. Furthermore, Pyrrus having intelligence that Levinus the Consullent ROMAINE Confull came against him with a great puissant army, and that he was already entred against into the land of LvcANIA, where he destroyed and spoiled all the countrey before him: albeit Pyrime. the TARENTINEs aide of their confederates, was not as yet come, he thought it a great shame to fuffer his enemies approach fo neare him, & therfore taking that final number he had, brought them into the field against Leuinus. Howbeit he sent an Herald before to the Romaines, to vnderstand of them, if (before they entred into this war) they could be cotent the controuersies they had with all the GRECIANS dwelling in ITALY, might be decided by inflice, and therein torefer themselves to his arbiterment, who of himself wold undertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Confull Levinus made answer, that the Romain is would neuer allow him for a Judge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherfore Pyrrus going on still, came to lodge in the plaine which is betweene the cities of Pandos 1A, and of Heraclea, and having newes Pyron brought him that the Romaine's were encamped very neare vnto him on the other side of the river of Siris, he tooke his horse, and rode to the rivers side to view their campe. So having between throughly considered the forme, the situation, and the order of the same, the maner of charging Pandosia and stera their watch, and all their fashions of doing the wondered much thereat. And speaking to Mega- cite. eles, one of his familiars about him, he faid: This order Megacles (quoth he) though it be of bar- struß. barous people, yet is it not barbaroufly done, but we shal shortly proue their force. After he had

thus taken his view, he began to be more carefull then he was before, and purposed to tary till

ing received

foure thousand how beit they were al of the best men of his army, and those whom he most tru-

fled. King Pyrrus prefently hereupon also tooke the Romaines campe, which they for sooke, &

wan many of their cities from their alliance, spoiled and ouercame much of their country. In so

much as he came within fixe & thirty miles of Rome, whither came to his aide, as confiderates

of the TARENTINES, the Lycanians, and Samnites, whom he rebuked because they came

too late to the battell. Howbeit a man might eafily see in his face, that he was not a litle glad

and proud to have overthrowne fo great an army of the Romaines with his owne men, and

the aide of the TARENTINE'S onely. On the other fide, the Romaine's hearts were fo great.

that they would not depose Leninus from his Consulship, notwithstanding the losse he had re-

ceined: and Caius Fabricius fayd openly, that they were not the Epinors that had ouercome

the Romaines, but Pyrrus had ouercome Leuinus: meaning thereby, that this ouerthrow

chanced vnto them, more through the subtilty and wife conduction of the Generall, then

through the valiant feates and worthinesse of his army. And hereupon they speedly supplied

their legions againe that were diminished, with other new souldiers in the dead mens place.

andleanied a fresh force besides, speaking brauely and siercely of this warre, like men whose

hearts were nothing appalled. Whereat Pyrrus maruelling much, thought good first to fend to

the Romaines, to proue if they would give any care to an offer of peace, knowing right well

that the winning of the city of ROME was no eafie matter to compaffe or attaine, with that

ftrength he prefently had; and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring

riedhim into the Senate house. The Senate made filence to honour the coming in of so nota-

uert the glorious fame and reputation of Rome. What is now become of all your great and co mighty bragges you blazed abroad through the whole world? That if Alexander the great him-

felfe had come into ITALY, in the time that our fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and "

we in the prime of our youth, they would not have faid every wherethat he was altogether inuincible, as now at this present they do: but either he should have left his body slaine here in ce

battell, or at the least wife have bene drinen to flie, and by his death or flying should greatly ic have enlarged the renowne and glory of Rome. You plainely shew it now, that all these co

words spoken then, were but vaine and arrogant vaunts of foolish pride: considering that you ...

tremble for feare of the Molossians & Chaonians, who were euer a prey to the Mace- co

DONIANS: and that yeare afraid of Pyrrus also, who all his lifetime served and followed one of co the gard vnto Alexander the Great, and now is come to make wars in these parts, not to aide the

Pyrras

Parrus first conflict with the Romainsa Pyrrus wifed ime and fore.

the wholeaide of their confederates were come together, leaving men at the rivers fide of Sz-RIS. to keepe the passage, if the enemies ventured to passe ouer, as they did indeed. For they made hast to preuent the aide that Pyrrus looked for, and passed their footmen ouer vpon a bridge, and their horsemen at diverse fords of the river; insomuch as the GRECIANS fearing lest they should be compassed in behind, drew backe. Pyrrus advertised thereof, and being a little troubled therewithall, commanded the Captaines of his footmen prefently to puttheir bands in battell ray. and not to stirre till they knew his pleasure: and he himself in the meane time marched on with three thousand horse in hope to find the Romaines by the river side, as yet out of order, and vtterly vnprouided. But when he faw afarre off a great number of footmen with their targets ranged in battell, on this fide the river, and their horsemen marching towards him in very good order: he caused his men to joyne close together, and himselfe first began the charge, being casie to be knowne from other, if it had bene no more but his passing rich glistering armour and furniture, and withall, for that his valiant deeds gave manifest proofe of his well deserving fame and renowne. For though he valiantly bestirred his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgat not himselfe, nor neglected the judgement and forefight, which should never be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and differently gaue order for enery thing, riding to & fro, to defend and encourage his men in those places, where he saw them in most distresse. But even in the hottest of the battell, Leonatus Macedonian spied an Italian aman of armes, that followed Pyrrue vp and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hand with him, to fet vpon him. Wherfore he faid to Pyrrus: My Lord, do you not see that barbarous man there vpo a bay horse with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he meant to do some notable feate and mischiefe with his owne hands: for his eye is neuer off you, but waiteth only vpon you, being sharpe set to deale with your felfe and none other, and therefore take heed of him. Prirus answered him. It is impossible Leonatus, for a man to avoid his destiny: but neither he nor any other ITALIAN whatfoeuer, shall have any joy to deale with me. And as they were talking thus of the matter. the ITALIAN taking his speare in the middest, and setting spurs to his horse, charged your parrus, and ran his horfe through and through with the fame. Leonatus at the felfe fame inftant ferucd the ITALIAN's horse in the like maner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit Pyrrus men that were about him, faued him presently, and flue the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it outright valiantly. The ITALIAN's name was oplacus, borne in the city of FERENTYM, and was Captaine of a band of men of armes. This mischance made King Pyrrus looke the better to himfelfe afterwards, and feeing his horfemen gine back, fent prefently to haften his footemen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and delinering his armour and cloake to one of his familiars called Megaeles, and being hidden as it were in Megaeles armor, returned againe to the battel against the Romaines, who valiatly resisted him, so that the victory depended long in doubt: for it is faid, that both the one fide and the other did chase, and was chased, aboue seuen times in that conflict. The changing of the Kings armour served very well for the fafety of his own person, howbeit it was like to have marred all, and to have made him lofethe field. For many of his enemies fet you Megacles, that wore the kings armor; and for Pyrum, the party that flue him dead, and threw him starke to the ground, was one Dexius by name, who quickly snatched off his head-peece, took away his cloake, & ran to Leuinus the Consull, crying out aloud, that he had flaine Pyrrus, and withall flewed forth the spoiles he supposed to have taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, and openly shewed from had to hand, made the Romain es maruellous ioyfull, and the Grecians on the contrary, both afeard and right forrowfull: vntill fuch time as Pyrrus hearing of it, went and passed along all his bands bare headed, and bare faced, holding up his hand to his fouldiers, and giving them to vnderstand with his owne voice, that it was himselfe. The Elephants in the end were they indeed that wan the battell, and did most distresse the Romaines: for, their horses seeing them afarre off, were fore afraid, and durst not abide them, but caried their masters backe in despite of them. Pyrrus at the fight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horsemen to give charge vpon them whilest they were in this disorder, and that so lustily, as they made the Romaine's flie, and sustaine great slaughter. For Diony sius writeth, that there died few lesse, then sifteene thousand ROMAINES at that battell. But Hieronymus speaketh onely of seuen thousand. And of Pyrrus fide, Dionyfius writeth, there were flaine thirteene thousand. But Hieronymus saith, lesse then

with the chiefest of the city, and offered presents to them and their wines, in the behalfe of the dor to king his master. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receive any at his hands, but answeredall with one voice: That if the peace might be generall to all, they all prinatly would be at the The noble kings commandement, and would be glad of his friendship. Moreouer, when Gineas had talked Remants. in open audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had deliucred them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to give eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their prisoners homeagaine wi hout ransome, that had been etaken at the battell, and promifed also to aide them in the conquest of ITALIL, requiring no other recompence at their hands fauing their goodwils onely to his master, and affarance for the TARENTINES, that they should not be annoyed for any thing past, without demand of other matter. Neuertheleffe in the end, when they had heard these offers, many of the Senators yeekded, and were willing to make peace: alledging that they had already loft a great battel, and how they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE, Applies hould io yne together with king Pyrrus power. But Appius Claudius, a famous man, who distributed differented the company of th came no more to the Senate, nor dealt in matters of state at all by reason of his age, and partly the Ro because he was blind, when he understood of king Pyrrus offers, and of the common bruite that maines from ranne through the city, how the Senate were in mind to agree to the capitulations of peace peace with propounded by Cineas, he could not abide, but caused his servants to carie him in his chaire vpon Pyriu. their armes vnto the Senate doore, his fonnes, and fonnes in law taking him in their armes, ca-

them to peace after this valiant victory. And hereupon he fent cineas to Rome, who spake cineas fent

ble and worthy personage: and he so soone as they had set him in his seate, began to speake Appins inthis fort: Hitherunto with great impatience (my Lords of Rome) have I borne the loffe Claudius of my fight, but now, I would I were also deafe as I am blind, that I might not (as I do) heare the senate. the report of your dishonourable consultations determined vpon in Senate, which tend to sub-

victory of she Conful.

changed

& cloake.

GRECIANS inhabiting in ITALY, but to flie from his enemies there about his own country of

fering you to conquer al y rest of ITALY with an army, wherewith he was nothing able to keep

a finall part of MACEDON only for himself. And therefore you must not perswade your selues. that in making peace with him, you shall thereby be rid of him; but rather shall you draw others to come and let vpon you besides. For they wil vtterly despise you, when they shal heare ye are fo eafily ouercome, and that you have suffered Pyrrus to escape your hands, before you made him feele the just reward of his bold presumptuous attempt vnto you: carrying with him for a further hire, this aduantage ouer you that he hath given a great occasion both to the SAMNITES. and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that Appins had told this tale you. to the Senate every one through the whole affembly defired rather war then peace. They difpatched Cineas away thereupon with this answer, that if Pyrrus sought the Romaines friend. Thip, he must first depart out of ITALY, and then send unto them to treate of peace; but so long as he remained there with his army, the ROMAINES would make war vpon him, with all the force and powerthey could make, yea although he had ouerthrowne and flaine ten thousand such captaines as Leuinus was. They fay that Cineas, during the time of his abode at Rome, intreating for their peace, did curioufly labour to confider & understand the maners, order, and life of the ROMAINES, and their commonweale, discoursing therof with the chiefest men of the city. and how afterwards he made ample report of the fame vnto Pyrrus: and told him among ft other The maielle things, that the Senate appeared to him, a Councell-house of many kings. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a serpent, as that mate of which was in old time in the marishes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut of one head, se. Rome. uen other came vp in the place; because the Consul Leninus had now leavied another army, twise as great as the first was, and had left at Rome also, many times as many good able men to carrie armour. After this, there were fent Ambassadors from Rome vnto Pyrrus, and amongst other, Caim Fa Caius Fabricius, touching the state of prisoners. Cineas told the king his master, that this Fabricius was one of the greatest men of account in Rome, a right honest man, a good captaine, and a Amba∬ador to Pyr. very valiant man of his hands, yet poore indeed he was not with flanding. Pyrrus taking him fecretly afide, made very much of him, and amongst other things, offered him both gold and sil-Caiss Fauer, praying him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he meant towards him, but onely for a brities a noblecap pledge of goodwill and friendship that should bee betweene them. Fabricius would none taine but of his gift; fo Pyrrus left him for that time. Notwithstanding the next morning thinking to very poore. feare him, because he had neuer seene Elephant before, Pyrrus commanded his men, that when Fabricius refused they faw Fabricius and him talking together, they should bring one of his greatest Elephants, king Pyrru gifts, and fet him hard by them, behind a hanging which being done, at a certaine figne by Pyrrus giuen, fuddenly the hanging was pulled backe, and the Elephant with his trunke was ouer Fabri. cius head, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. Fabricius foftly giuing backe, nothing afraid, laughed, and fayd to Pyrrus smiling: Neither did your gold (oh king) yesterday moueme, nor your Elephantto day feareme. Furthermore, whilest they were at supper, falling in talke of diverse matters, specially touching the state of GRECE, and the Philosophers there: Cinear by The opinio chance spake of Epicyrys, and rehearled the opinions of the Epicyrians touching the of the Epi gods and gouernment of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleasure, curians how they fled from all office and publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of felicity. true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortall, neither moued with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of al pleafures and delights, without taking any regard of mens doings. But as he ftill continued this difcourfe, Fabricius cryed out aloud, and fayd: The gods grant that Pyrrus and the SAMNITES were of fisch opinions, as long as they had warres against vs. Pyrrus maruelling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more

and delinered him upon his faith onely, all the Romaine prisoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet fee their friends, and keepe the feast of Saturne with them, and then to fend them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate established by decree, ypon paine of death to all fuch as should not performe the same accordingly. Afterwards Fabricius was chosen Consul, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought hima letter from king Pyreus Physition, written with his owne hands: in which the Physition rully Pyreus offered to poyfon his mafter, so he would promise him agood reward, for ending the warres tion wri. without further danger. Fabricius detesting the wickednesse of the Physicion, and having made bricius, 9. Amylius his colleague and fellow Consull also to abhorre the same: wrote a letter vnto Pyr- and offereth rus, and bad him take heed, for there were that meant to poyfon him. The contents of his letter 10 poyfon were these: Caim Fabricius, and Quintus Amilius Confuls of Rome, vnto king Pyrrus greeting. You haue (ô king) made unfortunate choise, both of your friends and of your enemies, letter to as shall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter which one of yours hath written vnto vs: for advertifing you make wars with inft and honest men, and do your selfe trust altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hercoftherfore we have thought good to advertise you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for feare left the misfortune of your death might make vs vniuftly to be accused: imagining that by treacherie or treason, we have sought to end this war, as though by valiant nesse we could not otherwise atchieue it. Pyrrus having read this letter, and proved the contents thereof true, executed the Physicion as he had deserved; and to require the advertisement of the Consuls, he fent Fabricius and the Romaines their prifoners, without paying of ranfome, and fent Cineasa- Pyrrus gainevnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit the Romaines, because they Romaines would neither receive pleasure of their enemies, & least of alreward, for that they consented not their prisovnto so wicked a deed: did not onely refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him againe fo many Samnites, and Tarentines. And furthermore, for peace and his friendship, they would give no eare to it, before the wars were ended, and that he had fent away his army againe by fea, into his kingdom of Erinvs. Wherfore Pyrrus feeing no remedy, but that he must Pyrrus needs fight another battel, after he had somewhat refreshed his army, drew towards the city of seems batter he fought the forced rimowish the P Ascvivm, where he fought the fecond time with the Romaines: and was brought into a the Remaruellous ill ground for horsemen, by a very swift running river, from whence came many brooks and deep marifhes, infomuch as his Elephants could have no space nor ground to joyne with the barrell of the forman have for the forman har of the fo with the battell of the footmen, by reason wherof there was a great nuber of men hurt & flaine on both fides. And in the end, the battell being fought out all day long, the darke night did seuer the but the next morning, Pyrrus to win the advantage to fight in the plain field, where he might premaile with the force of his Elephants, fent first certaine of his bands to seize vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy having brought the Romaine's into the plaine field, he thrust in amongst his Elephants, store of shot & slingmen, and then made his army march (being very well fer in order) with great fury against his enemies. They missing the other dayes turnings and places of retire, were now compelled to fight all on a front in the plaine field; and strining to breake into the battel of Pyrrus footmen before the Elephants came, they desperatly preased in upon their enemies pikes with their swords, not caring for their own persons what became of them, but only looked to kill & destroy their enemies. In the end notwithstanding, after the battell had holden out very long, the Romaines lost it, and they first began to breake and flie on that fide that Pyrrus was, by reason of the great force and fury of his the Rocharge, and much more through the violence of the Elephants: against which, the Romaines valianmesse nor courage could ought prenaile, but that they were driven to give the place (much like the rage of furging waves, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather then tary to be troden under feete, and ouerthrowne by them, whom they were not able to hurtagaine, but bee by them most gricuously martyred, & their troubles therby yet nothing eased. The chase was not long, because they fled but into their campe: and Hieronymus the historiographer writeth, that there died fix thousand men of the Romains, and of Pyrrus part about three thousand fine hundred and fine, as the kings owne Chronicles doe witnesse. Neuerthelesse, Dionysius makes no mention of two battels given neare vnto the city of Ascvivm, northat the Romaines were terragree certainely ouerthrowne: howbeit he affirmeth that there was one battell onely that continued not about vnto Sunne ser, and that they scarcely seuered also when night was come on, Pyrrus being battell. hurt on the arme with a speare, and his cariage robbed and spoyled by the Samnites besides.

whose words Pyrrus took not in ill part, neither was offended with them at al. as a tyrant would haue bene: but did himselfe report to his friends and familiars the noble mind he found in him,

defirous a great deale to have peace with the Romain Es, then before. And privatly prayed Fa-

bricius very earnestly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come & re-

maine with him, faying that he would give him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongst all

his friends. Whereumo Fabricius answered him softly: That were not good (oh king) for your felfe, quoth he: for your men that prefently do honour and esteeme you, by experience if they

once knew me, would rather chuse me for their king, then your selfe. Such was Fabricius talke,

doment into

And further that there died in this battell, aboue fifteene thousand men, as well of Pyrone side. as of the Romaines part: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retire. And some fay, that it was at that time Pyrrus answered one, who reioyced with him for the victory they had worne: If we win another of the price, quoth he, we are vtterly vndone. For indeed then had he lost the most part of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his friends and captaines in manner enery one, or at the least there lacked litle of it: and besides that, he had no meanes to supply them with other from thence, and perceived also that the confederates he had in ITAY, began to waxe cold. Where the ROMAINES to the contrary, did easily renew their army with fresh souldiers, which they caused to come from Rome as need required (much like vnto a linely ipring, the head whereof they had at home in their countrey) and they fainted not at all for any losses they received, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, stoutly determining to abide out the warres, what ever betide. And thus whilest Pyrrus was troubled in this fort, new hopes and new enterprifes were offered vnto him, that made him doubtfull what to do. For even at a clap came Ambassadors to him out of Sicilia, offering to put into his hands, the cities of Syracvea, of Agricentum, and of the Leontines, befeeching him Provided to aide them to drive the CARTHAGINIANS out of the He, thereby to deliver them from all the tyrants. And on the other fide also, newes was brought him from GRECE, how Ptelomie fornamed the Lightning, was flaine, and all his army overthrowne in battel against the GAVLES, and that now he should come in good houre for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he carried his hard fortune, that prefented him all at once, such fundrie occasions to doe great things: and as if both enterprifes had bene already in his hand, he made his account that of a ceffiry he must lote one of them. So, long debating the matter with himselfe, which of the two wars he should conclude upon in the end he resolved, that by the warres of Stellia, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, confidering that Africk was not far from them. Wherefore, disposing himselfe that way, he sent Cineas thither immediatly to make his way, and to feet ke to the townes and cities of the countrey, as he was wont to do: and in the meane time left a strong garrison in the city of TARENTYM, to keepe it at his denotion, wherewith the TARESTINES were very angry. For they made request vnto him, either to remaine in their country to maintaine wars with them against the Romaines (which was their meaning why they fent for him) or elfe if he would needs go, at the least wife to leave their city in as good flate as he found it. But he answered them againevery roughly that they should speake no more to him in it, and that they should not chuse but rary his occasion. And with this answer he tooke ship, and failed towards Stellin; where to foone as he was arrived, he found all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingly put themselues into his hands. And where necessity of battell was offered him to employ his army, nothing at the beginning could fraud before him. For, with thirtie thouland footmen, two thouland nue hundred horsemen, and two hundred sale which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the country under their obedience. Now at that time, the city of Earx was the strongest place they had: and there were a great number of good fouldiers within to defend it. Pyrrus determined to proue the affault of it, and when his army was ready to give the charge, he armed himself avall peeces from top to toe, & approching the wals, vowed vnto Hercules to give him a folemne facrifice, with a feast of common playes, so that he would grant him graceto shew himselfevnto the Gordina inhabiting in Sicilia, worthy of the noble ancestours from whencehe came, and of the great good fortune he had in his hands. This vow ended, he straight made the trumpers found to the affault, and caused the barbarous people that were on the walles, to retire with force of his shot. Then when the scaling ladders were set vp, himselfe was the first that mounted on the wall, where he found diverse of the barbarous people that refisted him. But fome he threw ouer the walls on either fide of him, & with his fword flue many dead about him, himselfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the heart to looke him in the face, his countenace was foterrible. And this doth proue that Homer spake wifely, and like a man of experience, when he faid: that valiantnesse onely amongst all other morall vertues, is that which hath sometimes certaine furious motions, and divine provocations, which makes a man besides, himselfe. So the city being taken, he honourably performed his vowed sacrifice to Hercules, and kepta feast of all kinds and forts of games & weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that time about Messina, called the Mamertines, who did much hurt to the Grecians there-

abouts making many of them pay taxe and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good fouldiers, and had their name also of Mars, because they were martiall meritians men, and given to armes. Pyrras led his army against them, and overthrew them in battell: and who lessly out their collectors to death, that did leavy and exact the taxe, & razed many of their fortresses. ud. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his friendship, offering him ships and money, pretending greater matters, he made them a short answer: That there was but one way to make peace and loue betweene them, to forfake Sieilia altogether, and to be contented to make Mare Libycum the border betwixt GRECE and them. For this good fortune, and the force he had in his hands, did fet him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into Sicilia, aspiring first of all vnto the conquest of Lybia. Now, to passe him over this ther he had ships inough, but he lacked owers and mariners : wherefore when he would presse them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of Siellia, and in anger compelled, and sindia. feuerely punished them, that would not obey his commandement. This he did not at his first coming, but contrarily had won all their good wils, speaking more courteously to them then anv other did, and shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But fodainely being altred from a popular prince, vnto a violet tyrant, he was not only thought cruelland rigorous, but that worst of all is, vnfaithfull and vngratefull: neuerthelesse, though they received great hurt by him, yet they suffered it, and granted him any needfull thing he did demand. But when they faw he began to mistrust Thenon and Sostratus, the two chiefe captaines of Syracysa, and they who first caused him to come into Sicilia, who also at his first ariuall delivered the city of Syracvsa into his hands, and had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compasse that he had done in Sicilia: when, I say, they saw he would no more carriethem with him, nor leave them behind him for the mistrust he had of them, and that Sostratus fled from him, and absented himselfe, fearing lest Pyrrus would doe him some mischiefe: and that Pyrrus moreover, had put Thenon to death, mistrusting that he would also have done him some harme, then all things fell out against Pyrrus: not one after another, nor by little and little, but altogether at one instant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe some of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to fetyponhim. Butwhen all Sicilia was thus bent against him, he received letters from the Sam- The Sam NITES and TARENTINES, by which they advertised him, how they had much ado to defend nite and themselves within their civies and thouse halds, and then they had much ado to defend Tarentines themselues within their cities and strong holds, and that they were wholly driven out of the for for field: wherefore they earneftly befought him speedily to come to their aide. This newes came Pyrim to happily to him, to cloake this flying, that he might fay it was not for despaire of good successe in to Italie. Sicilia that he went his way: buttrue it was indeed, that when he faw he could no longer keepe it, then a ship could stand still among the waves, he sought some honest shadow to colour his departing. And that furely was the cause why he returned againe into ITALY. Neuerthelesse, Portu at his departure out of Sicile, they say that looking backe vponthe Ile, he said to those that resurre in to say the same being where said to find four a harrelly my friends do we leave to he P. were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell (my friends) do we leave to the Romaines of Siele. and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight the one with the other: And verily so it fell out shortly after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous people conspiring together against Pyrrus, the CARTHAGI-NIANS on the one fide watching his paffage, gaue him battell on the sea, in the very straight it felfe of MESSINA, where he lost many of his ships, and sled with the rest, and tooke the coast of ITALIE. And therethe MAMERTINES on the other fide, being gone thither before to the number of eighteene thousand fighting men, durst not present him battell in open field, but tarried for him in certaine straights of the mountaines, and in very hard places, and so set vpon his rereward, and disordered all his armie. They slue two of his Elephants, and cut off a great number of his rereward, so as he was compelled himselfe in person to come from his vanigard, to helpe them against the barbarous people, which were lustie valiant men, and old trained souldiers. And there Pyrrus caught a blow on his head with a fword, and was in great danger: infomuch as he was forced to retire out of the prease and fight; which did so much the more encourage his enemies: amongst which there was one more aduenturous then the rest, a goodly man assured. of personage, faire armed in white armour, who advancing himselfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bold fierce voice, and challenged him to fight with him if he were aline. Pyrrus being mad as it were with this brauerie, turned againe with his guard, in spite of his men, hurt as he was. And befides that, he was all on a fire with choler, and his face all bloudic

with a blow his enemies 412

and terrible to behold, he went through his men, & came at the length to this barbarous villaine that had challenged him: and gaue him such a blow on his head with all his force & power, that freed close what by the strength of his arme, and through the goodnesse of the temper and mettall of the fword, the blow claue his head right in the middeft, downe to the shoulders: so that his head bebead in the middle, es ing thus deuided, the one part fel on the one shoulder, and the other part on the other. This marter suddenly staied the barbarous people, and kept them from going any further, they were so afraid and amazed, to fee fo great ablow with ones hand, and it made them thinke indeede that Pyrrus was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. Pyrrus holding on his journey, arrived at the length in the city of TARENTYM; with twentie thousand footmen, and three thousand horse. And with these (ioyning thereto the choisest men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to feeke out the ROMAINES, who had their campe within their territories of the Samnites, which were then in very hard state: for their hearts were killed, because that in many bastels and encounters with the ROMAINES, they were ener onerthrowne. They were very angry besides with Pyrrus, for that he had forsaken them, to go his voyage into Sicilia, by reason whereof there came no great number of souldiers into his campe. But not with standing, he deuided all his strength into two parts, wheroshe fent the one part into Lycania, to occupie one of the Romaine Confuls that was there. to the end he should not come to aide his companion : and with the other part he went himfelfe against Manius Carius, who lay in a very strange place of advantage, neare to the city of Carias Con. BENEVENTO, attending the aide that should come to him out of LVCANIA, besides also that the Soothfayers (by the fignes and tokens of the birds and facrifices) did counsell him nor to firre from thence. Pyrrus to the contrary, defiring to fight with Manius before his aide came vnto him, which he looked for out of Ly CANTA, tooke with him the best fouldiers he had in all his army and the warlikest Elephants, and marched away in the night, supposing to steale vpon Manius on the fudden, and give an affault vnto his campe. Now Pyrrus having a long way togo. and through a wooddy countrey, his lights and torches failed him, by reason whereof many of his fouldiers lost their way, and they lost a great deale of time also, before they could again be gathered together: fo as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceived plainely how he came downe the hils. This at the first fight made them muse awhile. and put them in a litle feare; neuerthelesse Manus having had the fignes of the sacrifices fauourable, and feeing that occasion did presse him to it, went out into the field, and set vponthe voward of his enemics, and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the rest in such wife, that there were flaine a great number of them in the field, and certaine Elephants also taken. This victory made Manius Carius leave his strength and come into the plaine field, where he set his men in battell ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on the one side: but on the other he was repulfed by violence of the Elephants, and compelled to draw backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to guard it. So whenhe faw them you the rampiers of his campe all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they coming fresh out of the places of advantage, to charge vpon the Elephants, compelled them in a very short time to turne their backes, and flie through their own men, whom they put to great trouble and diforder: so as in the end, the whole victory fell vpon the Romaines side, and confequently by meanes of that victory, followed the greatnesse and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINE's being growne more couragious by this battell, and having increased their force and wonne the reputation of men vnconquerable, immediatly after conqueredall I-TALIE besides, and soone after that, all Sicilia. To this end (as you see) came king Pyrrus vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE and SICILIA, after he had spent fixe yeares continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, and his army confumed. Notwithstanding, his noble courage remained alwaies inuincible, what loffes focuer he had fuftained: and moreouer whilest he lined, he was cuer esteemed the chiefest of all the kings and princes in his time, as well for his experience and fufficiency in warres, as also for his valiantnesse and hardinesse of his person. But what he wanne by famous deeds, he lost by vaine hopes: desiring so carneftly that which he had not, as he forgot to keepe that which he had. Wherefore Antigonus

compared him vnto a dice-player, that cafteth well, and cannot vse his lucke. Now having

brought backe againe with him into Epirvs, eight thousand footmen, and fine hundred horse-

men, and being without money to pay them, he deuiled with himfelfe to feeke out fome new

third bat eall with the Roenzines. enerthrown by Manies Cusiw in battell.

Pyrrus

Trres compared to a diceplayer. Pyrrus re turne into of Italie.

war to entertainethole fouldiers, and keepe them together. Wherefore vpon a new aide of certaine GAVLES being come vnto him, he entred into the realme of MACEDON (Which Antigonus. Demetrius fonne held at that time) with intent onely to make a forrey, and to get fome spoile in the country. But when he faw that he had taken diverse holds, and moreover, that two thoufand men of warre of the country came and yeelded themselves vnto him, he began to hope of better successe, then at the first he looked for. For vpon that hope he marched against king Antioenns selfe, whom he met in a very straight valley, and at his first comming, gaue such a lustic tigenus felte, whom he met in a very itraight valley, and at his first comming, gaucioch a fuste charge vpon his rereward, that he put all Antigonus army in great diforder. For Antigonus had placed the GAVIEs in the rereward of his army to close it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valuantly defend the first charge: and the skirmish was so hot, that the most of them were flaine. After them the leaders of the Elephants perceiuing they were enuironed on energy fide, yeelded them felues and their beafts. Pyrrus feeing his power to be now increased, with fuch asupply, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might moue him; thrust further into the battel of the Macebonians, who were all afraid, and troubled for the ouerthrow of their rereward, to as they could not once base their pikes, nor fight against him. He for his part holding vp his hand, and calling the captaines of the bands by their names, straightwaies made all the footmen of Antigonus turne wholly to his fide: who flying faued himfelf with a few horsemen, & kept certaine of the cities in his realme vpon the fea coaft. But Pyrrus in all his prosperity king Pyrindging nothing more to redound to his honor and glory, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, THE layed afide their good lieft and richeft spoiles, and offered up the same in the temple of Minerua Itonida, with this inscription:

PYRRVS.

When Pyrrus had subdu'd, the puissant Gaules in fields, He caused of their spoiles to make, these targets, armes and shields: The which he hanged up, in temple all on high. Before Minerua (goddeffe bere) in figne of victorie: When he had ouercome, the whole and hugie houft, Thewhich Antigonus did bring, into his countries coaft. Ne maruell should it seeme, though victorie he wonne, Since valiantnesse brings victorie, and euermore hath done: And valiantnesse alwaies, bath constantly kept place,

From age to age, and time to time, in A was his race. Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACEDON yeelded vnto him: but when he had the city of AGEs in his power, he vsed the inhabitants thereof very hardly, & specially because he left a great garrison of the GAVLEs there, which he had in pay. This nation is extreme couetous, as then they shewed themselues: for they spared not to breake up the tombes wherein the kings of Macedon lay buried, and tooke away all the gold and filuer they could Treesure. find: and afterwards with great infolency cast out their bones into the open wind. Pyrrus was tournesse of toldir but he lightly possed in ordinary and modern real prince of in with the local transfer of the Gaulein toldit, but he lightly paffed it ouer, and made no reckoning of it: either because he deferred it till another time, by reason of the wars he had then in hand; or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous people at that time. But whatsoever the matter was the Ma-CEDONIANS were very angry with Pyrrus, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all things fure in MACEDON, not being fully possest of the same: new toyes and hopes came in his head, and (mocking Antigonus) faid he was a mad man to go apparelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloake might become him like a private man. Now, Cleary mus king of Sparta being come to procure him to bring his army into the countrie of LACED #-MON, Pyrrus was very willing to it. This Clienymus was of the bloud royall of Sparta, but because he was a cruell man, and would do all things by authority, they loued him not at Sparta, nor trufted him at all:and therefore did they put him out, & made Arens king, a very quiet man. Aren made And this was the oldest quarrell Cleonymus had against the commonwealth of Sparta, but be- king of fides that, he had another private quarrell, which grew vpon this cause. In his old yeares, Cleanymus had maried a faire yong lady called chelidonida, which was also of the bloud royall, and the daughter of Leotychides. This lady being fallen extremely in loue with Acrotatus, king Areus dans. fonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his luftic youth, flie greatly vexed and diffionoured her husband Cleonymus, who was ouer head and eares in loue and iealousie with her: for there was not one in all Sparta, but plainely knew that his wife made none account of him.

Thecause of Syrrus inu iding Peloponne.

Pyrrus Ara tageme to the Spar -

Mandriei das flout answer to king Pyrrus

Pyrrus

Theconrage of the wo men of Sparta.

Wamen zvench.

couraged eheir men so fight.

battell.

And thus his home forewes, being loyned with his outward common griefes, even for spite, defiring a reuenge, in choler he went to procure Pyrrus to come vnto Sparta, to restore him a. gaine to his kingdome. Hereupon he brought him into LACED EMONIA forthwith, with fine and twenty thousand footmen, two thousand horse, and foure and twenty Elephants: by which preparation, though by nothing else, the world might plainely see, that Pyrrus came with a mind not to restore Cleanymus againe vnto SPARTA, but of intent to conquer for himselfe (ifhe could) all the country of PELOPONNESVS. For in words he denyed it to the LACED EMONI-ANS themselves, who sent Ambassadors vnto him, when he was in the city of MEGALIPOLIS. where he told them that he was come into Peloponnesus, to fet the townes and cities at liberty which Antigonus kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to fend his vono fonnes into Sparta (so they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth have this advantage above all other kings, to have bene well brought vp. But faining these things, and abusing those that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heed of him, till he came within the coast of LACONIA, into the which he was no fooner entred, but he began to wast and spoile the whole country, And when the Ambas. fadors of Sparta reproued and found fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in fuch fort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them answer, No more haue you your selues vsed to proclaime that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassa. dors called Mandricidas, replied againe vnto him in y LACONIAN tongue: If thou be a god, thou wilt do vs no hurt, because we have not offended thee : and if thou be a man, thou shalt meete with another that shall be better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to Sparta, where Cleonymus gaue him counfell euen at the first, to affault it. But he would not so do, fearing (as they faid) that if he did it by night, his fouldiers would facke the city; and faid it should be time inough to affault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the towne, and beside they were very ill prouided. And furthermore, king Areus himselfe was not there, but gone into CRBTA to aide the GORTINIANS, who had warres in his owne countrev. And doubtleffe, that only was the fauing of Sparta from taking, that they made no reckoning to affault it hotly: because they thought it was notable to make resistance. For Pyrrus camped before the town, throughly perswaded with himself, that he should find none to fight with him: & Cleanymus friends & feruants also did prepare his lodging there, as if Pyrrus should have come to supper to him, & lodged with him. When night was come the LACED EMONIANS coulelled together, and fecretly determined to fend away their wives, and little children into CRETA. But the women themselves were against it, and there was one among them called Archidamia, who went into the Senate house with a sword in her hand, to speake vnto them in the name of all the rest, and said: That they did their wives great wrong, if they thought them so faint-hearted as to liue after Sparta were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counsel, that they should cast a trench beforethe enemies campe, and that at both ends of the same they should burie carts in the ground vnto the middest of the wheeles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the Elephants, and keepe them from passing further. And when they began to go in hand withall, there came wives and maides vnto them, some of them their clothes girt vp round about them, and others all in their smockes, to worke at his trench with the old men, aduling the young men that should fight the next morning, to rest themselues in the meane while. So the women tooke the third part of the trench to taske, which was fixe cubits broad, fourecubits deepe, and eight hundred foot long, as Philarchus faith, or litle lesse as Hieronymus writeth. Then when the breake of day appeared, and enemies removed to come to the affault: the women themselues setched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and deliuered them the taske of the trench ready made, which they before had vndertaken, praying them valiantly to keepe and defend it, telling them withall, how great a pleasure it is to ouercome the enemics, fighting in view and fight of their native country, and what great felicity and honourit is to die in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valiantly like an honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of Sparta. But Chelidenida being gone aside, had tied a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to strangle and hang her selfe, rather then to fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if by chance the city should come to be taken. Now Pyrrus marched in person with his battell of footmen, against the front of the Spartans, who being a great number also, did tarie his comming on the other side of the trench : the which, besides

PYRRVS.

that it was very ill to passe ouer, did let the souldiers to fight steadily in order of battell, because the earth being newly cast vp, did yeeld under their feete. Wherefore, Ptolomy king Pyrrus fon, paffing all along the trench fide with two thousand GAVLES, and all the choise men of the CHAONIANS, affaied if he could get ouer to y other fide at one of the ends of the trench where the carts were: which being fet very deepe into the ground, and one joyned vnto another, they did not only hinder the affailants, but the defendants also. How beit in the end, the GAVLES began to pluck off the wheeles of these carts, & to draw them into § river. But Acrotatus king Areus fonne, a young man, feeing the danger, ranthrough the city with a troupe of three hundred lusty youths besides, and went to inclose Ptolomy behind, before he espied him, for that he pasfed a fecret hollow way till he came euen to give the charge vpon them; whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towards him, one running in anothers necke, and fo in great diforder were thrust into the trenches, and under the carts; insomuch as at the last, with much ado, and great bloudshed, Acrotatus and his company draue them backe, and repulsed them. Now the women & old men, that were on the other fide of the trench, faw plainly before their face, how valiantly Acrotatus had repulsed the GAVLES. Wherfore after Acrotatus had done this exploite, Acrotatus he returned against hrough the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare-bloud: rationing. couragious and lively, for the victory he came newly from. The women of Sparta thought Acrotatus farremore nobleand fairer to behold, then cuer he was: so that they all thought Chelidonida happy to haue such a friend and louer. And there were certaine old men, that followed him crying after him, Go thy way, Acrotatus & enioy thy loue Chelidonida, beget noble children ofher vnto Sparta. The fight was cruel on that fide where Pyrrus was, and many of the Spar-TAN'S foughtvery valiantly. Howbeit, among st other, there was one named Phillius, who after he had fought long, and flaine many of his enemies with his owne hands, that forced to paffe ouer the trench, perceining that his heart fainted for the great number of wounds he had vpon him, called one of them that were in the ranke next behind him, and giving him his place, fell downe dead in the armes of his friends, because his enemies should not have his body. In the end, the battell having continued all the day long, the night did separate them : and Pyrrus, being laid in his bed, had this vision in his sleepe: He thought he stroke the city of LACED EMON with lightning, that he vtterly confumed it: whereat he was so passing glad, that even with the very joy he awaked: and therupon forthwith comanded his captains to make their men ready to the affault. and told his dreame vnto his familiars, supposing that out of doubt it did betoken he should in that approach take the city. All that heard it, beleeved it was fo, faving one Lysimachus: who to the contrary faid, that this vision liked him not, because the places smitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawful to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also a fraid, that the gods did fignific vnto him, that he should not enter into the city of Sparta. Pyrrus answered him: That faidhe, is a matter disputable to and fro in an open affembly of people, for there is no manner of certaintie in it. But furthermore, euery man must take his weapon in his hand, and set this fentence before his eyes:

A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life, In iust defence of masters cause, with speare and bloudy knife.

Alluding vnto Homers verses, which he wrote for the defence of his countrey. And saying thus, herose, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the assault. On the other side also, the LACE-DEMONIANS with a maruellous courage and magnanimity, far greater then their force bestirred themselues woderfully to make resistance, having their wives by them, that gave them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to give meate and drink to them that needed, & did also withdraw those that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewise for their part, indenored themselves with al their might to fill vp the trench with wood & other things, which they cast vpon the dead bodies & armours lying in the bottome of the ditch; and Y LACED EMONIANS againe, laboured al they could possible to let the. But in this great broile, one perceived Pyrrus on horsebacke to have leapt the trench, past over the strength of the carts, and made force to enter into the city. Wherefore those that were appointed to defend that part of the trench, cried out straight, and the women fell a shreeking, and running as if all had bene lost. And as Pyrrus passed further, striking downe with his owne hands all that stood before him, a CRETAN shot at him, and stroke his horsethrough both sides: who leaping out of the prease for paine of his wound, dying, carried Pyrrus away, and threw him vponthe hanging

at the fires of spares.

שושה כלוושר

the city of

Sparca, goeth voto

Pto'emie King Par

of a steepe hill, where he was in great danger to fall from the top. This put all his servants and friends about him in a maruellous feare, and therewithall the LACED AMONIANS feeing them in this feare and trouble, ranne immediatly vnto that place, and with force of shot draue themall out of the trench. After this retire, Pyrrus caused all assault to ceasse, hoping the LACED EMONI-ANS in the end would yeeld, confidering there were many of them flaine in the two daies paff and all the reft in a mainer hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the city (whether it were to proue the valiantnesse of the inhabitants themselves, or at the least to shew what power they were of, euen in their greatest need and distresse, when the LACED EMONIANS had small hope left, brought one Aminias Phocian from Coninth, one of king Antigonus captaines. with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and straight after him, as soone as he was entred, king Areus arrived also on the other side from CRETA, and two thousand souldiers with him. So the women went home to their houses, making their reckoning that they should not need any more to trouble themselves with wars. They gave the old men liberty also to go and rest themsclues, who being past all age to fight, for necessities sake yet were driven to armethemselves, & take weapon in hand; and in order of battell placed the new-come souldiers in their roomes. Pyrrus vnderstanding that newe supplies were come, grew to greater stomacke then before, and enforced all that he could to win the towne by affault. But in the end, whento his coff he found that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the fiege, and went to spoile all the countrey about, determining to lie there in garrison all the Winter. He could not for all this agoide his destinie: for there rose a sedition in the citie of AR gos betweene two of the chiesedition in fest citizens, Ariftees and Aristoppus: and because Aristees thought that king Antigones did fauour his enemy Arifippus, he made haft to fend first vnco Pyrrus, whose nature and disposition was fuch, that he did continually heape hope vpon hope, euer taking the prefent prosperity. for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fel out he was a loser, then he sought to recour himselse, and to restore his losse by some other new attempts. So that neither for being conquerour, nor ouercome, he would cuer be quier, but alwaies troubled fome, and himfelfe alfo: by reason whereof, he suddenly departed towards Ar gos. But king Areus having layd ambuffles for him in diverfe places, and occupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to passe, gaue a charge vpon the GAVLES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the taile of his army. Now, the felfe same day Pyrrus was warned by a soo: heaver, who sacrififing had found the liver of the facrifiled beaft infected; that it betokened the loffe of fome most neare vnto him. But when he heard the noise of the charge given, he thought not on the warning of the foothfayer, but commanded his fon to take his household feruants with him, and to go thither: and he himselse in the meane time with as great hast as he could, made the rest of his army to march, to get them quickly out of this dangerous way. The fray was very hote about Piolomic Pyrrus fon, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACEDEMONIANS with whom he had to do, led by a valiant captaine, called Enalcus. But as he fought valiantly against those that flood before him, there was a fouldier of CRETA called Orefies, borne in the city of APTERA, a man very ready of his hand, and light of foote, who running along by him, ftroke him fuch a blow on his fide, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince Prolomie being flaine, his company began straight to flie: and the LACED EMONIANS followed the chase so hotly that they took no heed of themselues, until they saw they were in the plaine field far from their footmen. Wherefore, Pyrrus vnto whom the death of his fonne was newly reported, being on fire with forrow and paffion, turned fuddenly vpon them with the men of armes of the Molossians, and being the first that came vnto them, made a maruellous slaughter among them. For, notwithflanding that enery where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, having his fword in his hand: yet then he did flow more proofe of his valiantnesse, strength, and courage, then he had ever done before. And when he had fet fours to his horse against Evalcus to close with him: Eualcus turned on the one fide, and gave Pyrrus fuch a blow with his fword, that he miffed little the cutting of his bridle hand: for he cut indeed all the raines of the bridle afunder. But Pyrrus Pyrrustin fraight ranne him through the body with his speare, and lighting off from his horse, he put all the troupe of the Laced Amonians to the fword that were about the body of Eualeus, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cause of that losse vnto their countrey for nothing, confidering that the warres against them were ended. But Pyrrus having now as it were made facrifice of these poore bodies of the LACEDEMONIANS, for the soule of his

dead fonne, and fought thus wonderfully also, to honour his funerals, converting a great part of his forrow for his death, into anger & wrath against the enemies; he afterwards held on his way directly towards Ar Gos. And notwithstanding that king Antigonus had already seazed the hils that were ouer the valley, he lodged neare vnto the city of NAVPLIA and the next morning following fent an Herald vnro Antigonus, and gaue him defiance, calling him wicked man, and challenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to try which of them two should beking. Antigonus made him answer, that he made warres as much with time as with weapon: Antigonus and furthermore, that if Pyrrus were weary of his life, he had waies inough open to put himselfe todeath. The citizens of Ar gos also sent Ambassadours vnto them both to pray them to de-thallenge. part, fith they knew that there was nothing for them to fee in the city of AR gos, and that they would let it be a neuter, and friend vnto them both. King Antigonus agreed vnto it, & gaue them his son for hostage. Pyrrus also made the faire promise to do so too, but because he gaue no caution nor fufficiet pledge to performe it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fell out many ereat and wonderfull tokens, as well vnto Pyrrus, as vnto the ARGIVES. For Pyrrus having facri- Tokens of fised oxen, their heads being striken off from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and lieked up their owne blond. And within the city of Ar Gos, a fifter of the temple of Apollo Dycias, called Apollonide, ranthrough the streetes, crying out that she saw the city full of murther, and bloud running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fray, howbeit she vanished away fuddenly, and no body knew what became of her. Pyrrus then coming hard to the wals of Ar-60s in the night, and finding one of the gates called Diamperes, opened by Arifleas, he put in his GAVLES: who possessed the market place before the citizens knew any thing of it. But because the gate was too low to passe the Elephants through with their towers vpon their backes, they Fyrai were driven to take them off, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, fight the and intumultiby reason whereof they lost much time, so that the citizens in the end perceived it, gos, and ran incontinently vnto the castell of Aspides, & into other strong places of the city. And there eastell in withall, they fent with present speed vnto Antigonus, to pray him to come and helpe them, and so Argos. he did: and after he was come hard to the wals, he remained without with the scouts, and in the meanetime sent his son with his chiefest Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good fouldiers, and men of war with him. At the fame time also arrived Areus king of Sparta, with a thousand of the CRETANS, and most lusty Spartans: all which joyning together, came to give a charge vpon the GAVLEs that were in the market place, who put them in a maruellous feare & hazard. Pyrrus entring on that fidealfo of the city called Cylabaris with terrible noise and cries, when he understood that the GAVIEs answered him not lustily and couragioufly, he doubted straightthat it was the voice of men distressed, & that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with speed to relieue them, thrusting the horsemen forwards that marched before him with great danger and paine, by reason of the holes and sinkes, and water conduicts, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongst them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man faw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commanded, by reason of the great noise they made, straying here and there vp and downethe streetes, the one scattered from the other: neither could the captaines set their menin order, as well for the darknes of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the city ouer, and for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therfore they remained on both sides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning whereof, Pyrrus perceined the castell of Aspides, full of his armed enemies. And furthermore, suddenly as he was come into themarket place, amongst many other goodly common workes set out to beautisie the same, he spied the images of a Bull and a Wolfe in copper, the which fought one with another. This fight A Dall and madehim afraid, because at that present he remembred a prophecy that had bene told him, that sopper, see his end and death should be when he sawa Wolfe and Bull fight together. The Argives re-points port, that the seimages were set vp in the market place, for the remembrance of a certaine chance with the that had happened in their country. For when Danaus came thither first, by the way called Pyramia (as one would fay, land fowne with corne) in the countrey of THYREATIDE, he faw as he Danage went, a Wolfe fight with a Bull: whereupon he staied to see what the end of their fight would come to supposing the case in himself that the Wolfe was a ship file he couled by the figure come to, supposing the case in himself, that the Wolfe was of his side, because that being a stranger as he was, he came to fet vponthe naturall inhabitants of the country. The Wolfe in the Goldwor. end obtained the victory: wherefore Danaus making his prayer vnto Apollo Lycias, followed on

Gelanor king of the

Helentes

The flrange love of an

shrowne by a woman.

his enterprise, and had so good successe, that he draue Gelanor out of AR GOS, who at that time was king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cause why they say these images of the wolfe & bull were set vp in the market place of AR GOS. Pyrrus being halfe discouraged with the sight of them, & also because nothing fell out well according to his expectatio, thought best to retire. but fearing the straightnesse of the gates of the city, he sent vnto his son Helenus, whom he had left without the city with the greatest part of his force and army, commanding him to ouerthis wa pecce of the wall, that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receive them, if their enemies by chance did hinder their coming out. But the messenger whom he sent. was so hastie and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well vnderstand what Pyrrus said vnto him, but reported his message quite contrary. Whereupon the yong prince Helenus taking the best souldiers he had with him, and the rest of his Elephants. entred into the city to helpe his father, who was now giving backe; and folong as he had roome to fight at ease, retiring still, he valiantly repulsed those that set vpon him, turning his face of vinto them. But when he was driven vinto the streete that went from the market place to the gate of the citie, he was kept in with his own men that entred at the same gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when Pyrrus cried out, and bad them go backe, the noise was so great; and though the first had heard him, and would have gone backe, yet they that were behind, and did fill thrust forward into the prease, did not permit them. Besides this moreouer, the biggest of all the Elephants by misfortune fell downe overthwart the gate, where he grinding his teeth did hinder those also, that would have come out and given backe. Furthermore, another of the Elephants that were entred before into the city, called Nicon (as much to fay, as conquering) feeking his gouernour that was striken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes, ranne vpon them that came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing friends and foes one in anothers necke, till atthe length having found the body of his mafter flaine, he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke, and carying him vpon his two tufnes, returned backe with great furic, treading all vnder feetche found in his way. Thus every man being thronged and crowded vp together in this fort, there was not one that could help himselfe: for it seemed to be a masse and heape of a multitude. and one wholebody shut together, which sometime thrust forward, and sometime gaue backe. as the fway went. They fought not fo much against their enemies, who set vpon them behind: but they did the selues more hurt then their enemies did. For if any drew out his sword, or based his pike, he could neither scabard the one againe, nor lift vp the other, but thrust it full vpon his own fellowes that came in to helpe them, and so killed themselues one thrusting vpon another. Wherefore Pyrrus feeing his people thus troubled and harried to and fro tooke his crowne fro his head which he wore vpon his helmet, that made him knowne of his men a farre off, and gaue it to one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and trusting then to the goodnesse of his horse, flew vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pike, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore Pyrrus fet vpon him that had hurthim, who was an ARGIAN borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore old womans son, whose mother at that present time was gotten vp to the top of the tiles of a house, as al other women of the city were to see the fight. And she perceiuing that it was her sonne whom Pyrrus came vpon, was so afrighted to feehim in that danger, that she took a tile, and with both her hands cast it vpon Pyrrns. The tile falling off from his head by reason of his head-peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, and brake his neck-bone afunder: wherewith he was fuddenly fo benummed, that he lost his fight with the blow, the raines of his bridle fell out of his hand, & himfelf fell from his horse, to the ground, by Licymmias tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the least the commo people. Untill at the last there came one Zopyrus that was in pay with Antigonus, and two or three other fouldiers also that ran straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, euen as he was coming againe to himselfe out of this trance. This Zopyrus drew out a SLAVON fword he woreby his fide, to strike off his head. But Pyrrus cast such a grim countenance on him betweene his eyes, that made him fo afraid, & his hand fo to shake therewith, that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in y place where he should have cut off his head, but killed him under his mouth about his chinne, so that he was a great while ere he could strike off his head. The matter was straight blowne abroad amongst diverse: whereupon Alcyoneus running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ranne presently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friends, and cast

pyrrus head before him. Antigonus looking vponit, when he knew it, layd vpon his fonne with his staffe, and called him cruell murderer and vnnaturall barbarous beast; and so hiding his eyes with his cloake, wept for pity (remembring the fortune of his grandfather Antigorius, and of his father Demetrius) and then caused Pyrrus head and body to be honourably burnt & buried. Afrepropries Alegonus meeting Helenus (king Pyrrus sonne) in very poore estate, musted vp with a towards poore fhort cloake, yied him very courteoufly with gentle words, & brought him to his father.

Form be
This his forms him printing of him faid with him. This part now forms is have Antigonus feeing his foune bringing of him, faid vnto him: This part now (my fonne) is better then the first, and pleaseth me a great deale more. But yet thou hast not done all thou shouldest: for thou shouldest have take from him his beggerly cloake he weareth, which doth more shame vs that are thegainers, then him that is the loser. After he had spoken these words, Antigonus embraced Helenus, and having apparelled him in good fort; fent him home with honourable connov into his Realme of Epinvs. Furthermore leazing all Pyrrus campe and armie, he courreoufly vsed all his friends and fernants.

The end of Pyrrus life.

THE LIFE OF Caius Marius.



T is not knowne what was the third name of Cains Marius, no more then of Quintus Sectorius, who had all Spaine in his hands at one time: nor of Lucius Mummius, he that destroyed the city of Corinth. For this name of Achaicus that was given vnto Mummius, of Africanus Thomas vnto Scipio, and of Numidicus vnto Metellus: were all furnames gi- of the Rouen them, by reason of the conquests they wan. By this reason Posidowins thinketh to ouercome them that fay, that the third name the Ro-MAINES haue, is their proper name: as Camillus, Marcellus, Cato. For if it fell out so, said he, then it must needs follow that they which have

two names, should have no proper name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women have no names: for there is not a woman in Rom E that is called by her first name, which Posidonius indgeth to bee the proper name of the Ro-MAINES. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the house or family, as of the Pompeians, of the Manlians, and of the Cornelians, like as the Heraclides and the Phlopides are amongst the Grecians: and the other is a surname taken of the

М атвил famor.

Maries canld no skill of the Grashe sungae.

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> Marias parents. maners, & country.

Marius Erft iour ne) yute the wars

Scipio . 2fricans indzement

> Marins Tribune of the people.

> Catta Con-

deeds, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these furnames, Macrinus. Torquatus, and sylla. Euen as amongst the GRECIAN'S likewise, Muemon. which fignifieth having good memorie: Grypos, having a crooked nose: Callinicos, conquerino. But as for that, the diversity of custome would deliver objection sufficient to the contrary, to him that lifted. And furthermore, as touching the fauour of Marins face, we have feene an image of his in marble at RAVENNA, a city of the GAVLES, which doth lively represent that rough feuerity of nature and maners, which they fay was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and given to the warres, and having followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the civill life: when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and cholerickenature. And they fay furthermore, that he neuer learned the Greeke tongue, nor vsed it in any mat. ters of weight: as though it had benea mockerie to study to learne the tongue, the masters wherof lined in bondage under others. After his second triumph, in the dedication of a certainetem. ple, he made Greeke playes to shew the Romaine's pastime: and came into the Theater, howbeithe did but fit downe only, and went his way straight. Wherfore me thinks, that as Plato was wont to say oft vnto Xenocrates the Philosopher, who was of a currish nature, had his headener occupied, and too seucre: Xenocrates, my friend, I pray thee do sacrifice to the Graces, Soifany man could have perswaded Marius to have facrificed to the Muses, and to the GRECIAN Graces: (that is to fay, that he had knowne the Greek tongue) to fo many famous and glorious deeds as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not joyned fo vnfortunate and miferable an end ashe made, through his choler and extreme ambition, at fuch yeares, and through an vnfatiable conetousnes, which like boisterous winds made him to make shipwrack of al, in a most cruel, bloudie. and vnnaturall age. The which is eafily knowne in reading the discourse of his doings. First of all he was of a meane house, borne of poore parents by father and mother, that got their linings by fweat of their browes. His father as himfelfe, was called caius: Fulcinia was his mother. And this was the cause why he began so late to haunt the city, and to learne the civility and maners of Rome, having bene brought up alwaies before in a litle poore village called CIRROEATON, within the territorie of the city of Arpos: where heled a hard country life, in respect of those that lived pleasantly and finely in the cities, but otherwise well reformed, and nearest vnto the maners of the ancient Romaines. The first journy he made vnto the wars, was against y CEL-TILERIANS IN SPAINE, under Scipio African, when he went to befiege yeity of Numantia: where his captaines in short time found that he was a better soldier then any other of his companions. For he did maruellous eafily receive the reformation of manners, and the discipline of warres which Scipio advanced amongst his souldiers, that were ill trained before, and given over to all pleafure. And they fay, that in the fight of his Generall he rought hand to hand with one of his enemics, and flue him: vpon which occasion, Scipio to make him loue him, did offer him many courtefies and pleafures. But specially one day about the rest, having made him sup with him at his table, some one after supper falling in talke of Captaines that were in Rome at that time: one that flood by Scipio, asked him (either because indeed he stood in doubt, or else for that he would curry fauour with Scipio) what other Captaine the Romaine s should have after his death, like vnto him. Scipio having Marius by him, gently clapped him vpon the shoulders, and faid: Peraduenture this shall be he. Thus happily were they both borne, the one to shew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, & the other also for wisely coniccturing the end, by feeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned to that these words of Scipio (by report) aboue al things elle put Marius in a good hope, as if they had bene spoken by the Oracle of some god, and made him bold to deale in matters of state and common-wealth: whereby meanes of the fauor and countenance Cacilius Metellus gaue him (whose house his father and he had alwaies followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneship. In this office he preferred a law touching the maner how to give y voices in election of the Magistrates, which did feemeto take from the Nobility the authority they had in judgement. And therefore the Confull Cotta stepped vp against it, and perswaded the Senate to refist that law, and not suffer it to be authorized, & therewithall prefently to call Marius before them to yeeld a reason of his doing. So was it agreed upon in Senate. Now Marius comming into the Senate, was not abashed at any thing, as fome other young man would have bene, that had but newly begun to enter into the world as he did, and having no other notable calling or quality in him, faving his vertue onely to commend him: but taking boldnesse of himselfe (as the notable acts he afterwards

did, gaue shew of his valour) he openly threatned the Confull Cotta to send him to prison, if he did not presently withdraw the conclusion he had caused to be resoluted vpon. The Consul then turning himselfe vnto Gacilius Metellus, asked how he liked it? Metellus standing vp, spake in the behalfe of the Confull: and then Marius calling a fergeant out, commanded him to take Metellus felse, and to carie him to prison. Metellus appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: so that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the conclusion that before was taken. Then Marius returning with great honour into the market place among the affembly of the people, caused this law to passe and be authorized: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a ftout man, and fuch a one, as would not floupe for any feare, nor flirinke for bashfulnesse, but would beard the Senate in fauour of the people. Notwithstanding he shortly after changed opinion, and altered the first, by another act he made: for when another went about to have a law made, to distribute corne vnto enery citizen without payment of any pennie, he was vehemently against it, and ouerthrewit: so that thereby he came to be alike honoured and efteemed of either partie, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the prejudice of the common-wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he fued for the chiefest office of Ædilis. Of the Ædiles there are two sorts: the first is called Adilitas Curulis, fo named, because of certaine chaires that have crooked feete, vpon Adilitas which they sit when they give audience. The other is of lesse dignity, and that is called Adilithe popularis And when they have chosen the first and greater Ædilis at Rome, they presently proceed the same day also in the market place vnto election of the lesser. Marius seeing plainely that he was put by the chiefest of the Ædiles, turned againe straight yet to demand the second: med to be Adiles. but this was misliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too shunclesse, and too presumtuous a man. So that in one felf day he had two denials and repulfes, which neuer man but himfelfebefore had. And neuertheleffe, all this could not cut his combe, but shortly after he sued alfo for the Pretorship, & he lacked but a litle of the deniall of that; yet in the end, being last of all chosen, he was accused to have bribed the people, & bought their voices for mony. And furely amongst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of Cassus Sabacon chain within the bars where the election is made, running too & fro among them that gaue their voices, because this Sabacon was Marius very great friend. The matter came before the Indges, and Sabacon was examined vponit: whereunto he answered, that for the great extreme heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for cold water to drinke, and that his man had brought him some in a pot where he was, howbeit that he went his way as foone as euer he had drunke. This Sabacon Sabaton was afterwards put out of the Senate by the next Cenfors, and inany judge that he was worthy the of this infamy for that he was perjured in judgement or because he was to solvied & solvi of this infamy, for that he was periured in judgemet, or because he was so subject & giuento his pleasure. Caius Herennius was also called for a witnesse against Marius: but he did alledge for his cause Heexcuse, that the law and custome did dispence with the Patron, to be a witnesse against his follower and client; and he was quit by the Judges. For the ROMAINE's alwaies call those Patrons, Marine who take the protection of meaner then themselves into their hands: saying, that Marius prede-bhalfe cessors, and Marius himselfe, had euer bene followers of the house of the HERENNIANS. The Indges received his answer, and allowed thereof. But Marins spake against it, alledging that since and client. he had received this honor to beare office in the commonwealth, he was now growne from this base condition, to be any more a follower of any manithe which is not true in all. For energy office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office nor yet his posterity to be under the patronage of another, nor doth discharge him from the duty of honouring them; but of necessity he must be a magistrate, which the law doth permit to sit in the crooked chaire called Curulis, that is to fay, caried upon a charriot through the city. But not with standing that at the first hearing of this cause, Marius had but ill successe, and that the Judges were against him all they could yet in the end for all that, at the last hearing of this matter, Marius, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged, because the Iudges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He vsed himselse very orderly in his office of Prætorship, and after his yeare was out, when it came to denide the provinces by lot, Spaine fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuser of Bætis: where it is reported, that he feowred all the country therabouts of theeues and robspaine. bers, which not with standing was yet very cruell and sauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuil The opinion maner and fashion of life of the inhabitants there. For the Spaniar D s were of opinion enemate of Spaniar and fashion of life of the inhabitants there. that time, that it was a goodly thing to line vpon theft and robbery. At his returne to Rome out time,

and riches raifed men to autho-How Marius cre die and estimation grew. Iulia,Marisu wife. Marina temperance and pati-

> Cacilisa Metellus Con(ull, Marius Metelius Lieutenant in the war against In

The labour & prefence of the Generall maboth the fouldiers lingly.

> Marius the author of Tarpiliss falle ascufatien and death Vacca a of the fupposed treafon againft Turpilius.

Elequence of SPAINE, defiring to deale in matters of the comonwealth, he faw that he had neither eloquece nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which the fethat were at that time in credit and authority, did carie the people euen as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great account of his constancie and noble mind they found in him, of his great paines and trauell he tooke continually, and of the simplicity of his life: which were causes to bring him to honour and preferment, infomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried Iulia, that was of the noblest house of the Cafars, and aunt vnto Iulius Cafar: who afterwards came to be the chiefest man of all the ROMAINES, and who by reason of that alliance betweene the, seemed in some things to follow Marius, as we have written in his life. Marius was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be judged by an act he did, putting himselfe into the hands of Surgeons. For his shankes and legges were full of great swollen veines, and being angrie because it was no pleasant thing to behold, he determined to put himselfe into the hands of Surgeons to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legges to the Surgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in like case: but patiently abode all the extreme paines a man must of necessity feele being cut, without stirring, groning, or fighing, still keeping his countenance, and faidneuer a word. But when the Surgeon had done with his first legge, and would have gone to the other, he would not give it him: Nay, faid he, I fee the cure is not worth the paine I must abide. Afterwards Cacilius Metellus the Conful, being appointed to go into Africk e to make warre with king Ingurth, tooke Marius with him for one of his Lieutenants. Marius being there, seeing notable good seruice to be done, and occasion to shew his manhood, was not of mind in this voyage to increase Metellus honour and reputation, as other Lieuetenants did: and thought that it was not Metellus that called him foorth for his Lieutenant, but fortune her selfe that presented him a fit occasio to raise him to greatnes, & (as it were) did leade him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he could do. And for this cause therefore, he endeuoured himself to shew all the possible proofes of valiantnesse and honour he could. For the wars being great continually there, he neuer for feare refused any attempt or service, how dangerous or painefull soeuer it were, neither disdained to take any service in hand, were it neuer so little: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wisedome and foresight in that which was to be done, and striuing with the meanest fouldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, he wan the goodwil & fauor of euery man. For to fay truly, it is a great comfort & refreshing to soldiers that labour, to have companions that labour willingly with them. For they think, that their company labouring with them, doth in maner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the Romain E souldier maruellously to see & Generall cate openly of the same bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himself is the first man to set his hand to any work when a trench is to be cast, or their campe to be fortified. For they do not somuch esteeme the Captaines that honour and reward them, as they doe those that in dangerous attempts, labour and venture their liues with them. And further, they do farre better loue them that take pains with them, then those that suffer them to live idlely by them. Marins performing all this, and winning thereby the loue and goodwils of his fouldiers he straight filled all Lybia and the city of Rome with his glory, fo that he was in every mans mouth. For they that were in the camp in Africk b, wrote vnto them that were at Romb, that they should neuer see the end of those wars against this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto Marius, and chose him Conful. These things misliked Metellus very much, but specially the missfortune that came vpon Turpilius did maruellously trouble him: which fell out in this fort: Turpilius was Metellus friend, yea he and al his parents had followed Metellus in this warre, being master of the works in his campe. Metellus made him gouernour ouer the city of VACCA, a goodly great city: and he ving the inhabitants of the same very gently and courteously, mistrusted nothing; till he was fallen into the hands of his enemies through their treason. For they had brought king Ingurth into their city vnknowne to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but only begged him of the king, and let him go his way fafe. Andthis was the cause why they accused Turpilins of treason. Marius being one of his Iudges in the councel, was not cotented to be bitter to him himself, but moued many of the councel besides to be against him: so that Metellus by the voices of the people, was driven against his will to condemne him to suffer as a traitor; and shortly after it was found & proued, that Turpilius was wrongfully condemned and put to death. To fay truly, there was not one of preto death the councell but were very fory with Metellus, who maruellous impatiently tooke the death of

the poore innocent. But Marius contrarily rejoyced, and tooke it voon him that he purfued his death, and was not ashamed to make open vants, that he had hanged a furie about Merellus neck. to reuenge his friends bloud, whom he guiltlesse had caused to be put to death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they fay, that one day Metellus to mock him withall faid vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leave vs then, and returne to Rome to fue for the Confulfhip: and canst thou not be contented to tarie to be Consuli with my son? Now his son at that time was but aboy. But howfoeuer the matter went, Marius left him not fo, but laboured for leaue Miella all he could possible. And Metellas after he had vied many delayes & excuses, at the length gaue and hear him leave, twelve daies only before the day of election of the Confuls. Wherfore Marius made haft, and in two daies and a night came from the campeto VTICA vpon the sea side, which is a maruellous way from it: and there before he took ship, did sacrifices vnto the gods, & the Soothfayer told him, that the gods by the fignes of his facrifices, did promife him vncredible profperity. & fogreat, as he himself durst not hope after. These words made Marins heart greater: wherupon he hoifed faile, and having a paffing good gale of wind in the poope of the fhip, paffed the feas in fouredaies, & being landed, rode pointo Rome. When he was arrived, he went to show himselfe vnto the people; who were maruellous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accusations which he obiected against Metellus, in the end he befought the people to chuse him Confull, promising that within few daies he would either kill, or take king Ingurth prisoner. Whereupon he was chosen Marins Confull without any contradiction. And fo foone as he was proclaimed, he began immediatly for tasket to leauie men of war, caufing many poore men that had nothing, and many flaues alfo, to be enrolled against the order of ancient custome: where other Captaines before him did receius no fuch manner of men, and did no more fuffer vnworthy mento be fouldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common-wealth: in doing the which enery one of them that were enrolled, left their goods behind them, as a pledge of their good fernice abroad in the wars. Yet this was not the matter that made Marius to be most hated, but they were his stout proud words full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offend the noble men in the city. For he proclaimed it enery where abroad as it were, that his Confulfhip was a spoile he had gotte of the effeminate the Reb. rich noble men through his valiantnesse, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for line. the service of the comonweale, were those that recommended him to the people, and were his firength, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images & statues of others. And of times naming Albinus, and otherwhile Beslia, both noble men, and of great houses, who having bene Generals of the ROMAINE army, had very ill fortune in the countrey of LYBIA: he called them cowards and simple fouldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not think that their ancestors would rather have wished to have left their children that came of them like vnto himself, then such as they had bene; considering that they themselves had won honour and glory, not for that they were descended of noble bloud, but through their described vertue and valiant deeds. Now Marius spake not these words in a foolish brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the Nobility for nothing : but the common people being very glad to feehim shame and dispite the Senate, and measuring alwaies the greatnesse of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward still not to sparethe Nobility, and to reprone the greatmen; so that he cuer held with the communaltie. And furthermore, when he was pasfed ouer againe into Africks, it spited Metellus to the heart, because that he having ended all the warre, that there remained almost no more to take or win, Marins should come in that fort Marins detotake away the glory and triumph out of his hands, having fought to rife and increase by vn. Friend Methankfulneffetowards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went another way, and boncard boncard left the army with Rutilius one of his Lieutenants, to deliuer the same vnto him. Howbeit, the Conquering reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end vpon Marius owne necke: for Sylla tooke out of effing in-Marius hands the honor of ending this war, cuen as Marius had taken it from Metellus. But how, & after what fort, I will repeat it in few words, because we have written the particularities more at large in the life of Sylla. Bocchus king of high NVMIDIA, was father in law vnto king Ingurth, Postbook with whom he gaue no great aid, whileft he made wars with the Romains, because he hated his Rumidia, vnfaithfullnesse, and feared lest he would make himself greater then he was: but in the end, after delinered Ingurth had fled, and wandred vp and downe in enery place, he was constrained of very necessity to cast his last hope and anker vpon him, as his final refuge, and so repaire vnto him. King Boc-

The ericina# caufe of the cswill mare betwixt and 314.2.

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Cimbri.

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chus received him rather for shame, because he durst not punish him, then for any love or good will he bare him: and hauing him in his hands, feemed openly to intreate Marins for him, and fecretly to write the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practifed treason vnder hand, Lucius Syl. and fent privily for Lucius Sylla, who then was Quæftor (to fay, high Treasurer) vnder Marius, Lacius 31. and of whom he had received certaine pleasures in those warres. Sylla trusting to this barbarous Puder Mar king, went at his fending for to him. But when he was come, king Bocchus repented him of his promife, and altered his mind, standing many daies in doubt with himselfe how to resolue, whether he should deliuer king Ingurth, or keepe sylla himselfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and delivered king Iugurth alive into Syllaes hands. And this was the first original cause of the pestilent and mortal enmity that grew afterwards betwixt Marius and sylla, and was like to have vtterly overthrowne the city of Rome, and to have razed the foundation of the Empire vnto the ground. For many enuying the glory of Marius, gaue it out euery where, that this act of the taking of king lugarth, appertained onely vnto Sylla: and Sylla himselfe caused a ring to be made, which he wore commonly, and had grauen vpon the stone of the fame, how Bocobus deliuered Ingurth into his hands. And afterwards he made it alwaieshis feale to despite Marius withall, who was an ambitious and proud man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glory of his doings; and Sylla did it especially at the procurement of encinies and ill willers, who gaue the glory of the beginning and chiefe exploits of this war, vnto Metellus; and the last and finall conclusion vnto Sylla, to the end that the people should not haue Marius in fo great estimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuie, detraction and hatred against Marius, was soone after extinguished and troden vnder foot, by reafon of the great danger that fell vpon all ITALY out of the West: and they neuer spake of italterwards, knowing that the commonwealth stood in need of a good Captaine, & that they began to look about, and consider who should be that great wise Pilot, that might saue and preferue it from so great and dangerous a storme of war. For there was not a noble man of all the ancient houses of Rome, that durst vndertake to offer himselfe to demand the Consulship; but Marius being absent, was chosen Confull the second time. For Ingurth was no sooner taken, but newes came to Rome of the coming downe of the Tevrons, and of the Cimbres, the which would not be beleeued at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was faid to be in their company, and for the vncredible force and power of the armies which was instified to come: but afterwards they knew plainely, that the rumour that ran abroad was leffe then the truth fell out indeed. For they were three hundred thousand fighting menallarmed, who brought with them also another multitude as great (or more) of women and children which wandred vp and downe feeking countries and townes to dwell and line in, as they heard fay the GAVLEs had done in old time, who leauing their owne countrey, came, and had posses fed the best part of ITALY, which they had taken away from the THYSCANS. Now to say truly, no manknew of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no friendship with any other people, as also because they came out of a farre country, as a cloud of people that was spread all ouer GAVLE and ITALY. It was doubted much they were a people of GERMANY, dwelling about the North fide; and this they coniectured by view of the greatnes of their bodies, and also for that they had dark blue eyes & red, besides that the GRECIANS in their tongue do cal thecues & robbers, Cimbres. Other fay, that Celtica, for the great length & largenes of the country, firetching it felf from the coast of the great Ocean sea, & from the north parts, drawing towards the marifles Mootides, & the East, runneth into Scythia, or Tarta-RIA PONTICA: and that for neighborhood these two nations ionned together, and went out of their country, northat they made this great voyage all at one time, but armany fundry times, marching yerely in the spring further and further into the country. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of armes through al the firme land of Evrope: & that for this cause, although they had many particular names according to the diversity of their nations, yet althis maffe and multitude of people gathered together, were called not with standing, the army of the CELTOS CYTHES, as who would fay, y CELTOTARTARES. Other hold opinio that y nation of the CIMMERIANS, who were known in old time for ancient GRECIANS, the one part of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driven out of their countrey for some civill diffention) were compelled by the TARTARES to passe beyond the marithe Moeotides, into the countries of As 1A, under the conduction of a captain called Ligdamis.

But the relidue of them, which were a far greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furthest parts of the earth, adioyning to the great Ocean sea, in a darke shadowed countrey conered with wonderfull forrests, of such length, and so great and thicke, and the trees so high, that the Sun can have no power vpon the ground, and they joyne hard vpon the great forrest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are vnder fuch a climate, where the pole is of fuch a height by the inclination of the circles equidiftant, which they call Paralleles, that it is not farre from the point that answereth directly to the plummet vpon the head of the inhabitants: and where the daies are equinoctiall. They do deuide all their time in two parts, the which giueth Homer occafion to faine, that when Vlyffes would call vpon the dead, he went into the country of the CIM-MERIANS, as into the country of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their owne countries to come into ITALY, which from the beginning were called CIMME-RIANS, and afterwards they fay (and not without great likelihood) that they were furnamed CIMERES: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely conjecture, then by any assured troth of historie. And as for the multitude of men, the most part of historiographers doe write, that they were rather mothen leffe, then we have fpoken of and that they were fo hardy and valiant, that nothing could stand before them, they did so great things by the strength of their hands, where they fought with any, so violently and so sodainly that they seemed to be like a lightning fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but fcraped together and caried away all that they found, hand ouer head and there were many Ro-MAINE Captaines appointed gouernors to keepe that which the ROMAINES held in GAYLE beyond the mountaines, who with great armics were shamefully ouerthrowne by the. The cowardlines of those whom they had ouercome, was the chiefest cause that moved them to direct their iourney to Rome. For when they had vanquished the first they had fought with all, & gotten great riches also: they were so fleshed by this, that they determined to stay no where, before they had destroyed Rome, & sacked al ITALY. The ROMAINE's hearing of this out of all parts. fent for Marius to give him the conduction and leading of these wars, and chose him Colull the Marius fecond time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the law, that did expressly forbid any suit these man to be chosen being absent, and vntill also a certaine time appointed had past betweene the conditine vacation and election, before they could chuse him officer twife in one office. Some alledged against the this law, of intentto hinder the election: but the people repulsed them, objecting to the contraric, that this was not the first time the law had given place to the benefit of the commonwealth Law must and that the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present, was no lesse then former occafions by the which they chose Scipio Confull, against the course and time appointed by the law, benefit. not for any feare they stood in to lose their owne country, but for the desire they had to destroy the country of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason wherof the people proceeded to election. And Marius bringing home his army againe out of Lybia into Italy, tooke possession of his Confulfhip the first day of Ianuary (on which day the Romain es begin their yeare) & therewith all triumph made his triumph into the city of Rome, shewing that to the Romaines, which they thought into Rome neuer to have feene: and that was, king Ingurth prisoner, who was so subtill a man, and could Ingurth fo well frame himselfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and subtiltie was of so great courage besides, that none of his enemies ever hoped to have had him alive. But it is said, that after he was led in this triumph, he fell mad straight vponit: and the pompe of triumph being ended, he was caried into prison, wherethe sergeants for hast to have the spoile of him, tore his apparel by force from off his backe: and because they would take away his rich gold care-rings that hung at his eares, they pulled away with them the tippe of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wits being altogether troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he faid: O Hercules, how cold are your stoucs? He lived there yet fixe daies, fighting with hunger, and defiring alwaies to prolong his miserable life vnto the last houre; the which was a just deserved punishment for his wicked life. In this triumph were carried (as they fay) three thousand and scuen hundred pound weight in gold, and of filter niggors, fine thoufand seuen hundred and lxxv. pound weight: and more in gold and ready coine; eight and twenty thousand and seuen hundred crownes. After this triumph Marius caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the company with his triumphing robe, either because he forgot it, or else of too grosse & vnciuill arrogancie but perceiving that al the assembly misliked of it, he rose suddenly, and tooke his long Consuls gowne, and then returned quickly

How Mari40 \$8.31 fouldiers.

Maries moiles.

Marins ded for his

> Marius third Con-Culfhip. Manius Acilius Lieutenant of the ar my, vnder Marius. Lucius Sa-BUTHÍNUS

againe into his place. Furthermore, Marius departing to go to the wars, thought to traine his air. my by the way, and to harden his fouldiers vnto labour, caufing them to run euery way, making great long journeys, compelling each fouldier to cary his own furniture, and to prepare himneceffary victuals to find himfelf withal: so that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, & called such as were paineful and willing to do that which they were commanded without grudging, Marius moiles. Other notwithstanding do shew another cause and beginning of this Proucrbe for they fay, that Scipio lying at the fiege of the city of NVMANTIA, would not onely take view of the armour and horses of scruice that were in his army, but also of the moiles and other beasts of burden, because he would see how they were kept and furnished. So Marius brought his horse and moile to the muster which he kept himselfe, fat, faire, and very well drest; and his moiles haire so flike and smooth, and there with all so lustic and trim, as none of the rest were like vnto them. Sci. piotook great pleasure to see these beasts so wel kept, and in so good plight: insomuch as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words, this maner of talke was taken vpeuer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and giuento fore labour, making as though they would praise him, they call him Marius moile, Furthermore, it was a happy turne for Marius (in mine opinion) that these barbarous people(like in force to the beating back of the raging feas) turned their first furie towards Spaine. and that he in the meane space had time and leisure to traine and exercise his fouldiers, to make them bold, and withall, himfelfe to be throughly knowne amongst them. For when by litle and litle they hadlearned not to offend, nor disobey, then they found his rough commanding; and flarpe feuerity in punishing such as flacked their duty, both profitable & very necessary, besides that it was also inft and reasonable. Againe his great fury, his sharpe words, and his fierce looks. after they had a while bene yied to them, by litle & litle they feemed nothing fo fearefull to the. as to their enemies. But the thing that pleafed the fouldiers more then all the rest, was his inslice and vpright dealing; whereof they report such an example: Marius had a nephew of his in his campe, called Caius Lucius, who had charge of men in the army. This Lucius was taken for a maruellous honest man, fauing that he had this foule vice in him, that he would be suddenly in loue with faire young boyes:and as at that time he fell in loue with a trim young stripling, called Trebonius, that ferued vinder him, and having many times lewdly enticed him, and neuer could obtaine his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his servant. The yong man might not disobey his captaine being fent for, but prefently wet vnto him. When he was come into his tent. and that his Captaine did strine with all his force to do him villanie: he drew out his sword, and killed him in the place. And this was done when Marius was out of his campe: who fo foone as he returned, caused the Marshall to bring the yong man before him. Many stepped forth straight to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himselfe. and to name many witnesses, who had both seene and knowne how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him dishonour, and how that he had continually resisted his abhominable motion, and would never yeeld himself vnto him, for any gift or present he could offer him. Wherfore Marius commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vsed to be given to them that in a day of battel have done some valiant deed, and he himselse did crowne Trebenius withall, as one that had done a noble act, and at fuch a time, as good and honest examples were requisite. This iudgement of Marius being caried to Rome, stood him to great good purpose towards the obtaining of his third Confulfhip: beside also that they looked for the comming backe of these barbarous people about the Spring, with whom the KOMAINE fouldiers would not fight under any other captaine then Marius. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but Marius passed oueralso the yeare of his third Consulship. So time comming about againe for the election of the new Confuls & his companion also being dead, he was driven to go himself vnto Rome, leaving the charge of his campe in his absence vnto Manius Acilius. At that time there were many noble men that fued for the Confulship: but Lucius Saturninus one of the Tribunes, who had the communaltie vnder his girdle as he would himselfe, more then any of the other Tribunes, and being wonne vnder hand by Marius, made many orations, in the which he perswaded the people to chuse Marius Consult the fourth time. Marius to the contrary, seemed to refuse it, saying, that he would none of it, though the people chose him. Whereupon Saturni. muscalled him traitor, crying out, That his refufall in fuch a danger and time of necessity, was an

apparant part to be tray the commonwealth. It was found ftraight that this was a groffe packe betwixt Saturninus and Marius, by fuch as could fee day at a little hole. Neuertheleffe, the people confidering that their present troubles required Marius skil and good fortune in the wars, they made him Confull the fourth time, and joyned Catulus Luctatius Confull with him, a man that Marius was greatly honoured of the Nobility, and not misliked also of the common people. Marius ha- fourth com uing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great speed, Capulas & fortifying his camp by the river of RHONE, he brought great provision of all kinds of victural Luctuins. als thither with him, left being straighted by lacke thereof, he should be forced to come to battel at any other time but even as he would himfelf, & as it should seeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of victuals vnto his camp by sea was very long, & dangerous, and a maruellous great charge besides: he made it very short & easie by this meanes. The mouth of the riner of RHONE had gathered together fo much mud, and fuch ftore of fand, which the wanes of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was become very high & deep: so as the banks made § entry into it very narrow, hard, & dagerous for great ships of burde that came from the sea, Marius confidering this matter, set his men on worke while they had nothing to do, and made them digge a large trench and deepe channel, into the which he turned a great part of the river, and caried it to a convenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an opengulfe, whereby he made it able to carie the greatest ships that were and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with winds nor waves. The chanel carrieth yet his name, and is called Marius channell or trench. These barbarous people deuided themselues into Marius two armies to passe into ITALY, so that it fell out to the one part which were the CIMERES, to The cimgothrough high GERMANIE, & to force that passage which Catulus kept: & vnto the other part, bies wone which were the Tevrons and Amerons, to paffe through the country of the Genovesi-ANS by the fea fide against Marius. Now the CIMBRES having the greater compasse to fetch into Italy. about, flayed longer, and remained behind: but the TEVTONS and the AMERONS going their The Ten way first, had in few dayes dispatched their iourney they had to go, to bring them to the campe sombrons where the Romaines lay, vnto whom they prefeted themselves by infinite numbers, with ter- fall room rible faces to behold, and their cries and voices farre contrary vnto other mens. They took in a Mainto maruellous deale of ground in length to camp vpon, and so came forth to desie Marins, and pro- rain, noke him to battell in open field. Marins made no reckoning of all their bragging desiances, but through the when the batters in open neid. Marins made no reckoning of antificin dragging demances, but kept his men together within his camp, taking on terribly with them that would rafily take vpo of Genna. them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impatience of choler would needs go forth to fight, calling the traitors to their country. For faid he, we are not come to fight for our private glory, neither to winne triumphs nor victories for our selucs: but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of wars from vs, and this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not al ITALY. These words he spake vnto the private captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauiour and quality: but as for the common fouldiers, he made them stand upon the trenches of his campe, one after another to behold the enemies, and to acquaint themselues with sight of their faces, their countenance, and marching, and not to be afraid of their voices, & the maner of their speech, which was wonderfull strange & beastly; and also that they might know the fashion of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order and ordinarie viewing of them, in time he made the things that feemed fearefull vnto his men at the first fight, to be afterwards very familiar: so that they made no more wondring at them. For he judged the thing which indeed is true, that a rare and new matter neuer scene before, for lack of judgement & vinderstanding maketh things vinknowne to vs, more horrible and fearefull then they are:and to the contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare and terror of those things, which by nature are indeed fearefull. The which was seene then by experience. For they being daily acquainted to look vponthese barbarous people, it did not only diminish some part of y former feare of the Romain E fouldiers: but furthermore, they whetting their choler with the fierce vntollerable threats & bragges of these barbarous brutish people, did set their hearts afire to fight with them, because they did not only wast and destroy all the country about them, but besides that, came to give assault even vnto their campe, with such a boldnesse, that the Ro-MAINE fouldiers could no longer fuffer them, and they letted not to speake words that came to Marius cares himself: What coward linesse hath Marius cuer knowne invs, that he keepes vs thus from fighting, and vnder locke and key as it were, in the guard of porters, as if we were women;

fixedaics continually together. And as they came raking by the Romaine's campe, they asked

them in mockery, If they would write to fend home any thing to their wives, for they would be

with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and continued on their journy

mile wo

The attire of Martha in time of facrifice.

A wonder of the Fultures shew. ed to Ma.

Wenders

Letvs therfore shew our selues likemen, and go aske him if he looke for any other souldiers, befides our selues to defend ITAL y and if he have determined to employ vs as pioners only, when he would cast a trenchto rid away the mud, or to turne a river contrary. For therin hath he only hitherto employed vs in great labour, and they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Consulships, wherof he maketh his boast vnto them at Rome. Is he afraid they should take him as they did Carbo & Capio, whom the enemies have overthrowne? He must not be afraid of that for he is a captaine of another maner of valour and reputation then they were, & his army much betterthen theirs was. But how soeuer it be, yet were it much better (in prouing) to lose some. thing, then to be idle, & to suffer our friends & confederates to be destroyed and sacked before our eyes. Marius was maruellous glad to heare his men complaine thus, and did comfort them. and told them that he did nothing miftrust their courage and valiantnesse: how beit that through the counsell of certaine prophecies and oracles of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for victory. For he euer caried a Syrian woma in a litter about with him, called Martha, with great reverence, whom they said had the spirit of prophecy in her: and that he did ever sacrifice vnto the gods by her order, and at such time as she willed him to do it. This Syrian woman wet first to speake with the Senate about these matters, and did foretell and prognosticate what should follow: but the Senate would not heare her, and made her to be driven away. Whereupon she went vnto the women, and made them see proofe of some things she vaunted of, and specially Marius wife, at whose feete she was set one day in assembly of the comon playes, to see y sword players fight for life & death: for she told her certainly which of them should ouercome. Wherupon this Lady fent her vnto her husband Marins, who made great reckoning of her, & carried her euer in a litter with him wherfoeuer he went. She was alwaies at Marius facrifices, apparelled in a gowne of purple in graine, clasped to her with claspes, & held a speare in her hand would all about with no legayes & garlands of flowers tied on with laces. This maner of gest made many doubt whether Marius shewed this woman openly, beleeuing indeed that she had the gift of prophecy : or else that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleeue it, to helpe her faining. But that which Alexander the MINDIAN wrote touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondred at. For he faid, there were two of them followed Marius in his warres, and that they euer shewed themselues and missed not, when he should win any great battell, and that they did know them by lattin collars they ware about their neckes, which the fouldiers had tied about them, & afterwards let them go where they would: by reason whereof, they did know the souldiers againe, and it seemed also that they saluted them, and were very glad when they saw them, and perswaded themselues, that it was a signe and token of good luck to follow. Many signes & tokens were seene before the bartel: howbeit all the rest were ordinary sights, sauing that which was reported to be seene at TVDERTVM, and AMERIA, two cities of ITALY. For they say, there were seene speares & targets in the night, burning like fire in the clemet, which first were cared vp & downe here & there, and then met together euen as men moue and stir that fight one with another, vntill at the length, the one giving back, and the other following after, they all vanished away, & confumed towards the West. About the selfsametime also, there came from the city of PESSINVNTA, Barabaces, the chiefe priest of the great mother of the gods, who brought newes, that the goddesse had spoken to him within her sanctuary, and told him that the victory of this war should fall out on the ROMAINE's side. The Senate beleeved it, & ordained that they should build a temple vnto the goddesse, to give her thanks for the victory which she did promise the. Barabaces also would have presented himselfe vnto the people in open assembly, to tell them as much. But there was one Aulus Pompeius a Tribune, that wold not suffer him to do it, calling him tumbler or iugler, & violently thrust him behind the pulpit for orations: but the mischance that fell vpon Pompeius afterwards, made them the more to beleeue Barabaces words. For Pompeius y Tribune no sooner came home to his house, but a great vehement ague tooke him, whereoshe died the seuenth day after, as all the world could witnesse. Now the TEVTONS perceiuing that Marius stirred notatall out of his campe, they proued to assault him: how beit they were so well received with shotand slings, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gave it over, and determined to go further, perfwading themselues that they might easily passe the Alpes without danger. Wherefore truffing vp all their baggage, they passed by Marius campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruellous great multitude of people, by y length of time which they took to passetheir way. For it is said, they were passing by his camp

fill, Maries alforaifed his campe, and followed them faire and foftly foot by foot, and ever kept hard at their taile as neare as he could, alwaies fortifying his campe very well, and euer chufing firong places of fituation & advantage to lodge in that they might be fafe in the night time. So they marched on in this fort, vntill they came vnto the city of A1x, fro whence they had not far togo, but they entred straight into the mountaines of the Alpes: wherfore Marius prepared now to fight with them, and chose out a place that was very strong of situation to lodge his campe in, howbeit there lacked water. And they fay he did it of purpose, to the end to quicken his mens Marine courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and told him that they should stand in great danger to abide maruellous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made answer: shewing them dier, and the riner that ran hard by the enemies campe, faying withall, That they must go thither and buy drinke with their bloud. The fouldiers replied againe: And why then do ye not leade vs thither, whilest our bloud is yet moist? He gently answered them againe: Because the first thing we do, we must fortifie our campe. The fouldiers thought hey were angry with him, yet they obeyed him: but the flaucs having neither drinke for themselues, nor for their cattell, gathered together agreat troupe of them, and went towards the river: fome of them carying axes, other hatchets, other fwords & speares, with their pots to carry water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if other wife they could not come by it. A few of the barbarous people at the first fought with them, because the most part of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were still in the bathe washing themselves, finding in that place many springs of hot natural bathes. Thus the ROMAINES found many of the barbarous people making merrie, and taking their pleasure about these bathes, for the great delight they took to consider the pleasantnesse of the place: but when they heard the noise of them that fought, they began to runne one after another unto the place from whence the noise came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for Marius any longer to keepe the ROMAINE fouldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their flaues should have bene slaine of the barbarous people; and moreover, because the valiantest soldiers of their enemies, called the Ambrons (who before had ouercome Manlius and Catio, two ROMAINE Captaines with their armies, and that made of themselves thirty thousand fighting men)ran to armes, being very heavy of their bodies, as having filled their bellies well, but other wife valiant & couragious fellowes, and more lively then they had wont to be, by reason of the wine they had drunk. They ran not furioufly to fight out of order, neither did they cry out confuledly, but marching all together in good array, making a noife with their harnefle all after one fort, they oft rehearsed their owne name, Amerons, Amerons, Amerons: which was, either to call one another of the or else to feare the Romain Eswith their name only. The Italians also on the other fide, being the first that came downeto fight with them, were the LIGVRIANS, dwelling upon the coaft of Genva, who hearing this noise & cric of theirs, plainely understanding them:answered them againe with y like noise & cry, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIA Ans, laying, that it was the true furname of all their nation. And so before they joyned together. this cry was redoubled many a time on either fide: and the Captaines of both parts made their fouldiers crie out all together, conteding for enuy one against another, who shold cry it loudest. This contention of crying, inflamed the fouldiers courages the more. Now the AMBRONS hauing the river to passe, were by this meanes put out of order, & before they could put themselves in battell ray againe, after they had passed the river, the Liornians ran with great fury to set up-

vpon these barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, & flie.

could get ouer the river againe, and were on the other fide, durst not gather together any more

to fland to defence: fo as the ROMAINE's flue them, and draue them into their campe, even vnto

people that fled, as vpon them that chased them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies.

pon the foremost and after them, (to aide the LIGVRIANS that had begun the charge) the Ro- Ambrons MAINES themselves fel also vpon the Amerons, coming downe from the places of advantage & Marius.

So the greatest slaughter they made, fortuned vponthe banke of the river, whereinto they thrust one another in such fort, that althe river ran bloud, being filled with dead bodies. And they that the Ambies

their carriage. Then their women came out against them with swords and axes in their hands, The mangrinding their teeth: and crying out for forrow and anger, they charged as well vpon their own admits of with the

Furthermore, they thrust themselves amongst them that fought, & strone by force to plucke the Romaines targets out of their hands, & took hold of their naked fwords bare handed, abiding with an inuincible courage to be hacked and mangled with their fwords. And thus was the first battell given (as they fay) by the rivers fide, rather by chance vnlooked for, then by any fet purpose or through the Generals counsel. Now the Romains after they had ouercome themos part of the Ambrons, retiring backe by reason the night had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had given fuch an overthrow) fing fongs of victory & triumph, nor make good cheare in their tents one with another, and least of all sleepe: (which is the best & sweetest refreshing for men that have fought happily) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, because their camp was not trenched & fortified, and because they knew also that there remained almost innumerable thousands of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: befides also, that the AMERONS that had fled & scaped from the overthrow, did howle out all night with loud cries, which were nothing like mens lamentations and fighes, but rather like wild beafts bellowing & roaring. So that the bellowing of fuch a great multitude of beaftly people, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running river to rebound againe of the found and eccho of their cries maruelloufly: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betweene both, thundred to heare the horrible & fearefull trembling. This made the ROMAINE fouldiers afeard, & Marius himfelf in fome doubt because they looked to have bene fought withall the fame night, being altogether troubled and out of order, Notwithstanding, the barbarous people did not affault them that night, nor the next day following, but onely prepared themselves vnto battell. And in the meane time Marius knowing that there were about the place where they were camped certaine caues & little valleys couered with wood: he fecretly fent Glandius Marcellus thither with three thousand footmen well armed, and commanded him to keep close in ambush, vntil he saw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set vpon their rereward. The residue of his army, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed themselves. The next morning at the breake of day, Marius brought his men into the field out of his fort: where he put them in order of battell, sending his horsemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmish. The TEVTON'S seeing them come, had not the patience to tarie till the ROMAINES were come down into the plaine to fight without aduantage, but arming themselues in haste, and in a rage, ran vp the hilto the ROMAINES, where they stood in battel ray. Marius taking good regard to that they did, sent here and there vnto the private captaines, charging them they should not stir, and only to temporize & forbeare, vntil the enemies came within a ftones cast of them: and that they should then throw their darts at them, and afterwards draw their fwords, and repulse the barbarous people with their flields. For he did foresee, that when they should climbe vp against the hill (vponthe hanging whereof the ROMAINE'S had fet their battell) that their blowes would not be of ereat force, northeir order and ranks could stand close together to any effect or purpose: because they could not have fure footing, nor march affuredly, but would eafily be throwne backward if they were neuer fo litle repulfed by reason of the hanging of the hill. Marius gaue this order vntohis folke, and therewithal was himfelf the first man that put it in execution: for he was as trim a warrier, and as valiant a fouldier, as any man in all his army befides, not one among it them all would venture further, and be more bold then himselfe. So when the Romaine s had refisted them, & flaid them fodainly, going with fury to have won the hill, perceiving themfelues to be repulfed, they gave back by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field, and then began the foremost of them to gather together, & to put themselues in battel ray vpon the plaine, when sodainely they heard the noise and charging of them that were in the taile of their army. For Claudius Marcellus failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him because that the noise of the first charge coming vp against the hils thereabouts, under the which he lay in ambush, gaue him aductisement thereof: whereupon he caused his men presently to shew, & running with great cries, came to give a charge vpothose which were in the taile of the barbarous people, putting the hindmost to y fword. They made their fellowes whose backs were next vnto them, to turne their faces,& fo from man to man, till at the length in shorttime all their battell began to wauer in disorder.& they made no great refiftance, when they faw they were fo charged before & behind, but began straight to flie for life. The Romaine's following the hardat v heeles, killed & took prisoners & ambre. aboute a hundred thousand of them, & took moreouer their carts, their tents, & al their cartage. Which

Which the whole army by confent agreed to prefent vnto Marius, excepting nothing, faning that which was imbezelled and connecied away under hand. Now, though this was a maruellous honorable & right noble prefent, yet they thought it not a recompence fufficient for that he had deferued, for the valour he had shewed of a famous Captaine, in leading of his army, and for the good order he kept in this war: so happy thought they themselues to haue escaped so great a dager. Notwithstanding, some writers do not agree, that the spoile of the barbarous people was ginenvnto Marius: nor that there were also so great a number of men flaine as we have spoken of. Butthey fay, that after this battell, the MARSILIANS did inclose their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that the bodies being rotten and confumed upon the fields through thegreat raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed fo fat, and did foake the greafe fo deepe in the fame, that the former following, they did beare an incredible quatity of all forts of fruits. And by this meanes were Archilocus words proued true, that the arable land doth wax fat with fuch rottennes or putrifaction. And it is faid alfo, that of ordinary after great Muchralus battels, there falleth great store of raine. Either it is by meane of some god, that powring downe nureraine water, doth purifie, wash, & cleanse the ground, defiled & polluted with mans bloud: bands, or else it happeneth by naturall cause; for that the overthrow of so many dead bodies, and of the bloud spilt, ingendreth a moist, grosse, and heavy vapor, which doth thicken the aire (that by narure is changeable, & easie to alter) from a very small or litle beginning, vnto an exceeding great change. After this battell, Marius caused the harnesse and spoiles of the barbarous people to be laid afide, that were left whole & faire to fight, to beautifie & enrich the pompe of his triumph. Then he caused the rest to be gathered together on a great heape, and laid vpon a stack of wood, tomake a noble facrifice vnto the gods, all his army being armed about him, crowned with garlands of triumph, & himfelfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the cuftome of the ROMAINES in fuch a case, & holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he first lifted vp vnto heaven. And as he was turning down y torch to put fireto the flacke of wood, they fave fome of his friends a good way off on horsebacke, coming post vnto him: then sodainely there wasa great filence made of al the affembly, enery man defirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted off their horses, they ran straightto embrace Marius, and brought him newes that he was chosen Confull the fift time; and presented him the the fift time letters fent him from Rom a confirming the fame. And thus, this new ioy falling out befides the confirming victory, the private fouldiers did flew the great ioy and pleafure they tooke in both, with great shouts and beating upon their harnesse: and the Captaines also crowned Marius againe with new garlands of lawrel which they put about his head: & that done, he put fire under the flack of wood, and ended his facrifice. Burthat which neuer fuffereth men quietly to enjoy the good hap of any victory clearely, but in this mortal life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either Fortune or spite of fatall destiny, or else the necessity of the naturall causes of earthly things: did shortly after this great toy bring news vnto Merius, of his companion Catulus Luctatius the other Coful, who was like a cloud in a faire bright day, & brought the city of Rome againe into a new feare & trouble. For Catulus that went against the CIMERES, thoughtit was not for him to keep the straights of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for passing : because that in so doing he had bene compelled to denide his army into many parts, & had weakened himselfe very much if he had taken that courfe. Wherefore coming a little on this fide the Alpestowards ITALY, he planted himselfe vpon the river of ATHESTS, and built a bridge vpon it, to passe and Athesis s. repasse ouer his men when he would; and set up at either end of the bridge two strong forts well fortified, that he might more commodiously helpe the places on the other side of the river, if the barbarous people by chance would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the fraights of the mountaines. Now, these barbarous people had such a glory in themselues, and dildained their enemics fo much, that more to shew their force and boldnesse, then of any necesfity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they fuffered it to flow vponthem being starke naked, and did climbe up to the top of the mountaines, through great heapes of yec and fnow. And when they were at the very top of all, they laid their long broade targets vnder their bodies, and lay along vpon them, fliding downethe steepe high rockes, that had certaine hangings ouer of an infinite height. In the end, they came to the camp neare vnto the Romaines by the riners fide, and confidered how they might paffe it ouer: and began to fill it vp, tearing downe(like giants) great hils of earth which they found thereabouts brought thither great trees

Catulna

which they pulled vp whole by the rootes; threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake. & whole towers of earth after them, to ftop and breake the course of the river. But besides all this. they threw great timber into the river, which being carried downethe streame, came with such a force, & hit against the posts of the bridge so violently, that they shaked the Romaines bridge maruelloufly. Whereupon many of the fouldiers of the great campe were afraid, and for faking ir, began to retire. But then did Catulus, like a perfect good Captaine shew, that he made lesse count of his owne private honour and estimation, then he did of the generall honour of all his fouldiers. For feeing that he could not perfivade his men by any reason to tarrie, and that in this feare they diflodged in diforder against his will; he himself commanded the standard bearer of the Eagle to march on, and ran to the foremost that went their way, & marched himself before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retire should altogether light upon him, and nor vpon his countrey: and that it might appeare the Romaine's did follow their captaine, & not flie away. The barbarous people therfore affaulting the fort at y end of the bridge of the river of A. THESIS, took it, and all the men that were in it. And because the ROMAINES defended it like vall. ant men, and had luftily ventured their lines to the death for defence of their country: the barbarous people let them go vpon composition, which they sware to keepe faithfully, by their Bul of copper. This Bull afterwards was taken when they loft the battell, and carried (as they fay jinto Catulus Luctatins house, as the chiefest thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the country open without any defence, scattered here and there, and destroyed all where they came. Wherupon the ROMAINES fent for Marius to ROME to go against them: & after he was arrived, every man thought he should have entred in triumph, because also the Senatedia grant it him very willingly. But he would not doe it, either because he would not depriuchis fouldiers and the captaines that had fought under him, of any part of the honour that was due vnto them, they being abfent for because that he would warrant the people from the presentager they were in, by laying afide the glory of his former victories, into the hands of the good fortune of Rome, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwards, by a more honorable and perfect confirmation of the second. Wherefore after he had made an oration to the people and Senate. Elaring according to the time, he went his way immediatly towards Catalus Luctatius, whose comming eth towards did comfort him much: and fent also for his army that was yet in GAVLE beyond the moun-Luilating to taines. And after his army was come, he paffed the river of Po, to keepe the barbarous people from hurring ITALY on this fide the Po. Now the CIMERES ftill deterred to give battell, because they looked for the Tevross, & said: that they maruelled much what they meant to tarry fo long either because they knew not indeed of their ouerthrow, or else for that they would not feeme to know it, because they handled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deaths. At the length, they fent vnto Marius to aske him lands and towne sufficient to keepe them and their brethren. Marius asked their Ambassadors what brethren they meant. They answeredthat they were the Tavrons. Whereat the flanders by began to laugh: and Marius finely mocked the timbres them, faying: Care not for those brethren, said he, for we have given the ground enough, which they will keepe for euer. These Ambassadors found his mocke straight, and began to reuileand threaten him, that the CIMERES flould prefently make him repent it, & the TEVTONS fo foone as they arrived. Why faid Marius vnto them againe, they are come already; and there wereno honefty in you, if you should go your way & not falute them, fince they are your brethren. And as he spake these words, he commanded his mento bring him the kings of the Tevrons boud and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the Sequant. The CIMER ES vnderstanding this by report of their Ambassadors, presently marched towards Marius, who stirred not at all, but onely fortified and kept his campe. They say, that it was forthis battel that Marius first inveted the new device he brought in for the dart which the ROMAINES were wont alwaies to throw against the enemies at the first charge. For before the staffe of the dart was fastened vnto the yron, and the yron vnto the staffe, with two litle yron pins that passed through the wood: and then Marius left one of the yron pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a litle thin pin of wood eafle to be broken, in place of the fame; making it craftily, to the end that when the dart was throwne, and stucke in the enemies target, it should not thand right forward, but bow downewards towards the yron, that the woodden pin being broken, the staffe of the dart should hang downewards, holding yet by the yron pin running quite through at the point. So Baorin King of the CIMERES, coming neareto Marins campe with a

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brer march azain# Marius. Marius de wice for altering the fight.

Pæ:rix

fmall number of horsemen, sent him defiance, and willed him to appoint a day & place for battell, that they might trie it out, who should be owners of the country. Whereunto Marin, made answer, that it was not the manner of the Romaines to counsel with their enemies, of the time and place when they should give battell: but neuerthelesse, he would not sticke to pleasure the CIMERES so much. And thus they agreed betweene them, that it should be the third day sollowing, in the plaine of Verselles, which was very commodious for the horsemen of the Ro-MAINES: and also for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. Catulus Luctatius the other Conful, had in his campetwenty thoufand, and three hundred fouldiers: and Marius had in his campe two and thirty thousand fighting men, which he placed in the two wings of the battell, shutting in Catules with his men in fand and threebun. the midst; as Sylla writeth it, who was present at the same: saying, that Marius didit of malice, dred men for the hope he had to ouerthrow his enemies with the two wings of the battell, to the end that the whole victory should light vpon his two wings, and that Catulus and his men in the midst Catulus. should have no part thereof. For he could not so much as front the enemic, because that commonly when the front of a battell is of such a breadth, the two wings are euer stretched out before, and are made like the creffant of a moone, where the middeft is thickeft & farthest in. And it is writtenalfo in other stories, that Catulus himselfeaccusing the malice of Marius, because he did fo, spake it to excuse his owne dishonour. As for the CIMBRES, the troupes of their footmen 7 be bastell coming out of their fortes leifurely, did put themselves into a squadron, as broade as long, for of the circumstance of the ci in enery fide they occupied almost thirty furlong:but their horsemen, which were fifteene thoufand, marched before in fumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heads fashioned like wild beaftsnecks, and strange beuers or buffes to the same, and ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, as they had bene wings: which to fight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curaces on their backs, & carried great white targets before them: and for weapons offenflue, euery man had two darts in his hand to bestow afar off, and when they came to hand strokes, they had great heavy swords, which they fought withall neare hand. But at that time they did not march directly in ranke against thearmy of the ROMAINES, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to inclose the ROMAINES betweene them and their footmenthat were on the left hand. The ROMAINE Captaines found their policy straight, but they could not keepe their fouldiers back; for there was one that cried, The enemies fled, and immediatly all the rest began to run after. In the meane time, the sootmen of the barbarous people that were like to a sea before them, came forwards still: and then Marius hauing washed his hands, and lifting them to heaven, promised and vowed a solemne facrifice vito the gods of an hundred oxen. Catulus also made a vow, lifting vp his hands to heaven in like manner, that he would build a temple vnto Fortune for that day; and it is reported, that M_{4*} rius having facrifised, when they shewed him the intrails of the beasts sacrificed, he cried out aloud, The victory is mine, But when they came to give the charge, Marius had a great misfortune happened him, powred vpon him by Gods instice, who turned his crast against himselfe, as Sylla writerh: for there rose very credibly so great a dust, that both armies lost the sight one of A dost rain fed that another. And hereupon Marins being the first that ranto begin the charge, and having placed seither are his men about him, missed to meete with his enemies: and being passed beyond their battell, mr could wandred a great while vp and downe the field, whileft the barbarous people fought against Ca- fis one ano. tulus. So that the greatest fury of the battel was against Catulus and his army: in the which Sylla writeth he was himself, and faith, that the heate and the Sun which was full in the CIMERBS faces, did the Romaines maruellous pleasure at that time. For the barbarous people being very full in the hard brought was to a supply the combines of the complete supply the combines of the c hard brought vp to away with cold (because they were borne and bred in a cold country, fli2- faces. dowed altogether with woods and trees, as we have faid) were to the contrary very tender against the heate, & did melt with sweating against the Sun, and gaped straight for breath, putting their targets before their faces; for it was also in the heart of Summer, about the seuen - The field tieth day of the moneth of July that his battell was given; & this dust also made the ROMAINES the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their enemies. the bolder, and kept them that they could not fee the innumerable multitude of their enemies far from them. And every man running to fet vpon them that came against him, they were joyned together in fight, before that the fight of their enemies could make them afraid. And furthermore, they were fo good fouldiers, and fo able to take paines, that how extreme foeuer the

cruelty of

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Prifoners 60 thou. Sand. Men flaine fice fcore thou(and.

heate was, no man was seene sweate nor blow, though they ran at the first to set vpon them; and this hath Catulus Luctatius himself left in writing vnto the praise of his soldiers. So were the most part of the barbarous people, and specially of the best fouldiers, slaine in the field. And because they should not open and breake their rankes, the formost ranks were al tied and bound together with girdles, leather thongs, and long chaines of iron; and they that fled, were chased and followed into their campe by the Romaines, where they met with horrible & feareful things to behold. For, their wives being vpon the top of their carts, apparelled all in black, flue all those that fled, without regard of perions: some their fathers, other their husbands or their brethren. and strangling the little young babes with their owne hands, they cast them vnder the care wheeles, and betweene the horse legs, and afterwards slue themselues. And they say, that there was a woman hanged at the end of a cart ladder, having hanged vp two of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men also, for lacke of a tree to hang themselues on, tyed slipping halters about their neckes, vnto the hornes and feete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwards with goadestomake them fling and leape folong, that dragging them all about and treading them vnder feete, at the length they killed them. Now though numbers were flaine by this meane, yet were there threefcore thousand of them taken prisoners, and the number of them that were flaine, came to twife as many mo. In this manner Marius fouldiers spoiled the campe of the CIMBRES : but the spoiles of dead men that were staine in the field, with their enfignes and trumpets, were all brought (as it is faid) vnto Catulus campe, which was a plainetestimonieto shew that Catulus and his souldiers had wonthe field. Strife rising thus betweenethe fouldiers of both campes about it: that the matter might be tried friendly betweene them, they made y ambassadors of Parma their arbitrators, who were by chance at that time in the army. Catulus Luctatius foldiers led the ambassadors to the place where y ouerthrow was given, shewing them the enemies bodies pierced through with their pikes, which were easie to be knowne, because Catulus had made them graue their name vpon their pikes. For al this, Marius wentaway with the honor of this great victory, as wel for the first battel he wan alone, when he ouerthrew Mighterer the Tevrons and the Ambrons, as for his great calling, having bene Conful fluctimes. And furthermore, the common people at Rome, called him the third founder of the city of Rome, thinking themselues now deliuered from as great a danger, as before time they had bene from the ancient GAVLES. And cuery man feasting at home with his wife &children, offered the best dishes of meat they had to supper, vnto the gods, and vnto Marius: and would needs have him alone to triumph for both victories. But he would not in any case, but triumphed into the city with Catulus Luctains, meaning to shew himself courteous and moderate in so great prosperity: and peraduenture also fearing Catulus souldiers, who were in readinesse and prepared (if Marins would have deprived their captaine of that honor) to let him also of his triumph. And thus you fee how he passed his fifth Consulship. After that, he made more earnest sute for the sixth Cofulfhip, then euer any other did for his first seeking the peoples good wils by al the faire meanes he could to please them, humbling himselfe vnto them, not only more then became his estate & calling, but directly also against his own nature, counterfeiting a curteous popular maner, being cleane contrary to his disposition. His ambition made him timorous to deale in matters of the state concerning the city. For that courage and boldnes which he had in battell against the enemy, he lost it quite when he was in an assembly of people in the city: & was casily put out of his bias, with the first blame or praise he heard given him. And though they report, that on a time whe he made a thousand CAMERINES free of the city of Rome, because they had done valiant feruice in the wars, that there were fome that did accuse him, saying, that it was a thing done against all law he answered them, that for the noise of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithstanding, it seemeth that indeed he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an assembly of the city. For in time of wars, he euer frood vpon his reputation & authority, knowing that they had need of him: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, because he would rather be the chiefest man then the honestest man, he would creepe into the peoples bosomes to get their fauor & goodwill. And thus through his euill behauior, he brought all the Nobility generally to be his enemics. But he feared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did Metellus, for the great vnthankful part he remembred he had plaid him: & the rather also, because he knew him to be a just & true dealing man, and one that was euer against these people-pleasers and flatterers. Marius thereple pleafers fore practifed all the waies he could, to get Metellus to be banished Rome. Wherfore, to com-

passe his intent, he fell in friendship with Glaucia and one Saturninus, two of the most bold. most desperate, and most hairebraind your menthat were in all Rome, who had all the rabblement of rogues and beggers, and fuch tumultuous people at their commandement: by whose meanes he made new popular lawes, & caused the fouldiers to be called home out of the wars, and mingled them with the people of the city in common assemblies, to trouble and vexe Metellus. Morcouer Rutilius, an honest and true writer, (howbeit an enemie vnto Marius) writerh, that he obtained his fixth Confulfhip by corruption of mony, which he caused to be distributed amongst the tribes of the people: and that he bought it for ready money to put by Metellus, and to haue Valerius Flaceus not for his fellow and companion in the Confulfhip, but rather for a Flaceus minister of his will. There was never Romaine to whom the people granted the Confossibility confossibility fixetimes, except it were vnto Valerius Corninus only. But for him, they fay that there was fine Marine and forty yeares betweene his first Consulship & the last. Where Marius since the first yeare of time, his Confulfhip, continued five yeares together by good fortune one after another. But in his Falcium last Consulfhip, he wanne himselse great hate and malice, because he did many soule faults to fixetimes please Saturninus withall: as amongst others, when he bare with Saturninus, who murdered No. conful. nius his competitor in the Tribuneship, Afterwards when Saturninus was chosen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for distribution of the lands among the common people, and vnto that law he had specially added one article: that all the Lords of the Senate should come openly for the to sweare, that they should keepe and observe from point to point, that which the people by . ethosof the their voices should decree and should not deny it in any iote. But Marius in open Senate, made confirme as though he wold withstand this article, saying, that neither he nor any other wise man of judg- what the ment would take this oath: for faid he, if the law be cuill, then they should doe the Senate open food and the senate ope wrong to compell them by force to grant it, and not for their owne good wils. But he spake not by roice that, meaning to do as he faid: for it was but a bait he had laid for Metellus only, which he could doubte dea, hardly escape. For, imagining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he ling. was throughly resoluted with himself, not to passe for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And To liveur. to the corrary also, knowing wel inough that Metellus was a grave wise man, who esteemed that to be instructed and supplies the beginning and supplies the desired and supplies the desired and supplies the desired and supplies the beginning and supplies the supplies the desired and supplies the d to be instand true (as Pindarus said) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought to be instantion of great vertue: he would ouerreach him, making him affirm before the Senate that he would not five are, know- 4 vertue. ing also that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwards to sweare. And so indeed it happened. For Metellus having affured them that he would not five are, the Senate brake vp vpon it. And shortly after, Saturninus the Tribune calling the Senators ynto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to sweare before the people: Marsus went thither to offer himselfe to sweare. Whereupon the people making silence, listened attentively to heare what he would say. But Marius not regarding his large promise and brags made before the Senate, said then, his necke was not fo long that he would prejudice the common-wealth in a matter of fo great importance: but that he would fweare, and obey the law, if it were a law. This shifting subtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his shame; and when he had said so, he tooke his oth. The people fecing him sweare, were maruellous glad, and praised him with clapping of their hands: but the Nobility hanging downe their heads, were ashamed of him, and were maruellous angrie in their hearts with him, that he had so cowardly & shamefully gone from his word. Therupon all the Senatetooke their othes, one after another against their wils, because they were a- folicie caufraid of the people fauing Metellus, whom, neither parents, nor friends perswasion and intreaty could once moue to sweare, for any punishment that Saturnings had imposed upon them which Matelline refused to take the oath, but continued one man still according to his nature, and would never confiant in yeeld vnto it, offering to abide any paine, rather then to be brought to cofent to a dishonest matter vnbeseeming his estate. And therupon went out of the assembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do cuill it was too eafie a thing : and to do good without Moellas danger, it was also a common matter; but to do well with danger, that was the part of an honest and vertuous man. Saturninus then commanded the Confuls by edict of the people, that they should banish Metellus by found of trumpet, with special commandement, that no man should between the state of the state o let him hauefire nor water, nor lodge him prinarely nor openly. The common people, they were ready to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noblemen being offended for the iniurie they had offered him, gathered together about him to faue him, if any would offer him violence. Metellus himfelf was fo good a man, that he wold not any civill diffentio should

CAIVS MARIVS.

Marino double des ling besweene the nobility & people. Marius procureth fedition.

at Rame,

man people.

M etellus selurne from ba nofhment. Marino iourney in to Cappadecia & Galatia.

> Maris proud merds to Mithrida

rise for his sake and therefore he absented himself from Rome, wherein he did like a wise man. For faid he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting themselues of the wtone they have done me, will call me home againe; or elie things standing as they do now, it shall be best for me to be furthest off. But for his trauell in his exile, how much he was beloued and honoured, and how sweetly he passed his time studying Philosophie in the citie of R HODES, shall be declared more at large in his life. Now on the other fide, Marius to recompence the pleasure Saturninus had done him, being driven to let him have his will in all things, did not foresee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the commonwealth, given the bridle to a desperatman. who enery way, by force, by fword and murder, plainely fought to vsurpe tyrannicall power. with the vtter destruction and subuersion of the whole commonwealth. And so bearing reue. rence on the one fide vnto the Nobility, and defiring on the other fide to gratifie the common people: he played a shamefull part, and shewed himself a double dealing man. For one night the Nobility and chiefest citizens coming to his house, to perswade him to bridle Saturnians insolencie and boldnesse: at the selfe same time also Saturninus going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a backe doore, the noble men not being priny to his coming. And so Marius telling the Nobility, and then Saturninus, that he was troubled with a loofeneffe of his body, under his pretence whipped up and downe, now to the one, then to the other, and didnothing else but set them further out one against another, then they were before. Neuertheles, the Senat being maruellous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knights taking part with the Senate, Marius in the end was compelled to arme the people in y market place, to suppresse them that were vp, and draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yeeld themselues at the length, because had cut off the pipes & conduits. by the which the water ranvnto the Capitol. By reason whereof, they being vnable to continue any longer, called Marins vnto them, and yeelded themselues to him, vnder the assurance of the faith of the common people. But although Marius did what he could possible to his vetermost power to faue them, he could not preuaile, nor do them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Wherupon he having now purchafed himself the ill will of the people & Nobility both, when time came about that new Censors should be chosen, every man looked that he would have bene one of the suters: howbeit he sued not for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of far lesse dignity & calling then himselse. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying, that he would not suc to be Censor, because he would not have the ill will of many, for examining too straightly their lives and manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale Metellus banishment, Marius did what he could possible by word and deed to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not have his will he let it alone. The people having thus willingly revoked Metellus banishment, Marius heart would not serue him to see Metellus returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherefore he tookethe seas to go into Cappadocia & Galatia, vnder colour to pay certaine sacrifices to ý mother of the gods, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the very cause that made him to vndertake this journy, for he had another fecret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to live in peace, and to governe civil matters, and having attained to his greatnes by armes, & supposing that his glory and authority confumed and decreased altogether living idlely in peace, he fought to deuise new occasion of wars; hoping if he could stir vp the kings of As 1A, & specially Mubridates, (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make wars against the Romaines) that he should then vidoubtedly without let of any man be chofen Generall to make wars with him; and withall also, that by that meanes he should have occation to fill the city of Rome with new triumphs, & his house with the spoiles of the great kingdome of Pont, and with the riches of the king. Now Mithridates disposing himselfe to enterraine Marius, with all the honor and curtefies he could possible shew him: Marius in the end notwithstanding would not once give him a good looke, nor a courteous word againe, but churlishly faid vnto Mithridates at his departure from him: Thou must determine one of these two, king Mithridates: either to make thy felfe stronger then the Romaines, or else to looke to do what they command thee, without refistance. These words amazed Mithridates, who had heard fay before, that y ROMAINES would speake their minds freely: how beit he neuer saw nor proued it before, vntill that time. After Marius was returned vnto Rome, he built a house neare vnto the market place, because he would not (as he said himselfe) that such as came vnto him,

should trouble theselues in going far to bring him home to his house; or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that diverse would come to salute him, as they did other Senatours. Howbeit, that was not the cause indeed but the only cause was, for that he had no natural grace nor civility to entertain me curreoufly that came vnto him, & that he lacked behaviour besides to rule a commonwealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him then they did of an old rufty harnesse or implement, that was good for nothing but for the wars only. And for all other that professed armes as himselfe did, no man gricued him so much to be called forward to office and state before himselfe, as Sylladid. For he was ready to burst for fpite, to see that the noblemendid all what they could to prefer Sylla, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that syllaes first rising and preferment grew, by the quarrels and contentions he had with him. And specially when Bocchus king of NVMIDIA was proclaimed by the Senate, a friend & confederate of the ROMAINE people, he offered up flatues of victories, carrying tokens of triumph into the temple of the Capitoll: and placed neare vnto them also, an image of gold of king Ingurth, which he delinered by his own hands vnto Sylla. And this made Ararius Thesans fark mad for spite & iclousie, who could not abide that another should take vpon him the glory of his doings infomuch as he determined to plucke those images downe, and to cary them a- town Maway by force. Sylla on the other fide from ached Marius, and would not fuffer him to take them sylla out of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where they were for hearthing in 11 fedicing he dealers at 12 hours of the place where the place where they were for the place where the pl out of the place where they were: fo that this civill fedition had taken prefent effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betweene, and restrained them for a time. For the best fouldiers and most warlike people of all ITALY, and of greatest power, they all together rose against the Romaines, and had welneare ouerthrowne their whole Empire. For they were not The war of onely of great force and power, and well armedibut their Captaines alfo, for valiantnes & skill, the confede. did in manner equal the worthines of the Romaines. For this war fel out wonderfully, by reafon of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne Sylls as much fame and reputation, as it did Marius shame and dishonour. For he shewed himselfe very cold and slow in al his enterprifes, still delaying time, either because age had mortified his active heate, and killed that quicke leady disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then about threescore and fine yeares old: or else as he said himself, because he was waxen gowty, and had ache in his veines and finewes, that he could not well stirre his body, and that for shame: because he would not tary befind in this war, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Not with standing, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were flaine fixe thousand of their enemies: and folong as the wars endured, he neuer gaue them advantage of him, but patiently suffered them fometime to intrench him, and to mocke him, and give him vile words, challenging him out to fight, & yet all this would not proubke him. It is faid also, that Pompedius Silo, who was the chiefest Captaine of reputation and authority the enemies had, faid vnto Marius on a time: If thou silves flour be Marius, fogreat a Captaine as they fay thou art, leaue thy campe & come out to batell. Nay, and Marius, find, against bling against 15 should be a source Captains and Marius faid Marius to him againe: If thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out by the cares, and compell me to come to battell. Another time when the enemies gaue them occasion to give a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the Romains were faint hearted, and durst not set vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retired, Marius caused his men to affemble, and spake vnto them in this fort: I cannot tell which of the two I should recken most cowards:you your felues, or your enemies: for they durft not once fee your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end not with standing, he was compelled to refigne his charge, being able to ferue no longer for the weaknesse and debility of his body. Now all the rebels of ITALY being put downe, many at Rome (by the orators meanes) did fue to have the charge of the warres against Mithridates: and among them, a Tribune of the people called Sulpitius, (a very bold and rashman) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred Marius, and perswaded them to gine him the charge of these wars, with title & authority of Vice-consul. The people therupon were deuided in two parts: for the one fide stood for Marius, and the other would have sylla take the charge, faying, that Marius was to thinke now vpo the hot baths at Baies, to look to cure his old body, brought low with rewme and age, as himfelfe faid. For Marins had a goodly stately house in those parts neare vnto the mount of Misene, which was far more fine and curiously furnished Mon Misthen became a Captaine that had bene in fo many foughten battels and dangers. They say Jenum. that Cornelia afterwards bought that fine house for the summe of seuenthousand fine hundred crownes; and shortly after alfo, Lucullus bought it agains for two hundred and sistie thousand

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CAIVS MARIVS.

Marius

crownes: to fo great excesse was vanity and curiosity growne in very short time at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, Marius too ambitiously striving like a passioned young man against the weaknesse and debility of his age, neuer missed day but he would be in the field of Mars to exercise himselfamong the young men, shewing his body disposed and ready to handle all kind of weapons, and to ride horses: albeit that in his later time, he had no great health of body because he was very heavy and sad. There were that liked that passing wek in him, and went of ourpose into the field to see what paines he tooke, striuing to excell the rest. How beit those of the better fort were very forry to fee his auarice and ambition, confidering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane persona great estate, that he could not now containe his prosperity within reasonable bounds, nor yet content himselfe to be esteemed and honored, quietly enjoying all he had wonne, and which at that present he did possesse: but as if he had bene very poore and needy, after he had received fuch great honor and triumphs, would yet carry out his age so stoutly, even into CAPPADOCTA, and vnto the realme of Pont, to goe fight there against Archelaus, and Neoptolemus, Lieurenants of king Mithridates. Indeed he alledged some reasons to excuse himselfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he said that he defired in person to bring up his sonne in exercise of armes, and to teach him the discipline of warres. That discouered the secret hidden plague, which of long time had lurked in Rome, Man rius specially having now met with a fit instrument and minister to destroy the commonwealth. which was the infolent and rash Sulpitius: who altogether followed Saturninus doings, fauing that he was found too cowardly and faint-hearted in all his enterprises and for that did Marius iustly reproue him. Bur Sulpitius, because he would not dally nor delay time, had ener fixehun. Salvitius gard of fix dred young gentlemen of the order of knights, whom he vsed as his guard about him, and called them the guard against the Senate. And one day as the Consuls kept their common assembly in knights. Sulpitius boldnesse. the market place, Sulpitius coming in armed vpon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing; and as they fled, one of the Confuls fons being taken tardy, was flaine. Sylla being the other Confull, and perceiuing that he was followed hard at hand vnto Marius house, ranne into the same against the opinion of all the world: whereof they that ran after him not being aware, passed by the house. And it is reported that Marius himselfe conucyed Sylla safely out at a backe doore, and that he being scaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithstanding, Sills himselse in his commentaries doth not say, that he was faued in Marius house when he fled: but that he was brought thither to give his confent vnto a matter which Sulpitius would have forced him vnto against his will, presenting him naked swords on every side. And he writethalso, that being thus forcibly brought vnto Marins house, he was kept there in this feare, vntill such time as returning into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiornment of iu. flice, which he and his companion by edict had commanded. This done, Sulpitius then being the stronger, caused the commissions and charge of this war against Mithridates to be affigued vinto Marius by the voice of the people. Therefore Marius giving order for his departure, fent two of his Colonels before to take the army of Sylla: who having won his fouldiers hearts before, and stirred them vp against Marius, brought them on with him directly towards Rome, being no lesse then five and thirty thousand fighting men: who setting vpon the Captaines Marins had fent vnto them, flue them in the field. In reuenge whereof Marius againe in Rome put many of Syllaes friends and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by found of trumpet, to all flaues and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were neuer but three fedition. only that offered themselves. Wherupon, having made a little refusance vnto Sylla when he came into Rome, he was foone after compelled to run his way. Marius was no fooner out of the city, but they that were in his company forfaking him, differfed themselnes here and there being darke night: and Marius himfelfegotto a house of his in the country, called Salonium, and sent his sonne to one of his father in law Mutius farmes, not far from thence, to make some prouision for victuals. But Marius in the meane time, went before to Ostra, where one of his friends Numerius had prepared him a ship, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarrying for his son, and hoiffed faile, having only Granius his wives sonne with him. In the meane time the yonger Marius being at his father in law Mutius farme, staied so long in getting of provision, in trussing of it vp, & carying it away, that broad day light had like to have discovered him: for the enemies

had aduertisement whither he was gone, wherupon certaine horsemen were sentthither suppo-

fing to have found him. But the keeper of the house having an inckling of their comming, and

preventing them also before they came, sodainly yoked his oxe to the cart, which he loded with beanes, & hid this yonger Marins under the same. And pricking the oxe forward with his goade. fer out, & met them as they went towards the city, & delivered Marins in this fort into his wives house; and there taking such things as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the fea, & took ship, finding one crosse-failed, bound towards Afrik E. Marius the father failing Marins on still, had avery good wind to point along the coast of ITALY: notwithstanding, being afraid the fonne of one Geminius, a chiefe man of TERRACINE, who hated him to the death, he gaue the mariners direction warning therof betimes, and willed them to take heed of landing at TERRACINE. The mariners were very willing to obey him, but the wind stood full against them comming from the maine, which raised a great storme, exthey feared much that their vessel which was but a boate, would not brooke the feas befides that he himfelfe was very ficke in his ftomacke, and fore feabeaten: notwithstanding at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recovered the coast ouer against the city of CIRCES. In the meane time, the storme increased still, & their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp & downe not knowing what to do nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in fuch like cafes of extremity, they thought it alwaies the best safety for them, to slie from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they faw not: for if the lea were their enemy, the land was fo likewife. To meete with men, they were afraid; and not to meete with them on the other fide lacking victuals, was indeede the greater danger. Neuertheleffe, in the end they met with heard-men that could give them nothing to cate, but knowing Marins, warned him to get him out of the way as foone as he could possible, because it was not long since that there passed by a great troupe of horsemen that sought him all about. And thus being brought vnto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestow himselfe, and specially for that the poore men he had in his companie were almost starued for hunger; he got out of the high way notwithstanding, and fought out a very thicke wood, where he paffed all that night in great forrow, and the next morning being compelled of necessity, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandred on along the sea coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, and praying them not to despaire, but to referre themselues to him, even vntill the lasthope, trusting in certaine prophesics which the Soothsayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the countrey, he gathered vp Marian inthe lap of his gowne, the ayric of an Eagle, in the which were scuen young Eagles; where at his arries of father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothfayers what that meant. They answered, Eagle. that their some should one day be one of the greatest men in the world, and that out of doubt he should obtain feuen times in his life the chiefest office of dignity in his countrey. And for that matter, it is faid, that fo indeed it came to passe. Other hold opinion, that such as were about Marius at that time, in that prefent place, and elfe where, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, beleened it, & afterwards put it downe in writing, as a true thing, although

written in these verses: The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth: But yet she bringeth up but one that any thing is worth.

Howfocuer it was, it is certaine that Marius many times during the time of his flying faid, that he was affured he should come vnto the seuenth Consulship. When they were come neare now to the city of MINTVRNES, about two miles and a halfe from it, they might perceive a troupe of horsemen coming by the sea side, and two ships on the sea that fell vpon the coast by good hap. Wherefore they all began to run (fo long as they had breath and strength) towards the scas into the which they threw themselues, and got by swimming vnto one of the ships where Grani-"s was: and they croffed ouer vnto the Ile that is right against it called Enaria. Now for Marius, who was heavy and ficke of body, two of his fervants holpe to hold him vp alwayes aboue water, with the greatest paine and difficulty in the world; and at the last they laboured to throughly, that they put him into the other thip at the felfefame prefent, when the horfemencame vnto the fea fide; who cried out aloud to the mariners to land againe, or elfe throw Marius ouer boord, and then to go where they would. Marius on the other fide humbly befought them with teares, not to doe fo: whereby the masters of the ship in a short space were in P p 4

of trothit is both falfe and fained. For they fay that the Eagle neuer hath but two young ones:

by reason whereof it is maintained also, that the Poet Museus hath lyed, in that which he hath

Marius Ayetle (vem

Marius

Liris A.

Marius fet aland, and forfaken of the ma-

bidden in the mari Shes.

Maries

Famuiae voto Ma many minds whether to do it, or notto do it. In the end notwithstanding, they answered the horsemen, they would not throw him ouerboord: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But affoone as they were gone, the mafter of the shippe changing mind, drew towards land, and cast anker about the mouth of the river of Liris, where it leaveth her bankes, and maketh great marishes; and there they told Marius he should do wel to go on land to cate somwhat. & refresh his sea-sick body till the wind served them to make faile, which doubtlesse faid they will be at a certaine howre when the fea wind fals and becomes calme, and that there rifeth alir. tle wind from the land, ingendred by the vapors of the marishes, which will ferue the turne years well to take feas againe. Marius following their counfel, & thinking they had meant good faith. was fet on land voon the rivers banke; and there laid him down voon the graffe, nothing fuspe. Cting that which happened after to him. For the mariners prefently taking their ship againe, and hoiffing vp theirankers failed ftraight away, and fled: indging it no honeftie for them to have deliuered Marius into the hands of his enemies nor fafety for themselues to have saued him. Ma. rius finding himselfe all alone, and for saken of every man, lay on the ground a great while, and faid neuer a word: yet at the length taking heart a little to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandered up and downe, where was neither way nor pathar all, ouerthwar deepe marishes and great ditches full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore old mans cottage, dwelling there in these marishes; and falling at his feet, befought him to helpe to faue and fuccour a poore affilicted man, with promife that one day he would give him a berter recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present danger wherein he was. The old man whether for that he had knowne Marius aforetime, or that seeing him (by coniecture only) judged him to be some great personage, told him that if he meant but to lie downe and rest himselfe a litle, his poore cabine would serue that turne reasonably well-but if he meant to wander thus, to flie his enemies that followed him, he wold the bring him into a more secret place. and farther off from noise. Marius praied him that he would do so much for him: and the good man brought him into the marish, vnto a low place by the rivers side, where he made him lie downe, and then couered him with a great deale of reed and bent, and other fuch light things as could not hurt him. He had not long bin there, but he heard a great noise coming towards the cabin of the poore old man: for Geminius of Terracine had fent men al about to feek for him. whereof fome by chance came that way, and put the poofe man in a feare, and threatened him that he had received & hidden an enemy of the Romain Es. Marius hearing that, role out of the place where the old man had laid him, and ftripping himfelf flark naked, went into a part of the marish where the water was full of myre & mud, and there was found of those that searched for him: who taking him out of the flime all naked as he was, caried him into the city of Mintyr-NES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours hands. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALY, that they should apprehend Marius, and kill him wherefoeuer they found him. Notwithstanding, the gouernours and magistrates of MINTVRNES thought good first to confult thereupon among themselues, and in the meane time they delinered himing the fafe custodic of a woman called Fannia, whom they thought to have bene a bitter enemy of his, for an old grudge she had to him, which was this. Fannia sometime had a husband called Tinnius, whom she was willing to leave, for that they could not agree, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husband againe faid, she had plaid the whoore. The matter was brought before Marins in his fixth Confulship, who had given judgement vpon it. Both parties being heard, & the law profecuted on either fide, it was found that this Fannia was a naughty woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it wel enough before, yet he took her with her faults, and long timelined with her. Wherefore Marius being angry with them both, gaue sentence that the husband should repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, the should pay foure farthings. This not with standing, when Fannia saw Marius she grudged him not for that, and leaft of all hadany reuenging mind in her towards him, but contrarily did cofort & help him what she could with that she had. Marius thanked her maduellously forit, and bad her hope well; because he met with so good lucke as he was coming to her house, and in this rnaner. As they were leading of him, when he came neare vnto Fanniaes house, her doore being open, there came an afferunning out to goe drinke at a conduit not farre from thence: and meeting Marius by the way, looked vpon him with a linefull countenance, first of all stopping fodainely before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leape and skip by him. Whereupon

Whereupon Marius straight coniccturing with himself, said, that the gods did signific vnto him. that he should saue himselfe sooner by water then by land: because that the asse leaving him, ran to drink, and cared not to cate. So when he had told Fannia this tale, he defired to reft, & prayed them to let him alone, & to shut the chaber doore to him. But the Magistrates of the city having consulted together about him, in the end resolued they must defer no longer time, but dispatch him out of the way prefently. Now who they were agreed upon it, they could not find a man in one hired the city that durft take vpon him to kill him : but a man of armes of the GAVLES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we find both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his fword drawne in his hand. Now, that place of the chamber wherein Marius lay was very dark, and as it is reported, the man of armesthought he faw two burning flames come out of Marins eyes, and heard a voice out of that darke corner, saying vnto him: O fellow, thou, darest thou come to kill Cains Marius? The barbardes GAVLE hearing these words, ranne out of the chamber presently. casting his sword in the middest of the sloore, and cryed out these words onely: I cannot kill Cains Marius. This made the MINTURNIAN's afraid in the city at the first, but afterwards it moued the to compassion. So they were angry with themselves, and did repent them that they conuerted their counfel to fo cruell and vnkind a deed, against one that had preserved all ITA i. y:and to denie him aide in so extreme necessity, it was too great a fin. Therefore let vs let him go, said they to themselues, where he will, & suffer him to take his fortune appointed him elsewhere: and let vs pray to the gods to pardon this offence of ours, to have thrust Marins naked and beggarly out of our city. For these considerations, the MINTVRNIANS went altogether to Marius where The Mind he was, and flood about him, determining to fee him fafely conducted vnto the fea fide. Now turnians though enery man was ready and willing to pleasure him, some with one thing, some with another, and that they did haften him althey could possible, yet they were a good while a going thither because there was a wood called Marica, that lay right in their way betweene their city and way with the sea coast, which they greatly reuerence, & think it a facriledge to carie any thing out of that Maries wood, that was once brought into it, On the other fide, to leave to gothrough this wood, and to splea compaffe it round about, it would aske a maruellous long time. So they it anding all indoubt whatthey should do, one of the ancientest men of the city spake aloud vnto them, and faid; that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to faue Marius life. Then Marius himselfe being the foremost man, taking vp some of the fardels which they carried with him, to pleasure him in the ship, went through the wood. All other things necessarie being thus readily prepared for him with like good will, and specially the shippe which one Belleus had ordained for him: hecaused all this story to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he took ship. After he was departed thence, the wind by good fortune carried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he found Granius and some other of his friends, with whom he tooke fea againe, and pointed towards Africk E. But lacking water, they were com- Marius pelled to land in Sicilia, in the territorie of the city of Erix; where by chance there lay a Ro-MAINE Quæstor, who kept that coast. Marius being landed there, scaped very narrowly that he Africke. was not taken of him: for he flue fixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So Marius getting him thence with all speed, crossed the seas, vntill he arrived in the Ile of ME-NYNGE, where he first vnderstood that his sonne was faued with Cethegus, and that they were both together gone to Hiempfall King of the NVMIDIANS to befeech him for aide. This gaue him a little courage, and made him bold to passe out of that Ile, into the coast of CARTHAGE. Now at that time, Sextilius a Romaine Prator was gouernour of Africke, vnto whom Marius had neuer done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pitie onely he might perhaps haue helpe at his hand. Howbeit he was no sooner landed with a few of his men, but a fergeant came and faid vnto him: Sextilius, Prætor and gouernour of Lyria, doth forbidthee to landinall this prouince: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commandement, and pursue thee as an enemy of the Romaines. Marius hearing this commandement, was so angry & fory both, that he could not readily tell what answer to make him, and pawfed agood while, and faid neuer a word, still eying the sergeant with a grim looke: vntill he asked him what answer he would make to the Prætors commandement. Marius then fetching a Marius deepe figh from his heart, gaue him this answer: Thou shalt tell Sextilius, that thou hast seene wife answer. Caius Marius banished out of his countrey, sitting amongst the ruines of the city of CAR- sweet of THAGE. By this answer, he wisely layed the example of the ruine and destruction of that great constant,

Cinna dri uen ent of

Offanius. of the city of Rome.

city of CARTHAGE, before Sextilius eyes, and the change of his fortune, to warne Sextilius that the like might fall vpon him. In the meane time, Hiempfall king of y NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to refolue, did honourably intreate yong Marius & his company but when they were wil. ling to go their way, he alwaies found new occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any oportunity or good occasion that was offered: notwithstanding, therefortuneda happie meane vnto them, whereby they faued themselues. And this it was. This Marius the yonger being a faire complexioned yong man, it pitied one of the Kings concubines to fee him so hardly dealt withall. This pitie of hers was a shadow to cloke the loue she bare him, but Marius would not hearken at y first to her inticements, & refused her. Yet in the end, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and considering that she did all things for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then she would have done, if she had not meant further matter vnto him, then only to enjoy the pleasure of him:he then accepted her loue and kindnes. fo as at the length fhe taught him a way how to flie, and faue himselfe and his friends. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had embraced and faluted ech other, going along the fea fide, they found two fcorpions fighting together. Marins tooke this for an ill figne : whereupon they quickly took a fisher boat, and went into the He of CERCINA, which is no great distance of from fisme land. They had no fooner hoifed vp anker, but they faw the horfmen which king Hi. empfall had fent vnto the place from whence they were departed; and that was one of the greatest dangers that Marius ener escaped. In the meane time there was newes at Rome, that Sylla made war against king Methridates Lieutenants: and furthermore, that the Consuls being vp inarmes the one against the other, O El anius wannethe battell, and being the stronger, had driuen out Cin. na who fought to have vsurped tyrannicall power, and had made Cornelius Merula Consulinhis place: and that Cinna on the other fide leavied men out of other parts of ITALY, and made wars vpon them that were in Rome. Marins hearing of this diffention, thought good to returne as foone as he could possible into ITALY. And affembling certaine horsemen of the nation of the MAVRYSIANS in AFRICKE, and certaine Italians that had faued themselues there, vinto the number of a thousand men in all:he took sea, & landed in a hauen of Thyscan E called TE-LAMON; and being landed, proclaimed by found of trumpet, liberty to all flaues and bondmen that would come to him. So the laborers, heardmen & neat-heards of al that marsh, for the only name and reputation of Marius, ran to the sea side from all parts : of the which he having chosen out the stoutest and lustiest of them, wanne them so by faire words, that having gathered agreat company together in few daies, he made forty faile of them. Furthermore, knowing that oda. uius was a maruellous honest man, that would have no authority otherwise then law and reason would: and that cinna to the contrary was suspected of Sylla, & that he sought to bring inchange and innovation to the commonwealth: he determined to joyne his force with Cinna. So Marius fent first vnto Cinna, to let him vnderstand that he would obey him as Consull, and be ready to do all that he should command him. Cinna received him, and gave him the title and authority of Viceconfull, and fent him fergeants to carrie axes and rods before him, with all other fignes of publike authority. But Marius refused them, and said, that pompe became not his miserable fortune: for he euer went in a poore threed bare gowne, and had let his haire grow still afterhe was banished, being about threescore and ten yeares old, and had a sober gate with him, to make men pitiehim the more that faw him. But vnder all this counterfeite pitie of his heneuer changed his naturall looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible then otherwise. And where he spake but litle, and went very demurely and soberly, that shewed rather a cankered courage within him, then a mind humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had saluted Cinna, and spoken to the fouldiers, hethen began to fet things abroach, and made a wonderfull change in few daies. For first of all, with his ships he cut off all the victuals by sea, & robbed the merchants that carried corne and other victuals to Rome: fothat in short space he was master purueyer for all necessary prouision and victuals. After this he went along the coast, and tooke all the cities vpon the sea side, and at the length wan OsTLA also by treason, put the most part of them in the towneto the sword, and spoiled all their goods: and afterwards making a bridge vpon the river of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to have any manner of provision by fca. That done, he went directly towards Rome with his army, where first he wannethe hill called Ianiculum through Octavius fault: who ouerthrew himselfe in his doings, not so much for lacke of reasonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curiositie and strictnesse

in observing the law. For when divers did perswade him to set the bondmen at liberty to take armes for defence of the common-wealth he answered, that he would never give bondmenthe law & priviledge of a Romain E citize, having driven Caises Marius out of Rome, to maintaine the authority of the law. But when Cacilius Metellus was come to Rome, the sonne of that Acullus Numidicus, that having begun the wars in Lybia against King Ingurth, was put out by Marius: the fouldiers for fooke Ottavius immediatly, and came vnto him, because they tooke him to be a better captaine, and defired also to have a leader that could tell how to command them to faue the city, and the common-wealth. For they promifed to fight valianly, and perfinaded themselves that they should overcome their enemies, so that they had a skilfull and valiant captaine that could order them. Metellus misliking their offer, commanded them in anger to return e again evnto the Confull: but they for spite went vnto the enemies. Metellus on the other fide, seeing no good order take in the city to resist the enemies, got him out of Rome. But official being persuaded by certaine Soothsayers and Chalden facrificers, who promised from much him all should go well with him, taried still in Rome: for that man being otherwise, as wife given to as any ROMAINE of his time, and one that dealt as vprightly in his Conful flip, not carried a- Southay. way with flattering tales, and one also that followed the ancient orders and customes as infalliblernles and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any part thereofime thinkes yet had this returned imperfection, that he frequented the Soothfayers, wife men, and Astronomers, more then men imperfective. skilfull in armes and government. Wherefore, before that Marins himselfe came into the city, Offanius was by force pluckt out of the pulpit for oratios, & flaine prefently by Marius fouldiers flame by whom he had fent before into the city. And it is faid also, that when he was slaine, they found a Marius figure of a Chaldean prophecy in his bosome: & here is to be noted a great cotrariety in these souldiers. two notable men, Ostanius and Marius. The first lost his life by trusting to Soothsaying, and the travely in freed prospered, and rose againc, because he did not despise the art of Divination. The state of Assembly, Rome standing then in this maner, the Senate confulting together, sent ambassadors vnto Cinna and Marius, to pray them to come peaceably into Rome, & not to embrue their hands with the bloud of their citizens. Cinna fitting in his chaire as Confull, gaue them audience, & made them avery reasonable and curteous answer. Marius standing by him spake neuer a word; but shewed by his fowre looke that he would straight fill Rome with murder and bloud. So when the Amballadors were gone, Cinna came into Rome enuironed with a great number of fouldiers: but Cinna and Marius staid sodainly at the gate, speaking partly in anger, and partly in mockerie, that he was a entite into banished man, and driven out of his country by law: and therefore if they would have him come Reme. into Rome againe, they should first by a contrary decree abolish and revoke that of his banishment, as if he had bene a religious observer of the lawes, & as though Rome had at that present mioyed their freedome and liberty. Thus he made the people affemble in the market place to proceed to the cofirmatio of his calling home againe. But before three or four tribes had time to give their voices, disguising the matter no longer, & shewing plainly that he meant not to be lawfully called home againe fro exile:he came into Rome with a guard about him, of the veriest rafeals and most shame lesse slaues, called the BARDIÆIANS, who came to him from all parts: Bardials and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nod of his head made dayled whem, slue many menthrough his commandement, and at the length slue Ancherius a Senator great mar, (that had bene Prætor) at Marius feet with their swords, because only that Marius did not salute ther in him whe he came one day to speak with him. After this murther, they cotinued killing althe that Marius did not falute, and speake vnto: for that was the very figne he had given them to kil them openly in the streets before every man; so that his very friends were afeard of being murthered, when they came to falute him. Thus a great number of men being flaine, Cinna in the end began to be fatisfied and to appeafe his anger. But Marius anger & vnsatiable desire of revenge increa- Marius led more & more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him neuer so litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skouts and spies to hunt them out that hid them- small straff felues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friend is faithfull, and to be trufted, if fortune from neuer so litle: for there were very few that did not betray their friends that fled fig. to them for succour. And therefore doe Cornutus servants so much the more deserve praise, substantial who have who having secretly hidden their master in his house, did hang the dead body of some common communities person by the neck, and having put a gold ring on his finger, they shewed him to the BARDIÆI- formante Ans, Marius guard, and buried him in stead of their owne master, without suspicion of any master,

CAIVS MARIVS.

Luctatina

killed him.

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manthatit was a fained thing: and so Cornutus being hidden by his feruants, was fafely conney. ed into the country of Gavle. Marke Anthony the Orator had also found out a faithfull friend tor, betray yet was he vn fortunate. This faithful fried of his, was a poore simple man, who having received one of the chiefest men of Rom E into his house to keepe him close there: he being desirous to make him the best cheare he could with that litle he had, sent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetch wine, who talting the wine more curioully then he was wont to do, called for better, The drawer asked him why the new ordinary wine would not ferue him, but he must needes haue of the best and dearest: the foolish fellow simply answered him (telling him as his familiar friend) that his master did feast Marke Anthonie, who was hidden very secretly in his house, He was no fooner gone with his wine, and his backeturned, but the vile traiterous drawer ran vnto Marius, who was fet at supper when he came. The drawer being brought vnto him, promifed him to deliuer Marke Anthonie into his hands. Marius hearing of that, was fo iocond, thathe cried out and clapt his hands together for ioy: and would have rifen from the boord, and gone thither himselfe in person, had not his friends kept him backe. But he sent Annius one of his cap. taines thither with a certaine number of fouldiers, and commanded them to bring him his head quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the drawer had brought them to, Annius taried beneath at the doore, and the fouldiers went vp the staires into the chamber, and finding Anthonie there, they began to encourage one another to kill him, not The fores of one of them having the heart to lay hands upon him. For Anthonies tongue was as fweet as a Sy. rene, and had fuch an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speake vnto the souldiers, and to pray them to sauehis life: there was not one of them so hard hearted, as once to rouch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewards, fell a weeping. An. mius perceiuing they tarried long, and came not downe, went himselfe vp into the chamber, and found Inthonie talking to his fouldiers, and them weeping, his sweete eloquent tongue had so melted their hearts; but he rating them, ran furioufly vpon him, and strake off his head withhis owne hands. And Catulus Luclatius also, that had bene Confull with Marius, and had triumphed over the CIMERES with him, feeing himselfe in this perill, set men to intreate Marins for him; but his answer was euer, He must needs die. So Catulus locked himselfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the smoake thereof choaked himself. Now after their heads were cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the streetes, and trod them vnder their feete: the which was not onely a pitifull, but a fearefull fight to all that faw them. But after al this yet, there was nothing that grieued the people fo much, as the horrible letchery and abominable cruelty of his guard of the BARDIÆIANS, who comming into mens houses by force, after they had flaine the masters, defiled their young children, and rauished their wives and maides, and no man would once reprove their cruchty, letcherie, and vnfatiable anarice: vntill Cinna and Sertorius in the end set vpon them as they slept in their campe, and slue them enery one. But in this extremity, as if all things had bene restored vnto their first estate, newes came againe from all parts to Rome, that Sylla having ended his warre against king Withridates, and recouered the provinces which he had vfurped, returned into ITALY with a great power. This caused these euils and vnspeakable miseries to cease a litle, because the wicked doers of the same, looked they should have warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereupon Marius was chosen Consull the seuenth time. He going out of his house openly the first day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take possession of his Consulship, caused one Sextus Lucinus to be thrownedowne headlong from the rocke TARPEIAN, which seemed to be a great figne and certaine token of the euils and miseries, that fell out afterwards the selfesame yeare vpon them for their faction, vnto all the city beside. But Marius being fore broken with his former troubles, and his mind oppressed with extreme for row and griefe, could not now at this last time of neede plucke vp his heart to him againe, when he came to think of this new war toward that threatened him, and of the dangers, griefes, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perillous then any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in wars, he trembled for feare when he began to thinke of it, confidering that he had to fight, not with Octanius, nor with Merula, Captaines of a company of rebels gathered together: but with a noble sylla, that had driven him out of Rom E before, and that came now from driving the puissant king Mitbridates, vnto the furthest part of the Realme of Pont, and of the sea Euxinum. Thus, deeply weighing and confidering the same, and specially when he looked backe vpon

his long time of banishment, how vagabondlike he wandred vp and downe in other countries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had paffed, and the fundry dangers he fell so often into, being purfued still by sea and by land : it gricued him to the heart, and made him so vnquier, that he could not fleepe in the night, or if he slept, had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voice buzzing in his eares:

being now extremely troubled, partly for feare of the thing to come, and partly also for the o-

uer heauie burden of his present ill, there needed but little more aggrauation; to fall into the dis-

case whereof he died, which was a plurisie: as Posidonius the Philosopher writeth; who saith

plainely that he went into his chamber when he was ficke, and spake vnto him about matters of

his ambassade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet another historiographer Cains Piso writeth,

that Marius walking one day after supper with his friends, fell in talke of his fortune from the

beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him:

concluding, that it is no wife mans part to trust her any more. So when he had done, he tooke

his leave of them, and laid him downe vpon his bed, where he lay ficke feuen daies together, and

thridates, and shewed in his bed all the gestures and mouings of his body, as if he had bene in a

battell, crying the selfe same cries out aloud, which he was wont to crie when he was in the ex-

then threescore & ten yeare old, after he had bin the first man that euer was chosen seuen times

fired. But this was cleane contrary vnto that the wife Plato did, when he drew neare to his death.

for that he was borne in Socrates time. It is reported also, that one Antipater of THARSIS, calling

to mind a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his lifetime, did not forget among o-

ther things, to tell of the happy nauigation he made, coming from his country vnto ATHENS:

which did witnesse that he put vpon the file of his good accounts for a singular great grace, al fa-

wour fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memory, being the onely and

most assured treasure a man can haue, to keepe those gifts that nature or fortune do bestow vp-

ponhim. But contrari wife vnthankfull fooles vnto God and nature both, do forget with time

the memory of their former benefits, and laying vp nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall me-

mory, are alwaics voide of goods and full of hope, gaping still for things to come, and leaving in

the meane time the thing present, though reason perswades them the contrary. For fortune may

cassly let them of the thing to come, but she cannot take that from them which is already past:

and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto

them, and dreame alwaies of that which is vncertaine. And fure it chanceth to them by great

reason: for, having gathered outward goods together, and locking them vp before they have

built and laid a sure grounded foundation of reason through good learning, they cannot after-

wardsfill nor quench their vnfatiable greedie couetous mind. Thus ended Marius his life, the

seuenteenth day of his seuenth Consulship, whereofall the city of Rome was not a little glad,

and tooke heart againe vnto them, supposing they had then bene delinered from a bloudy cruell

tyrannie. But within few daies after they knew it to their cost, that they had changed an old

master taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: such extreme vn-

naturall cruelties and murthers did Marius the yonger commit, after the death of his father Ma-

A Lions very denne is dreadfull to behold, Though he himselfe be gone abrode, and be not there in hold.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gaue himselfe to make vnreasonable banquets, and to drink more then his yeares could beare, seeking to win sleepe by Denice to this meanes, to avoide care the better. But at the length there came one from the sea, that gave him certaine intelligence of all: and that was an increase of a new feare vnto him. And thus he

on the seuenth day died. Some write that his ambition appeared plainely, by a strangerauing Marles that tooke him in his head during his ficknesse: for he thought that he made warres with Mi. the fathers and showed in his head all the gestures and movings of his head, as if he had benefit a death.

tremest fight. The desire he had to haue taken this charge in hand against Mithridates, was so Marius deepely ferled in his mind through extreme ambition and iealousie that possess him, that being them through extreme ambition and iealousie that possess him, that being them the state of t

Consull in Rome, and also after that he had gotten a world of goods and riches together that might have sufficed many kings: yet for all this he died for forrow, lamenting his hard fortune, asif he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had de-

For he gaue God thanks for his fatal end & good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reaforable man, and no brute beaft: fecondly, a Greeke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, words at how that he was borne in Secretaring It is reported 150 abor and further more and furthermore, but death.

rius, murthering in maner all the chiefest noble men of Rome. At the first, they tooke him for a

Note that in Syllaes life folowing, it appeareth susthe youver was be . fleged in the city of Pre. sefte, and not in Perusia as ye reade here. So as the city feemeth to be mifla. keninona

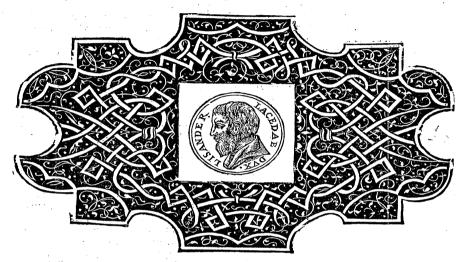
of the lines.

valiant and hardy young man, whereupon they named him the fonne of Mars: but flortly after his deedes did shew the contrary, and then they called him the son of venus. In the end he was shut in, and befieged by Sylla in the city of Pervsia, where he did what he could possible to faue his life, but all was in vaine; and lastly, seeing no way to escape, the city being taken, he flue himselfe with his owne hands.

The end of Caius Marius life.

THE LIFE OF

Lyfander.





N the treasurie of the Acanthians, which is in the temple of Apollo at DELPHES, there is this inscription: Brasidas, and the Acanthi-ANS, with the spoyle of the ATHENIANS. That inscription makethmany men thinke, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the doore thereof, is the image of Brasidas: howbeit intruthitis the lively image of Lylander himselfe, made with a great bush of haire, and thicke long beard after the old ancient fashion. And wheresome fay that the Argives, after they were ouercome and had loft agreat battell, did all of them shaue themselues in token and signe of common

forow: and that the LACED EMONIANS on the other fide to flew the ioy of their victory, did let all their haires grow, that is not true, no more then this is true which other do report of the BACCHIADES: Who being fled fro Corinth unto Laced Emon, & Laced Emonians foud them so ill fauouredly difguised & deformed, because their heads were all shauen, that therupon they had a defire to let their haire and beards grow. For that was one of the ordinances of Lycurgus, who faid that the long bush of haire maketh the that are naturally faire, the pleasanter to looke vpon: and those that are ill fauoured, more vgly and fearefull to see to. And furthermore, Thecomme it is faid that Ariffoclitus, the father of Lyfander, was not of the royall bloud of the kings of Spar-TA, though he came of the race of the Heraclides: and that his son Lysander was very meanely & poorely brought vp, being as obedient to the lawes & statutes of his country, as any other man was, shewing himself alwaies very strong & constant against al vanity & pleasure, saving only in matters of honor and curtefie, which they offer vnto those that deserve well. For they think it no shame nor dishonesty in Sparta, that the yong men do suffer themselves to be overcome with that delight and pleasure: but doe bring vp their children, that from their youth they would

Lycurges of wearing lone baire dity of weekring long haire. Lylanders kindred. The Educa Laconian

LYSANDER. haue them to have fometast and feeling of honour, delighting to be praised, and sory to be dis-

commended. For they make no account of him that is not moved with the one nor the other.

but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no maner of mind to do good. And ther-

fore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stoutnesse that was bred in Lysander, proceeded

of the LACONICAL discipline and education he had, and not so much of his owne nature. But

creat states and nobility, farre better then the common maner of the naturall Spartans; and

moreouer for his private benefit, he could eafily beare with the stoutnesse of greater men of au-

thority then himself, which some judge to be a great point of wisedome, to know how to deale

uercome nor corrupted with gold nor filuer; and yet he filled his country with riches and couetousnesses, which lost him the reputation he had won, because himselfe made none account of riches nor getting. For , bringing store of gold and filuer into his countrey after he had ouercome the Athenians, he referued not vnto himselfe one Drachma onely. And furthermore, when Diony susther tyrant of Syracus a had on a time sent goodly rich gowns out of Sicilia to his daughters:he refused them saying, that he was afraid such gowns would make them fowler. Neuerthelesse, shortly after being sent Ambassadour out of his countrey to the same tyrant, Dio-

cilia, when cuery man thought they had vtterly loft all their force by sea, and that by all coniecture they should soone after lose all by land also: Alcibiades returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the state, made an exceeding great change & alteratio. For he set the Athe-NIANS affore againe, and made them as strong by sea as the LACED EMONIANS: who therupon began to quake for feare, & to look eftfoones for a fresh war, perceiving that they stood in need of a great power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereupon they made

Persians, because they did continually frequent them, being enuironed round about with the

to trade thither, he quickned their hauens, and fet vp their staple againe for the traffick of mer-

chandife, and filled every private artificers house with an honest trade to make them rich by, so

that ever after it grew in continuall hope to come vnto that flourishing state and greatnesse, in

the which we fee it at this present. Furthermore, Ly sander being advertised that Cyrus, one of the

great king of Persiaes fons, was come vnto the city of Sardis, he went thither to speake

from the sea, seemed to deale but coldly and faintly against them, for the fauour he bare to Al-

cibiades. For, in furnishing the LACED EMONIANS very scantly with money, he was the cause

that all their army by sea went to wracke. Cyrus for his owne part was very glad that he heard

complaints of Tifaphernes, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man, and the

rather for that he had himselfe a little odde grudge to him. Wherefore he loued Lysander mar-

uellous well, as well for the complaints he made of Tisaphernes, as also for the pleasure he tooke

in his company, because he was a man that could wonderfully please and delight noble men: by

which meanes having wonne the favour of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also incon-

rage him to follow this warre. And when Lyfander was vpon his departure to take his leaue of

him, Cyrus feasted him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberalitie, and

indeed of his owne nature he was a right courtier, and could tell how to entertaine and flatter Lyanders

inmatters of flate. Aristotle in a place where he faith, that the greatest wits comonly are subject with men vnto melancholie, (as Socrates, Plato, and Hercules were) writeth, that Lyfander in his latter age landely.

fell into the melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift about all o- Lysander ther, that in his pouerty he alwaies kept that honest modesty with him, as he would neuer be o- adequate

mfius having fent him two gownes, praying him to choose which he would, to carrie to his daughter the answered, that she her self could best choose which was the fitter, & so carried both Lyanders with him. But now to come to his doings in warlik causes, the wars of Peloponne sys sell our marnellous long. For after the questly on the army which the Ar maruellous long. For after the ouerthrow of the army which the ATHENIANS had fent into SI-

Lyfander their Admiral, who arriving in the city of Er HESVs, found them very well affected to. Lyfander wards him, & maruellous willing & ready to take the LACED EMONIANS part:howbeit otherwise in very poore state, and ready almost to take vp all the barbarous maners & fashions of the sedamoni-

country of Lydia, where the king of Persians captains were ever refidet. Wherfore, having Lyfender planted his campthere, he brought thither merchants ships out of all parts, and set vp an arsenall the city of the or store house to build gallies in: so that in short space, by oft recourse of merchants that began Epherical

with him, and to complaine of Tifaphernes: who having commandement given him from the saidurest king to aide the LACED EMONIANS, and to helpe to expulse the ATHENIANS, & to drive them "in Lydia

that was:that he would freely aske him what he wold, affuring him he should not be denied any

tooke mony for pay of

> Lyfanders victory of the Athe.

nian: by Cherrone sus

> Callicratidas Lyfanoffice of admiraltie Plainenesse commended eus,but liked as an eld image bene excel zidze.

thing. Whereunto Ly fander answered him. Sithence I see (Cyrus) you are so willing to pleasure vs, I beseech you, & do also counsell you then to increase the ordinary pay of our mariners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they have but three halfe pence, they may henceforth receiue two pence a day. Cyrus was glad to heare Lyfanders bounty, and the increase that he would make, and caused ten thousand Darickes to be deliuered him : by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the mariners, the increase of a halfe penny a day. This liberality, within few days after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For the most part of their mariners and gallie men went where they might have the best pay: and such as remained behind, became very dull, lazie, and feditious, daily troubling their Captaines and gouernours. Now though Lyfander had drawn his enemies men from them by this policie, & had done them this great hurt, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthings of Alcibiades: who was a valiant man, and had greater store of ships then he had; and besides that, was never ouercome by land nor by fea, in any battell where he was Generall. So it chanced that Alcibiades went our of the Ileof Samos vnto the city of Phocha, which standeth vpon firme land directly oueragainst Samos, and leaving the whole charge of his fleete in his absence, with Antiochus his pilot:he being more hardie then wife, in scorne and derision of Lyfander, went with two gallies only into the hauen of Ephasys, and went by the arfenall (where all their ships lay in docker with great noise and laughing. This put Lysander in such a heate and chase, that first of all hepor a few gallies to the sea, & had him in chase with them. But afterwards, perceiuing that the other captaines of the Athenians came out one after another to the rescue, he armed other gallies also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at length they came to maine battell, which Lyfander wan, and having taken fifteene of their gallies, he fet vp a token of triumph and victory. When the people of ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were so angry with Al. cibiades, that they deposed him presently of his charge: and the souldiers also that lay in campe in the Ile of Samos, began to mislike him, and to speake ill of him. Whereupon he presently left his campe, and went into the country of CHERRONESUS in THRACIA. This battell was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of Alcibiades reputation. Furthermore, Lylander causing the stoutest and boldest men of enery city, about the common fort, to come to Ephssvs vnto him: laid their fecret foundations of great change and alteration, which he stablished afterwards in the gouernements of cities. For he perswaded his private friends to make tribes amongst themselues, to winnethem friends, & to practise to get the rule of their cities into their hands: promifing them, that so sooneas the ATHENIANS were cuerthrowne, they themselves also should be delivered from subjection of their people, and every one of them should beare chiefe rule in their countrey. And this he performed to them all, and made every one of them proue his words true: for he preferred all them that had bene his old friends, vnto the bestoffces and charges, not sparing to do against all right and reason: so that they were aduanced by it. And for this cause every man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratise and please him: hoping, that what great matter soeuer fell out, they might assure themselues that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to have the government in his owne hands. And therfore they nothing reioyced at callicratidas coming, who came to fucceed him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and iust a man as could be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerning, which was plaine and without any art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of some demi-god made after the old fashion, which had bene of singular beauty. But in the meanetime, they wished for Lysander, as well for the tender loue and goodwill he bare to his friends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when Lyfander took the feas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as fory as could be possible, in somuch as the teares stood in their eyes: & he on the other side studied to make them worse affected vnto Callicratidas. For amongst many other things, he sent the rest of the mony backe againe to SARDIS, which Cyrus had given him to pay the mariners: faying, that Callicratidas should goe himselfe to aske it, if he would have it, and finde the meanes to entertaine his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliuer, leaue, and assigne ouer the armie into his hands, commanding all the fea. But Callieratidas, to ouercome his false ambition, and foule boasting lye, answer red him againe and faid: If that be true thou fayeft, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the

city of MILETVM, asthou goeft by, before the Ile of SAMOs for fith thou commandest all the fea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in Samos. Lysander thereto replyed, that the army was no more at his commandement; and that he had the charge ouer them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly vnto PELOPONNESVS, and left Callicratidas in great perplexity: for he had brought no money out of his countrey with him, neither could he compell the cities to furnish him with any seeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the Lieutenants of the King of Persia, to askethem mony, as Lysander had done. But he was the vnmeetest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it leffe dishonour and reprochynto the Greet-ANS, to be ouercome by other GRECIANS, then to go flatter the barbarous people, & feek to the with the that had gold and filuer enough, but otherwise no goodnesse nor honesty. In the end not withstanding, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his journey towards Lydia, and went directly to Cyrus court: whereathis first comming he willed them to lethim understand, that Callicratidas the Admirall-of the LACED EMONIANS wold speake with him. One of § souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: My friend, sir stranger, Cyrus is not at leisure now, for he is set at dinner. Callicratidas answered plainly againe: No force, I will tarrie here till he haue dined. The barbarous callierati-Persians hearing this, took him for some plaine lout, and so he went his way at the first time das passes. with a mocke at their hands. But the second time, when they would not let him come in at the gare, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the city of EPHESVS, curfing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselves, as to go sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proude and stately for their goods and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so some as he came to Sparta againe, he would do all that he could possible to pacific the GRECIANS, and let them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, & also that they should meddle with them no more, nor need theiraide to destroy one another. But Callicratidas having the noble hart of a Spartan, and being to be compared in inflice, valiancie, and greatnesse of courage, with the most excellentest

GRECIANS in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost vponthe Iles AR GI
of Calliera-NYSES. Wherfore, the confederates of the LACED EMONIANS seeing that their state was in declining, they all together sentan ambassade vnto Sparta, by which they made request to the councell, that they would fend Lysander againe for their Admirall: promising that they would doall things with better courage and good will vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Captainethey could fend them. So much did Cyrus also write vnto them. But because there was an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twise Admirall, & besides, they being willing to grant the request of their confederates, made one Aracus their Admirall, but in effeet gaue Lyfander the whole authority of all things: who was maruellous welcome vinto them, &specially vnto the heads and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his comming: because that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and open magnanimity in the maners of a Gouernor and Generall, when they came to compare Lyfander with Callicratides, they found that Lyfander had a fine subtill head, and did more in wars with his policie and Tyfander fibrilty, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he esteemed instice, whe it fell out profirable: & tooke profit, for instice & honesty, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then craft, but measuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that faid, that the race of Hercules should not make wars with craft & subtilty. For, said he, when the lions skin wil not serue, we must helpe it with the case of a foxe. And A wife sayhereunto agreeth that which they write he did in the city of Miletvm. For his friends and fa- ing of Lymiliars to whom he had promised aid for destruction of the peoples authority, & to drive their fander. enemies out of the city: they having changed their minds, and being reconciled vnto their aduerfaries, he openly made great shew of gladnesse, and seemed as though he would helpe to a- The wicked greethem together: but secretly being alone, he took them up sharply, and told them that they differenting were cowards to do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to fet vpon the people. And then dealing of when he vnderstood that there was commotion among them in the city, he ranne thither sud-Lyfander. denly as it were to appeale it. But when he was also come into the city, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of the gouernement, and take the authority from the people, he fell out withall, and gaue them rough words, commanding with extremity that they should fol-

Lyfander regarded no beriurie. following the example of rolicrates the tyrant of Samos.

rality to Lyfander.

actsby fea.

Philocles cruell ad mice Puto the Atheesdans.

Lyfanders rine fight.

low him, as though he would have done fome great punishment. And againe, meeting with the of the contrary part, he willed them also that they should not be afraid, nor doubt that any man should do them hurt where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practife of him, to stay the chiefest of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the end that afterwards hee might put them all to death, as he did: for they that trufting to his words remained quiet in the city, were all put to death. Moreover, Androclidas touching this matter, hath left in writing that which Lylander was wont to fay by which it appeareth, that he made very litle reckoning to be periured. For he faid, that children should be deceived with the play of kayles, and men with oathes ofmen, following therein Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, but without reason for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent viurper of tyrannicall power. Furthermore, ir was not done like a true LACONIAN, to behaue himselfe towards the gods none otherwise, then towards men, but rather worfe, & more injuriously. For hethat deceiveth his enemie, and breaketh his oath to him, sheweth plainely that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. Cyrus therefore having fent for Lyfander to come to Sanders to him, gaue him money largely, and promised him more : and because he would more honourably shew the goodwill he had to gratise him, told him, that if the king his father would give him nothing, yethe would give him of his owne. And furthermore, when all other meanes failed to helpe him with mony, that rather then he should lacke he would melt his own chaire to make mony of (which he sate in when he gaue audience in matters of inflice) being altogether of gold and filter. And to be fhort, when he was going into Me o 1 A to the king his father, he gave Lyfander power to receive the taxes and ordinarie tributes of the cities vnder his gouernement, and made him Lieutenant of all his country. And laftly, bidding him farewll, prayed him that he would not give battell by fea vntothe A. THENIANS, Vntill he returned from the Court: & that before his coming againe, he would have authority to leavie a great number of ships, aswell out of Phoenicia, as out of Cilicia. Wherefore whilest Cyrus was in his journey, Lylander not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of ships, nor also to lie still and do nothing with so good a number of gallies, went and scoured the seas, where he tooke certaine Hands, and robbed also ÆGINA and SALA-MINA. From thence he went and landed on the firme land in the countrey of ATTICA, and did his duty there vnto Agi king of Laced Emonia, who came purposely from the fort of Decelea to the fea fide to fee him because their army by land also should see what power they hadby fee, and how it ruled more by feather they would. Neuertheleffe, being aduertifed that the flecte of the Athenians followed hard after him he took another course to flic backe againe into Asia by the Iles: and returning againe, found all the country of Hellespont without men of war. So he laid fiege before the city of Lamps acvs and did affault it with his gallies by fea:and Thorax being come thither also at the selfe same time in great hast, with his army by land gaue the affault on his fide. Thus was the city taken by force, which Lyfander left to the spoyle of the fouldiers. Now in the meane time the Acte of the ATHENIANS (which was an hundred and fourefcore faile) came to an anker before the city of ELEVNTE, in the country of CHERRO-RESVS: and newes being brought them that the citie of LAMPSACVS was taken, they came with all speed possible vnto the city of SESTOS, where getting fresh cates and victuals, they coafted al along the coast vnto a certaine place called the goates river, directly over against the fleet of their enemies, which lay yet at anker before the city of LAMPSACVS. Now there was a captaine of the Athenians amongst other, called Philocles, he that perswaded the Athenians to cut off the prisoners thombes of their right hands that were taken in the warres, to the end they should no more handle the pike, but only serue to pull the ower. Both the one and the otherrefted that day, hoping to have battell without faile the next morning. But Lyfander having another meaning with him, commanded the mafters and mariners notwithflanding, that they should haue their galleys ready to give battel the next morning by breake of day, because every man should get aboord betimes, and should keepe themselues in order of battell, making no noiseat all, attending what he would command them: and further, made the armie by landalfo to be ranged in battell ray, by the sea side. The next morning at Sunne rising, the ATHENI-Ans began to row with all their gallies fet in order of battell in afront. But Lyfander, though he had his ships in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowednot for all that against them, but sending out pinnaces vnto the first galleys, commanded them straightly that they should not stirre at all, but keepe themselves in order, making no noise, nor rowing

against the enemie. Though the ATHENIANS also were retired in the night, he would not give the fouldiers leave to come to land out of the gallies, before he had fent first two or three gallies to deferie the flecte of his enemics: who brought him word that they had feene the Athenians takeland. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth alfo all in one fort: to that the ATHENTAN'S began to be bold of themselves, and to despite their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for feare of them, and durft not come forward. In the meane time, Alcibiades (who lay at that time in the countrey of Cherronesys, incertaine places which he had conquered) came riding to the campe of the ATHENIANS, to tell the Captaines and Generals of the care thearmie, the great faults they committed. First, for that they had cast anker, and kept their salemans. thins in an open place, where there was no maner of fuccour, nor harbor to retire vnto vpon any forme; and worst of all, because that they were to fetch their victuals farre off, at the city of Si-\$70 \$2 vnto which hauen they should rather draw themselves, considering that they had but a little way to go, and alfo they should have the city to backe them, which would furnish them with all things accessarie and beside that, they should be surther off from their enemics, which were gonerned by one Generall only that did command them all, and were fo well trained, that ara whiftle they were ready straight to execute his commandement. Alcibiades perswasions to these Captaines of the ATHENIANS were not onely misliked, but furthermore there was one called Tydeus, that answered him very lendly: That he had nothing to do to command the armie, but other that had the charge of them. Alcibiades mistrusting thereby some treason, quialy went his way. The fifth day, the ATHENIANS having made the fame countenance to prefent battell vnto their enemies, and retiring the fame night as of cuftome, very negligently, & in illorder, as men that made no reckoning of their enemies: Lyfander fent againe certaine galliots to descrie them, commanding the Captaines of the same, that when they perecised the ATHE-KIANS had left their galleys and taken land, they should then returne back with al possible speed they could, & being mid way over the straights, that they should lift up a copper target into the A copper aire, youn the top of a pike in the fore-deck, for a figne to make althe whole fleete to row in battel. Now Lyfander himselfe in the meane time went in person from galley to galley, persiwading fine of and exhorting every captaine, that they should purtheir galliots, mariners, and souldiers in good larelly readinesse, to the end that when the figue should be litted up, they should row with all their feet might in battell against the enemies. Wherefore, so soone as the copper target was set up in the ayre, and that Lyfander had made his trumper found out of the Admirall, for a token to hale out into the sea: the galleys immediatly began to row for life in enuy one of another, and the footmen that were vpon the land, ranne with speed also to the top of a high cliffe neare vnto the sea, to see what would be the end of the fight, because the distance from one side to the other in that place was not fully two miles; which they had foone cut ouer, and in a little space, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their owers. So Conon the chiefe Captaine of the A- conon set-THENIANS perceiving from the shore this great fleete coming with a full force to assault them: mirallof the hethen cryed out to the fouldiers that they should runne to their ship, and being in a rage to see things in this danger, called some by their names, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled totaketheir galleys. But all his diligence was to no purpose, because the souldiers were wholly feattered here and there. For fo foone as they were fet aland out of their galleys at their returne, fome went to buy prouision, other went a walking in the fields, some were fet at supper in their cabins, and other were laid downe to fleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignorance and lacke of experience, But when the enemies were rea- Lyfanders dyto ioyne and fall vponthem with great cries and noise of owers, Conon having eight gallies, the dikentfole secretly out of the secte, and slying vnto Engoras, saued himselfe in the He of Creavs. In ans. the meane time, the Peloponnesians falling vponthe other gallies, tooke some of them emptic; and brake the others as the fouldiers began to come aboord vpon them. And as for the men, some were slaine by their ships as they ranvnto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to have faued themselves: other were killed in flying, because the enemies landed and had them in chase. And there were taken aline of them, three thousand prisoners with the Captaines. Lyfander moreouer tooke all the whole fleet of their ships, the holy galley Paralog the excepted, called Paralos, and the eight that fled with Conon: and after he had destroyed all the holy galley campe of the ATHENIANS, he fastned the galleys that were taken, vnto the keele of his galleys, of A. hens. and returned with fongs of triumph, with the found of flutes and hoboyes, towards the city of

of Caftor & Pollux.

out of the element. the flarres.

Damaehus of the fiery flone feene in the ele-

Another the flone that fell.

LAMPSACVS, having wonne a great victorie with litle labour, and had cut off in a small time; the long continuing and most diverse warre that ever was, and had brought forth so many sondrie strange euents of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite battels fought both by sea and land, and had altered many fundrie times, and there was slaine at that time moe Captaines, then in all the other wars of GRECE together: all which were at length brought to end and determined, by the good wisdome and conduction of one onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great overthrow was given by the gods, and faid: That at the departure of Lie. fanders fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS, to go fet vpon the fleete of the enemies, they per-The flares ceiued over Lylanders galley the two fires, which they call the starres of Castor and Pollux: the one on the one fide of the galley, and the other on the other fide. They fay also, that the fall of the stone was a token, that did signifie this great ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the aire a maruellous great stone, in the place they call the goates river, which stone is seene yet vnto this day, holden in great reverence by § inhabitante of the city of CHERRONE SVS. It is said also, that Anaxagoras did prognosticate, that one of the bedies tied vnto the vault of the heauen, should be plucked away, and should fall to the ground by a fliding and shaking that should happen. For he said, that the starres were notin their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heavy bodies, & of the nature of itone: howbeit that they did fhine by reflexion of the fire elementarie, and had bene drawne up thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the element, even at the beginning of the world they had bin staid and let from falling downe beneath at that time when the separation was made of the cold and heavie bodies, from the other substance of the vniuerfall world. There is another opinion of certaine Philosophers. where there is more likelihood then in that. For they fay, that those which we call falling stars, be no fluxions nor derivations of the fire elementary, which are put out in the ayre, in a maner fo foone as they be lighted:nor alfo an inflammation or combuftio of any part of the aire, which by ouermuch quantity thereof doth ipread vpwards: but they are celestiall bodies, which by fome flacknesse of strength, or falling from the ordinarie course of heaven, are throwns and cast downe here beneath, not alwaies in any part of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroad in the great Ocean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, Anaxagoras words are confirmed by Damachus, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the space of threefcore and fifteene yeares together, before that this stone did fal, they faw a great lump of fire cotinually in the aire like a cloud inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went & came with divers broken removings, by the driving whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the starres do that fall. In the end, when this greatbo. dy of file fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the country, after that they were a little boldned from their feare and wonder, came to the place to fee what it was: and they found no maner of flew or apparance of fire: but onely a very great stone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least part of that which the compasse of this body of fire did shew, if we may foname it. Sure herein, Damachus words had need of fauourable hearers. But egaine if they be true, then he vtterly confuteth their arguments, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boisterous wind did teare from the top of a mountaine, and caried in the aire, fo long as this whirlewind continued: but fo foone as that was downe, & calme againe, the stone fell immediatly. Neither do we say, that this lightning body, which appeared so many daies in the element, was very fire indeed, which comming to diffolue and to be put out, did beget this violent storme and boisterous wind in the element, that had the force to teare the stone in funder, and to cast it downe. Neuerthelesse, this matter requireth better discourse in some other booke then this. But now to our storie. When the three thousand Athenians that were taken prisoners at that ouerthrow, were condemned by the councell to be put to death: Lysander calling Philocles, one of the captaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would judge him worthy of that gaue the citizens fo cruell and wicked counfell. Philoclis being nothing abaof the aibe fled to fee himselfe in that mifery, answered him: Accuse not them that have no judge to heare their cause: but fince the gods have given thee grace to be conquerour, do with vs. as we would have done with thee, if we had overcome thee. When he had faid fo, he went to wash himselfe, and then put on a faire cloake vpon him, as if he should have gone to some feast and wentlustily the foremost man to execution, leading his countriementhe way, as Theophrastus writeth, After

this done, Ly fander with all his fleete went by all the cities of the fea coast, where he commanded fomany ATHENIANS as he found, that they should get them to ATHENS, letting them underfland that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their citie. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the wals of ATHENS, because he might so much the sooner famish them for lacke of victuals: for otherwise they would have toubled him fore, if they had had wher withal to have maintained a long fiege. But in all the cities as he paffed by, if they were gouerned by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kind of gouernment, he left in enery one of them a LACED EMONIAN Captaine or Gouernor, with a councell often officers, of them that had bene before in league & amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had ever bene confederates and friends unto the Laced Amonians, as in them that not long before had benetheir enemies, So he went failing al along the coasts, faire and softly making no hast, stablishing in maner a generall princimality oueral GR E CE. For he did not make the officers that were the richest, the noblest, or honestell men, but such as were his frieds, out of those tribes which he had placed in enery city;& to the he gaue authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, & would be present himself inperson to helpe them to put those to death whom they would execute, or otherwise expulse or banish their country. But this gaue the GRECIANS small hope of good or gracious gouernment vnder the rule of the LACED & MONIANS. Wherefore me thinkes that Theopompus the Theorem. comicall Poet doted, when hee compared the LACED EMONTANS VIIto tauerners, faying, micall Pothat they had given the GRECIAN's ataste of the sweet drink of liberty, and that afterwards they essaying of had mingled it with vineger. For, the tafte they gaue the GRECIANS of their gouernment from ministric the beginning, was very sharpe vnto them : because Lyfander tooke the rule and authority of government out of the peoples hands, and gaue it vnto a few of the boldest, and most seditious men in enery city. Thus having spent a great time in this voyage, to make these alterations, he fent newes before to Laced Amon, that he was comming with 200 faile. He spake also with the kings, Agis and Paulanias, in the countrey of Arrica, perswading himselfe that he should winthe city of ATHENS at the first affault. But when he saw that his expectatio failed, & that the ATHENIANS did valiantly refift him, he returned once againe with his fleete into Asia, where he made an end of changing and altering the maner of gouernment through enery city in equall maner, stablishing a councell of ten officers only in every one of them, and putting every where many citizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he draue all the Samians out of their countrey, and restored againe all them that had bene banished before: and the city of SESTOS also, being yet in the ATHENIANS hands, he took it from them. And furthermore, he would not fuffer the natural SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, & gaue their city, their houses & lands, vnto ship-masters, officers of galleys, and galley-slaues, that had bin in the wars with him. But therein the LACED EMONIANS were against him, & this was the first thing that they did forbid him: for they restored the Sastians, against his will, vnto their lands and goods againe. But as the GRECIANS were very much offended, to fee the parts Lyfander playeds fo were they all very glad againe, to see these others which he afterwards did. For he restored the ÆGINETES againe to their lands and houses, who had bene put from them a long time. He restoredasso the Melians, & the Scion Eians to their lands againe, which the Athenians had gotten from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, Lyfander being aduertised, that the citizens & inhabitants of Athens were pinched fore for lacke of victuals, he returned againe, and came into the hauen of PIR #A: by meanes whereof he kept the city fo fraight, that he made them yeeld vpon such conditions as he himselfe would. Howbeit there The Atlanta are certaine LACED &MONIANS that Tay, Lyfander wrotevnto the Epheres: The citie of A- mianty reld THEN'S istaken : and that the Ephori wrote againe vnto him : It is well that it is taken. But this is " albem but at ale denifed to make the matter feeme better: for indeed the capitulations which the Ephori fent vnto him, were these: The Lords of the councell of Laced Amon haue thus decreed: That ye do raze the fortification of the hauerr of PIREA: That ye doe ouerthrow also the long wall of peace of that ioyneth the hauen to the city: That ye yeeld vp and redeliuer all the cities which ye doe fered by the hold, and content your selues with your liues and country only. This doing ye shall have peace, niamto the so that ye performe our demands. That ye shall receive those which are banished: and for the Athenians. number of ships, ye shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The ATHENIANS agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counfell of Theramenes the fonne of Agnon,

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Who when a young Orator called Cleomenes, did openly aske him in anger, if he were fo bold to dare to do, or fay, any thing contrary vnto that, which Themsfooles had done before time. to affent vnto the LACED EMONIANS, that the wall which he built in despight of them, should by their commandement now be razed: he answered him openly againe: Yong man, my friend. I do nothing contrary to Themistocles doings: for like as he heretofore did build the wall for the fafety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in ATHENS at that time: euen so doe we that are here now, for the felfe same cause plucke it downeand raze it. And if it be true that wals do make cities happie, then it must needs follow that the city of Sparta which neuer had any wals, should be the vnfortunatest of all other. So Lylander having received all the ATHENI-ANS ships but twelve, and the wals of the city also to vie them at his pleasure: on the sixteenth day of March (on which day in old time the ATHENIAN's had won the battel by sea, within the ftraight of SALAMINA, against the king of PERSIA) he counselled them straight to change the forme of their gouernment. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruelloufly offended withall. Whereupon Lysander sentto declare vnto them, that they had broken thearticles of the peace made betweene them, for that their wals were yet standing, the ten daies being expired in which they had promised to ouerthrow them; and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the determination of the councell, how they should be vsed, that had broken the articles and coucnants of the first peace. Other say, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberation of the councel of their confederates, that is to fay: whether they should altogether destroy the ciry, and make the inhabitants thereof flaues and bondmen, or no. In this councell it is reported that there was a THEBAN called Erianthus, whose opinion was, that they should vtterly raze the city, and make the country a defert: fo that it should neuer after serue for other thing, but for pasturage of beasts. But during this diet and councell, there was a banket made. wherunto al the captaines and chiefe efficers of the army being bidden, there was a Phocian. a finger of fongs, that fang the entry of the Chorus to the tragedy of Electra, made by the Poet Euripides, which began in this fort:

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king, Euen Agamemnon, king of Greece, whose fame so wide didring: I come now to your courts, which lie both wide and wast,

By spoile of warres depopulate, destroyed and disgraft. These words moued althe hearers with copassion, so that the most part of them thought it were The first too great a fin to destroy fo noble a city, which brought forth so many famous wise me, & great persons. Wherfore Lylander, when the ATHENTAN'S had submitted themselves altogether to his will, caused all the women-players of pipes or shalmes to come out of the city, and gatheredall those together which he had in his owne campe also, and with the found of their instruments he made the wals & fortificatios of the city of Athen's to be pulled downe to the very ground,& fet all their galleys on fire, & burnt the in the presence of the confederates of the LACED EMO-NIANS, who danced and played in the meane scason with garlands of flowers on their heads, in token that that day was a beginning of their full & perfect liberty. Immediatly after he changed also the state of the gouernment, establishing a councell of thirty Magistrates in the city, & other ten also in the hauen of PIR ÆA, hauing all equall and like authority; and therewith all made Callibrus a gentleman of Sparta captaine of the castle there, and left a good garrison of the Lace-DEMONIANS with him. This Callibius one day lift vp his staffe he had in his hand to strike Antolyeus withall, a strong made man to wrestle: wherupon Xenophon the Philosopher made his book in old time, called Comminium. But Autolycus that was a cunning wreftler, having all the fleights of wreftling, fuddenly tripped Callibius with his leg, and lifting him vp at the armes end, cast him to the ground. Howbeit Lyfander was not angry with Autolycus for it, but reproued Callibius, telling him that he should have remembred (if he had bene wife) that he had the government of free men, and not of bondmen. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty gouernors of the citie, to satisfie Callibius, put this Autolycus to death. When Lysander had done all these things, he took sea againe, and went into the country of THRACIA, and fent by Gylippus before vnto Sparta (who had bin Captaine and General of the Syracysans in Sicilia) al the gold and filuer that was left in his hands, with all the prefents besides which had bene prinately given him, and with the crowns alfothat had bin presented him: which were maruellous in number, as it is to be thought for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, & that in maner he was

chief and fole prince of al GRECE. This Gylippus did rip the seames of cuery bag in the bottome where the mony was, & took a good fum out of enery of them: and afterwards fewed them vp Gylippus. again, not thinking that there had bin a border vpon enery bag, vpon the which was declared, the number & kinds of gold & filuer that were therein. Now when he was come to Sparta, he hid apple carithe mony he had stolne vnder the house cauings, & went & deliuered the bags he had brought into the hands of the Ephori, shewing them Lyfanders scale, which he had set to enery one of the. The Ephori having opened the bags, and told the mony, found that the fum agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell where the fault was. But a fernant of Gylippus told them in darke words, saying: that under the tiles of his masters house there lay a great number of owles. Now the greatest part of the coine of gold & silver which was currant through GRECE, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the ATHENIANS. Thus Gylippus after so was marmany noble exploits done in wars, committing fo shamefull and vile a deed, was banished out ked with an of his countrey of LACED EMONIA. But the wifest men of Sparra, and of deepest judgement, Grippus fearing the power of gold & filuer, & feeing by proofe of Gylippus doings, that it had fuch power banifomens to make one of their chiefest men to fall through couctousnes: they greatly blamed Lyfander for couctousness bringing of it into LACED AMON, befeeching the Ephori that they would fend all his gold and of money filter out of Sparta, as a plague, prouocation, & wicked baite, to make them do cuillideclaring vinto them, that they should vie no other mony, but their own only. Wherupon they referred all one of the to the wisdom & determination of the councell. Theopompus writeth, that Soir aphidas was he that chiefeth me didmoue the councell of the Ephori in it. Howbeit Ephorns calleth him Phlogidas, who was the first that spake against it in the councell, that they should not admit nor receive into the city of Thirm SPARTA, any mony of gold or filuer: but should only content themselves with their owne countered and the state of the stat try iron coine, the which first of al, comming from the fire red-hor, was quenched with vineger, ms. to the end they should be forged no more, nor employed vnto any other vse. For it was so eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they could no more conuert it to any other purpose: and beside, it was very heavy and vnhandsome to remove, considering that a great heape and quantity of it, was but of smal value. And it seemeth they did vse of old time, certaine little iron mony, and in some places copper mony, called Obelifci, from whence the small peeces of mony now extant are called Oboli, wherof fixe made a Drachma, fo termed for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuerthelesse, at the earnest suce of Lysanders friends that stood against i, and held hard with him, it was decreed in the councell, that the money should remaine in the Liesders. city, and ordained that it should be currant only but for the affaires of the common wealth. And if it were found, that any prinate man did either locke vp, or keepe any mony, that he should sufferdeath for it: as if Lycurgus when he made his lawes, feared gold or filuer, & not the conetout- agains. nesseand auarice which the gold and siluer bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, prohibiting private mento haucit: as it was engendred onely by a toleration of getting it. For, the profit which they saw it brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was vnpossible they should despise a thing prinately for vnprositable, which they saw reckoted of commonly, as a thing very necessary; and that they should thinke it would not serue their turne privatly, seeing it so commonly esteemed and defired. But we are rather to think, that prinatemens maners are confirmed according to the common vies & customes of cities, then that of the Man the faults and vices of private men do fill cities and commonweales withill qualities. And it is the could more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it of diforder fallethoutill: then that the parts corrupted should draw the whole to corruption. For to the in a common fallethoutill: contrary, the faults of a part destroyed, which might be prejudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes redreffed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that took this refolution in their councell at that time, to have mony in the commonwealth, made feare of punishment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houses, to keepe that no moncy should come into them. But all this while they made no inward prouision, to keepe the entry of their soules from all passion and greedy desires of mony: butto the contrary, they made them all to haue a couetons defire to be rich, as if it were a great & honorable thing. But for that we haue hertofore in other places reproued § LACED EMONIANS. And moreouer Lysander caused a stathe of braffe to be made like himself of the spoile he had gotten of the enemies, to set it vp in the chy of DELPHES, and for enery prinate captain of the galleys in like case, and the two stars of Caffor and Pollux in gold befides, which vanished away a little before the battell of LEVCTRES:

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and no man knew what became of them. Againe, in the chamber of the treasurie of Brasidas, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was also a galley made of gold & iuorie, of two cubits long, which Cyrus fent vnto him after the victory he had won by sea of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore Alexandrides the historiographer borne at DELPHE's, writeth, that y felf same Lyfander had left there to be kept safe, a ralent of filuer, two and fiftie Minas; and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth nor with that which althe other historiographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But Ly (ander being aloft then, and of greater power then euer any GRECIAN was before him, caried a greater port & countenance then became his ability. For as Duris writeth he was the first of the GRECIANS vnto whom they did euer creet any altars, and offer facrifice vnto as a god, and in honor of whom they did first fing any hymnes: and at this day there is ver good memorie of one which began in this manner:

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The noble Captaines praise, we meane to celebrate Of Greece: that land which is divine in every kind of state:

The Samians by publicke decree ordained, that the feasts of Iuno, which were called in their city Hercea, should be called Lysandria. Lysander had cuer one Charilus a Spartan Poetahoun him, to write and fet forth all his doings in verse. Another Poet called Antilochus, one day made certaineverses in his praise: which pleased him so well, that he gaue him his hat full of silver. There were two other Poets, Antimachus Color Honian, and Niceratus borne at HERACLEA. which did both write verses to honour him, striuing whether of them should do best. Lylander indged the crowne and victory vnto Niceratus wherewith Antimachus was fo angry, that herazed out all that he had written of him. But Plato who at that time was yong, and loued Antima. chus because he was an excellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blind the vnderstanding of the ignorant, as blindnesse doth the sight of the blind. Aristonus an excellent player of the citherne, and one that had fixe times won the prifes of the Pythian games:to win Lyfanders fauor, promised him, that if ever he wanthe prise of his art againe, he would cause himselfe to be proclaimed Lysanders slave. This ambition of Lysander was very odious and grienous, onely vnto great persons, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in the end hebecame very proud and cruell, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: fo that he exceeded in recompencing his friends, as also in punishing of his enemies. For, togratific his friends and familiars, he gaue them absolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appeale his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without al possibility of pardon. And that he plainely shewed afterwards in the city of MILETVM, where, fearing left they would flie that tooke part with the people, and because he would have them appeare that hid themselves: he gave his word, and sware that he would do them no hurt at al. The poore men gaue credit to his word; but so soone as they came out and did appeare, he deliuered them all into the hands of their aduersaries, (which were the chiefest of the Nobility) to put them all to death: and they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with another. He caused great murders of people also to be done in other cities: for he did not onely put them to death that had privately offended him, but numbers besides, only to fatisfie and reuenge the private quarels, enmittee and coverousnes of his friends, whom he had in every place. And therfore was Eteocles LACED EMONIAN greatly commended for his faying: That GRECE could not abide two Lyfanders. Theophraslus writeth also, that the very like was spoken of Alcibiades by Archestratus. Howbeit in Alcibiades there was nothing but his infolencie and vainglory that men misliked: but in Lysander, a seuere nature, and sharpe conditions, that made his power fearefull & intollerable. Neuertheleffe, y LACED EMONIANS paffed ries Lysander had done him, spoiling and destroying the countrey under his gouernment: then Thoraxbut should returne immediatly vpon receipt thereof. The Scytalais in this fort: When the Ephori do

Euen he which was both borne, and brought to high renowne, Within the noble wealthie wals of Sparta stately towne. Plattes (ay-

eath,and procured she death of eight his Etcocles moords of Lyfander.

ouer al other complaints exhibited against him, sauing when they heard the complaints of Pharnabazus, who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniu-

the Ephori being offended with him, clapped vp Thorax in prison, one of his friends and Captaines that had ferued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and filuer in his house contrary to the law, put him to death. And to himselse they sent immediatly that which they call

Scytala, (as who would fay, the scrolle written vpon around staffe) commanding him that he

fenda Generall, or an Admirall to the wars, they cause two litle round staues to be made of the The Lace. like bignesse and length, of which the Ephori do keepe the one, and the other they give to him whom they send to the warres. These two little states they call Scytales. Now when they will maner aduertise their General secretly of matters of importance, they take a serolle of parchment, long thing it is, and narrow like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round staffe, leauing no voide space be and here tweene the borders of the scrolle. Afterwards when they have bound them fast together, then they write vpon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they have done writing, vnfold it and send it to their General, who cannot else possibly reade it to know what is written, (because the letters are not joyned together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there)vntill he take his litle rolle of wood which was given him at his departure; and then wreathing the scroll of parchment about which he receiveth, the folding and wreaths of the parchment falling inft into the selfe same place as they were first folded, the letters also come to joyne one with another, as they ought to do. This little scrolle of parchment also is called as the rolle of wood, Scytala, even as we commonly fee in many places that the thing measured, is also calledby the name of the measure. When this parchment scrolle was brought vnto Lysander, who was then in the countrey of Hellespont, he was maruellously troubled withall, fearing about all other things the accusations of Pharnabazus: so he sought meanes to speake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, Lysander prayed him he would write another letter vnto the Lords of Sparta, contrarie to his first, how that he had done him no hurtatall, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a CRETAN, (as the common Prouerbe faith) that could deceine another Cretan. For Pharnabazus having promifed him that he would performe his defire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of Lyfanders request: but behind he had another of contrary effect, folike on the outside vnto the other, that by fight no man could discerne the one from the other. And when he came to put to his scale, he changed the first with

the last that was hidden, and gaue it him. When Lysander came vnto Sparta, he went as the Lysander manneris, straight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, terragains thinking that by them he should have bene cleared from all danger of the greatest accusations bimselfe. they could have burdened him withall: because that Pharnaba Tus was very well thought on of

mon prouerbe was true: That Vlyffes was not subtill alone.

Thereupon he went home to his house maruellously troubled; but within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to speake with the Lords of the councell, he told them that he must needs make a voyage vnto the temple of Iupiter Ammon, to discharge certain sacrifices, which he Lyander had vowed & promised to him before he had won the battels. Some say, that indeed suprter Am- goesso supi. monappeared to him in a dreame as he did befiege the city of the APHYTÆIANS, in the country of THRASIA, and that by his commandement he raised the siege, and charged them of the city, that they should thanke Iupiter Ammon, and do facrifice vnto him: by reason whereof they thinke that he meant good faith, when he fued for licence to make this voyage into Lybia, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most part did certainly beleeue, that he made futetogo this journy, for a cloke & colour only to absent himselfe, because he feared the Ephom,& that he could not endure the yoke & subjection which he must abide remaining at home. neither could like to be commanded. And this was the true cause of his sute to go this voyage, much like vnto a horse taken out of a fresh pasture and goodly medowes, to bring him into a stable, & make him to be iorneyed as he was before. Neuertheleffe, Ephorus writeth another cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, Lyfander having hardly obtained licence, tooke ship and hoised saile: but during his absence, the kings of LACEDÆMON remembring that he kept all the cities at his commandement, by meanes of the friends he had in enery city, whom he had made chiefe governours of the fame, and that by their meanes he came in manner to be absolute prince ouer all GRECE, they took vponthem to redeliuer the gouernment of the towns and citics againe into the hands of the people, and also to put downe his friends whom he had stablished there. And hereupon fell outgreat insurrection again; for first of all, they that were banished

the Lords of LACED EMONIA, for that he did euer shew himselfe willing and ready to helpe

them in all their warres, more then any other of the kings Lieutenants of Persia. The Ephori

having read this letter, they shewed it vnto him. Then did Lyfander plainely see, that the com-

King Paus conciled the Athenians

Lyfanders

The death of king Agis. Lyfander

from ATHENS, having furprifed and taken the castle of Phyla, vpon the sodaine did set vponthe thirty gouernors tyrants (whom Lyfander had placed there) & ouercame them in battell. Wherupon Lyfander straight returned to Sparta, and perswaded the LACED EMONIANS to refer the gouernement to the number of a few, and to punish the infolency of the people. So by his procurement, they fent first an hundred talents vnto the thirty tyrants, for an aide to maintaine this war, and appointed Lylander himselfe generall. But the two kings of Sparta enuying him, and fearing left he should take the city of ATHENS againe, they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon Paulanias went thither immediatly, who in apparance feemed to maintaine the tyrants against the people: but in effect, he did his endeuour to appease this warre, for searc lest Lylander by meanes of his friends and followers should once againe come to have the city of A. THENS in his power, the which he might casily do. And thus having agreed the ATHENIANS againe one with another, and pacified all faction and commotion among them, he plucked vo the root of Lylanders ambition. Butflortly after the ATHENIAN's rebelling againe against the LACED EMONIANS, Pausanias himselfe was reproued, because he yeelded so much to the boldnesse and insolencie of the people, which were bridled and restrained before, by the authority of the small number of the Gouernors: and to the contrary, they gave Lylander the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens minds & to content them, neither with fond oftentation of glory, but feuerely, for the profit and commodity of Sparta. It is true, he would give great words, & was terrible to them that relifted him. As he answered the Augives one day, who contended for their confines with the LACED EMONTANS, and feemed to alledge the best reasons. Even they (said he) that shal prove the Aronger hereby (shewing the his sword) shall be they that shal pleade their cause best for their confines. Another time, when a ME GARI-AN had told his minde boldly enough in open councell, he answered him: Thy words (good friend) had need of a city, meaning thereby that he was of too meane a towne to vie fo great words. And to the Borotians also, who were in doubt to professe themselves friends or enemies:he sent vnrothe, to know if he should passe through their country with his pikes vpwards or downwards. And when the Corinthians also were revolted fro their alliance, he brought his army hard vnto their wals: but when he faw his men were afraid, and made curticy whether they should go to the assault or not; by chance spying a hare coming out of the towne ditches, he faid vnto them: Are ye not ashamed to be afraid to go and assauk your enemies, that are so cowardly & flothfull, as hares do keepe their formes at ease within the circuit of their wals! Now king Agis being deceased, he left behind him his brother Agestaus, & his supposed son Leosychides. Wherefore Ly fander that had loued Agefilaus aforetime, gaue him counsell to stand for the right of the crowne, as lawfull heire & next of the bloud, descending of the race of Hercules because it was suspected that Leorychides was Alcibiades son, who secretly had kept Timea Agis wife, at what time he was banished out of his country, and came then to remaine in Sparta. And Aeis felfe also, concluding by reckoning of the time of his absence, that his wife could not be with child by him, made no reckoning of Leotychides: (and had openly shewed it all the rest of his lifetime) that he did not acknowledge him for his fon, vntill fuch time as falling fick of that disease whereof he died, he was carried to the city of HERÆA: and there lying in his death bed, at the humble fute of Leotychides himselfe, & partly at the instant request of his friends, who were inportunate with him, he did acknowledge Leotychides for his fon in the presence of diverse, who he prayed to be witnesses vnto the Lords of LACED EMON, of his acceptatio & acknowledging of him to be his fon: which they all did in fauour of Leotychides. For all that, Agefilaus took it vpon him, by the support and maintenance of Lyfanders favour. Howbeit, Diopithes a wise man, and knowne to be skilfull in ancient prophecies, did great hurt to Agefilaus fide, by an ancient Oracle which he alledged against a descêt Agesilans had, which was his lamenesse:

O Sparian people you, which beare high haughtie hearts, And looke aloft: take heed I say looke well unto your marts: Lest whiles you stand vpright, and guide your state by grace, Some halting kingdome privily come creeping in apace. By that meanes might you move, great troubles, carke and care, And mischiefes heape upon your head, before you be aware: And plunged should you be, even over head and eares, With waste of warres, which here on earth doth perish many peeres.

Many by occasion of this Oracle, fell to take Leonychides part: but Lyfander declared vnto them. that Dispithes did not construct he meaning of the Oracle wel, For God, said he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that should come to be king of LACED AMON: but indeed the crown and kingdome should halt and be lame, if bastards not lawfully begotten, should come to reigne ouer the true naturall iffue and right line of Hercules. By these perswasions, Lylander with his great countenance and authority befides, wan all men to his opinion: fo that Agefilans by Through this meanes, was proclaimed king of LACEDEMON. This done, Lysander began straightto working, counsell him to make wars in Asia, putting him in hope that he should destroy the kingdome Asessian, of Persia, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreouer he wrote vinto his king. friends in the cities of Asia, that they should send unto the LACED EMONIANS to require king Agesilaus for their Generall, to make wars against the barbarous people. Which they did, and fent Ambaffadours purposely vnto Sparta to suethat they might have him the which wasno leffe honour procured vnto Agefilaus by Lylanders meanes, then that he did, in making him to bechosen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not vnapt nor vnfit to command, Ambition have this imperfection: that through the icalousie of glory, they do commonly enuie their e- abideth us quals, the which doth greatly hinder them from doing any notable things. For they take them equal. for their enemies, enuying their vertue, whose service and meanes might helpe them to great matters. Thus Agesilaus being chosen Generall of this enterprise, tooke Lysander with him in this journey, amongst the thirty counsellers which were given vnto him to affist him: and made speciall choise of him, as by whose counsell he hoped most to be gouerned, and to have him nearestabout him, as his chiefest friend. But when they were arrived in As 1A, they of the countrey having no acquaintance with Agestlaus, seldome spake with him, or but litle; and to the contrary, having knowne Lyfander of long time, they followed him, and waited vpon him to his tent or lodging, lome to honour him, because they were his friends, others for feare, because they did mistrust him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragediesthere, that he that shall play the person of some messenger or servant, shall be the best player, and shall have the best voice to be heard aboue all others; and to the contrarie, that he which hath the royall band about his head, and the scepter in his hand, a man doth scant heare him speake. Euen so it fell out then: for all the dignity due vnto him that commanded all, was shewed only to the counseller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name onely of aking, without any power. Therefore methinks that this vndiscreete and importunate ambition of Lyfander, did well deserve reproofe, evento make him to be contented onely with the second place of honor next vnto the king. But for Agesilaus againe, through extreme couetousnes and ie alousie of glory, to cast Lysander altogether off, and to set so light by his friend and benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, Agesilaus neuer gaue Lysander occafion to do any thing neither did commit any matter of weight vnto him, that might be honourable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceived that he had taken any mans causes in Azestans hand, and that he did fauour them, he did alwaies fend them backe againe into their countrey, printe demandation from the country gradgets denying their fuite, without that they could obtain any thing they fued for, leffe then the mea- tylander, nest persons that could have come, extinguishing Lysanders credit by little and little, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, Lyfander perceiuing how he was thus refused and rejected in all things, seeing that the countenance and fauour which he thought to shew vnto his friends, fell out hurtfull vnto them: left off to follicite their matters any more, & prayd Lyfanders them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to follow him, but to go to the king, and vnto those that wiledome. could do them better pleasure then himselfe, and specially those that honoured him. When they heard that, many defisted to trouble him any more in matters of importance, but not to do him all the honour they could, and continued still to accompany him, when he went out to walke, or otherwise to exercise himselfe; the which did aggravate and increase Agesilaus anger more against him, for the enuie he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge and commission in the wars, oftentimes vnto very meane souldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne : the victuals. heappointed Lysander surveyor generall of all the ordinarie provision of victuals, and distribu-Lysanders ter of flesh. And then mocking the Ion ian's that did honor him so much: Let them go now, said king section he, and honor my flesh distributer. Wherefore Lysander seeing it high time to speake, went vnto laus after Agesilaus, and told him in few words after the Lacon I an maner: Truly Agesilaus, thou hast learned well to abase thy friends. Indeed, said heagaine, so have I, when they will be greater then my
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felfe; and to the contrarie, they that maintaine and increase my honor and authority, it is reasont that I esteeme of them. Yea marry, said Ly (ander, but perhaps I have not done as thou sayest, ver I pray thee giue me such an office, as I may be least hated, and most profitable for thee though it be but in respect of strangers eyes that looke vpon vs both. After this talke betweene them, dee. Claus fent him his Lieutenant into the country of HELLESPONT, where Ly ander still kept this anger secret in his heart against him, but for all that, did not leave to do all that he could for the benefit of his mafters affaires. As amongst many other things, he caused a Persian Cantaine called Spithridates, to rebell against his master, who was a valiant man of his hands, and a great enemy of Pharnaba Zess, and had an army also, which he brought with him vnto Agefilaus. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that journey. Wherefore he returned againe to Sparta not long after, with litle honor, being maruelloufly grieued & offended with Agestlaus, and having more then before, all the state and government of the city of Sparta: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought you concerning the alteration of government, and his enterprise was this: Amongst the of-spring and iffue of Hercules, who were mingled with the Dor IANS, and returned again into the country of Peloponnesys, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the city of Spar-TA; how beit all they that came of that race had no right of fuccession to the crowner faving two families only, the Eurytiontides, and the Agiades. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of bloud descended out of one selfe house, yet had they no more right nor interest vnto the realme, then the refidue of the people: for the dignitics that were attained vnto by vertue, were giuen vnto the inhabitants that could deserue the. Lysander then being one of those which was descended of the true race of Hercules, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowner when he faw himfelfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous acts & merits, and that he had won many friends, and great credit & authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieued him much, to fee that they which were no nobler then himselfe should be kings in that city which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from these two houses, the Eurytiontides & the Agiades, the prerogative that the kings should be chofen only out of one of these two houses, and to cast it vpon the of-spring of Hercules. Some say againe, that he would not only have enlarged that prerogative vnto the iffue of Hercules, but vnto all the naturall Spartans also: because that Hercules race should not only defire this reward of honor, but even they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equall with the gods in honor. For he doubted not but if they would dispose the crowne in this fort, that there was no man in the city of Sparta that should sooner be chosen king then himselfe: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons, & to bring this about y better he conned an oration without book, penned by Cleon Halicarnaffeus, made him for this purpose. But afterwards weighing with himfelfe, that to great and strange a change as he would bring in. had need of some better and stronger helpe; he began to frame a deuice, as they say, to moue the people by, much after the manner they vie in tragedies, framing engines to bring some godto come downe from heaven vnto them, and this was his fained invention. He deuised certaineoracles and prophecies, thinking that all Gleons rhetorick would stand him in no stead, if first of al he did not fill the citizens harts with some superstition and feare of the gods, thathe might bring them afterwards more eafily vnto reason. And Ephorus saith, that he proued first to corrupt the Nun with money, that gineth all the oracles and answers in the temple of Apollo at DELPHES: and that afterwards, he would have won the Nun also at the temple of Dodon E with mony, by Pherceles practife. And that he being rejected by them both, went laftly vnto the temple of fupiter Ammon: and that there he spake vnto the priests, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with Lysander, that they sent men of purposeto Sparta, to accuse him, that he would have corrupted them with mony. The councell clearing Lyfander of this accusation, the Lybians his accusers at their departing said: We will one day indge more infly, then you my Lords of LACED AMON have done now, whe you shall come to dwell in our country of LyBIA: supposing there was an ancient prophesie that said, the LACE-DEMONIANS one day should come to dwell in the countrey of Lybia. But we shall do better to write the whole story at large of this practife subtilty, & malicious deuice, which was no matter of small importance, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall proposition, there were many great coniectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstances to bring itto conclusion,

clusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an historiographer & philosopher both hath written. There was in the marches of the Realme of Powr, a woman Lylanders philosopher both hath written. There was in the marches of the Realme of Pont, a woman fained de that said, she was gotten with child by Apollo, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not wite to posbeleene at all, and many alfo did beleene it i fo that the being delinered of a goodly fonne, diners felle the noblemen and of great estate were carefull to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This child kingdome. Iknow nor whereupon, nor how, was named silenus: and Lyfander fetching the plot of his denice from thence, added to all the rest of himselfe, to go on with his practise. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this icast, giving out a rumour of the birth of this child, without any suspition gathered out of the intent of this rumour. And furthermore, they brought other newes from DELPHES, which they dispersed abroad through the citie of Sparta, to wit, that the priefts of the temple kept fecret bookes of very ancient oracles, which they themselves durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man reade them, vnlesse he were begotten of the feed of Apollo, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the priests that kept these papers, and that by some secret marke and token, which they had amongst them: and thereby being knowne for Apollees sonne, he might then take the bookes and readethe auncient reuelations and prophecies of the same. These things prepared in this sort. there was order taken, that Silenus should come and aske for these bookes, as though he were the fon of Apollo: and that the priests which were priny to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of every thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had feemed to know all, they should deliuer these prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene indeed Apolloes fonne: and that he should openly reade them in the presence of many wirnesses. And among the rest of the prophecies, that he should reade that specially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of LACED EMONIA: that it was better, & meetlier for the Spartan's they should choose them for their kings, whom they found the meetest men of all their magistrates. But when Silenus was come to full age, and brought into GRECE of purpose to performethis practise, all the mysterie was marred by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of Lyfander, who holp him to countenance this device; who when the matter should haue taken effect, shrunke for feare, and let the mystericalone. This notwithstanding, nothing was betrayed in Lysanders life time, till after his death. For he died beforeking Agefilaus returned out of Asia, being fallen into warres with Bo Eoria before his Themans death, or rather having himselfe made GRECE to fall into warres. They do report it either way: of Barolia. and some lay the fault upon him, other upon the Thebans, & other upon them both: and they burthen the THEBANS withall, because they did vtterly ouerthrow the comon sacrifices which Diverseas. Agesslaus made in the city of Avilde. And they say also, that Androelides and Amphitheus did sustainmised mischis war among the Grecians, being before corrupted with mony by the king of Per-ginning of SIA, to bring wars vpon the LACED & MONIAN'S in GRECE: and began to inuade & destroy the shefewars. country of the Phocians. Other fay, that Lyfander was very angry with the THEBANS: because they only of al other their confederates, did askethe tenth part of all the spoile which was won in the war against the ATHENIANS: and that they were not pleased that Lyfander had sent themony away vnto Sparta. But about all, Lyfander did malice them most, because they were the first that made way for the ATHENIANS to be delivered from the oppression of thirty tyrants, whom he had stablished gouernors in ATHENS, and in whose favor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the LACED AMONIANS had ordained by a commo edict, that they that were Anedista. banished, and did flee from ATHENS, might lawfully betaken & apprehended in what place soeuerthey fled vnto3& that who soeuer should refist or let them to do it, they shold be proclaimed building rebels, and open enemies vnto the LACED EMONIANS. Againe, to contrary this edict, the THE- Athens. BAN'S made another very like, & meet for the glorious deeds of Bacchus and Hercules their ance- an edict flors, for whom it was made: that every house and city through the country of Bobot ra, shold made by be open for the ATHENIAN'S that would come thither, and that he that would not helpe a banithe Thebas
the dman from ATHENIAN'S that would come thither, and that he that would not helpe a baniinfauer of hed man fr o Athens, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined & amer-the banicedata talent. And also if there were any souldiers that went vnto ATHENS, through the coun- feed min. trey of BOHOTIA, that the THERANS should not see nor heareir. This was no dissimulation to

speake of, that they should ordaine things with so gentle words, and so meete for the people of

GRECE, and then that the deedes should not answer vnto their edicts and proclamations. For

Thrasybulus, and his fellowes of the conspiracie, who kept the castle of Phyla, they departed from

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THEBES, with armour and mony, and the THEEAN'S did helpe them to begin and practife their. enterprise fo secretly, that it was not discovered. These were the causes why Lylander was so carnefly bent against the THEBANS, and his choler being so extreme, by reason of his melancholinelle that grew daily ypon him more and more through his age, he follicited the Ephon Be fo, that he perfyaded them to fend a garrifon thither; and himfelf taking the charge of them, you dertooke the journy straight with his men. But afterwards they fent king Paulanias also with an armie thither, who was to fetch a great compasse about to enter into the countrey of Bo B of 1A by mount Citheron: and Lyfander should go to meete him through the countrey of PHOCIDES. with a great company of fouldiers befides. Now as Lyfander went, he tooke the city of the OR. CHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded themselues to him as sooneas he came thither. From thence he went to the city of LEBADIA, which he spoyled; and from thence he wrote vnto kine Paulanias, that departing from PLATÆES, he should march directly to the city of ALIARTE where he should not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne wals. These letters were intercepted by certain souts of the THEBANS, who met with the messenger that carled the. Thus the Theban's having intelligence of their purpose, left their city in custody unto the Athenians who were come to aide them, and departed out of There about midnight, and marched al night with great freed, that they came to ALIART in the morning a litle before Lyfander, and put halfe their men into the city. Now for Lyfander, he was determined at the first to keepe his men upon a hill which is neare to the city, & there to tarry the coming of king Paulinias. But afterwards when he faw that the day was far fpent, and that he came not he could tary no longer, but arming himselfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederares which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battel ray, longer then large, by the high way that went vnto the city. In the meane feason, the THEERAN'S that were left without the city, leaving ALIARTE on the left hand, did fet upon Lyfanders rereward of his army against the fountaine called Ciffufa: where the Poets faine that the nurses of Bacchus did wash him, when he came out of his mothers wombe, because the water that commeth out of it (though it be very cleare & fweet to drink) hath not with flanding (I cannot tell by what meanes) a colour like wine & not far from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALIARTANS do alledge, to proue that Radamanthus heretofore dwelt in that part, & do they his sepulcher there yetto this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that also, there is the monument of Alemena, which was buried (as they fay) in that place, and was maried to Radamanthus, after the death of Amphirryon. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIARTIANS, stirred nor vntill they faw that Lyfander with the first of his troope was neare vnto the towne wals; and then opening the gates on the fudden, they made a fally out vpon Lyfander, & fluc him with his foothflaine by the I hebas. fayer and a few other, because the most part of the voward sed into the strengh of the battell. Howbeit the THEBAN'S gaue them not ouer fo, but followed them fo valiantly, that they brake their order, and made them al fly through the mountaines, after they had flaine 3000 of themin the field fo were the three hundred Thebans also slaine there, who followed their enemies so fiercely, till they recourred straight narrow waies, of great strength for the. These three hundred were in maner al those that were suspected in Thebes to favor the Laced Emonians secretly:wherfore, for the defire they had to take away this opinio from their citizens, they hazarded themselues to no purpose, and were cast away in this chase. King Pausanias heard news of this oouerthrow, going from PLATEE s vnto THESPIES, & went on further, marching still in battel ray towards Aliant B, where Thrasybulus also arrived at the self same time, bringing the aide of the ATHENIANS from THEBES. And whe Paulamas was purposed to send to askelicence of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had flaine, to the intent to bury them: the old Spartans that were in his army, misliking it much, at the first were angry in themfelues. But afterwards they went vnto the king himfelf, to tell him that he dishonored Sparta, to offer to take vp Lysanders body by his enemies leave and favour, and that he should valiantly recourr himby force of armes, and honourably bury him, after that he had ouercome their enemies or else if it were their fortune to be overthrowne, that yet it should be more honorable for dead, is di- them to lie dead in the field by their Captaine, then to askeleaue to take up his body. But notwithstanding all these words of the old men, king Pausanias seeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that

the body of Lysander lay hard by the wals of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it

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Lylander

away without great danger, although they should win the battell : he sent a Herauld to the enemies, and hauing made truce for certaine dayes, he led his army away, and tooke vp Lyfanders body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of BOEOTIA, within the territoric of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his tombe remaineth vpon the high way, Lyfanders going from DELPHES vntothe city of CHERONEA. Thus Paufanius campe being lodged there, it is faid there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, faid that the enemies came to giue a charge vpon them; as Lyfander had passed the Oplites. The other wondring at that, there was a Spartan avery friend of Lyfanders by, having heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What answered the PHOCIAN to him againe. Euenthere it was where the enemies did ouerthrow y first of our men which were slaine in the fields: for the river that runneth by the wals of the city, is called Oplites. The Spartan hearing that, burst out in weeping for sorrow, Destine faying: Then I fee it is unpossible for a man to auoide his destinie. For Lyfander aforetime had an immitable. Oracle that told him thus:

Lyfander, take good heed, come not I thee aduife, Neare Oplites that rivers banks, in any kind of wife. Nor neare the Dragon he which is the earth her fonne, Who at the ength will thee affault, and on thy backe will runne.

Howbeit some take it, that this river of Oplites is not that which passeth by the wals of ALi-ARTE, but it is the river that runneth neare vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into the river of Phliarus, hard by the city; & they fay that in old time it was called Hoplia, but now they call Phliarus, of Phliarus, hard by the city; & they lay that in old time it was cancel Hopita, but they can risk in formantus. He that flue Lyfander, was an ALIARTIAN called Recehorus, who caried a Dragon Hopita, Jo. painted vpon his target: and this was that which the Oracle of likelihood did signifie. They say Meetherus allo, that in the time of the warres of Peloponnesvs, the Therans hadan Oracle from the five Lyfantemple of Apollo Ismenias: which Oracle did prophecy the battel which they wan by the castle of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE also, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that Oracle was this:

When thou thy nets shalt spread the wolves for to intrap, Beware thou come not neare unto, a little hill by hap. Of Orchalide. Nor neare, to any his confines:

For there the craftie foxes keepestheir dens and privile mines. Hecalleth the territorie that is about Delivm, the vetermost confines, because Bosotta doth confine there with the countrey of Attica, and the hill Orchaide which is now called Alone confine fave the fove denne, which lies on the Gde of the city of A the hill or the fave denne, which lies on the Gde of the city of A the hill or the fave denne, which lies on the Gde of the city of A the hill or the fave denne which lies are the gde of the city of A the hill or the fave denne which lies are the gde of the city of A the hill or the fave denne which is now called the min. Alopecon(to fay the foxe denne) which lieth on that fide of the city of ALIARTE, that looketh towards mount Helicon. Lyfander being flaine, the Spartans tooke his death foill, that they Helicon would have condemned king Paufanias of treason by law who durst notabide the triall, but fled who the city of TEGEA, where he ended the rest of his life within the sanctuary of the temple exile. of Minerua. When Lyfander was dead, his poucrty appeared to the world, which made his vermefarre more famous, then when he lived. For when they faw, that for all the gold and filuer Lyfanders which had paffed through his hands, for all his great authority and countenance that he had catied, and for althat fo many cities and townes did come to honor him and briefly, for all that he commended had so great & puissant a kingdome in manner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increase ofter his his house with so much as one farthing. So writeth Theopompus, whom we should rather believe death, when he praiseth, then when he discommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delight to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not long after, as Ephorus writeth, that the LACEDEMO-NIANS and their confederates fell at variance together, whereupon Lyfanders letters were to be Renethat were in his house. King Agestlaus going thither to peruse them, amongst other writings, found the oration penned by Gleon Halicarnasseus, which Lysander had prepared to per- Lysanders swade the Spartans to change their gouernement, and to declare vnto them that they should counting renoke the prerogatine which the Eurytiontides and the Agiades had: that the kings of Spar attering of the could not be chosen but out of the fermilies. At the kings of Spar atte kings of Spar attering of the kings of th ra could not be chosen but out of those two families, & to leave the prerogative at liberty, that dome. the chiefest magistrates might be lawfully chosen kings of Sparta. Agestians stood indisterent wisdomes to have showed this opation openly to the people that the Sparta of Sparta. to have shewed this oration openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might seewhat manner a forbearing citizen Lysander had bene in his heart. But Lacratidas, a graue wise man, and President at that to show extime of the councell of the Ephori, would not fuffer him: faying, that he should not dig Lyfander the dead.

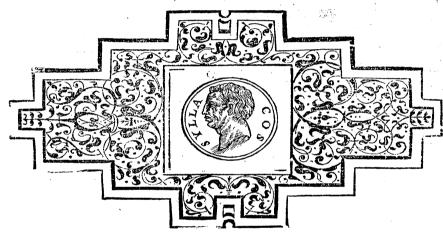
SYLLA.

La Cander Ironoved by the Spartas death. Singleneffe of life, late mariage,& ill mariage punished by the Laceda. monians.

out of his grave againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was so passingly well and cloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstanding, they did him great honour after his death.& among ft others, condemned two citizens in a great fumme of mony, that were made fure to two of his daughters while he liued, & refused to marry them when he was dead, seeing their father died so poore: because they sought to march in his house, supposing he had bene rich, and forfooke them afterwards for their fathers pourty, when they faw he died a good and inft man, Thus we fee, that at Sparta there was a punishment for them that did not mary, or that maried too late, or that maried ill: and vnto this punishment were they most subject that sought great matches for couetousnesse of goods. This is all we have to write of Lylanders life and acts.

The end of Lysanders life.

THE LIFE OF Sylla.



Syllaes kin-

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bis great wealth,



Vcius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the Patricians, who be the noblemen and gentlemen of Rom E: and there was one of his ancestours called Rufinus, that obtained the dignity of Confull. He notwithflanding his Consulship, wan more dishonour by defame, then he obtained honor by dignity of Consull. For they finding in his house about ten pounds worth of plate, contrary to the law at that time expresly forbidding it, he was expulsed the Senate, and lost his place there, after which dishonor once received, his issue neuer rose, nor yet recovered it. And Sylla himselfe had very little left him by his father: so that in

his youth he was faine to hire another mans house, and sate at a small rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they faw him richer then they thought he had deferued. For when he gloried & boasted of the victory at his returne from the wars of Africk E, there was a noble man that faid vnto him: Why, how is it possible thou shouldest be an honest man, that Sillaes bor having nothing left thee by thy father, thou art now come to have fo much Now, though Rome had left her ancient iuftice and purenesse of life, wherewith she brought vp her people in former times, and that their hearts were poyfoned with couctous defire of vaine superfluous delights: yet notwithstanding it was a foule reproach to them that did not maintaine themselues in the pouerty of their fathers, as vnto them that did confume their patrimony, and bring all to naught which their parents had left them. But afterwards also when he caried the whole sway in Rome, and that he had put so many men to death: a free man being borne of the slaues infranchised, and being ready to be throwne downe the rocke Tarpeian, because he had saued and hidden one of theoutlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death whereforeur they were found, cast it in Syllaes teeth, how that they had lived & dwelttogether a long time in one felfe house, he having payed a thousand Nummos for the rent of the vppermost roomes of the same house, and syllathree thousand for all the neathermost roomes. So that betweene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thousand and fiftie Drachmas of Athens difference. And this is that we find in writing of his first wealth. As for his stature and person, that appeareth sufficiently by 5,1440, stature and person, that appeareth sufficiently by the statues and images that were made for him which yet remaine. But for his eies, they were likefire, and wonderfull red: and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull That is, beto behold. For he was copper-nosed, and that was full of white streakes here and there: whereupon they say that the surname of sylla was given him, by reason of his colour. And there was a iester at ATHENS that finely mocked him in his verse:

of great importance, whereunto he should have taken good regard. For after he was once set at histable, he was not to be moued any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the table he wascommonly tound both very active, painefull, and feuere: yet falling into fuch company, by drinking, bowfing, & making good cheere, he suddenly became another maner of man. So that without all compatte of modesty and judgement, he was too familiar and conversant with playtrs, iesters, tumblers, and dancers: who when they had him in that veine, might do what they

was greatly given, and eafily drawne after love and pleasure in such fort, as his gray haires could not restraine his voluptuous life. His unlawfull lusting loue began in his young yeares, with one Metrobius a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire until his latter age. For at the first he loued Nicopolis a rich curtifan: & frequenting her company by oft accesse; belides that he spent the prime of his beauty and youth in feafting her with great delight and passing pleasure, she afterwards became in love with him, so that when she died, she made syllaher heire of all she had. He was heire also vnto his mother in law, who loued him as her

ownbegotten sonne: and by these two good haps he was stept vp to pretie wealth. After-

wards being chosen Quæstor (to say treasurer) the first time that Marius was Consull, he im-

nued at the campe, he shewed himselfe a man of great service in all other things, but in this espe-

cally, that he could wifely vie the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wan Bocchus

king of the Numidians to be his fast and faithfull friend: whose Ambassadours, that scaped

from a company of Numidian theenes, he courteously entertained, and having given them

goodly prefents, sent them backe againe with a safe conuoy. Now concerning king Bocchus,

him, and for this cause sent secretly for Sylla, desiring rather that Ingurth should be taken by

sylla, then by himselfe. Sylla brake this matter vnto Marius, of whom having received a small

number of fouldiers to acompany him (without respect of perill or danger) went and com-

mitted him selfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take another: considering also

that the king whom he trusted was so vniust of his word, euen vnto his nearest friends and con-

sederates. Now Bocchus having Ingurth and Sylla both in his power, and brought himselfe to

that pinch, that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath

toresolue which of the two he should deale withall, in the end went on with his first plot and

barked with him in his sourny into Africke, to warre with king Ingurth. When he was ar-

Sylla is like a blacke Berie sprinkled with meale.

It is not amisse to search out the naturall disposition of this man by such outward markes and

becommeth tokens. It is faid also that he was so naturally given to mocke and lest, that being a yong man vnknowne, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tumblers, but fill eating andtippling with them in dissolute manner. And afterwards also when he was in his chiefest au-color in thority, he would commonly eate and drink with the most impudent iesters and scoffers, and all vitruula such rakehels, as made profession of counterfeit mirth, & would strive with the badest of them purple cotogiue the finest mockes: wherein he did not only a thing vncomely for his yeares, and dishonored the maie fly of his office and dignity, but thereby also grew carelesse & negligent in matters

would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opinion) his vice of letchery, whereunto he

he had of long time both hated and feared king Ingurth his fonne in law: infomuch, that after Theeaste he was ouercome in battell, and came to him for succour, Bocchus practifed treason against of Bocchus king Bocof Iugarths

Sullaration ble seeds

Sallaes do-

The first

tugurt de deuice oftreason, and so deliuered Iugurth into Syllaes hands. Indeed Marius triumphed fortaking of king Ingurth: but his euill willers, for the spite and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory & honor of Ingurths taking wholly vnto Sylla. That lecretly went to Marius heart, and specially for that Sylla being high minded by nature(comming then but newly from a base, obfcure, and vnknown life, to be knowne and well accepted of the people of Rome, and to taffe alfo what honor meant) became fo ambitious and couerous of glory: that he caused the story to be grauen in a ring, which he did euer after vie to weare & seale withall: wherein king Bocchns was delivering of Ingurth vnto Sylla, and Sylla also receiving Ingurth prisoner. These things misliked Marius much: but not with standing, judging that Sylla was not so much enused as himselfe, he tooke him with him vnto the wars. Marins in his second Consulfhip, made Sylla one of his Lieu. tenants: and in his third Confulship, he had charge under him of a thousand footemen, and did many notable and profitable exploits for him. When Sylla was his Lieutenant, he tooke one Capillus, a Generall of the GAVLES Tectofages. And when he was Colonell of a thousand foormen, he so wrought the Marsians (a populous nation of ITALIE) that he perswaded them to remaine good friends and confederates of the ROMAINES. For this his good feruice, he found that Marius grew in great misliking with him, because from thenceforth he neuer gaue him any honourable charge, or occasion to shew good service: but to the contrary, did whathe could to hinder his rifing. Wherefore, Sylla afterwards tooke Catulus Luctatius part, who was companion with Marius in his Confulship. This Catulus was a very honest man, but somewhat flacke and cold in martiall matters, which was the cause that indeed he did commit vnto Sylla all the speciall service and matters of weight in his charge: whereupon he gaue him occasion nor only to increase his estimation, but also his credit and power. For by force of armes, he conquered the most part of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpesiand Catulus campe lacking victuals, having commission, he made a maruellous great quantity of provifion to be brought thither, infomuch as Catulus camp being plentifully victualled, they fent their ftore and furpluffage vnto Marius fouldiers, the which sylla himselfe writeth, did much mislike Marius. And this is the first cause of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon solightoccasion, was followed with civill warres, great esfusion of bloud, and with incurable factions and swist Sylla diffentions, that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the Romaine state and Empire. This doth prouethat Euripides the Poet was a wise man, and one that foresaw the ruines of commonweale, when he counfelled, and also commanded gouernors to flie ambi-Ambieion is tion, as a most pestilent and mortall fury vnto them that are once infected withall. Now Sylla thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the wars, would have made his wayopen to preferre him to some honorable office in the city of Rome: he was no sooner returned from the wars, but he would needs proue the peoples good wils vnto him, & procured his name to be billed among them that fued for the Prætorship of the city (that is to say, the office of the ordinary Judge that ministreth inflice vnto the citizens) but he was reiected by the voyce of the people. For the which he layd the fault vpon the meaner fort, faying, that the communalty knew well inough the friendship he had with king Bocchus, and that therefore they hoping that ishe were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them see noble huntings and great fightings of wild beafts of Lybia: and that therefore they did chuse other Prætors, and put him by his fuite, in hope to compell him by this meanes to be first of all Ædilis. Howbeit it feemeth that he doth not confesse the truth of his refusall: for his own act doth condemne himsyda dosen selse: because the next yeare following he was chosen Prætor, partly for that he wan the people with curtefie, and partly with mony. So he falling out with Cafar vponthat occasion, in his anger threatned him that he would vie the power and authority of his office vpon him. But Cafar imiling, answered him, Thou hast reaso to call it thine office, for indeed it is thine, because thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Prætorship was expired, he was sent with an army into Capa PADOCIA, colouring his voyage thither with commission to restore Ariobar Zanes into his kingdome againe: howbeit the only cause of his journy was indeed to suppresse king Mithridates alittle, who took too many things in hand, and increased his power and dominion with a new signiory of no lesse greatnes then that which he had before. In truth he brought no great army out of ITALY with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the cofederates of the ROMAINES in eucry place, through whose aide he ouerthrew a great number of the CAPPADOCIANS, & afterwards also a great number of the ARMENIANS, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expulsed Gordins king of Phrygia out of Cappadocia, and restored Ariobarzanes to his Realmeagaine. After which victory Sylla, remained by the riner of Euphrates, and thither Orobazon came unto him one Orobazus a Parthian, Ambassadour of Arfaces king of the Parthians. ambassa Now these two nations, the Romaines and the Parthians, were neuer friends before: dor from and that with other things shewed the great good fortune sylla had, that the PARTHIANS of the Part came first to him by his meanes to seeke triendship with the ROMAINES. They say, that re- thrans onto ceiuing this Ambassadour orobazus, he made three chaires to be brought out, the one for souls. King Ariobar anes, the other for Orobazus the Ambassadour, and the third for himselfe. which he placed in the middest betweene them both, and fitting downe in the same, gaue audience vinto the Ambassadour: for which cause the king of PARTHIA afterwards put Orobasusto death. Some do commend Sylla for this acte, for that he kept his state in such maiestie among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, shewing himselfe stately out of time, and to no purpose. We do reade that a Soothsayer of CHALDEA being in Orobaaustraine, hauing diligently viewed and confidered the physiognomy of Sylla, and all his other mouings and gestures of mind and bodie, to judge not by the climate of the countrey; but according to the rules of his art what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayd that sillaone day must needes come to be a great man, and that he maruelled how he could suffer ighat he was not even then the chiefest man of the world. When Sylla was returned againe to Rome, one Cenforinus accused him of extortion, that he had carried away a great summe of Salla accesmoney with him, contrarie to the law, out of one of their confederates countrey: howbeit fed of extorhe profecuted not his accusation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time the enmitte begunne bewixthim and Marius, kindled againe upon a new occasion of king Bocchus ambition: who partly to creepe further into the peoples fauour of Rome, and partly also for to gratific Sylla: game and dedicated certaine images of victory carrying tokens of triumph, vnto the temple of Imputer Capitolin, and next vnto them also the image of Ingurth, which he delinered into the hand of Sylla, being all of pure gold. This did so offend Marius, that he attempted to take themaway by force: but others did defend the cause of Sylla. So that for the quarrell of these two, the city of Rome taking armes, had like to have brought all to ruine: had northe warres cinil wari. ofthe confederates of ITALY bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length bake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this maruellous great warre which fell outvery dangerous, by fundry misfortunes and great loffes to the Romaines, Marius did mnotable exploite: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath neede of astrong, lustie, and able body. For Sylla to the contrarie, having done notable service, and obmindmany profitable victories, wan the fame and estimation among the ROMAINES, of a mble fouldier, and worthie Captaine: and among the enemies themselues, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, Sylla did not as Timothen, ATHENIAN, the sonne of Conon had done: who, when his aduersaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deeds vnto the fauour of Forune, and did paint Fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and snared in nets whileft he flept, he tooke it invery ill part, and was maruellous angrie with them that did it, lying, that they robbed him of the glory that inftly belonged vnto him. Wherefore one day when this Timotheus was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly aquainted the Athenians with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage, he sayd Timultum Vinothem: My Lords of ATHENS, Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told vn- Athenian toyou. Hereupon the gods, it should feeme, were so angry with this soolish ambition of Timotheus, that he neuer afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went veterly against the baire the glorie withhim: vntill at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in the end they banihedhim from ATHENS. But Sylla to the contrary, did not onely patiently abide their words, that said, he was a happie man, and singularly beloued of Fortune: but also increasing this Fortune the opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his domgs vnto Fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fancie, that the gods did profperhim in all his doings. For he wrote himselfe in his commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hotely according to the sudden occasion offered, did better prosper with him, then those which by good aduice he had determined of. Furthermore, when he lidthathe was better borne vnto Fortune, then to the warres: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperitie came rather by Fortune, then by his worthinesse. And to conclude, it appeareth

Syllaes beleete in dreames.

Me éllus

Skep of

ried man.

Sillaes

that he did wholly submit himselfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend vpon her: confidering that he did attribute it to the speciall grace and fauour of the gods, that he neuer disagreed with Metellus his father in law, who was a man of like dignity and authorize as himselfe was. For where it was thought he would hauebene a great hinderer of his doings. he found him very courteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reason of the society of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated vnto Lucullus, he counfelled him to think nothing more certain & affured, then that which the gods should reueale vnto him, and command him in his nights dreame. He writethalso that when he was fent with an armie vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth suddenly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediatly came a maruellous bright flame of fire figur uppea that ascended up to the element. The wise men being asked their opinions about the same, radiosilla. made answer, that a very honest man, and also a maruellous faire man of complexion taking so ueraigne authority in his hands, should pacifie all tumules and seditions which were atthat time in Rom E. Whereupon Sylla faid it was himfelfe whom the gods meant, because that amongstother things he had the fingular gift of beauty, that his haire was yellow as gold : and he wasnot ashamed to name himselfe an honest man, after he had wonne so many notable great victories. Thus have we fufficiently fpoken of the truft he had in the favour of the gods. And furthermore he feemed to be very contrary in his maners, and vnlike to himfelf. For if he took away muchin one place, he gave as much more also in another. Some he preferred without cause: and others he put downe without reason. Hee would be very gentle vnto them of whom he would haue ought: and vnto those that sought of him, he would stand much vpon his honour, and look for great reverence. Whereby men could hardly differne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vsed in punishing of them that had offended him; fometimes he hanged up men for very small and light causes stome other times againe to the contrary, he patiently abode the most gricuous offences in the world, and lightly pardoned and forgaue fuch faults as were in no wife to be forgiuen; and afterwards againe wouldpunish right small crimes, with murthers, effusion of blood, and confiscation of goods. This judgement may be given of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a revenging mind: yet not withstanding he quallified that naturall bitternesse with reason giving place to necessity, and his benefit. For in this war of the confederates, his fouldiers flue Albinas one of his Lieutenants, beating him to death with staues and stones, being a man of goodly quality, and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he passed ouer with filence, vsing no maner of punishment, and turned it to a boast in the end, saying that his men were the more obedient and diligent in any pecceof feruice that was to be done, and that he made them amend their faults by worthy feruice. And furthermore, hee did not regard them that did reproue him: but having determined with himselfe to destroy Marius, and to procure that he might be chosen General I in the warsagainst king Mithridates, because that this warre of the confederates was now ended: for this cause he flattered and curried fauour with his fouldiers that ferued under him. At his returne to Rome from these wars of the confederates, he was chosen Confull with Q. Pompeius, being then fifty Sylla chofen yeares old, and maried with Cacilia a noble Ladie, and Metellus daughter, who was then chiefe Bishop of Rome, for which mariage the common people sang songs and ballads up and downe Rome against him: and many of the Noble men enuied him for it, thinking him vinworthy of fo noble a Lady, whom they thought worthy to be Confull, as Titus Liuins faith. Now she was not his only wife, for he had a young wife before called Ilia, by whom he had a daughter. After he had maried Ælia, then a third called Calia, whom he put away because she brought him no children. But not with standing she went honourably away from him, with very good words of her, be fides many other goodly rich gifts he gaue her; how beit fhortly after he maried Metalla which made the world suffect that Calia was put away for her naughtinesse. Howsocuerit was, Sylla did euer honour and loue Metella: in fo much as the people of Rome afterwards making fute, that they that were banished for Marius faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and refused by Sylla, they cryed out with open voice for Metella, praying her to helpe them to obtain their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the city of ATHENS, he dealt more critelly with them, because that some of them had scoffed at Mesella from the wals:howbeit that was afterwards. So Sylla making his reckoning at that time that the Confulthip was a finall matter, in comparison of that which he looked for in electime to come: was marnellous maruellous desirous to go against Mithridates. But therein Marius also, of a mad furious ambition and couetous nesses of glory stood against him, and sued to go that iourny in like maner, being tion. fibiect to those passions, which never wax old, as we may daily see by experiece. For being now a heanie man, fickly of body, and broken in feruice abroad in the wars, from the which he came but newly home, and brused moreouer with age: did not with standing yet aspire to have the charge of the wars fo farre off beyond the feas. Wherefore to obtaine his purpose, whilest sylla was gone a litle vnto the campe to give order for certainerhings that were to be done, he remaining in the city, did practife this pestilent mortall sedition, which alone did more hurt vnto the wonderfull city of Rome, then all the enemies that Rome euer had: the which the gods themselves had fignes Jene foreshewed by many signes and tokens. For fire tooke of it felfe in the states of the ensignes, before the which they had much ado to quench. Three Rauens brought their your ones into the high civil wars. way, and dideate them vp in the fight of many people, and afterwards carried the garbage they left of them in their nests. Rats also having gnawne some lewels of gold in a Church, the sextens ferting a trap for them; as a rat was taken full of yong, and kindled fine yong rats in the trap, of the which she ear vothree. But more yet, on a faire bright day when there was no cloud scene in the element at all, men heard fuch a sharpe found of a trumpet, that they were almost all out of their wits, for feare of fo great a noise. Whereupon the wife men and foothfayers of THVs -CAN being asked their opinions, they answered that this so ftrange and wonderfull a signe did The Thusforeshew the change of the world, and the departure out of this into another life: for they hold opinion, that there should be eight worlds, all contrary one vnto another, in manners and worlds. falhions of life: vnto enery one of the which, fay of they, God hath determined a certaine time ofcontinuance: but that they should all end their course within the space of the revolution of the great year eand that when the one is ended, and the other leady to begin, there shall appeare such strange signes on the earth, or in the element. So that such as have studied that science, do certainly know, as foone as men be borne, which are meere contrary unto the first in their lives and maners, and which are either more or leffe acceptable vnto the gods, then those which lived informer age. For they fay, that among st great changes and alterations which are done in those places from one age vnto another, the icience of chinination and foretelling of things to come, doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth God to fend most certaine and manifest signes, to know and foretel things to come. And in contrariwise also in another age it groweth to contempt, and loseth her reputation for that it is very rash, and faileth to meete with themost part of her predictions, because she hath but obscure meanes, and all her infruments defaced to know what should come. And these be the fables which the wifest foothlayers of THVICAN reported abroad, and they specially who seemed to have some singular speculation about others. But as the Senate were talking with the foothfayers of these woders, being affembled together within the temple of the goddesse Bellona, a sparrow came flying into thechurch in fight of them all, and caried a graffiopper in her bill, and parted it in the middeft, & left one part within the temple, and caried the other away with her. Whereupon the wife men and interpreters of fuch wonders, faid, that they doubted a commotion & a rifing of the country men against the commons of the city, because the common people of the city do crie out continually like grashoppers, & the husbandmen do keepe themselves upon their lands in the county. Thus Marins grew great and very familiar with Sulpitius, one of the Tribunes of the peo- The wicked. ple, who in all kinds of wickednesse and mischieferhara mar. can reckon, would give place to no lining creature: so that a man need not to feeke or demand any where for worse then he, but Tribune. the question is rather wherein he himselfe was not the worst of all others. For he was full repleat with all kinds of cruelty, anarice, and raffinesse, and that so extremely, as he cared not what villany and wickednesse he openly committed, so that the same might turne to his profit. For he had fet up a table in the open market place, where he fold freedome, making flaues and ftrangers denizons of Romn for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a guard of three thousand about him, besides a band of yong gentlemen of the order of knights that attended alwaies vpon his person ready at his commandemet, whom he called the gard against the Senare. And furthermore, himselfe having passed a law by the voice of the people, that no Senatour should borrow nor owe aboue two thousand Drachmas; it was found that at the houre of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging beaft, being left by Marins amongst the people, turned all things topsic turney, by force of

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Marine or armes and maine strength. He made also many wicked lawes to passeby voice of the people, and amongst others, that one specially, whereby he gaue Marius commission to make warres against king Mithridates. For which extreme oppressions and dealings of Sulpitius, the two Confuls (Sylla and Quintus Pompeius) left off to heare publike causes, and ceassed the common course of law and inflice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiornement of the law in an timely read came vpon them with his fouldiers, and flue many people, and among others, the Confull Pome peins owne fonne, and the father himselfe being Consull, had much ado to sauchis lifeby flying. And Sylla the other Confull, was also pursued even into Marius house, where he was compelled to promife before his departure, prefently to go and reuoke the adiornement of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus Sulpitius having deprined Pompeius of his Confulfhip, did not depose sylla, but onely tooke from him the charge he had given him to make warres against Mithridates, and transferred that vnto Marius. And sending Colonels to the city of NoLA to receive the armie that lay there, and to bring them vnto Marius, Sylla prevented them, and fled to the campe before them, and told the fouldiers all what had paft as it was indeed: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and flue Marius Colonels with stones. Marius on the other fide put all Syllaes friends to death at Roma, and tooke the spoyle of their goods and houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the campe to Rome, and from ROME to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner befides themselves, not being able togouerne as they would, but driven to obey Marius and Sulpitius commandements. Who being aduertised that Sylla was comming towards Rome, sent straight two Prætors vnto him. Brutus and Servitius, to command him as from the Senate, to approch no nearer. These two Prætors spake a litle too boldly vnto Sylla: wherupon the souldiers fell to a mutiny, in such fort. that they flood indifferent whether to kill them presently in the field or no howbeit they brake their axes and bundels of rods, which were caried before them, & took their purple robes wherwith they were apparelled as magistates, from the & sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Vpon their returne now to Roma, their fad filence only, and them selues so firing ped besides of all their markes and tokens of Prætoriall dignity, made all menthen to judge that they brought no other newes, but fuch as were the worst that possible could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie the fedition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherefore Marius and his followers began to make himselfe strong by force and Sylla with his companion Quistus Pompesus, departed in the meanetime from the city No 1 A, and brought fixe entire legions on with him, who defired no other thing but to make haft to march to Rome ward. Howbeit Sylla stood in doubt with himselfe what to do, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Vntill fuchtime as his foothfayer Posthumius having confidered the fignes and tokens of the facrifices, which Sylla had made upon this determination, gaue him both his hands, and bad him bind them hard, and shut him up fast, untill the day of battell should be past: faying that he was contented to fuffer death, if he had not good fuccesse, and that out of hand, to his great homour. And it is faid also, that the same night there appeared vnto Sylla in a dreame the goddesse Bellona, whom the ROMAINES dogreatly honour, following therein the CAPPADOCIANS: and I know not whether it be the Moone, Minerua, or Enyo the goddesse of battels. So he thought, that she comming to him did put lightning into his hand, commanding him that he should lighten vpon his enemies, naming them one after another by their proper names: and that they being striken with this lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This vision incouraged Sylla very much, and having reported the same to Pompeius, his fellow Confull and companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rouse When he was at Picine s, there came other Ambassadours vnto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and furie, declaring therewithall that the Senate would grant him all things that should be meete and reasonable. When Sylls had heard the ineffage, he answered them, that he would campe there: and so commanded the marshals to deuide the squadrons according to their manner. The Ambassadours beleeuing that he would have done fo indeed, returned againe to Rome: howbeit their backes were no sooner turned, but Sylla straight sent Lucius Basillus, and Caius Mummius, before to seize one of the gates of Rome, and the wall which were on the side of mount Esquilin, and he himselfe also in person with all possible speed marched after them. Basillus entred Rome, and wanne the gate

by force. But the common people ynarmed, got them vp ftraight to the top of their houses, and with tiles and stones stayed and kept him, not onely for entring any further: but also draue him backe againe, even to the very wals of the city. In this hurly burly came Sylla himfelfe to Rome, who feeing apparantly in what state things stood, cryed out to his men, and bade them fet fire on the houses: and himselfe taking a torch light in his hand, shewed them the way what state the they should do, appointing his archers and darters to hurle and bestow their darts and other fire fiery instruments, to the tops of the houses. Herein he was too much our come with vnreaso- Rome. nable choler, passion, and defire of reuenge: for seeking onely to plague his enemies, he tooke noregard to friends, to parents or confederates, neither had he yet any manner of remorfe or pitie: fuch and fo fierie was his anger then, that he put no kinde of difference betweene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was Marius driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by found of trumpet, that he would make free all the flaues that would come to his part. But forthwith came his enemies, fet vpon him, and prest him so neare, that he was constrained vtterly to flie and for fake the city. Then Sylia affembling the Senate, caused Marius, and certaine others, to- Marine and gether with Sulpitius Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. Sulpitius was betrayed Sulpitius by affauc of his owne, whom Sylla made free according to his promife pair by publike edict: to death. but when he had made him free, he caused him to be thrown e down e headlong from the rocke Treson Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he promifed by proclamation a great furmer of mony to him that would kill Marius: a very ingrate and vnthankfull part, confidering that Marius Theingranot many daies before, having Sylla in his owne house, in his hands and custodie, delivered him titude of Sylla refrom peril, and fet him in fafety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had fuffered Sulpitius Synare. to have flaine him, himselfe had bene sourraigne Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might have ruled all things at his own will and pleasure. But Sylla shortly after vpon the like advantage, vied no fuch maner of requitall or gravity towards him, which bred a fecret mifliking amongft the Senate: howbeit the common people made open show of the cuill will they bare vnto Sylla, by rejecting one Nonius his nephew, and one Sernius, who vpon confidence ofhis fauour, prefented themselves to sue for certaine offices. And besides the shame of this refusall, to spite him the more, they chose others in their steades, whose honour and preferment they right well knew that Sylla would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely diffembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying that by this meanes the people of Rome enjoyned a full and perfect liberty, that in fuch cases of election they might freely do what themselves listed. And to mitigate somewhat the peoples ill will towards him, he determined to chuse Lucius Cinna Consull, who was of a contrarie faction vnto him: Lucius Cinhaving first bound him by solemne oath and curse to fauour his doings and whole proceedings. n: conful. Whereupon Cima wentyp to the Capitoll, and there holding a stone in his hand, did solemnely so be syllars fweare and promife, that he would be Syllaes faithfull friend; befeeching the gods if he did the friend. contrarie, that he might be throwne out of Rome, even as he threw that stone out of his hand: and with those words, threw it to the ground before many people. But not with standing all these curfes, Cinna was no fooner entred into his Confulship, but presently he began to change and alterall. For amongst other things, he would needs have Sylla accused; and procured Verginius, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuser. But Sylla left him with his Iudges, and wentto make warres against *Mithridates*. And it is faid, that about the time that Sylla tooke sylla mene flip, and departed out of ITALIB, there fortuned many tokens and warnings of the gods vnto against Alibbida king Mithridates, who was at that present in the citie of Pergamys: as amongst others, ter. that the PERGAMENIANS to honour Mithridates withall, having made an image of victory, carrying a garland of triumph in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: fo some as the was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the ground in the middest of the Theater, and burst alto peeces. Whereby all the people that were present, were stricken with a maruellous feare, and Mithridates himselfe beganne to mislike this enill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately then he looked for. For he had taken Asia from the Romaines, and Bithynia and Cappadocia, from Millrida. the kings which he had driven out: and at that time remained in the city of Pergamvs, to tespowerdeuide the riches and great territories among his friends. As touching his fonnes, the eldest governed the realme of Pontvs, and Bosphonvs, which he inherited from his predecessors,

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euen vnro the deferts beyond the marishes of Moeotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, Ariarathes, was with a great army in conquering of THRACIA, and MAA CEDON. His Captaines and Licutenants moreover, didmany notable conquests in diverse places, with a great power: amongst the which, Archelans being Lord and master of all these for the great number of ships he had, conquered the Iles Cyclades, and all those beyond the head of Malea, and specially amongst others, the Ile of EVBOEA. And beginning at the city of ATHENS, had made all the nations of GRECE to rebell, even vnto THESSALIE, faving that he received some losse by the city of CHERONEA. Where Brutius Sura, one of the Lieu tenants of Sentins gournour of Macedon (a man of great wisedome and valiantnesse) came against him, and stayed him for going any further, oue running the whole countrey of Bo E o. TIAlike a furious raging river. And fetting vpon Archelaus by the city of CHERONEA, OUCL. threw him in three feuerall battels: repulled, and enforced him to take the feas againe. But as Brutius was following him in chase, Lucius Lucullus sent him commandement to give place vnto Sylla, to follow those warres against Mithridates, according to the charge and commisfion in that behalfe given him. Whereupon Brutius Sura went out of the countrey of Boso-TIA, and returned towards his Generall Sentine, notwithstanding his affaires prospered better then he could have wished, and that all GRECE were very willing to revolt, for the reputation of his wifedome and goodnesse. Howbeit the things that we before have spoken of, were the most notable matters that Brutius did in those parts. Sylla now vpon his arrivall, recoursed immediatly all the other cities of GRECE: who being aduertifed of his comming, fent prefently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of Athens onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyrant Aristion, to take part with Mithridates. Sylla thereupon with all his power went thither, befreged the hauen of Pir As round, causing it to be battered and assaulted on every fide, with all forts of engines and inftruments of batterie: whereas if he could have had patience but a little longer, he might have had the high towne by famine, without putting himselse in any manner of danger, the same being brought to such extreme dearth and scarcity of all kinde of victuals. But the hafte that he made to return again to Rome, for feare of the new change which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that fort with great danger, many battels, and infinite charge: confidering alfo, that besides all other provision and furniture, he had twenty thousand mules and mulets labouring daily to furnish his engines of batterie. And when all other wood failed him, because his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of themselues by reason of their weight, others confumed with fire throwne from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the Academia, being better flored and furnished, then any other parke of pleafure in all the fuburbes of the city, and felled downe all the wood of the parke Lycæum. And franding in need of a great fumme of money to entertaine this warre withall, he dealt also with the holiest temples of al GR ECE, causing them to bring him from the temples of Syllatooke EPIDAYRYM and OLYMPYS, all the richest and most precious iewels they had. He wrotemoreouer vnto the councell of the Amphictyons holden in the city of Delphes, to bring him and ready the ready mony they had in the temple of Apollo, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, then if it fill remained there: promifing befides, that if he should by occasion becomzemples of pelled to vie it, he would reftore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpose he sent Caphia Greece and brought it PHOCIAN, one of his very friends and familiars, and commanded him to weigh all that he took. So Caphis went vnto DELPHES: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy Caphis fisthings, in presence of the councell of the Amphyeryons he wept, that the teares ranne downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to do fuch an acte against his will. And when somethat were present, told Caphis that they heard the sound of Apolloes Citherne in the temple: whether he beleeued it was so indeede, or because he would put this superstitious feare into Syllaes head, he wrote to him of it. But Sylla mocking him fent him word that he maruelled he could not confider, that finging and playing on the Citherne, were tokens rather of ioy then of anger, and therefore that he should not faile to proceede farther, and bring him those things which he commanded, for that (faid he) Apollo did give them him. Now for the other levels of the temple of Apollo, the common people knew nor that they were fent vnto Sylla but the filmertunne, which only was that that remained of the offerings of the kings, the Amphicarous were faine to breake that in peeces, because it was so great and massie, that the beasts of draught

could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other ancient Ro-M AINE Captaines, as Flaminius, Manius Acilius, and Paulus Amylius: of the which, the one haning driven king Antiochus out of GRECE, and the rest also having overthrowne the kings of MACEDON, they never once touched the gold and filter of the temples of GRECE: but contrarily fent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honour and reuerence. But as to them, they were all captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their fouldiers well trained, and obedient at commandement, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutinie. And for of the autin themselues, were kings in greatnesse of courage and magnanimity of mind: but in expense of ent Rotheir persons, very spare and scant, without any lauish, but needfull and necessary, proportioned taken for by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their souldiers, then feare their enemies. Now ordering of the captaines contrarily in Syllaes time, fought not their preferment in the common-wealth by their foul vertue, but by force, and having greater warres one with another, then with strangers their ene- also for mies, were compelled to flatter their fouldiers whom they should command, and to buy their their mopaines and service, feeding them still with large and great expences, to please and content them. Wherein they did not confider, that they brought their country into bondage, and made themfelues flaues of the vilest people of the world, whilst that in the meane time they sought to commaund by all meanes possible those, which in many respects were farre better then themselves. And this was the cause that both draue Marius out of Rome, and made him also to return againe against Sylla. This felfe same cause made Cinna to kill Octanius, and Fimbria to slay Flacens: Syllathe of which ends sylla was the very first and only author, spending out of all reason, and giving the spelled all fouldiers largely that served vnder him, to win their goodwils the more, and thereby also to all good served. lurethem. By reason whereof, sylla had need of mountaines of money, and specially at the siege of soldiers. where he was: both to make strangers traytors, and besides, to surnish and satisfie his owned iffolute fouldiers: for he had fuch an earnest defire to take the city of ATHENS, that he could not berie and possibly be diffwaded from it. And either it was of a certaine vaine ambition he had to fight a- sufferance. gainst the ancient reputation of that city, being then but a shadow to that it had bene: or else of avery anger, for the mockes and gibes which the tyrant Ariflion gaue in his speeches from the wals, against him and Metella, to spite him the more withall. This tyrant Arifton was full of all crueltic and wickednesse, having taken vp all the worst qualities and greatest imperfections of the wicking Mithridates, and heaped them wholly together in himselse: by reason whereof the poore the typant city of ATHENS which had escaped from so many warres, tyrannics, and civill diffentions untill Arifion. that prefent time, was by him, as by an vncurable difeafe, brought vnto al extremity; for a buffiell of wheate was worth a thousand Drachmas, and men were driven for famine to eate feuersew that grew about the castle: and they caused old shoots and old oyle potsto be sodden, to deliuer some fauour vnto that they did eate, whilst the tyrant himself did nothing all day long but cram in meate, and drinke drunke, dance, maske, scoffe, and flour at the enemies, suffering the holy lampe of Minerua in the meane season to go out for lack of oyle. And when the Nun of the same temple fent vnto him for a quarter of a bushell of wheate, he fent her a quarter of a bushell of pepper. And when the counsellors of the city, the priests & religious came to the castle, holding up their hands, and befeeching him to take femepitic of the city, and fall to composition with Sylla: he made them to be driven away & scattered with slings. In the end, very late, & yet with great ado, he fent two or three of his quaffing companions vnto sylla, who whe they were come to him, made no demand of composition for the towne, but began to praise and magnifie the deeds of Thefeus, of Eumolpus, and of the ATHENIANS against the MEDES. Whereupon Sylla made them this answer: My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rhetoricke; for the ROMAINES sent me not hither to learne nor to study, but to ouercome & conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the meanetime there were certaine spies in the city that heard old men talking together in a place called Ceramicus, blaming the tyrant because he kept no better watch on that fide of the wallthat was directly ouer against the Heptachalchon, which was the onely place where the enemies might eafilieft get vp vpon the wals. Those spies wet straight vnto Sylla & told him what they had heard the old men fay. Sylla tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to fee it: and perceiving that it was to be taken, fet the matter straight abroach. And himfelfe writes in his commentaries, that the first man that scaled the wals, was Marcus Teins: The groun who finding a fouldier ready to refift him, gaue him fuch a fore blow with his fword upon his relianting headpeece, that his fword brake in two and yet not with standing that he saw himselfe naked & fram,

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The bauen of Pirea Ph.loes ar morie burnt by Sylla. Taxilles ar. my a hun-Sand foot. thou fand borfemen, fourefcore and ten thousand earts with fithes. The force of the barban rians confi Sted in

disarmed of a sword, did not for al that give backe, but stood still to it, and kept the place so long till through him the city was taken, and all vpon the talke of these old men. So Sylla caused the wall to be pulled downe betweene the hauen of PIR AA, and the holy hauen and hauing before made the breach very plaine, entred into the city about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruellous noise with a number of hornes, and sounding of trumpets, and all his armie with him in order of battell, crying, To the facke, to the facke: kill, kill. For he had given them the towne in spoyle, and to put all to the sword. The souldiers therefore ranthrough the streetes with their swords drawne, making an uncredible slaughter: so that to this day they be not acknowned nor do not declare what number of persons were flaine, but to shew the greatnes of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seene where the blood ranne. For befides them that were flaine through all the city, the blood of them onely that were flaine in the market fleed, did wet all the ground of Ceramicus, euen vnto the very place called Dipylon: and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the suburbes of the city. But if the muliitude of the people that were flaine in this fort were great, much more (or 10 many at the leaft) it is faid were those that flue themselues, for the forrow and compassion they had to see their countrey in such pitifull state, supposing certainly that their city was now come to vtter ruine and destruction. This opinion made the noblest men of the city to despaire of their owne fafetie, and feared to line any longer, because they thought they should find no mercy, nor moderation of cruelty in Sylla. Notwithstanding, partly at the requests of Midias and Calliphon, who were banished men from ATHENS, and fell at Syllaes feete vpon their knees: and partly also at the requests of the Romaine Senators that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the body of the city, and the rather for that he had already quenched the thirst of his rauening mind fufficiently well: after that he had fomewhat faid in praise of theancient ATHENIAND, he concluded in the end, to give the greater number vnto the smaller, and the living to the dead. Sylla writeth himselfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the city of ATHEN'S on the very selfe day of the calends of March, which commeth to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chance many things are done at Athens in memory of Noes floud, and of the vniuerfall destruction of the whole world, that was in old time by rage of waters, falling out even in that very moneth. When the city was thus taken, the tyrant Aristion fled into the castle, where he was besieged by Cu. vio, whom Sylla left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last constrained thereunto for lacke of water, he yeelded. The castle was no sooner given vp, but immediatly by Gods prouidence, the weather miraculoufly altered. For the selfesame day, and the very selfe instant that Curio carried the tyrant Aristion out of the castle, the clement being very faire and cleare, the cloudes suddenly gathered together, and there fell fuch a maruellous glut of raine, that all the castle was full of water. Shortly after also, Sylla hauing gotten the hauen of Pirka, burnt the greatest part of the buildings: amongst others was the arfenall and armorie, which Philo in old time had caused to be built, being of a strange and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, Taxilles, one of the Lieutenants of King Mithridates, comming from THRACIA and MACEDON, with a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, and fourescore and ten thousand carts of warre all armed with sithes: fent vnto Archelaus to ioyne with him, lying yet at anker in the hauen of Munychia, and not willing to leave the fea, nor come to fight with the ROMAINES, but feeking rather to draw these warres out in length, and to cut off all victuals from his enemies. Sylla vinderstanding this drift better then himselfe, departed out of the countrey of ATTICA (avery barren soyle, and indeed not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into Borotia: wherein most men thought he committed great errour to leave ATTICA, which is a very hard countrey for horsemen, and togo into Boxoria, a plaine champion: and so much the rather, because he knew well inough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen, and their armed carts with fithes. But to avoide famine, and lacke of victuals as we have faid, he was compelled to feeke battell. Furthermore, he had another cause also that made him affraid, and compelled him togo: and that was Hortenfius a famous Captaine, and very valiwith fither ant alfo, who brought him aide out of THESSALIE; and the barbarous people lay in waite for Tie firaight him in his way, in the straight of Thermopyles. And these were the causes that made Sylla take his way into Bosoria. But in the meane time, Caphis that was our countrey man, deceiving the barbarous

barbarous people, guided Hortensius another way by mount Parnassius, and brought him under Parnassius the city of Tithora, which was not then fo great a city as now at this present it is, but was a The city of caffle onely, situated vpon the point of a rocke, hewne all about: whither the Phocians in old Tithora. time flying king Xerxes comming vpon them, retired themselues for their safetie. Hortensius lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his enemies, so long as day-light lasted; and when the night came on, got downe through very hard stonie waies, vnto the city of PATRO- Syllaand NIDE, where he loyned with Sylla, who came to meete him with all his power. Thus being loyned together, they camped vpon a hill that standeth about the middest of the plaine of Elatca: tronide. the foyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of trees and water at the foot of The plaints the same. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature and situation whereof, Sylla doth maruel- Philobeoth loufly commend. When they were camped, they feemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more they were indeede, for they had not aboue fifteene hundred horfe, and arms togelesse then fifteene thousand footmen. Whereupon the other Captaines their enemies, against ther 1900 Archelaus mind, brought out their bands into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horfemen, with carts, with shields and targets, so that the aire was even cut as under formen. as it were with the violence of the noise and cries of so many fundry nations which all together did put themselves in battel ray. The sumptuousnesse of their furniture moreover, was not altogether superfluous and vnprositable, but served greatly to scare the beholders. For the glissering armour of of their harnesse, fo richly trimmed and set foorth with gold and silver, the colours of their ar- furniture ming coates vpon their curaces, after the fashion of the MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with of the Threethe bright gliftering feele and shining copper, gaue such a shew as they went and remound too Matedoniand fro, that made a light as cleare as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to look vpon. and from the fearing Infomuchasthe Romaines durft not formuch as once go out of the trenches of their campe, Taxilles nor Sylla with all his perfwasion could take away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore (and because also he would not compell them to go foorthin this feare) he was driven not threstates to flir, but close to abide, (though it griened him greatly) to see the barbarous people so proudly Lieutenans andvillainously laugh him and his men to scorne. How beit the distaine and scotling of his enemies, stood him to great good purpose afterwards: for they making now no account of him, kept small watch and ward, strayed vp and downe disorderly besides, though otherwise they were notvery obedient vnto their Captaines, being many commanders, and few good followers: by Many coin. reason whereof, a small number kept in the campe, and all the rest of the great multitude entired manders with the gaine they made by spoyling and sacking of townes thereabouts, dispersed themselves bedient many daies iourny from their campe. For it is faid, that at that very time they destroyed the city fouldiers. of PANOP ÆIA, sacked the city of LEBADIA, and spoyled the temple without commandement orlicence of any of all their Captaines to do it. In tho meane while, Sylla feeing fo many cities & townes spoiled and destroyed, took it both grieuously and also angrily: howbeit he suffered not hismen to lie idle, but kept them in labour, to turne the course of the river of Cephisus, and to fraghtnes call great trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but contrarily with great senerity is his foulpunished fuch as went faintly and lazily to worke, to the end that being wearied with the paine dress. they tooke after fo many works, they would rather proue to hazard battell, as it fell out indeed. Livie to west-For the third day after they had begun thus to labour, as Sylla passed by them, they cryed out vnto him, to leade them against their enemies. But this answer was vnto them againe: That those with exwere but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then desirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be trevelation, foindeed, and that you have fo good a will to fight as you make shew of then I will, said he, that whereby to make their youarme your selues presently, and get youto yonder place; shewing them therewithall where deficus to the castle of the Paraporamians stood in old time, which then (the city being destroyed) was sight. no more but the top of aftonie mountaine cut all about, and seuered from the mount of E- Edylium dylium by the breadth of the river of Assus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote month. of the same mountaine falleth into the river of Cephisus, and both these rivers running in one, as and some falleth into the river of Cephisus, and both these rivers running in one, carying a swift streame, do make the knap of the said hill very strong of situatio to lodge a camp vpon. And therefore Sylla feeing the fouldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their coppertargets to take vp that place to lodge in:to preuent them, and to get it before them (as indeed he did)he marched thither in all hast possible, and got it even with the earnest goodwill of al his fouldiers. Archelaus being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHOE-NONEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHOERONEANS that were in syllaes campe, befought

Sylla fendeth Gabi nius with a legion to aid Cheronea.

Oracles and vnto Silla.

> Salueniss a fouldier.

Iubiter Olympias. Edylium, Mountaines

> Thurium mons aliter erthopagu. Morion fl. Apollo 1 has Charon the

> > reth his

him that he would not for sake their city, and leaue it to their enemie. Sylla desiring to gratifie them therein, sent Gabinius one of his Colonels with a legion, and therewith all gaue the CHOE-RONEANS leaue to go thither, who did what they could possible to get into the city before 64binius: but that they could not, fuch was the diligence and honestie of the man, as he seemed more desirous of their safety, then they were themselues. Neuerthelesse, Iubas doth not call the Colonell that was fent thither Gabinius, but Hircius. And thus was the city of CHOERONEA prescrued from the danger it stood in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the ROMAINES, both of oracles and prophecies, which promifed them victory from thetemple of Lebadia, and the caue of Trophonius: of which prophecies, those countreymen make great mention. But Sylla in the tenth booke of his commentaries writeth, that Quintus Titius.a man of quality and name amongst them that trafficked into the countrey of GRECE, came vnto him after he had wonne the battell of CHOERONEA, totell him that Trophonius gaue him tovnderstand, that shortly after he should have a second battel, and that he should yet again have another victory in the same place. After him another mã of war called Saluenius, told him also what fuccesse he should have in the wars of ITALY, saying, that he knew it by reuclation: & both these men agreed in the maner of the reuelation. For they faid, that they had seene a god, in maiestic, beauty and greatnes, like vnto the image of Iupiter Olympias. Sylla having passed the river of Asfus, went to lodge at the foot of mount Edylium, hard by Archelaus, who had placed & fortified his campe betweene the two mountaines of Acontium & of Edylium, ioyning to the city of the Assians. The place where Archelaus camped, beareth his own name Archelaus vnto this day. One day after Sylla had changed his lodging, he left Murana in his campe with a legion, and two cohorts, to keepe the enemies still occupied that were in great trouble, & he himselfe in y meane time went & facrificed by the river of Cephifus. His facrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of CHOERONEA, to take the force he had there vnder Gabinius, & to know the mountain also called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knap of a mountainevery steepeand sharpe of al sides, with a narrow point like a pine apple, by reason wherof we do call it Orthopagum. At the foot of the same runneth the river called Morion, and there is also the temple of A. pollo furnamed Thurias: & they fay, that this furname of Thurias was given vnto him of the name of Thuros, who was mother of Charon, the founder and builder of the city of CHOERONEA. Other think that the cow which was given to Cadmus for a guide, came to him in that placewhich hath euer fince kept § name, for that the Phoenician's call a cow, Thor. Now when Sylla came neare vnto Choer on easthe Colonel Gabinius whom he had fent thither with a garrifon to defend the same, went to meete him, with his men very well armed, wearing a laurell garland; and Sylla after he had faluted him & his fouldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting, And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of CHOERONEA to him, one his name was O noloichus, and the other Anaxidamus, who promised him to driue the enemics from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but give them some smal number of fouldiers. For there was a little path-way, which the barbarous people miftrufted not beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the Muses, by the which they might cafily go to the top of this mountaine Thurium: fo that following that path, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, & they might eafily kill them with stones, or at the least they should drive them maugre their heads downe into the valley. Gabinius assuring Syllathat they were both very valiantmen, and such as he might boldly trust vnto: Sylla gaue them men, and commanded them to execute their enterprise; and he himselfe in the meane scason went and set his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horsemen on the wings, placed himselse in the right wing, appointing the left vnto Murana. Galba and Hortensius his Lieutenants, were placed in the taile with certaine bands of the rereguard, which thy kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies should not enclose them behind: because they perceived a farre off that the enemies put foorth a great number of horsemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to the end that the points of their battell might the more eafily bow and enlarge themselues, to compaffe in the Romaines on the backe fide. Now in the meane time, these two Choer one ans whom Sylla had fent vnder Hircius their Captaine, having compassed about the mountaine Thurium, beforethe enemies were aware of them, fodainly came to shew themselves vpon the top of the mountaine, which did so feare the barbarous people, that they beganne immediatly to flie, one of them for the most part killing another. There was no resistance, but flying downe

the mountaine, fell vpon the points of their owne partifans and pikes, and one of them thrusting in anothers necke, tumbled headlong downethe mountaine together, having their enemies befides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and ftrake them behind where they lay o- Sylla draue penvnto them: fo as there were flaine three thousand of them about this mountaine Thurium. Arthelaus And as for them that fought to faue themselues by flight, Murana that was already set in battell the bill. ray, met with some, cut them off by the way, and flue them downeright. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thrusting into the battell of their footemen, put the most part of them quite out of order, and maruellously troubled their captaines before they could fer them againe in order: which was one of the chiefest causes of their overthrow. For Sylla were and gaue a charge voon them in this trouble and diforder, and had quickly won the ground that was betweeneboth armies, whereby he took away the force of altheir armed carts The force of with fythes, which are then of greatest force, when they have the longest course, to give them the armed course with aswift and violent stroke in their chase: whereas when their course is but short, the blow is so street entered much the weaker and of leffe strength, even as arrowes are, that a far offenter not deepe into the fift in long thing they be shot at:as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their first carts set foorth fo faintly, and came on with fo feeble a force, that the ROMAINES fent them backe, and eafily repulfed them, with great flaughter, and clapping of hands one to another, as they commonly vie in the ordinarie games of horse-running at Romm. When they had thus repulled the carts, the battel of Syllaes footmen beganto charge the barbarous people, who basing their pikes Syllaes conflood close one to another, because they would not be broke; and the Romaines on the other flot with fide, bestowed first their darts among them, and then sodainly drew out their swords in the heate at larvis, they were in, and pur afide the enemies pikes, whereby they might come nearer to their bodies. There were fifteene thousand slaves in the front of the battell of the barbarous peopl, whom Mithridates Lieutenant had made free by open proclamation, & had deuided them by bands, a- stanes mongst the other footmen. By occasion whereof, there was a Romaine Centurion spake plea- madefree fantly at that time, faying, That he neuer faw flaues before haue liberty to speake & do like free to the men, but only at Saturnes feasts. Neuerthelesse, they against the nature of slaues, were very vali- Lieutenate antio abide the shocke, and the Romains footemen could not so readily breake nor enter into in the field, them, nor make them giue backe, because they stood very close one to another, and their rankes were of fuch a length befides: vntill fuch time as the ROMAINES that were behind the first rankes, did fo pelt them with their flings, hurling stones, bestowing their darts and arrowes vpon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turne their backes and flie amaine. And when Archelaus did first thrust out the right wing of his armie, supposing to enclose the Ro-MAINES behind, Hortensius straightwayes caused the bands he had with him to run and charge vpon the flankes: which Archelaus perceiuing, made the horsemen he had about him, turne their faces foorthwith, which were in number about two thousand: infomuch as Horten fine being fer vpon with all his troupe, was compelled to retire by litle and litle towards the mountaine, perceining himselse farre from the battell of his footmen, and enuironed round about with his enemies. Sylla seeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and having not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of Hortensius. But Archelans coniecturing by the dust which the horses raised, what the matter was: left Hortensius there, and with speed returned against towards the right wing of his enemies, from whence Sylla was gone, hoping he had left it vnfurnished of a sufficient Captaine to command them. Taxilles on the other fide, caused his copper targets also to marchagainst Murana: so as the noise they made on both sides, caused the mountaines to ring againe, wherewithall sylla stayed, standing in doubt which way to take. At the last he resoluted to returne to the place from whence he came, and fent Hortenfius with foure enfignes to aide Murana: and himselfe with the fifth in great speede went towards the right wing of his armie, the which was now already bickering, and joyned with their enemies, fighting handto hand with Archelaus. By reason whereof, when Sylla was come with his aide, they did easily distresse them: Syllaes wiand after they had broken their array, they chased them, flying for life to the riner, and vnto the Milhida. mountaine Acontium. But sylla notwithstanding forgat not Murana, but went againe to his tes Liente. reliefe: and finding that he on his fide had also put the enemies to flight, followed him with the chase of them that field. There was a maruellous slaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, & many of them supposing to have recovered their campe, were slaine by the way so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped onely ten thousand, who saued them-

The field BESTA WOOD in the plaine of Molus A.

Apollo Pythias. Iupiter Olympias. full went against Silla

Dorylaus tes generall

The goodly plaine before the city of Orcho. Enenp The riner

felues by Aying vnto the city of CHALCIDE. Sylla for his part writeth, that he could make recke. ning of no more but foureteene of his fouldiers only that were flaine, whereof there came two againe to him the same night. Wherfore in the markes of triumph which he set up for tokens of that victory, he caused to be written on the top thereof, Mars, Victorie, and Venus : fignifying thereby, that he had ouercome in these warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or martiall discipline. These marks of triumph were set vp for the battel which he wan in the plaine field, in that place where Archelaus beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he fet vn another also on the top of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were set vpon behind. and there is written in Greeke letters: That the valiant deedes of Omoloichus and Anaxidamus." gaue way to the winning of this victory. Sylla for the joy of this great wonne battell, caused mufirians to play in the city of THEBES, where he builded a stage for all the musitians nearevnto fountaine O'Edipus, and certaine noble Grecians were appointed judges of that mulicke. whom he caused to be sent for our of other cities, because he mortally hated the THEBANS: infomuch as he tooke from them halfe their lands, which he confecrated vnto Apollo Pythias, and Iupiter Olympias, appointing that of the reuenue thereof, they should redeliuer and pay back the mony which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. Sylla after this having in. telligence that Placeus, one of his enemies, was chosen Consultat Rome, and had passed the sea Ionium with anarmy, under pretext to make warre against king Mithridares, but indeede to make war with himfelfe: tooke his journey towards Thessaly to meet him. But when he was in the city of Melite A, there came newes to him out of all parts, that there was a new and fecond armie of the kings arrived, no leffe then the first, the which spoyled and destroyed all the countrey which he had left behind him. For Dorylans, one of king Mithridates Lieutenants, was arrived in the city of CHALCIDE with a great fleet of shippes, having brought thither with him fourescore thousand fighting men, the best trained, the best armed and appointed souldiers that were in all his kingdome of Pontys in Asia: and from thence went into Bofotia, had all that country at commandement, and fought to fight with Sylla, notwithanding that Archelaus alledged many reasons to dissiwade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in every place, thatso many thousands of fouldiers could not have bene cast away in the first battel, without some notable treason. Wherupon Sylla returned with all possible speed, and made Dorylaus know before many daics passed ouer his head, that Archelaus was a wise man, and knew well enough the work thineffe & valiant courage of the Romain Bs. And Dorylaus having had but a little proofe only in certaine light skirmisses which he made against Sylla, about TILPHOSSION in THESSALY: himselfe was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazard battel, but rather to draw out the wars in length, and supplant the Romain Bs with charge and expence. And yet not withftading, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth al about OacHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encouragement to Archelans, who judged it a very fit placetogiuc battel in specially because he was the stronger of horseme in the field. For al the plaines that are within the country of BOEOTIA, the greatest and largest of them, is the plaine neare to the city of ORCHOMENE, which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the marishes where the river of Melas disperseth it selfe abroad. The head of the same river is not far from the city of ORCHOMENE, and that river only of all other rivers of GRECE, from the very head whence it cometh, is nauigable; & hath befides another fingular property, that it rifeth & swelleth euen in the longest sommer daies, as the river of Nilus doth, & bringeth forth the selfesame plants & trees, fauing that they beare no fruit, neither are they fo great as those of Ægypy. This riuer hath no long course, because that the most part of the water runneth into lakes and marishes, covered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litle part of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephifus, in the place that the reedes grow where they make good flutes with all. When they were camped one neare to another, Archelaus lay quietly and stirred not but Sylla presently cast great trenches fro one side to another, to stop the way against their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine, where they might have taken what ground they would for their men of armes, & have driven the Romains into the marishes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, fo fooneas their captains had given them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not only featter them that wrought in Syllaes trenches, but put the most part of their guard also that stood in battel ray to defend them, in a maruellous feare, who also began to flie. Which Sylla perceiuing, lighted ftraight from his horse, and taking an ensigne in his hand,

rannethrough the middeft of his men that fled, vntill he came to his enemies, and crying out, faid vnto them: O my Romaine fouldiers, mine honour commandeth me to die here, and therforewhen any man asketh you where you for fooke your captaine, remember that you answer, words to It was at Or CHOMENE. They were so ashamed at these words, that he made them turne: besides souldiers. that there came two cohorts vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue such a hot charge vpon their enemies, that they fled foorthwith vpon it. That done, Sylla retired with his men, and made them dine; and the reupon by and by fet them againe to the trenchesto enclose his enemies campe, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was Diogenes, Archelaus wives sonne slaine, fighting valiantly before them all, in the right Diogenes wing of their battell. And the bow-men being pressed soneareby the Romaines, that their saine. bowes would do no good, took their arrowes in their hands in stead of swords, and strake their enemies with them, to force them to give back, vntill such time as at the last they were all driven into their campe, where they passed that night in great forrow, as well for the losse of them that were flaine, as alfo for the number of those that were hurt. The next morning, Sylla leading his men againetowards the camp of his enemies, went on still continuing his trenches; and certaine of them being come out to skirmish with them, he set vpon them so lustily, that at the first charge heput them to flight. That brought fuch a feare to all the whole campe of the enemies, that not aman durst abide any longer: so as Sylla valiantly following on his victory, shuffled in among syllaes val them as they fled, and in the end took all together. Straightway all the marishes were filled with Mithride. bloud, and the lake full of dead bodies: so that untill this present day they find there in that place to Lieute. many bowes of the barbarous people, morians, peeces of taffes, and fwords drowned in the mid of the marishes, not with standing that it is wel-neare two hundred yeares ago since this battell was stricken. And thus much for the wars about the cities of Chobronea and Orcho- syllaquer-MENE. Now the wars being past in this sort in GRECE, Cinna and Carbo dealt very cruelly and same are vonaturally at Rom E with the Noblemen and greatest persons by reason whereof, many flying two sames their tyranny, went to Syllaes campe, as vnto the hauen of their health and fulneffe of felicitie, battells, as fothat in short time Sylla had an affembly of a ROMAINE Senate about him. Metella her selfe, charones his wife, having stolen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his chomene, houses in the city and country both, were all burnt and destroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go & helpe them that yet remained at Romn. Sylla vpon hearing of these newes, fellingreat perplexity. For on the one fide, it grieued him to fee his countrey fo miserably afflided; and on the other fide, he knew not well how he might go, leaving fo great an enterprise as that war was, and specially against a king of such might and power as Mithridates shewed himselfeto be. And being in these dampes, there came one Archelaus a merchant to him, borne in thecity of DELIVM, who brought him a fecret meffage from the other Archelaus, king Mithridates Lieutenant: the which pleased Sylla so well, that he desired that Archelaus and himselfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the sea side, neare vnto the city of DELIVE, where there is a temple of Apollo. Archelaus began to enter the talke with him, decla- Talke beting vnto Sylla, that he would wish him to leave the coquest of Asia, & of the realme of Pont, winte Sylla and to returne into his country to the civill warres at Rom E and in fo doing, the king would fur law as their nishhim, not only with as much money, but with as many ships and men, as he himselfe would meeting. defire. Syllavpon this motion told him againe, that he would wish him to for sake Mithridates fruice, and to make himselfe king, offering to proclaime him a friend and consederate of the ROMAINES, fo that he would deliver him all the navie which then he had in his hands. Arche. luss feerned much to abhorre to heare him speake of treason. But Sylla going on with his tale, replyed againe vnto him: Why Archelaus, said he, thou that art a Cappado e IAN, and servant to a barbarous King, or his friend at the least: hast thou so good a heart with thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an illact? And art thou indeed to bold to speake to me of treason, which am the ROMAINES Lieutenant generall, and Sylla? As if thou were not he, that at the battell of CHOERONEA diddest sauethy selfe by flying, with a small number left thee of fixe score thousand fighting men, which thou before hadft in thy campe: and that hid thy selfe two dates together in the marishes of ORCHOMENE, leaving the fields of BOBOTIA with fuch heapes of dead bodies, that no man could passe for them? After this reply, Archelaus altered his speech, and falling downe at Syllaes seete, humbly befought him to end this warre, and to make peace with Mithridates. Whereunto Sylla answered, that he was very well contented

SYLLA

Peace con cluded betwixt Sylla behalfe vp. on conditios

> Archelaus suspected of Aristion tyrant of Aned by Silla

Mithrida tes exceptit

Archelaus Tent from Sylla to Mithrida-

Sillaand Mithridases meet at Dardane.

The floutnes of Syllan ses excuseth Syllaes anfwer to Mithrida-

withall. And thereupon peace was concluded between them under conditions: that Mithrida. should depart from Asia the lesse, and from Paphlagonia, that he should restore Bithy-NIA VIIO Nicomedes, and CAPPADOCIA VIITO Ariobar Zanes, that he should pay 2000 talents to the Romain Es, and give them threescore and ten gallies, with all their furniture. And voon this, Sylla would also assure him the rest of his Realme: and would cause him to be proclaimed a friend of the Romaines. These articles being past by agreement betwixt them, Sylla taking his iourney through THESSALY & MACEDON, into the country of HELLESPONT, carried Arche. laws with him, whom he honourably intreated. For Archelaus falling dangerously sicke of a difcale in the city of Larissa, he stayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him; as if he had bene one of his chiefest Captaines and companions. And this was the cause that made Archelaus to be blamed for the battell of CHOERONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought itour. nor Syllatruly wonne it, but by treason. And againe, Archelaus was the more suspected, because Sylla redeliuered Mithridates all his feruants and friends which he had prisoners, fauing thetyrant Aristion that kept ATHENS, whom he poyloned, because he was Archelaus enemy but spea. cially for the lands Sylla gaue vnto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gaue him ten thousand Iugera. (or acres of land) within the Ile of Eve o EA, and gave him moreover the ritle of a friend of the ROMAINES for euer. But Sylla denyethall these things in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambaffadors came from king Mithridates vnto Sylla, who told him that the king their ma. fter did ratific and accept all the articles of peace, fauing that he only prayed him he would not take the country of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the gallies, he would not fo much as once say he would promise them. Sylla being offended herewith, angerly answered the agains: Then Mithridates (as ye fay) meaneth to keepe PAPHLAGONIA still, and retuseth to give the ships I demanded: where I looked that he would have humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand onely, with the which he put fo many Romaine citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me another tale, if I come once into Asia: but now at Pergamys, he speaketh his pleasure of this war which he hath not seene. The Ambassadours being afraid of his words, replied not againe. Whereupon Archelaus spake, and befought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hand. By intreatie, in the end he obtained of syllato fend him vnto Mithridates: promifing that he would either bring him to agree to all thearticles and conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himselfe with his owne hands. Vponthis promife Sylla fent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armic into the countrey of Medical and after he had destroyed the most part thereof, returned backe againe into MACEDON, where Archelaus being returned from Mithridates, foundhim nearevnto the city of PHILIPPES, bringing him newes that all should be well: howbeit that his master Mithridates prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now the matter that made Mithridates fo earnest to speake with Sylla, was chiefly for Fimbria : who having slaine Flaceus the Confull, being of the contrary faction vnto Sylla, and certaine of Mithridates Lieu. tenants also, went himselfe against him to fight with him. Mithridates fearing his comming, choserather to make himselfe Syllaes friend. So Mithridates and Sylla mettogether in the countrey of TROADE, in the city of DARDANE, Mithridates being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred fale of shippes with oares at sea, with twenty thousand footemen, sixe thousand horse, and a number of armed carts with fithes befides by land, Sylla having onely but four enfignes of footmen, and two hundred horsemen. Mithridates went to Sylla, and offering to take him by the hand: Sylla asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which Archelaus had agreed vnto. Mithridates made him no answer. Sylla following on his tale, said vnto him: It is for futers to speake first, that have request to make: and for conquerours, it is enough to himselfeso hold their peace, and heare whatthey will fay. Then began Mithridates to excuse himselfe, and to lay the occasion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinance of the gods that so had appointed it, and partly also vpon the Romaines themselves. Whereunto Sylla replyed, that he had heard of long time that Mithridates was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, feeing that he lacked no comely words to cloke his foule and shamefull deedes: but withall he sharpely reproued him, and draue him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him againe, if he did confirme that which Archelaus had done. Mithridates made answer, that he did. Then Sylla saluted, embraced, and kissed him: and calling for the kings Ni-Cappadorio. comedes and Ariobarzanes, reconciled them together, and made Mithridates their friend againe.

Inconclusion, after Mithridates had delinered Syllathreescore and tengallies, and fine hundred bow-men, he returned by sea into his realme of Pontvs. But Sylla hearing that his fouldiers were angry with this peace made with Mithridates, because they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their most cruell and mortall enemie, (hauing in one selfeday caused a hundred and fiftie thousand Romain E citizens to be slaine, that were dispersed abroad and fiftie indiuers places of Asia) foto depart, and go his way fafe, with the riches and spoyles of the thousand countrey, which he had berefithem of, and vsed at his pleasure, the space of forty yeares together:answered them in excuse of himselse, that he was notable to make warres with Mithridates, one day in and Fimbria both, if once they were joyned together against him. And so Sylla departing thence Mithrida. went against Fimbria, who then was encamped neare to the city of THYATIRA, and lodged tes commahimselse as neare vnto him as he conveniently might. Now whilest he was compassing in his demens. lodging with a trench, Fimbriaes fouldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any armour or weapon, to falute Syllaes fouldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make up their Thaira. trench: which Fimbria feeing, and perceiving his fouldiers mindes to changed, of an extreame feare which he had of Sylla, at whose hands he looked for no mercie, killed himselfe in his owne campe. Sylla hereupon condemned the whole countrey of As 1 A the leffe, to pay the fumine of twenty thousand talents amongst them, and presently also he vindid many poore housholders bandly inthrough his infolent fouldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garrifon there. For treated the he ordained, that every housholder should give the souldier that lodged in his house, soure Te- of Ma. tradrachmaesa day, and should be bound to give him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their supper also: and that enery Captaine should have fiftie Drachmaes a day, a night gowne for the house, and a garment to go abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had given this order, he departed from the city of Eph Bsvs with all his fleete, and in three daies fay ling arrived in the hauen of Piræa at ATHENS, where he was received into the fraternity of the Mysteries, and reserved for himselse the Librarie of Appellicon Teian: in the which were the most part of Ariffolle and Theophrastus workes, not then thought meete to come in eue- Ariffolle riemans hands. And they fay, that this Librarie being brought to Rome, Tiramion the Gram.

marian found the manager of average payr of them and they device the Post of the phrashs. marian found the meanes to extract a great part of them : and that Andronicus the RHODIAN ha- booker. uing recouered the originals into his hands, published them, and wrote the summaries which we have at this present. For the ancient Peripateticke Philosophers were of themselues very wise and learned men, but they had not all Aristotles works, nor Theophrastus amongst them, and yetthose few they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together: because that the goods of Nelew Scepsian (to whom Theophrastus left all his bookes by will) came to fall into thehands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimation of them. And furthermore, Sylla being at ATHENS, had fuch a paine and numneffe in his legges, and was so heavie withall, that Strabo calleth it aspice of the gout, that is to say, a feeling or entring therinto, which then began to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occasion he tooke the seas, and went vnto a place called Adips v M, where there are naturall hot baths; and there remained a while fola- at Adipsum cing himself all the day long with musick, seeing of playes, and entertaining such kind of people. for the goal Voon a day as he was walking by the sea side contain filter me made him a present of fell, which Vpon a day as he was walking by the sea side, certain sisher me made him a present of sish, which pleafed him maruellous well: and demanding of them whence they were they answered him againe, that they were of the city of ALES. What of ALES faid he is there any of them yet left allue: speaking it, because that after the battell of Orchomens, when he followed the chace of hisenemies, he hadtaken and destroyed three cities of Bobotia all at one selfe time, to wit, Anthebon, Larymna, and Ales. The poore fisher men were so amazed with these words, that they stood still, and could not tell what to say. Syllafell a laughing thereat, and badthem go their wayes a Gods name, and be not afraid, for they brought no finall interceffours with them, which were worth the reckening of. When sylla had given them these words, the ALEIANS which were worth the reckening of. When Sylla nad given them there words, the ALETANS went home with a mery heart, to gather themselves together agains in their city. Sylla so passing melbers went home with a mery heart, to gather themselves together against in their city. Sylla so passing the site of the through THESSALY & MACEDON, came to the sea side, intending to go from the city of Dyn- ont of RACHIVM UNIO BRUNDUSIUM With 120 fayle. The city of Apollonia is hard by Dyrra- medow by chivm, & thereabouts is a park confecrated vnto the Nymphs, where in a faire goodly greene Direction medow in many places there commend our green bulbles of Green designed on the state of medow in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually and it is takin flat-faid, that there was a Satyre taken fleeping, euen in the very felfe fame forme the painters and prognationage-grauers haue fet him out. He was brought vnto Sylla, and being asked by all forts of inter-105/la.

Sallawent filteene Ge. mrals, and four elsundred and fiftie enfignes Syllaes returne into Italy. Epheum maams.

Sallacuer threw the Confull Norbanus & Marius the yonger, neare to the moun taine Effie. 4.33 A Paus

forefleweth Syllate vi-Etori, othe burmeg of the Capitall which fell cut trúl).

A winde that blew Americat ef a medoro rpon Luculi by the city of Faesta.

Leculins victors as Fidentia

Salides pelio cie with Scipie.

preters what he was, he made no answer that a man could vnderstand, but onely put foortha tharpe voice like the neying of a horse, or whinnying of a goate. Sylla wondering at it, abhorsed him, and made him to be carried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Syllahad imbarked his men to passe the sea, he was afraid that so soone as they had landed in ITALY, they would shrinke from him, and curry man go home to his own city. But they sware and promised first of themselves, that they would tarie & keepe together, and by their wils would do no hurt in ITALY. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stood in need of mony, they offered him of theirs, and enery man to lend him as his ability ferued. But Sylla would none, yet thanked them for their good will:and after he had exhorted them to fight like valiant fouldiers, he went against fifteene Generals of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fiftie enfignes of footmen well armed, as he himselfe writeth in his commentaries. But the gods promifed him good fortune in his wars, by many fundry apparent fignes. For in a facrifice he made by TARENTYM, after he was come on land, the liner of a certaine beaft facrififed, was altogether fashioned after the manner of a crowne or garland of lawrell, out of the which did hang two bands or rolles. And alitle before he went into Campanta, neare vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight which neuertheleffe was no matter of truth, but a vision only that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it felfe by little and little here and there in the aire, and in the end vanished quite away as clouds which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, Marius the younger, and Norbamus the Confull, who brought two great armies against him, were ouerthrowne by him, before he had fer his men in battell, or had appointed any man in his place where he should fight: and this proceeded only upon the courage and life of his foulders, whose good will to serue against them was such as following this victory, he compelled the Confull Norbanus after he had flaine fixe thousand of his men, to take the city of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exploit (as himsclfereported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he faith furthermore, that in the city of Sylvin, there was a flaue of one Pontius acitizen, who being inspired with a propheticall spirit, came to tel him from the goddesse Bellona, that he should grow in strength, and cary away the victory of these wars; howbeit that if he did not hie him the fooner, the Capitoll at Rome should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his words, being the fixteenth day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Irdy. And furthermore alfo, Lucullus (one of Syllaes Captaines) being neare vnto the city of Fidentia with fixteene enfignes onely, against fiftie enfignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to ferue, because the most part of them were naked and vnarmed, was afraid to hazard the battell: and as he was even bethinking himselfe what was best to determine thereof, there rose a litle wind out of a goodly meadow, that blew a wonderfull fort of flowers upon the fouldiers on every part of them. These flowers stated of themselves as they fell, some vpontheir targets, and others upon their morians, without falling to the ground: so that it seemed to their is failure enemies a far off as if they had benegarlands of flowers ypon their heads. This made Lucullus for ldiers more lufty a great dealethen they were before, & with this good will they determined to give a charge upon their enemies: whom they overthrew, flue eighteene thou fand of them in the field, & took their camp. This Lucullus was brother vnto the other Lucullus, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings Mithridates & Tigranes Neuertheleffe, Sylla perceiving that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant armies, thought good to vse policie with force: and therefore practifed with Scipio one of the Confuls to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it and thereupon were oft meetings and affemblies of both fides. Now Sylla draue off the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still feeking occasio of delay, to the end that his soldiers which werethroughly acquainted with craft & fubtilty as well as himfelfe, might in the meane time corrupt Scipioes fouldiers by repaire into his campe: for they coming into Scipioes campe, being very convertant with them, ftraight corrupted fome of them with readic mony, other with promises, and other with faire flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practife had continued a while, Syllacoming neare vnto Seipioes campe with 20 entignes onely: all his men faluted Scipioes foldiers, & they refaluting them again, yeelded themsclues vnto Sylla, so as Scipio was left postalone in his tet, where he was take, but they afterwards let him go. So Sylla with his 20 enfignes, like to the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds

into their nets, hauing gotten forty enfignes from his enemics by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that Carbo faid of Sylla, that he had to fight with a foxe, Carbon and a lion both: but that the foxe did him more hurt and mischiefe then the lion. After this, Ma- sylatonrius the younger having fourescore and flue ensignes in his campe neare unto the city of \$10- shing the NIVM, presented battell vnto sylla: who having very good desire to fight, and specially on that fixed 18. day because the night before he had seene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he saw Ma- younger rius the father (who was deceassed long before) warning his sonne that he should come to him. Sylla forthis respect desired maruellously to fight that day: and thereupon caused Dolabella to presenteth come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies stept betweene him 5,14 band and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from loyning with Sylla. Syllaes souldiers to the by the car contrary, fought to keepe the way open for him, with so great labour and paine, that they were sillato pie al weary and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruellous great shower of raine vpon for in his them as they were buffe opening the way, that troubled them more then the labour they had in hand. Wherupon the prinat captaines of the bands went to make Sylla vnderstand it, and to pray him to deferre the battel vntil another day: shewing him how the fouldiers wearied with labor, lay down vpontheir targets on the ground to take their ease. Sylla perceiuing this, was cotented withall, though greatly indeed against his will. But when he had given the signall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their campe, Marius the younger cometh on horsebacke marching brauely before all his company, hoping to haue furprifed his enemies in diforder, and by that meanes to haue ouerthrowne them eafily. But far otherwise did fortune then performe the reuelation which Sylla had in his forefaid dreame: for his men falling in a rage withall, left their worke in the trench where they wrought, stucke their darts vpon the banke, ran vpon their enemies with their fwords drawne, and with a maruellous crie fet vpon them fo valiantly, that they were not able to relift their furie, but fodainly turned their backs and fled, where there was a great and notable flaughter made of them. Marins their Captaine fled to the city of PRENE- Marins fled st B, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downed rope from the wall, which he tyedabout his middle, and so was triced vp by it. Yet some writers say, and Fenestella among other, that Marius neuer saw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and very sleepie, he lay vnder some tree in the shadow to resta little, after he had given the signall and word of the battell, and flept fo foundly, that he could fcant awake with the noise and flying of his men. sylla himfelfe writeth, that he loft at this battell but three and twenty men, flue twentie thoufand of his enemies, and tooke eight thousand prisoners. His Lieutenants also had the like good successe in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Seruilius: which without any losse of their men, or but with a very small, ouerthrew many great mighty armies of their enemies. Infomuch as Carbo, the head and chiefe of all the contrary faction, and he that most maintained imagrick. it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyond the feas into Africke. The last battell that Sylla had, was against Thelesiaus Samnite, who comming like a freshchampion to set vpon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battels, had almost staine him euen the Samat Romn gates. For Thelesinus having gathered rogether a great number of fouldiers, with niepus one Lamponius Lycanian, marched with all speeds towards the city of PRENESTE, to deliver great dan. Marius the younger that was besieged there. But vnderstanding that Sylla on the one side ger. came in great haste also to meete him, and that Pomponius came behind him on the other side, and perceiting moreouer that the way was so shut vp, that he could goe neither forward nor backward, being a valiant fouldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fields, most dangeronfly ventured to go straight to Rome. And so stole away by night with all his whole power, and marching to Rome ward, had almost taken it at his first comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept:but he stayed happily tenne furlongs from the gate Collina, bragging with himselfe, and beleeuing that he should do wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came divers young Noblemen and Gentlemen out of the city to skirmish with Thelesinus: who slue agreat number of them, and among others one Appius Claudius a young Gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereupon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell ashreeking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great scare and trouble, Balbus (whom Sylla had fent) came first with seuen hundred horse vponthe spurre, and staying but a little to coole and give them breath, bridled straight again, & went to set vpon

Sylla a-

the enemies, thereby to flay them. Soone after him came Sylla alfo, who commanded his men that came first, quickly to eate somewhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: notwithflanding that Dolabella and Torquatus perswaded him to the contrarie, and besought him nor to put his fouldiers wearied with their journey, to fo great and manifest a danger; and the rather, because they had not to fight with Carbo and Marius, but with the SAMNITE'S and LVEANS? who were both warlike nations and good foul diers, & those besides that most deadly hated the ROMAINES. But for all that, Syllaient them backe, and commanded his trumpets to found the alarme, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that ever he fought before. The right wing where Crasses was badthe better much: but the left wing was very fore distressed, and stood in great perill. Syllahearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vpon a white courfer that was both fwift & very ftrong. Sylaes da-The enemies knew him, & there were two that lifted up their armes to throw their darts at him. whom he faw not: but his page gaue his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very points of the darts came hard by the horse tayle & stucke fast in the ground. Some fay, that Sylla had a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from the city of DELPHES, and intime of warres were it alwaics in his before, which he theretooke in his hand, and kiffing it, faid : O Apollo Pythias, haft thou fo highly exalted Cornelius Sylla, so fortunate hitherto through fo many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his own naturall city among his countreymen? And so crying out to Apollo for helpe, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating some, threatning others, and laying upon the rest to stay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his armie was broken and ouerthrowne by his enemies : and himfelfe amongst them that fled, was compelled to recouer his camp with speed, having lost many of his friends and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens flaine and troden under feete (both with horse and men) that came onely to Lucretius fee the battell fought: fo that they within the city thought themselves verily violone. Lucretius Offella be-Offella furthermore (he that befieged Marius in the city of PRENESTE) had almost raised his fieged Mafiege, you the words of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to rins in Praremoue with all speed possible, for Silla was slaine, and Thelesinus had taken Rome. Now about In the end midnight came certaine fouldiers from Crassus to Syllaes campe, and asked for meate for Crassus of Marius life it is refupper, and his mens, who having chased his flying enemies whom he had overthrowne vnto ported conthe city of ANTEMNA (Awhich they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. Sylla undertravie, that standing that, and being advertised that the most part of his enemies were overthrown eat this Silla befieeed Marius battell, went himselfe the next morning betimes vnto Antemna, where three thousand of his the vonger enemies fent to know if he would receive them to mercy if they yeelded them felues ynto him. in Perufia, and not in His answer was, that he would pardon their lives, so as they would do some mischief to their sel-Prenefte. lowes before they came to him. These three thousand her cupon trusting to his promise, fell vp-2 can faued on their companions; and for the most part one of them killed another. Notwithstanding Sylthem(elues in Antem la having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as na: and the reft amounting in all to the number of fix thousand, within the shew-place where they vsed yeelded to to runtheir horses: whilest he himselfe held a councell in the temple of the goddesse Bellona, and Sillarpon promiseof was making his oration there, he had appointed certaine to fet vpon those 6000, and put them to the fword every man. Great & terrible were the cries of fuch a number of men flaine in folmall gainfi the a roome, as may eafily be conjectured: infomuch as the Senators fitting in councell heard them very easily, and maruelled what the matter was But Sylla continuing on his oration which he had armes and begun with a fet fleadie countenance, without changing of colour, willed them only to hearken bis eromife. saused sixe what he faid, and not to trouble themselues with any thing done abroad, for they were but certhoufand taine offenders and leud persons that were punished by his commandement. This was enough to shew the simplest Romain E in Rome, that they had but onely changed the tyrant, and not the tyrannie. Now for Marius, that had ever bene of a churlish and severe nature, even from his childhood, he neuer changed for any authority, but did rather harden his natural labburnnes. Where Sylla contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and civill in al his prosperity, & gave great good hope, that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauour nobility well, and yer loue not with standing the benefit of the people. And being moreouer a man in his youth giuen to all pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, & weepe for tender hart in that he became after so cruell and bloudy, the great alteration gaue manifest cause to condemne the increase of

SYLLA.

honor and authority, as the only meanes wherby mens manners continue not fuch as they were Honour at the first, but still do change and varie, making some fooles, others vaine and phantasticall, and change the strategies. others extreame cruell and vnnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by changing sollathe his state and condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which example. then came to shew it selfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in some other Treatise. So it came to passe, that Syllafell to shedding of bloud, and filled all months. Rome with infinite and vnspeakeable murthers: for divers were killed for private quarels, that committed had nothing to do with Sylla at any time, who fuffered his friends and those about him to worke in Remeby their wicked wills: vntill at the length there was a young man called Caius Metellus, that was fo bold to aske Sylla in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should rereknow that all the miseries were finished the which they dayly saw. For, said he, we will not intreate you to pardon life, where you have determined death; but only to put them out of doubt in Metelwhom you have determined to fauc. Whereunto Sylla made answer, that he was not resolved lustocal whom he would faue. Metellus replyed, Thentell vs (quoth he) who they are that shall die. Sylla sila bis cruelties in answered, he would. Howbeit some say, it was not Metellus, but Anfidius one of his flatterers, ofen Senate that spake this last word vnto him. Wherfore Sylla immediatly, without making any of the magiffrates privie, caused fourescore mens names to be set up upon posts, whom he would put to Syllaes prodeath. Euery man being offended withall, the next day following he fet vp 220 mens names more; and likewise the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly, that he had appointed all them to die, that he could cal to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should die, by daies, as he did call them to mind, Whofoeuer faued an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindnesse, he himselse was condemned to die: not excepting them that had received their brothers, their fonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of every homicide & murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talents: though it were a flaue that had killed his mafter, or the fonne that had flaine the father. But the most wicked and vniust act of all was, that he deprined the sonnes and sonnes sons of them whom he had killed, of all credit and good name; and befide nat, had taken all their goods as confifcate. And this was not onely done in Rome, but also in all the cities of ITALIE throughout and there was no temple of any god what soeuer, no altar in any bodies house, no libertie of hospitall, nor fathers house, that was not embrued with bloud and horrible murther. For the husbands were flaine in their wines armes, and the children on their mothers laps; and yetthey which were flaine for prinate hatred and malice, were nothing in respect of those that three entwere murthered onely for their goods. And they that killed them, might well fay, His good-lane genely great house made that man die, his goodly faire garden the other, and his hote bathes ano-rationagh ther. As among st others, Quintus Aurelius, a man that neuer medled with any thing, and least Quintus looked that these epils should light vpon him, and that onely pitied those which he saw so miserably murthered, went one day into the market place, and reading the bill fet up of the outlawes that make names, found his owne name amongst the rest, and cryed out aloud: Alasthe day that cuer I lid not, was borne, my house of Alba maketh me be put to death. He went not far from the market flame for place, but met with one that killed him prefently. In the meane time Marins the yonger feeing he Marins the place, but met with one that kined thin preferrely. In the meane that coming to PR ENESTE, did lorger flue could by no meanes escape if he were taken, flue himself as first execute them by one & by one, keeping a certaine forme of instice in putting them to death; hunfele at Prenefie. but afterwards, as if he had no longer ley sure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a syllasses place together, to the number of twelue thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword 12000. euery man, fauing his hoft onely; vnto whom he faid, that he fnewed him special fauour to faue Praneste. his life. But his hoft answered him flourly againe, that he would not be beholding vnto him for being at his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of his countreymen: and so thrusting in among st the citione place zens, was willingly flaine with them. They thought the act of Lucius Catiline also very strange, together. who had flaine his owne brother before the civill war was ended: and then prayed Sylla to put Lucin Cahim in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aline. Sylla performed his defire. his owner Catiline thereuponto shew his thankfulnesse for the pleasure Sylla had done him, went present-brosher. ly and flue Marcus Marius, who was of the contrary faction, and brought him his head for a prefent before all the people, in the midst of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his hands all bloudied in the hallowed font of the temple of Apollo, that was hard by. But befides fo many murthers committed, yet were there other things also that

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grieucd the people maruelloufly. For he proclaimed himfelf Dictator, which office had not bin of fix (core yeares before in vie, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, giuing him free libertie afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goods: to destroy cities, and to build vo new as he listed: to take away kingdomes, and to give them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly fold the goods confiscate, by the cryer, fitting fo proudly & stately in his chaire of state, that it grieued the people more to fee those goods packet vp by them to whom he gaue and disposed them, then to fee them taken from those that had forfeited them. For fometimes he would give a whole country, or the whole revenues of certaine cities, vnto women for their beauty, or vnto pleasant iesters, minstrels, or wicked slaves made free; and vnto some he would give other mens wives by force, and make them to be married against their wils. For he desiring (howsoeuer it happened) to make alliance with Pompeythe Great, commanded him to put away his wife he had maried: and taking Amylia (the daughter of Amilius Scaurus, and of Metella his wife) from the great Glabrio, caused him to mary her great with child as she was by Glabrio: but she died in childbed in Pompeys house. Lucretius Offellaalso that had brought Marins the younger to that distresse at the city of PR ENESTE, suing to be Confull, sylla commanded him to ceasife his suite: but he notwithstanding that expresse commandement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that fauoured his cause: whither Sylla sent one of his Centurions that flue Offella before all the people, himself sitting in a chaire of estate in the temple of Cassor & Pollux, & Seeing fro about the murther done. The people that were about offella, laid hold of the murtherer straight, and brought him before Sylla: but Sylla bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with turnult, and that they should let him go, because he commanded them to do it. Furthermore, as touching his triumph, it was a sumptuous fight to behold, for the rarenesse of the riches, and princely spoyles which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the fight, to fee the banished Romaines, who were the chiefest nobleme of al the city of Rome, following his chariot triumphant wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, calling Sylla their father and fauiour: because that by his meanes they returned to their country, and recouered their goods. wices & children. In the end of histriumph, he made an oration, in open affembly of the people of Rome, in the which he did not only declare vnto the (according to the custome) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valiant deeds besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great fauour fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, Felix, to fay, happie or fortunate. And he himselfe when he wrote vnto the GRECIANS, Or that he had any thing to do with them, furnamed himselfe Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloued and fauoured of Venus. His tokens of triumph which are yet in our countrey, have this superscriptions Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus. And when his wife Metella had brought him two twinnes, a fon and a daughter: he named his fon Faustus, fignifying fortunate, and his daughter Faustus, because the Romaines call Faustum that which falleth outprosperously & happily. To be short, he trufted fo much vnto his good fortune and doings, that notwithfranding he had killed & put fo many mento death, and had made fo great a change and innovation in the commonwealth, yet of himself he left off his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Confuls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a private man among the citizens, offering himselse to every man that would aske him account of his doings past. It happened that a stout and rash enemy of his was chosen Consull against his Marcus Le will, called Marcus Lepidus, not for any denotion the people had to Lepidus, but onely to gratifie pidus cho-Pompey, who gaue countenance & fauour vnto him. Sylla feeing Pompey come merry homewards fen Confull. from the election, & joyfull that he had obtained his friends fute from all other futers: took him aside, and told him: Indeed thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my friend, for thou hast done a goodly act, to choose Marcus Lepidus Consull, the veriest asse in all Rome, before Cas tulus the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hads not neede to sleepe: for thou hass firengthened an enemie, that will be thine owne deftruction. And sylla proued a true prophet:

During these feasts which continued many daies, his wife Metella fickened, and died, and in her ficknesse the Priests and Soothsayers willed Sylla he should not come neare her, nor suffer his houseto be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon Sylla was dinorced from her in her fickneffe, and caused her to be carried into another house, whilest she lived. And thus did Sylla curiously observe the superstition and ordinance of the Soothsayers: Sylla bialo but yet he brake the law which he made himselfe, touching the order of funerals, sparing no bisowne costat Metellaes buriall. So did he also breake another order himselfe had made, touching laws he the reformation of bankets: comforting his forrow with ordinarie feafts, full of all vanitic made. and lascinionsnesse. Within a few moneths after, he had sencers games at the sharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnfeuered, men and women fitting together, it fortuned that there was a faire Ladie, and of a noble house, that sate hard by Sylla, called Valeria: the was the daughter of Messala, and fifter of Hortensius the Orator, that had bene divorced not long before from her husband. This Ladie passing by Sylla behind him, did softly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a haire from off his gowne, and so went on to her place, and fatcher downe. Sylla maruelling at this familiarity, looking earneftly vpon her: It is nothing my Lord (quoth sie) but that I desire with others to be partaker a little of your happinesse. Her Valeria, dewords misliked not Sylla, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he from to be fent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had lined. of syllags Butafter many flie lookes betweene them, they turned their faces one to another vponeuery happinesses occasion, with prettie similing countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise and solutions marriage together, for the which redesigned provided the end of Paleria, was not to be blomed. For the which redesigned to the end of Paleria, was not to be blomed. contract mariagetogether, for the which Valeria was not to be blamed. For though she was as the fifter of wife, as honest, and as vertuous a Ladie as could be possible, yet the occasion that made Sylla Hornessus marrie her, was feither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with alooke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a yong boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest passions of the minde, to be so carried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this faire young Ladie in his house, he left not the company of women minstrels and tumblers and to have pleasant iesters and musitions about him, with whom he would lye wallowing and drinking all the day long, vpon little conches made for the nonce. For, his companions that were in greatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: Roseius a maker of common playes, Sorax a prince of scoffers, and one Metrobius a finging man, whom he was in love withall while he lived, and yet did not diffemble his love, though he was past age to be beloved. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the originall cause whereof had light foundation at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an impostume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his stesh in such fort, that iturned alltolice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him conti- fostume mally night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that mul- turned to tiplied still vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate it felfe, but was presently filled with swarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to wash and cleanse himselse of them, but all would not serue: for the changing of his flesh into this putriture wan it straight againe, that there was no cleansing, nor hifting of him, that could keepe fuch a number of lice from him. Some fay, that in old time (amongst the most ancient men, whereof there is any memorie) Acastus the sonne of Pe. Dinese fai lius, died of the lowfie euill: and long time afteralfo, the Poet Aleman, and Pherecides the mous min that died of diune: and so did Callisthenes OLYNTHIAN in prison, and Mutius a wise lawyer. And if we lice shall make mention of those that are famous, although it be not in any good matter: we finde that a bond man called Eunus, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in Sicilia, being taken and carried to Rome, died also of the same disease. Furthermore, Sylla Syllancomdid not onely foresee his death, but he wrote something of it also: for he made an end of writing the two and twentieth booke of his commentaries, two daies before he died. In that booke containe 22 helaith, that the wife men of CHALDEA hadtold him long before, that after he had lived honourably, he should end his daies in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he saith also, that was that his sonne (who departed a little before his mother Metella) appeared to him in his sleepe, deed appear apparelled in an ill fauoured gowne, and that comming vnto him, he prayed him he would inhingrams

go with him vnto Metella his mother, thencefoorthto line in peace and reft with her. But for in ill fauouall his disease, he would not give over to deale in matters of state. For tendaies before his red apparell

fleathepes. for Lepidus being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiance with Pompey. Now Fle. Sylla confecrating the diffues of all his goods vnto Hercules, made exceeding fumptuous feaftes sypeares old vnto the Romaines, the provision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that every day they & spward, threw a great deale of meate into the river, and they dranke wine of forty yeares old and aboue.

ling him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, and so died, leaving the two little children

he hadby Metella. For Valeria, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called Posthumia, because the Romaines call those children that are borne after the death of

their fathers, Posthumi. Now when Sylla was dead, many gathered about the Confull Lepidus. to let that his body should not be honourably buried, as they were accustomed to burie noblemen and men of quality. But Pompey, though he was angry with Sylla, because he had given him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other friends: yet he made fome for love. fome by intreatie, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corpesinto Rome, gaue both safetie and honour vnto the performance of his funerals. And it is saydalfo, that the Romaine Ladies, amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfume and odoriferous matter towards the same: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and ten great baskets, they made a greatimage to the likenesse of sylla himselfe, and another of

a forgeant carrying the axes before him, all of excellent incenfe and cinamon. When the day

of the funerals came, fearing lest it would raine in the forenoone, all the element being so

cloudie, they deferred to carrie forth the body to be burnt, untill past three of the clocke in the

afternoone. And then rose there such a sudden boisterous wind, that it set all the stake of wood

straight on fire, that the body was burnt at a trice; and the fire going out, fell a great slower

of rainethat held on till night: fo that it feemed, good fortune following him even to his end,

did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the field of Mars: and

THE COMPARISON OF

Sylla with Lysander.

OW that we have at large also set forth the life of the ROMAINE, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both alike; that both of them grew to be great men, rifing of themselues through their owne vertue: but this onely is proper to Lyfander, that all the offices and dignities which he attained vnto in the common-wealth. were layd vpon him through the peoples goodwils and confents: for he compelled them to nothing, neither vsurped he any extraordinarie authority vpon them, contrarie to law: for as the common faying is:

Where partialitie, and discord once do raigne: There wicked men are most esteem'd, and rule with greatest gaine.

As at that time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the state of gouernement viterly subuerted and brought to nought: to day there rose vp one tyrant, to morrow another. And therefore we may not wonder if Sylla vsurped and ruled all, when such fellowes as Glaucias & Saturmiu, did both banish and drive out of Rome such men as Metellus was: and where also in open affembly they flue the Confuls fons in the market place, and where force of armes was bought and fold for gold and filter, with the which the fouldiers were corrupted; and where they made new lawes with fire and fword, and forced men to obey the fame. Yet I speake not this in reproach of him that in such troublesome times found meanes to make himselfe the greatest man: butto shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity hegrew vnto in so vnfortunate a city, The chiefe although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from Sparta (at what time it perform flourished most, and was the best gouerned commonweale) he in all great causes, and in the land most honourable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chiefes; whereof it came to passe, that the one did often resigne up his authoritie to his citizens, which they had given him, who also restored it to him againe many and fundrie times; for the honour of his vertue did alwaics remaine, and made him justly accounted for the worthieft man; where the other being onely once chosen Generall of an armie, remained ten yeares continually in warres and hostility, making himselfe by force, sometime Consult, sometime vice Confull, and sometime Dictator, but alwaies continued a tyrant. Indeed Lysander attempted to change and after the state of government in his countrey, howbeit it was with great lenity, and more lawfully then Sylla did. For he fought it by reason, and good perswafion, not by the fword: neither would he make a change of the whole at one felf time as Sylla did. but fought only to reforme the election of kings. The which thing according to nature doubtleffe feemed very just: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen king of that city, which was the chiefe ouer all GRECE, not for her nobility, but for her vertue onely.

death, he pacified a fedition and tumult rifen among the inhabitants of the citie of Pyrro LANYM (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinances, wherehe they should gouerne themselues. And the day before he died, hearing that Granius who was in debt to the commonwealth, deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he fent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compasse him a-

Syllaes

Pollburai.

Syllaes fis

Syllaes Et &. tach.

they fay that he himselfe made his owne Epitaph that is written upon it, which was: That no mandid euer passe him, neither in doing good to his friends, nor in doing mischiefe to his enemies.

THE



Graniwa Brangled in Syllaes fight, by his own commanded them to ftrangle him in his fight. The paffion of his anger was so vermandement, and commanded them to ftrangle him in his fight. The paffion of his anger was so vermandement, and commanded them to ftrangle him in his fight. The paffion of his anger was so vermandement, and commanded them to ftrangle him in his fight. The paffion of his anger was so vermandement, and commanded them to ftrangle him in his fight. The paffion of his anger was so vermandement. The paffion of his anger was so vermandement.

Sillaestyfaying

For like as a good hunter doth not feek for the whelp of a good dog, but for the good dog himfelfe: nor a wife man of armes also, the colt that commeth of a good horse, but the good horse himselfe. Euen so, he that taketh vpon him to stablish a civil government, committeth a foule fault. if he looke of whom his Prince should be borne, and not what the Prince himselfe should be confidering that the LACED EMONIANS themselves have deprived diverse of their kines from their crowne and realme, because they were not princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is alwaies ill of it selfe; but vertue is honoured for her selfe alone, and not because she is placed with nobility. Now for the wrongs and injuries they both committed, the one did worke onely to pleasure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine that Lyfander did great wrongs to gratific his familiars: and the most part of them whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannical power of certaine his friends. Where Sylla fought for spire to take away his army from Pompey and the Admiralty from Dolabella, which himselfe had given him, and caused Lucretius Offellato be flaine openly in his owne fight, because he sought to be Consul, for recompence of the good feruice he had done: for which cruelty of his, caufing his owne friends to be flaine in fuch fort. he made every man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behaviours touching coverous firefle and pleasure doth show, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good Prince, and the other than of a tyrant. For we do not find that Lysander, for all his great princely authority, did cuer vseanv infolency or lasciuiousnesse in his deeds, but alwaies auoided as much as a man might, thereproach of this common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroad: he led fuch a true LACONI-AN life, straightly reformed in all points. Where Sylla could neuer moderate his vnlawfull lufts. and prod. neither for poucity when he was young, nor for age, when it came vpon him. But whileft he gaue lawes to the ROMAINES touching matrimoniall honestie and chastitie, himselse in the meanetime did nothing but follow love, and commit adulteries, as Salust writeth. By meanes whereof he so much impouerished RomE, and left it so voide of gold and siluer, that for readje mony he fold absolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his daily studieto confiscate & take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthy houses in al the whole city of Rome. But all this spoyle & hauock was nothing in comparison of that which he daily cast away your his iefters and flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we think he kept in his gifts and private bankets, when openly in the day time (all the people of Rom being present, to see him sellthe goods which he had caused to be confiscate) he made one of his friends and familiars, to truste vpa great deale of houshold stuffe, for a very little price? and when any other had out-bidden his price, and that the cryer had cried it out aloud: then was he angry, and faid: My friends, I have great wrong done me here, not to fuffer me fell the spoile I have gotten, at mine owne pleasure. & dispose it as I list my self. Where Lysander contrarily sent to the commonwealth of Sparta, with other money, the very presents that were given to himselfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deed. For peraduenture he did more hurt to Sparta, bringing thither that gold and filter, then Sylla did to Rome, in wasting and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I alledge this onely for proofe and declaration, that Lyfander was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their city, which neuer any other but themselues did. For Sylla being ariotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithstanding to good order and gouernement; and Lyfander contrarily filled his city with vice, yet not infected withall himselfe. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the law he commanded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse then he was himselfe: for he taught the Spartans to desire those things, which he about all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and civille gouernement. Now for matters of warreand battels fought, there is no comparison to be made of Lyfander to Sylla, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For Lyfander wan onely but two battels by sea, besides the taking of the city of ATHENS: which (though I grant him)being rightly confidered, was no great exploit of war, howbeit it was a noble act, confidering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in Bozor 1A, hard by the city of ALIARTE: a man might fay peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet methinkes also there was a fault in him, for that he staied not for king Pausanias aide (the which came from Plas TÆE'S immediatly after his ouerthrow) and because he went in a gaire, in fury, and in a vaineambition to run his head against a wall: so that men of al forts making a desperate sally out of ALI-ARTE vpon him flue him thereto no purpose, Farre valike to Cleombrotus that died at the battell

of LEVCTRES, refifting his enemies that distressed his men; nor yet like Cyrus, nor Epaminordas. who to keep his men from flying, and to give them affored victory, received his deadly wound: for all these men died like noble kings, and valiant captaines. Where Lysander rashly cast himself away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the ancient Spar-TANS did like wife men, to auoide the fight with wals. For the nobleft and valianteft man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so flaine, not onely by the first souldier that commeth, but by enery filly woman or child. As they fay, that the worthic Achilles was killed by Paris within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrary againe, the victories that sylla wan in set battels, and thethousands of enemies which he flue, are not easily to be numbered, besides also that he took the city of Rome twice: and the hauen of ATHERS, not by famine as Lylander did, but by force, after he had by many great battels driven Archelaus out of firme land into the maine fea. It is to be consideredalso, against what captaines they made warres. For me thinks it was but a passime asaman might fay, for Lysander to fight with Antiochus, a pilot of Alcibiades, or to surprise and deceiue Philecles, a common Oratorat ATHENS:

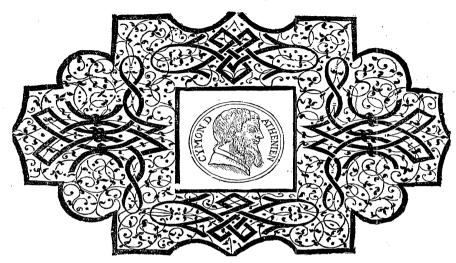
Whose busie tongue, much worse then two edg'd sword did seeme: Which pratled still and honesty did neuer once esteeme.

And whom Mithridates (in my opinion) would not vouchfafe to compare with his horse-keeper.nor Marius with one of his fergeants or mace-bearers. But to leaue afide § particular names of all other Princes, Lords, Confuls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernours that made wars with Sylla; what Romaine Captaine was there more to be feared, then Marius? what king living nithmen wasthere of fuch power as king Mithridates? And of Generals and Lieutenants of armies in all of greatest ITALY, were there any ener more valiant, then Lamponius & Thelesinus: of the which Sylla draue power and ITALY, were there any ener more valuant, then Lamponius ∞ 1 neighbors: of the which sylla drane pressure the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and flue the two last? But the greatest matter them, of al that we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that Lyfander did all his noble acts, with the aideof his whole countrey, where Syllato the contrary did his (being banished from his countrey) by his enemies. And at the felfe fame time that they draue Syllaes wife out of Rome, that they ouerthrew his houses, and flue his friends also in Rome: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thousands of fighting men in Borotta, and ventured his perfon in manifold dangers, fo that in the end he conquered them all, to the honour and benefit of his country. Furthermore, Sylla would neuer stoupeto king Mithridates, for any particular alliance he offered him, neither yeeld vnto him for any aide of men, or mony, to war against his enemies: but (athing most chiefly to be noted about the rest) he would not vouchfafe to speake to Mithridates, nor to take him by the hand only, before he had spoken it with his own mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would forgo Asia, deliuer him his galleys, and give vp the realmes of BITHYNIA & CAPPADOCIA vnto their naturall kings. This me thinks was the goodlieft act soldies that ever Sylladid, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimitie, to have preferred the benefit of magnanity the companyeasth in the fore his private commodity. For the rip he was likewas a milit. the comonwealth in that fort, before his private commodity. For therin he was like vnto a good greyhound, that first pincheth the Deare, and holdeth him fast till he have overthrowne him: and then afterwards followeth the pursuite of his own private quarrell. And lastly, methinks it is cassly judged, what difference there was betweene their two natures, in that they did both towards the city of ATHENS. For Sylla having taken it, after the citizes had made fierce wars with him for the increase of king Mithridates greatnesse: yet he left it freevnto them, enioying their ownelawes. Where Lyfander to the contrary, feeing fuch a mighty state and Empire as that ouerthrowne from the great rule it bare, had no pitie of it at all, but tooke away the liberty of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before, and established there ve- Plut archs ry cruell and wicked tyrants. And therfore in mine opinion, we shall not much swarue from the troth, if we give this judgement: that Sylla did the greater acts, and Lyfander committed the Lyfanders

fewer faults. And that we give to the one the honour of a continent and modest man; and to the other, the commendation of a valiant and skilfull fouldier.

The end of Syllaes life:

THE LIFE OF Cimon.



Paripoltas and his poferity.



Eripoltas the Soothfayer, he that brought King Opheltas out of Thesa SALY into the country of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vnder his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time sourished in that country, the more part of the which were ever resident in the city of CHERONEA, because it was the first city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulsed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally giuen to the warres: who were so forward and aduenturous in all dangers thereof (in the inualions of the Medes into Grece, and in the battels of the GAVLES) that they were flaine all of them, but onely Damon (a little childe left fa-

therlesse and motherlesse) surnamed Peripolias that escaped; who for goodly personage and noble courage excelled all the lufty youths of his time, though otherwise he were very rude, & of a seuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when Damon was growne of fullage, a ROMAINE Captaine of an enfigne of footemen (lying in garrifon for the winter season in the citie of CHA-RONEA) fell in great loue with Damon: and because he could not reapethe fruites of his dishonest loue by no intreaty nor gifts, there appeared vehement presumptions, that by force he wet about to abuse him, for that CHERONEA at that time (being my natural citie where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. Damon mistrufting the Captaines villany, and detefting his abominable defire, watched him a shrewdturne, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compasse his enterprise) to be of counsell with him, and take his part against the Captaine. Now there were fixteene of them in confort together, that one night blacked their faces al with foote, and the next morning after they had drunke together, by the breake of day fet vpon this Ro-MAINE Captaine, that was making facrifice in the market place, and flue him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the city, which was straight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereuponthey called a councell, and in the market place condemned Damon and his confederates to suffer paines of death; hoping thereby to have clea-

red their innocency for the fact done vnto the Romaines. But the felf fame night, as al the ma-

gistrates and officers of the city were at supper together in the towne-house, according to their

The man. sewd part: Peripoltas. custome: Damon and his followers stole vpon them suddenly, slue them all, and sled againe vppon it. It chanced about that time, that Lucius Lucullus being fent on fome journy, passed by the city of CH ERONEA with his army, & because this murther was but newly done, he stayed there afew daies to examine the troth and originall thereof: and found that the commons of the city Inches Inwere in no fault, but that they themselves also had received hurt: whereupon he tooke the souldiers of the ROMAINES that remained of the garrifon, and carried them away with him. In the truth of meane time, Damon destroyed all the country thereabout, and still houered neare to the city, infomuch as the inhabitants of the same were driven in the end to send vnto him, and by gentle words & fauourable decrees handled him fo, that they inticed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him among ft them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus, to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oile in his stone or hot-house, flarke naked as he was, they flue him by treason. And because that there appeared spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard gronings and fighings as our fathers told vs, flaneby they caused the doore of the hot-house to be walled vp:yet for al that, there are visions seene, & ireason. terrible voices & cries heard in that fewe place vnto this present time, as the neighbors dwelling by dotestiffe. Now they that were designed of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the country of Phocides, neare vnto the chy of the country of Phocides, neare vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of the country of Phocides are vnto the chy of th language & maners of the Atolians) are called Asbolomens, fignifying black, and befinea- Astronomers red with foote; because that Damon and his fellowes did black their faces with foote, when they were and flue the ROMAINE captaine. But the ORCHOMENIANS being neare neighbours vnto the CHE- why fortal-RONEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hired an informer of Rome, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole city (as if it had bin one private person alone) for the murther of the ROMAINES, whom Damon and his companions had flaine. The inditement was drawne, and the case pleaded therone before the governor of Macedon, for that the Romaines did fend no governors at that time indived for imo GRECE: & the counsellors that pleaded for the city of CHERONEA, relied vpon the testimony of Lucius Lucullus, referring themselues to his report, who knew the troth & how it was. Lucullus Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and Encullus in his letter of answer advertised the ve- salled for ry troth: fo was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stood in danger of vtter destruction. The inhabitants of the city of CHERONEA, for that they had escaped the danger by testimony of Lucius Lucullus, to honour him withall, they set vp his image in stone in the marker place, next vnto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be lining at this present, though many yeares begone & passed fince, do notwithstanding reckon our selves partakers of his forepassed benefit. And because we are persuaded, that the image & portraiture that maketh vs acquaint: d estating with mens maners and conditions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that represente thany mass maners and conditions are more excellent, then the picture that represented any mass maners and conditions. mans person or shape only we will comprehend his life & doings according to the troth, in this mers and volume of noble mens lines, where we do compare and fort them one with another. It shall be wisedows. sufficient for vs therefore, that we shew our selves thankfull for his benefit; and we think, that he himself would missike, for reward of his true testimony, to be required with a fauorable lie told inhis behalfe. But like as when we will have a paffing faire face drawne, and lively counterfeited, a pretrie and that hath an excellent good grace with all, yet fome manner of blemish or imperfection in it, we will not allow the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curioufly to flew it, because the one would deforme the counterfeit, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euenfo, because it is a hard thing (or to fay better, peraduenture unpossible) to describe a man, whose life should Homes dealtogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first studie to write his vertues at large, and thereby secke perfectly to represent the troth, euen as the life it selfe. But where by chance we find certaine faults and errours in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by necesfitie of the time or state of the commonwealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednesse proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not neede too curiously to expresse in our historie, but rather to paffe them lightly ouer, of reuerent shame to the meere frailty of mans nature, which cannot bring forth aman of such vertue and perfection, but there is euer some imperfection in him. And therefore, confidering with my felfe vnto whom I might compare Lucullus, I thought it company best to compare him with Cimon, because they have bene both valiant souldiers against their Livellie in enemies, having both done notable exploits in warres against the barbarous people: and what skings moreouser they have been been some and married to be a sking were moreouer, they have both bene courteous and mercifull vnto their citizens, and were both alike.

ried his fifter Elpinice vnto Callias. This notwithstanding, it is certaine that Gimon was some-

fra, as if Cimon had bene in loue with them. But vndoubtedly, he loued his lawfull wife Isodice

maruellous well, the daughter of Euryptolemus, Megacles sonne, and rooke her death very grie-

noully, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were written vnto him, to comfort him in his

forrow, Panelius the Philosopher is of opinion, that Archelaus the Phisition wrote these clegies:

and fure it is not vnlikely, confidering the time in which they were written. But furthermore,

he was equall with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valiantnesse

of a noble captaine: and he did much excell them both in properties of a good gouernour, and

in the administration of the affaires of a city, when he was but a young man, and had no experi-

ence of warres. For when Themistocles at the comming in of the MEDES counselled the people

of ATHENS to go out of the city, to leaue their lands and country, and to ship into galleyes, and

fight with the barbarous people by fea in the straight of Salamina: as every man was won-

dering at his bold and venturous counfell, Cimon was the first manthat went with a life and iolity

through the streete Ceramicus, vnto the castle, accompanied with his young familiars and

companions, carrying a bit of a bridle in his hand to confectate vnto the goddeffe Minerua, fig-

nifying thereby, that the city had no need of horsemen at that time, but of mariners and sea-

men. And after he had given vp his offering, he tooke one of the targets that hung vpon the

wall of the temple, and having made his prayer vnto Minerua, came downe to the haven, and

was the first that made the most part of the citizens to take a good heart to them, and coura-

rieman. So that many were still about him to encourage him to be lively and valiant, and to thinkethinceforth to do some acts worthy of the glory that his father had gotten at the battell

of Marathon. And afterwards, fo foone as he began to deale in matters of state, the people

were maruellous glad of him, and were wearied with Themistocles: by meanes whereof Cimen was presently aduanced and preferred to the chiefest offices of honour in the citie, being very

well thought on of the common people, because of his soft and plaine nature. Moreover, Ari-

fides also did greatly further his advancement, because he saw him of a good gentle nature, and

for that he would vie him as a counterpoise to controle Themisticles craft and stoutnesse. Wherfore after the Medes were fled out of Grece, Cimon being fent for by the Athenians for

practifed with the barbarous people to betray Grece, had written alfoto the king of Persia

most part of the confederates being no longer able to away with Paulanias pride and cruelty,

came willingly and submitted themselves vnder the protection of Cimon and Aristides: who

did not onely receive them, but wrote also to the councell of the Ephores at LACED EMON, that

they should call Pausanias home, for that he dishonoured Sparta, and put all Grece to much

trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they say that king Paufanias being on a time in the

city of BYZANCE, fent for Cleonice, a yong maiden of a noble house, to take his pleasure of her.

Cimons

prijon.

famed in

toole.

Elpinice

Cimons fifter ; ena cles:and it is out of all doubt that he was a juster and honester man, then either of them both. For

giously to leaue the land, and take the sea. Besides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, circum peras Ion the Poet testifieth, and had a faire curled haire and thicke, and fought so valiantly at the seaso day of the battell, that he wan immediatly great reputation, with the loue and good will of euc-

their General by sea, when the city of Arhans had then no maner of rule nor commandemer, cimon gebut followed king Paufanias and the LACED EMONIANS: he ever kept his countreymen and the ather t citizen in maruellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to do good manby feruice, then any other nation in the whole army what soeuer. And when king Paulanias had sea.

about it, and in the meane time dealt very cruelly and straightly with the confederates of his King Pancountrey, and committed many infolent parts by reason of the great authoritie he had, and sineagh his through his foolish pride whereof he was full: Cimon farre otherwise, gently entertained them internal whom Pausanias iniured, and was willing to hearethem. So that by this his courteous manner, and pride, the LACEDEMONIANS having no eye to his doings, he stole away the rule and commanded sedamonic of the Lace of the sedamonic of ment of all GRECE from them, and brought the ATHENIANS to be fole Lords of all, not by and all forceand crueltie, but by his sweete tongue, and gracious manner of vsing all men. For the their rule

the onely men that pacified the civill wars and diffention in their country, and both the one and the other of the wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was never Grecian Captaine before Cimon, nor Romaine captaine before Lucullus, that had made wars fo farreoff from their country, leaving apart the deeds of Bacchus and of Hercules, and the acts also of Perfeus against the ÆTHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS: and the deeds of Iason also, if there remaine any monument extant fince that time, worthy of credit in these our daies. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together, that they neuer ended their warres: they onely ouerthrew their enemies, but neuer ouereame them altogether. Againe, we may note in them a great resemblance of nature, for their honesty, curtesie and humanity, which they shewed vnto strangers in their country: and for the magnificence and sumptuousnesse of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we do leaue out some other similitudes betweene them: howbeir in the discourse of their lives they will easily appeare. Cimon was the sonne of Miltindes and of Hegesipyle, a Thractan woman borne, and the daughter of king olorus, as we finde written in certaine poeticall verses which Melanthius and Archelous have written of Cimon. The father of Thucydides the hittoriographer himfelf, who was of kin also vnto Gimen, was called in like maner Olorus, shewing by the agreeing of the name, that this king Olorus was one of his ancestours, and did also possesses of gold in the countrey of THRACIA. It is said moreover, that he died in a certaine place called the dirchy forrest, where he was slaine; howbest that his ashes and bones were caried into the countrey of Attica, where his tombe appeareth yetto this day, amongst the tombes of them of the house and family of Cimon, neare vnto the tombe of Cimons owne fister called Elpinice. Notwithstanding, Thucydides was of the village of ALIMVS, and Milia. des of the village of LACIA. This Militades, Cimons father, being condemned by the state to Miltiades pay the summe of fiftietalents, was for non payment cast into prison, and there died: and left Cimon and his fifter Elpinice aline, both orphanes, and very yong. Now, Cimon in his first young Cimon deyeares had a very ill name and report in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great his youth. drinker, following his grandfather Cimons fashions vp and downe, as he had also his name; sauing that his grandfather for his beastlinesse was surnamed Coalemos, as much to say, as foole. Stefm-Coalemos. brotus THASIAN, who was about Cimons time, writeth, that Cimon neuer learned mulicke, norany other of the liberall sciences, accustomably taught to yong noble mens sons of GRECE, and that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper vnto children bornein the country of Artica: howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without diffimulation, so that he rather lived Peloponnesian like, then like an Athenian. For he was even condisions. fuch as the Poet Euripides described Hercules to be:

CIMON.

A simple man he was and could not well disguise : As honest cke in things of weight, as wit could well deuise.

This ferued fitly to be applied vnto Stesimbrotus words written of him: but not withstanding, in his first young yeareshe was suspected of incontinencie with his fister, who indeed otherwise had no very good name. For the was very familiar with the painter Polygnotus, who painting the TROIAN Ladies prisoners upon the wals of the gallery, called the Plesianaction, and now Pacile: (to fay, fet out and beautified with divers pictures) he drew (as they fay) Laodices face vpon Elpinices picture. This painter Polygnotus was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for monies sake, but gaue his labour franckly to the commonwealth, as all the historiographers that wrote in that time do witnesse: and as the Poet Melanthius also reciteth in these

At his owne proper charge, greate cost he hath bestowed, In decking up our temples here with gilded roofes embowed, For honour of the gods. And in our tongue likewife, He bath adorn'd the common place, with many a fine deuise : Painting and fetting forth in stately shew to see, The images of demy-gods that here amongst vs be.

Elpinice be- Yet some say that Elpinice did not secretly company with her brother Cimon, but lay with him ing poore, bad regard openly as his lawfull maried wife, because she could not for her pouertie haue a husband of like nobility and parentage to her felfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called Callias, being one of the seconding richest men in the city, did afterwards fall in fancie with her, and defired to marrie her, offering and calling, to pay her father Miltiades fine of fiftietalents, wherein he stood condemned a debter to the

CIMON.

Paufanias killed the Joung Bi Zantine

Her parents durst not keepe her from him, by reason of his cruelty, but suffered him to carry her away. The yong gentlewoman prayed the groomes of Paulanias chamber to take away the lights, and thinking in the darke to come to Paulanias bed that was alleepe, groping for the bed as foffly as she could to make no noise, she vnfortunately hit against the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made such ancife, that it waked him on the sudden, who thought straight therewithall that some of his enemies had bene come traiterously to kill him, wherupon he tooke his dagger lying under his beds head, and so stabbed it in the young virgine, that the died immediatly yponit. Howbeit she neuer let Pausanias take rest after that, because her spirit came energy night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine have flept, and spake this angerly to him in verse, as followeth:

Keepe thou thy selfe vpright, and instice see thou feare, For wo and shame be unto him, that inslice downe doth beare.

This vile fact of his did fo ftirre vp al the confederates hearts against him, that they came to be. ficechim in BIZANTIVM under the conduction of Cimon: from whom notwithflanding becscaped, and secretly saued himselfe. And because that this maidens spirit would neuer let him rest, but vexed him continually, he sted vnto the city of Heraclea, where there was a temple that conjured dead spirits, & there was the spirit of Cleonice conjured to pray her to be cotented So she appeared vnto him, & told him that he should be deliuered of all his troubles so soone as he came to Sparta: fignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there. Diverse writers do thus report it, Cimon being accompanied with the confederates of the GRE-CIANS, which were come to him to take his part: was aduertifed that certaine great me of PER. sin, and allied to the king himfelfe, who kept the city of Eione, vpon the river of Strymonia the countrey of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting there. abouts. Vpon which intelligence he took the fea with his armie, and went thither, where at his first comming he vanquished and ouerthrew the barbarous people in battell: and having ouer-throwne them, draucall the rest into the city of Eione. That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other fide of the river of Strymon, who did commonly victuall them of Eron Band having driven them to for fake the countrey, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himself. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at Eion E so straightly from vidu. als, that Butes the king of Persians Lieutenat, despaying of the state of the city, let fire on the fame, and burnt himselfe, his friends, and all the goods in it. By reason whereof, the spoiletaken in that city was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best things in it with themfor feare of felues: how beit he conquered the countrey thereabouts, and gaue it to the ATHENIANS to inhabir, being a very pleafant and fertile foile. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS fuffered him to confecrate and fet vp openly three Hermes of stone (which are foure square pillars) vpon the tops of the which they fet vp heads of Mercurie : vpon the first of the three pillars, this inscription is ingrauen.

Statues of

Butes bur-

meth him .

felfe, citie,

The people truly were, of courage flout and fierce, Who having flut the Medes fast up (as stories do rehearse) Within the walled towne, of Esone that tide, Which on the streame of Strymon stands, they made them there abids The force of famines pinch, and therewith made them feele The dint of warre so many a time, with trustie tooles of steele: Till in the end, despaire so pierced in their thought, As there they did destroy themselves, and so were brought to nought.

Vpon the second there is such another:

The citizens which dwell in Athens stately towne, Haue here let up thele monuments, and pictures of renowne, To honor so the facts, and celebrate the fame, Their valiant chieftains did atchieue, in many a martiall game: That such as after come, when they thereby perceive, How men of service for their deeds, didrich rewards receive, Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble. In valiant acts and dreadfull deeds, which makes their foes to tremble.

And vponthe third another:

When Menestheus did leade forth of this citie here, An armie to the Troian warres, (by Homer doth appeare) He was about the rest, that out of Gracia went, A valiant knight, a worthie wight, a captaine excellent, To take in hand the charge, an armie for to guide: And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide. That praise of prowesse then (o grave Athenians) Is now no newes to fill the eares of thefe our citizens, Since through the world so wide, the fame and worthie praise, For martiall feates, to you of yore hath indged bene alwaies. Now though Cimons name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that this

was a fingular honor to him at that time: for neither Miltiades nor Themsflocles had cuer the like. For when Miltiades requested the people one day that they would licence him to weare agarland of olive boughes vpon his head: there was one Sochares, borne in the towne of DECELEA, Sochares that standing vp in open assembly spake against him, & said a thing that maruellously pleased the Decolars people, though indeed it was an vnthankfull recompence for the good feruice he had done to the factor against Mile commonwealth. When you have Miltiades (said he) overcome the barbarous people alone in bades rebattell, then aske to be honoured alone also. But how was it then, that Cimons feruice was so ac- quell for battell, then aske to be honoured alone also. But how was it then, that Cimons feruice was so ac- quell for battell, then aske to be honoured alone also. ceptable to the ATHENIANS? It was in mine opinion, because they had with other captaines of Oline fought to defend themselves and their countrey onely; and that vnder the conduction of Cimon, benghes. they had affaulted and driven their enemies home to their owne doores, where they conquered the cities of Eione & of Amphipoirs, which afterwards they did inhabit with their own citizens, and wan there also the He of Scyros, which Gimen tooke vpon this occasion. The Dolothe is of
plans did inhabit it who were idle people and lived without labour or rillegy. So had how PIANS did inhabit it, who were idle people, and lived without labour or tillage, & had bene ro- segret.

uers on the sea of a wonderful long time, vsing piracy altogether to maintaine themselues withal: fo that in the end they spared not so much as the merchants and passengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine Thessalians that went thither to traffick. And whethey had taken their goods fro the, yet would they cast the in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners foud means to cscape, & after they had faued themselves, repaired to the parliament of the Amphic-TYONS, which is a generall councell of all the states & people of GRECE. The AMPHICTYONS . The councel vnderstanding the matter, condemned the city of the SexRIANs to pay agreat sum of money. of the down

the merchants and had the goods in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, because there was noother likelihood, but that the theeuesthe selues should be drive to answer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto Cimon, and willed them to come with his army, & they would deliuer their city into his hands; the which was performed. And thus Cimon hauing conquered the lland, draue out the Dolopian's thence, and rid the sea Ægev m of all pirats thereby. That done, remebring that the ancient The fews, the fon of Agens, flying from Athens came into that lland of Scyros, where king Lyconedes suspecting his comming had traiterously slaine him: Cimon was maruellous carefull to seeke out his tombe, because the Athenians had an Oracle &

prophecy, that commanded them to bring his after and bones backe againe to Athens, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the inhabitats of the Iland would neuer afore cofesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much ado found the tomb, put his bones aboord the Admirell galley fumptuoufly decked Thefens and set forth, and so brought him againe into his countrey, foure hundred yeares after The seus bones

death. For this, the people thanked him maruelloufly, and thereby he wan exceedingly the A-broughte THENTANS goodwils and in memorie of him they celebrated the judgement of the tregicall years after playes of the Poets. For when Sophicles the Poet, being a yong man had played his first tragedy, bis death by Appension the prefident perceiuing there was great strife and contention among st the lookers on, coptages, would not draw them by lots that should be Judges of this play, to give the victory vnto that & Ash.

Poet that had best deserved: but when Cimon and the other captaines were come into the Theating for ter to fee the same (after they had made their accustomed oblations vnto the god, in honour of whom the sales were celebrated) be saved and made their accustomed oblations and in honour of with fer whom the sales were celebrated by saved and made their accustomed oblations. whom these playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an oath vnto ten (which were of cuery tribe of the people one) and the oath being given, he caused them to sit as

Judges to give fentence, which of the Poets should carie away the prise. This made all the Poets

The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, and bad them that robbed phillipm.

AE/chylu ouercome by Sophocles dwelleth in Sicilia, and dieth there. freetly.

hospitality.

striue and contend who best should do, for the honour of the Judges: but Sepheeles by their sentence bare away the victory. But Afchylus (as they fay) was fo angry and griened withall, that he taried not long after in ATHENS, but went for spite into SILICIA, where he died, and was buried neare vnto the city of GELA. Ion writeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from CHIO VIIO ATHENS, supped one night with Cimon at Lasmedons house, and that after supper when they had given the gods thanks, Gimon was intreated by the company to fing. And hedid fing with fo good a grace, that every man praifed him that heard him, and faid he was more curtoous then Themsstecles farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play vponthe cithern, answered them, he was neuer taught to sing or play vponthe citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich & mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to another, as it falleth out commonly in speech, they entred in talke of Cimons doings: and having rehearfed the chiefest of them, he himselfe told one, which was the notablest and wifest part of all the rest that ever he played. For the ATHENIANS & their confederates together, having taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of Sestos and of Bizantiv m, the confederates to honour him withall, gaue him the preheminence to divide the spoyle among st them. Whereupon he made the diufsion, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by themselues, and layd the spoyles and their apparell by themselues: The confederates found this diffribution very vnequall: but neuerthelesse Cimongaue them the choise to chuse which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS should be conten-Herophytus ted with that which they left. So there was a Samian Captaine called Herophytus, that gaue the confederates counfell ratherto take the spoyles of the Persians, then the Persians themgane count fellues, and fo they did: for they tooke the spoyle of the prisoners goods and apparell, and left the men vnto the Athenians. Wherupon Cimon was thought at that time of the common foldiers to be but an ill divider of spoile, because that the confederates caried away great storeof chaines, carkanets, and bracelets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparell after the PERSIAN fashion: and the Athenians brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labour. But shortly after, the parents and friendes of these prisoners, came out of PHRYGIA and LYDIA, and redeemed every man of them at a great ransome: so that Cimonga. thered fuch a masse of ready money together by their ransome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his galleys with the same for the space of soure moneths after, and left a great summe of mony befides in the sparing treasure of ATHENS. Cimon by this meanes being now become rich, bestowed the goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous people, more honourably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens for he brake vp all his hedges and inclosures and laidthem plaine and open, that trauellers passing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much fruite thereof as they would, without any manner of danger. And furthermore, he kept a continuall table in his house, not furnished with many dishes, but with meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore countrymen were daily refreshed, that would come vnto that ordinarie: so as they needed not otherwise care to labour for their living, but might be the readier, and have the more leifure to ferue the commonwealth. Yet Arifotle the Philosopher writeth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore towns men only in the village of Lacia, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwaies certain young men waiting on him of his houshold scruants well apparelled, and if he met by chance as he went vp and downe the city, any old citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of these young men strip himselfe, and change apparell with the old man, & that was very well thought of, and they all honoured him for it. Moreouer these young men caried ener good store of money about them; and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or elsewhere, knowing his pouerty, they secretly gaue him money in his hand, and faid neuer a word. Which the Poet selfe Cratinus seemeth to speake of, in a comedy of his intituled the Archiloches: I am Metrobius the secretarie, he

Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be: At wealthie Cimons boord, where want was never found, Whose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound. There thought I for to passe mine aged yeares away, With that right noblegodly man, which was the Grecians flay.

Furthermore,

Furthermore, Gorgias Leontine faid, that Cimon got goods to viethem, and that he vied them to be How Cimon honoured by them. And Critics that was one of the thirty tyrants of ATHENS, he wishesh and goods. defireth of the gods in his Elegies:

The goods of Scopas beires, the great magnificence, And noble heart of Cimon, he who spared none expence: The glorious victories and high triumphant showes, Of good Agestlaus king : good gods, oh grant me those.

The name of Lichas Spartan hath bene famous amongst the Grecians and yet we know no The books. other cause why, sauing that he vsed to feast strangers that came to LACED EMON on their festinallday, to see the sports and exercises of the young men dancing naked in the citie. But the sparan. magnificence of Cimon, did farre exceed the ancient liberality, courtefie, and hospitality of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the first menthat taught the GRECIANS throughout al GRECE, how they should sow corne, and gather it to maintaine themselves withal, & also shewed them the vie of wels, and how they should light and keepe fire. But Gimon making an hof- cimon pitall of his own house, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permitting strangers that trauelled by his grounds, to gather such fruits there as the time and scason of the yeare yeelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goods to be common among it them, as the Poets fay they were in the old time of Saturnes reigne. And now, where some accused this the golden honest liberality of Cimon, objecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and world ato win their good wils by that meanes: the manner of life he led, accompanying his liberalitie, didytterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For Cimon euer tooke part with the Nobility, and lived after the LACED EMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies against Themisticles, who without all compasse of reason increased the authority & power of the people: and for this cause he joyned with Aristides, and was against Ephialtes, who would for the peoples fake have put downe and abolished Areopagus court. And where all other gonernours in his time were extortioners and bribe-takers, (Aristides and Epialtes onely excepted) he to the contrary led an uncorrupt life in administration of instice, and ever had cleane cimons in: hands, what focuer he spake or did for the state and common wealth, and would therefore neuer state hads take mony of any man living. And for proofe hereof, we find it writte, that a nobleman of Perstacalled Refaces, being a traitor to his mafter the king of Persia fled on a time vnto Athens, Refaces atwhere being continually baited and wearied with the common accufations of thefe tale beare is sempted to and picke-thankes that accused him to the people, he repaired at the length vnto Cimon, and brought him home to his owne doore two bolles, the one full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of filuer, which be peeces of money fo called, because that the name of Darius was Darickes written vpon them. Cimon feeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he called. would rather chuse, to have him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous nobleman answered him, that he had rather have him his friend. Then faid Gimon to him againe, Away with thy gold A noble and filter, and get thee hence for if I be thy friend, that gold and filter shall ever be at my com- forms of mandement, to take and dispose it as I have need. About that time began the confederates of the ATHENIAN'S to be weary of the wars against the barbarous people, defiring thenceforth to line quietly, and to have ley fure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke alfo, confidering that they had driven their enemics out of their countrey, and that now they did them no more hurt; by reason whereof they payed the mony they were sessed at, but they would furnish nomoe mennor ships as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and profecuted law against them that failed paiment, condemning them in great fines, and that fo cruelly, that they made the feigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIAN'S hatefull vnto their confederates. Howbeit Cimen tooke a contrary courfeto them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take mony and void ships of them that would not, or could not ferue in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become flouthfull mongrels in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpose themselues from good soldiers which they had bene, to labourers, merchants, & farmers, altogether altered from The benefit armes and wars, through the beaftly flothfull defire they had to live pleafantly at home. And fernice; and cotrarily, causing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after another to serve in gallies, he so the discom. acquainted them with continuall pains in his voyages, that he made them in short space become modifie of lords & masters ouer them that gaue them pay & entertainment. For they began by litle & litle idlentife.

Cimon pla

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to flatter and feare the Athenians, whom they faw trained continually in the wars, euer bearing armour, and carrying their weapons in their hands, becoming expert fouldiers at their charge, by reason of the pay they gaue them: so that in the end, they became subjects and contributaries as it were vnto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there neuer was GRECIAN Captaine that bridled more the cruelty and power of that mighty PERSIAN king, then Cimon did: for after he had driven him out of all GRECE, he left him not fo. but following him foote-hote, as we commonly fay, before the barbarous people could take breath, or give wife and direct order for their doings, he made so great speed, that he took some of their cities from them by force, and other some by practife, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the GRECIANS fide: infomuch as there was not a man of warre left for the king of Persia in al Asia, from the country of Ionia, directly downe to Pamphylia. And furthermore, being aducrtifed that the kings Captaines were vpon the coast of PAMPHYLIA. with a great army by fea, because he would feare them in such fort, that they should not dare any more to flew themselves you the sea, on this side of the Iles of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Ile of GNIDOS, and from the city of TRIOPIVM, with two hundred galleys. the which at the first had bene excellently well made and denised by Themistottes, as well for fivift failing, as for easie turning. Howbeit Gimon made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carrie the greater number of men of warre in battell, to affault the enemies. And fowent firlt against the Phase Lites (who were Grecians borne, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the GRECIANS part, nor receive their army into their haues) landed there, defiroy. ed all the country, and then came and camped with his armichard at their walles. But the men Chio an Ils. of Chio being ancient friends of the Phaselites, and in Cimons army at that journey, did fomewhat pacifie his anger, and gave aduertifement to them of the city of their doings, by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and flot over the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace, with condition, that the Phase Lites should pay tentalents for a fine; and further-Cimen wan more should also follow the armie of the Grecians, and from thenceforth fight with them. and for them, against the barbarous people. Now Ephorus faith, that the PERSIAN captaine that had charge of the army by fea, was called Tithranftes, and the Captaine of the army by land, phe. rendates. But Callifthenes writeth, that Ariomandes, the fon of Gobrias, was the kings Lieutenant, having chiefe authority over the whole army that lay at anker before the river of Eurymedon. & had no defire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of tourescore sayle of the Phon. NICIANS, that should come to them from Cypris. But Cimon contrarily, sought to fight beof his whole fore these galleys of the Phoenicians came to loyne, with them, and put his galleys in order of battell, determining to give a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not: which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew nearer into the mouth of the riner Eurymedon, because they should not compasse them in behind, nor force them to come to battel against their wils. Which notwithstanding, when they faw the Athenians come to set you them where they lay, they made out against them a fleete of fixe hundred sayle, as Phanodemus declareth:or as Ephorus writeth, three hundred and fiftie faile onely. But they did nothing worthic of Elory of the fo great a power, at the least touching the fight by sea, but turned their proces straight to the both by fea river: where fuch as could recover the mouth thereof in time faued them selves, flying to their army by land, which was not farre from that place, fet also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardie by the way, they were flaine, and their gallies funke or taken; whereby we may know that there were a great number of them for many were faucd, as it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the Athenians tooke two hundred of them prisoners. In the meane feafon, their armie by land came neare to the fea fide: which Cimon perceiving, floodin fome doubt, whether he should land his men or not, because it seemed a hard and dangerous of Europe thing vnto him, to land in spite of his enemics; and to put forth the GRECIANS already wearied with the first battell against the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, fresh, and lustie, and withall many innumber against one. Neuerthelesse, perceiving that his men trusted in their force, besides the courage which the first victory gaue them, and that they defired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them on land while they were hot yet with the first battel. And fo with great furie and loud criesthey ranne immediatly against the barbarous people, who flood fill and ftirred not, & received their first charge very valiantly: by reason wherof, the battell grew sharpe and bloudy, infomuch as there were slaine all the greatest personages

and men of best account of all the ATHENIANS army. But the other fought it out fovaliantly, Circum that in the end they wanne the field, and with maruellous difficulty made the barbarous people Guercame flie, whereof they flue a great number in the place, and tooke the rest prisoners, with all their the basself tents and pauillions, which were full of all forts of riches. Thus Cimen like a valiant champion of of the barthe holy games, having in one felfe day wonne two victories, and having greatled by hearth party. the holy games, having in one felfe day wonne two victories, and having excelled the battell pleafely by sea also which the Grecians had wonne within the channell of Salamina, with that land. which he wanne then vpon the land: and the battell which the GRECIANS wan by land before the citie of Plat ÆEs, with that which he wanne the day before on the sea: yet washenot contented with all this. For after two fo famous victories obtained, he would once againe fight for the honour of the tokens of triumph: and being aduertised that the sources fayle of the PHOENICIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arrused at the head of Hydra, he fayled thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this sleete knew nocertainty of the ouerthrow of their chiefest armie, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was ouerthrowne in that sort: and therefore were they so much the more affraid, when they descried a farre off the victorious armie of Cimon. To conclude, they lost all their shippes, and the greatest part of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This viflory against the Persians did so daunt and plucke downe the pride and loftie minde of the barbarous Persian king, as he made that condition of peace fo much spoken of in ancient his flories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thencefoorth should come no nea- king of Perrerto the GRECIAN sea, then the cariere of a horse; and that he would sayle no farther forward save condithen the Isles Chelidonians, and Cyaneans, with any galleys or other shippes of warre. Howbeit the Historiographer Callisthenes writeth, that it was no part of any article comprised within the condition of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this fo great an ouerthrow: and that afterwards he kept so farre from the GRECIAN sea, that Pericles with fiftie fayle, and Ephialtes with thirtie onely, did faile beyond the Isles CHELIDONIA, and no barbarous fleete euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common actes of Athens, which Craterus hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found writtenat large, as a thing that was true indeede. And it is faid, that for this occasion the ATHENT- calling feet ans built an alter of peace, and that they did Callias great honour, for that he was fent Ambasta- ambastadour vnto the king of Persia to take his oath for confirmation of this peace. So when all thefe take the spoyles of the enemies were fold to them that would give most, there was such store of gold and eath of the fluer in the sparing coffers of their treasurie, that there was enough to serue their turne for any king of Parfruice they would employ it to; and besides that, they had sufficient to build up the side of the wallof the castell which looketh towards the South, this voyage and great spoyle did so enrich them. And it is said moreover, that the building of the long wals that io yne to the city, with the hauen, which they call the legs, was built and finished afterwards; how beit the first foundations thereof were built with the money Cimon gaue towards it, for that the worke met with moorish & watery places, by meane whereof they were driven to fill vp the marishes with force of sints comen and great loss which they three years the bottome. It was be also that first did be a wife and so which they three years the bottome. and great logs, which they threw vnto the bottome. It was he also that first did beautifie and set sharge of forth the city of ATHENS, with places of liberall exercise & honest pastime, which shortly after certains were much effected. For he caused plane trees to be set in the market place; and the Academic buildings. which before was very drie and naked, he made it now a pleafant groue, and full of goodly fprings which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbours to walke in, and goodly long fmooth alleys to runne a good courfe in. On a time he had news brought him, that certain Perstans dwelling in Cherrone sys(to fay a demie Ile of the country of Thracia) would not begotten out, but sent to the people of high Thracia, to pray their aide to defend themselues against Cimon: of whom they made but little account, because he was departed from ATHENS with a very few ships, who set vpon them only with four galleys, and took thirteene of theirs. drawe the And so having driven the Persians out of Cherronesvs, and subdued the Thracians, Persians he conquered all the countrey of CHERRONESVS, from THRACIA vnto his owne countrey. out of thra. Anddeparting from thence, went against them of the Ile of Thasos, that had rebelled against 614. the ATHENIANS: and having ouercome them in battell by sea, he wanthree and thirtie of their ships, and besides that tooke their city by siege, and wanne the mines of gold lying beyond the same to the Athenians, with all the lands that belonged vnto them. This conquest made his way open into MACEDON, and gaue him great oportunitie to have taken the best part thereof

Cimen ac ..

prai(eth the semberale life of the Lacedeno Steambro zus the hifterian,

* Arcopagus was a village of Mars by Athens, where the led Arcopagisæ did Jit to indge musther and other weighty matters concerning no wealth.

Democrasia, rule of communalceth the

Pericles in Cimans ab. fence reducemmonwealth vn. to the State. Democrasta Optimazia the 20wernment of the nobility.

Cimen fellamed the Lacidemo-

at that present time. But because he let it alone, and followed not that oportunity, he was suspected to have taken money, and to have bene bribed by presents of king Alexander: whereupon cujed and discharged, his secret enemies laid their heads together, and accused him. But Cimon to cleare himself before the Judges of this acculation, faid vnto them: I have practifed friendship neither with the Ioni-ANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very rich and wealthy people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as some other haue done, to receive both honour and profit by them. But indeed I am a friend to the LACED EMONTANS; for I confesse I loue them, and defire to follow their fobriety and temperance of life, the which I preferre and effeeme about any riches or treasure: although I am very glad not with standing to enrich our state and commowealth with the spoiles of our enemies. Stefimbrotus reporteth this accusation, and saith, that his fifter Elpinice went to Pericles house, (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to prav him not to deale so extreamely with her brother: & that Pericles laughing on her, said: Alas, thou art too old, Elpinice, thou, now to ouercome these matters. Yet for all that, when cimons cause came to hearing he was a more gentle aduerfarie then any other of his accusers, and rose vpbut once to speake against him, and that for manners sake onely: so that Cimen thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in ATHENS, healwaies kept the seditious people in obedience, who would euer crosse and thwart the authority of the Nobility because they would have all the sway and rule in their owne hands. Bur when Cimon was fent abroad any whither to the warres, then the common people having no body to gainefay them, turned and altered the government of the city top he turney, and confounded all the ancient lawes and custome which they had observed of long time, and that by the procurement and fetting on of Ephialtes. For they tooke away all hearing of causes in manner from the court of * Areopagus, and put all authority of matters indiciall into the hands of the people. and brought the state of the city into a pure Democratia, to say, a common weale ruled by the fole and absolute power of the people, Pericles being then in great credit, who altogether fauoured the peoples faction. Wherefore Cimon at his returne, finding the authority of the Senate and councell so shamefully defaced and troden vnder foot, was maruellously offended withalls and fought to restore the ancient state of judgement againe as it was before, and set up the gouernment of the Nobility (called Optimatia) that was established in the time of clisthenes. But then began his enemies againe with open mouth to crie out vpon him, reuiuing the old former naughty rumor that ranne of him before, that he kept his own fifter: and furthermore accusing him, that he did favour the LACED EMONIANS. And amongst other things, there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verses of the Poet Eupolis, which were made against Cimen:

No wicked man he was, but very negligent, And therewithall to wine much more, then unto mony bent. He stole sometimes away at Sparta for to sleepe:

And left poore Elpinice his wife at home alone to weepe. And if it be fo, that being thus negligent and given to wine, he have gotten fo many cities, and wonne such fundrie great battels: it is out of doubt then, that if he had bene sober and carefull. there had never bene before him nor fince, any GRECIAN captaine that had passed him inglory of the wars. Indeed it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner of the LACED #-MONIANS: for of two twins which he had by his wife Clitoria, he named the one of them Lacedemonius, and the other Eleus, as Stefimbrotus writeth, faying, that for that cause Pericles did ever twitthem in the teeth with their mothers stocke. Howbeit Diodorus the Geographer writeth, that both these two, and another third called Thessaus, were borne of Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the sonne of Megacles. Howsocuer it was, it is certaine that Cimons credit grewthe the greater, by the fauour and countenance which the LACED EMONIANS gaue him, who had hated Themistocles of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that Cimon being but a young man, did beare more sway in Athens then he: which the Athensans perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning, because the good will of the LACED EMONIANS towards him, did bring them great commodity. For whethe ATHENIANS began to grow of great power, and to practife fecretly, that the confederates of the GRECIANS should for fake the Laced & monians to joyne with them: the Laced & monians were not angry withall, for the honour and loue they bare vnto Cimon, who did alone in manner manage all the affaires of GRECE at that time, because he was very courteous vnto the confederates,&

alfothankfull vnto the LACED EMONIANS. But afterwards when the ATHENIANS were aloft. and of great power, and that they faw Cimon stucke not for a little matter with the LACED EMO-NIANS, but loued them more then they would have had him: they began then to enuie him, because in all his matters he had to doc, he cuer highly praised and extolled the LAGED EMONI-ANS before them. But specially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perswade them to do any thing: The LACED EMONIANS (faid he) I warrant ye do not fo. That, as Stefimbrotus faith, made him maruelloufly to be maliced of the people. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out you this occasion. The fourth yeare of the reigne of Archidamus, the fonne of Zeuxidamus king of Sparta, there fortuned the wonderfullest and most fearefull earth-quake in the city of LACED EMON, and Amaruelthereabouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the countrey opened, and low great fellas into a bottomlesse pit. The mountaine Taygetum shooke so terribly, that points of rocks earth quake fell downe from it. All the city was layed on the ground and overthrowne, five houses only excepted, the reft being wholly deftroyed. And it is faid also, that a little before this earth-quake Tayetum came, the young men of that city were playing with the young boyes, exercifing themselues mon. flarke naked under a great gallerie couered ouer; and as they were sporting together; there started vp a Hare hard by them. The young men spying her ranne after the Hare starke naked and oyled as they were with great laughter. They were no fooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell downe vponthe boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memorie of the fame, the tombe where they were afterwards buried, is called vnto this day Sifmatias, as much to fay, as the tombe of those which the earth-quake had flaine. But king Archidamus foreseeing straight upon the sodaine, the danger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceining his citizens buffe in fauing their houshold stuffe, and that they were running out of their houses, made the trumpeters to found a hote alarme ypon it, as if their enemies had come stealingly vpon them to take the city to the end that all the inhabitants should presently repaire vnto him (fetting all businesse apart) with armour and weapon. That sodaine alarmedoubtlesse sa- mussodaine ued the city of SPARTA at that time: for the ILOT A, which are their flaues and bond-men in the medite city. country of LACONIA, and the country clownes of little villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all parts, to spoile and rob them vpon the sodaine that were escaped from this earth- and bond. quake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they rethrned backe againe Lareds moas they came: and then beganne afterwards to make open warres vpon them, when they had mians, drawne certaine of their neighbours vnto their confederacie, and specially the Messent-ANS, who made hote warres upon the Spartans. Whereupon the LACED EMONIANS fent Periclidas vnto ATHENS, to demaund aide: of whom Aristophanes the Poet in mockage, faid:

CIMON.

With visage pale and wanne he on the altar saie, In fearlet gowne requiring aide, to succour their estate.

Against whom Ephialtes also spake very much, protesting that they should not aide nor relieue a city that was an enemy vnto ATHENS, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurne § pride and arrogancy of Sparta under their feete. But Cimon (as Critica faith) being more care. full for the benefit of Sparta, then for the enlarging and increasing of his countrey, brought it to passe by his perswassion, that the Athenians sent him thither with a great power to helpe cimon prothem. And furthermore, In rehearseth the very selfe words that Cimon spake to move the peo- cared aids ple to grant his request. For he besought them that they would not suffer GRECE to halt, as if sedemond. LACED EM ON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: nor to suffer their cirie to ans. lose another city their friend, and subject to the yoke and defence of GRECE. Having therefore obtained aide to lead vnto the Laced Amonians, he went with his army through the Corin-THIAN'S COUNTRY: wherewith Lachartus a Captaine of Corinth was maruellously offended, faying, that he should not have entred into their countrey with an army before he had asked licence of them of the city. For (faid he) when one knocketh at a mans doore or gate, yet he commeth not in before the mafter of the house commandeth him. But ye CORINTHIANS (faid Cimon to him againe) have not knocked at the gates of the CLEON ÆIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but have broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinking that all should be open vnto them that are the stronger. Thus did Cimon stoutly answer the Co-RINTHIAN captaine againe, because it stood him vpon, and so went on with his army through

the countrey of Corinth. Afterwards the Laced & Monians fent againe vnto the Athenia

ANS, to require aide against the MESSINIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their slaues) who had won the city of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACED EMONIANS were afraid of the great power they had brought, and of their boldnesse besides: wherefore they fent them back againe, and would not employ them of all other their confederates that came to their fuccour, because they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring change and alterations. The ATHENIAN'S returned home, misliking much that they were sent backe againe, infomuch as cuer after they hated them that fauoured the LACED EMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDEMONIANS fake therefore, taking a finall occasion of offence against Cimon, they banished him out of their countrey for ten yeares: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were banished with the Offracismon banishment. Now within the terme of these ten yeares, the Laged Emonians fortuned to undertake the delivery of § city of DEL-PHES, from the feruitude and bondage of the Phociaus, and to put them from the cuftodie and keeping of the temple of Apollo, which is in the faid city. Where for eto obtaine their defire and purpose, they came to plant their campe neare vnto the city of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE. wherethe ATHENIANS went to fight with them. Cimon understanding this, although he was in exile, came to the Athenians campe armed, with intent to doe his duty to fight with his countreymen against the LACED EMONIANS, and so went into the bands of the tribe Oeneide. of the which he was himselfe. But his owne countrey enemies cried out against him, and faid that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwards bring them to the city felfe of ATHBNS. Whereupon the great councel of the flue hundred men were afraide, and fent to the Captaines to command them they should not receive him into the battell: fo that Cimon was compelled to depart the campe. But before he went the prayed Euthippus Anaphlystian, and his other friends that were suspected as him. felfe was to favour the LACED EMONIANS doings: that they should do their best endeaourto fight valiantly against their enemies, to the intent their good service at that battell might purge their innocencie towards their countrymen: and so they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the fouldiers Cimon had brought with him, which were an hundred in all, they fer them apart by them felues in a foundron, who fought it fo valiantly and desperately that they were flaine curry man of them in the field, leaving the ATHENIANS maruellous forie for them, and repenting them that they had so vniustly mistrusted them astraitors to their country. Wherfore they kept not their malice long against Cimon, partly as I am perswaded, because they called his former good feruice to mind which he had done to their country aforetime, and partly alfo, because the necessity of the time so required it. For Y ATHENIAN'S having lost a great battel before TANA-GRE, looked for no other about the spring of the yeare, but that the PELOPON NESTANS Would inuade them with a great power; wherefore they reuoked Cimons banishment by decree, whereof Pericles selfe was the only author and procurer. So civill and temperate were mens enmitted at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publike state and weale: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement passion of all other, and that most troubleth mens minds) gine place, and yeeld to the necessities and affaires of the common-weale. Now when Cimon was againe returned to ATHENS, he straight pacified the warre, and reconciled both cities together. And when he faw that the ATHENIANS could not live in peace, but would be doing still, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lucres sake: to preuent them that they should not fall out with any of the GRECIANS, nor by scouring and coasting vp and downethe countrey of Peloponnesv s, and the Iles of Grece, with fo great a natic, should mote occafion of civill warres among ft the GRECIANS, or of complaints vnto their confederates against them: he rigged and armed out two hundred galleys to go againe to make warre in Cyprus, and in ÆGYPT, because he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the wars of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoyles of those their naturall borneenemies. But when all things were in readineffe to depart, and the armie prest to ship and salle away,

> Come hardily, spare not, for if thou come by me, My whelpes and I which do here stand will quickly welcome thee,

Cimon dreaming in the night had this vision: It seemed unto him that he saw a birch angrie with

him, and barking carneftly at him; and that in the middeft of her barking, she spake with a mans

voice, and faid vnto him:

This vision being very hard to interprete, Aftyphilus borne in the city of Postbonia, a man expert in such coniectures, and Cimons familiar friend, told him that this vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this fort: The dogge commonly is an enemy to him he barketh at. A. of the gaine, nothing gladdeth more our enemy, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voice with the barking of a bitch, fignifieth nothing else but an enemie of the

death prigdeath, and the state of the death prigdeath prig-MEDEs: because the army of the MEDEs is mingled with the barbarous people and the GRE most is mingled with the barbarous people and the great people and the great people and the great people and the great peopl CIANS together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to the god Bacchus, the Priest opening the beaft after it was facrificed, about the bloud that fell to the ground, there affembled a Twarine of Ants, which caried the congealed bloud offfrom the ground by little and little, and layd itall about Cimons great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: Cimon at the last spied it by chance; and as he was looking on them to marke what they did, the minister of the facrificebrought the beafts liver that was facrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they judged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, having all things ready for preparation of this journey, fo as he could not well go backe, he launched into the lea, and hoised saile, and sending threescore of his gallies into Ægypt, sayled with the rest vpon y coast of PAMPHILIA, where he wan a battell by sea of the king of PERSIA, ouercoming the gallies of the Phoenicians & the Cilicians, and conquered all thecities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into ÆGYPT. For he had no small thoughts in his mind, but reached to high enterprises, and determined vtterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mighty king of Persia, and specially for that he understood Themistocles was in maruellous credite and reputation amongst the barbarous people, because he had promised the king of Persia to leade his armie for him, and to do him notable feruice when soeuer he should have occasion to war with the GRECIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made Themistocles poys on himselfe, because he despaired that he could not performe that service against GRECE which he steller wile had promifed: affuring himselfe that it was no easie matter to vanquish Cimons courage and hing death. good fortune, who lay at that time with his army all along ft the Ile of CYPRV's, promifing himfelfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane season, Cimon sent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of lupiter Ammon, to ask him some secret question; for no man ever knew neither then nor fince, for what cause he had fent them thither, neither did they also bring backe any answer. For they were no fooner come thither, but the oracle commanded them ftraight to returne: faying vnto them, that Gimon was then comming to him. So Gimons men receiving this answer, left the oracle, and tooke their journey backe to the feawards. Now when they were come againcto the GRECIANS campe, which at that present lay in AGYPT, they heard that Cimon was The death departed this world: and reckening the daies fince his death, with the instant of their answer receited from the oracle, that Cimon was then comming vnto him, they knew straight that darkly he had fignified his death vnto them, and that at that very time he was with the gods. He died atthe siege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVs, as some report, or else of a hurt he received at a skirmish, as other hold opinion. When he died, he commanded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their countrey againe, and in no case to publish his death: which commandement was fo wifely and cunningly handled, that they all came home fafe, and not an enemic, nor any of their confederates that once understood any thing of it. So was the armie of the Garage and led by Cimen though himselfour dead the fines of thirty days as GRECIAN'S gouerned and led by Cimon, though himselfe was dead the space of thirty dayes, as Phanodemus Writeth. But after his death, there was no GRECIAN Captaine that did any notable No famous thing worthy of fame against the barbarous people, because the Orators and governours of the actions by chiefest civile of Command the action of the and Greek and Gre chiefest cities of GRECE stirred them vp one against another, and there was no manthat would an to the once steppe in as a mediator to make peace between them. And thus the GRECIANS now barbarous did one destroy and spoile another by civill warre amongst themselves, which happily gauethe cimens king of PERSIA leyfure and time to restore himselfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such vt- death. terruine and destruction of the whole power and force of GRECE, as no tongue can wellexpresse. Indeede along time after, king Agesilaus came with anarmie of the GRECIANS into Asia, and beganne a small warre against the Lieutenants of the king of Persiaes gouernours of the lower countries of As 1 A: but before he could do any notable exploit, he was called homeagaine by occasion of new troubles and civill warres rising among the GRECIANS, and compelled to returne into his countrey, leauing the treasurers of the king of Persia raising of subsidies and taxes upon the ciries of the Grecians in Asia, although they were confede-

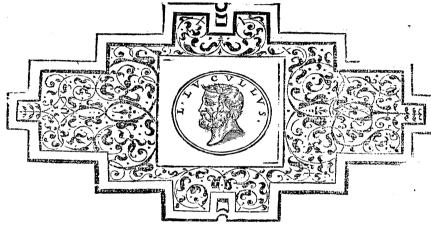
isments.

rats of the LACED EMONIANS. Whereas in the time that Cimon gouerned, they never faw and of the kings Sergeants at armes, or Commissioner, that brought any letters patents or commandement from the king, or any fouldier that durst come neare the sea, by forty furlongs. The tombes which they call vnto this prefent day Cimonia, do witnesse that his ashes and bones were brought vnto Athens. Neuerthelesse, they of the city of Citiv M do honour a certaine tombe, which they fay is Cimons tombe: because that in a great dearth and barrennesse of the earth, they had an oracle that commanded them, not to neglect Cimen, as the Orator Rausicrates writeth it, but to honour and reverence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRECIAN Cap-

The end of Cimons life.

THE LIFE OF

Lucius Lucullus.



T neullus parents.

Lucullus

accuseth

Seruiliue

S for Lucullus, his grandfather was a Confull, and so was Metellus (surnamed Numidicus, because of his conquest of NVMIDIA) his vncleby the mothers fide. His father notwithstanding was convict of fellonie, for robbing the treasure of the State whilest he was officer: and Cacilis his mother was reported to have led an vnchaste life. But for Lucullus selfe before nebare office or rule in matters of State, the first thing he touched and tooke in hand for the cause of his countrey, was the accufation of Serudius the foothfayer (who before had accused his father)

for that he also had dealt falsely in his office, and deceived the commonwealth. And this the Ro-MAINES thought very well handled of him, infomuch as a prety while after there was no other talke in Rome but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valiant act done by him. For otherwise, though privatly they had no instruction, yet they thought it a noble deedeto accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put law-breakers in sute, as to see a notable good course of a dogge at a hare. Howbeit there followed such stirre and banding vpon this fute, that some were very fore hurt, and other slaine in the market place; but in fine, Serulius was cleared and quite difiniffed. Lucullus was very eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues: infomuch as Sylla dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which he himselfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole historie thereof, and couch it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not onely a readie tongue to vtter that he would speake and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be seene to do having matters of sute or open audience;

the foothfaver. The Romaines thought it deed to acsufe the wicked.

Luculina

LVCVLLVS

Like tonnie fish they be, which swiftly dine and dop Into the depth of Ocean fea, withouten flay or flop.

But afterwards also when ye take them out of their common practife and pleadings:

Then are they graneld straight, withouten grace or skill:

Their eloquence lies then in dike, and they them sclues be still. For Lucullus had studied humanity from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refresh his wit (after great troubles) he fell to the studie of Philosophie, which quickened the contemplative part of his soule, and mortified, or at Luculus. the least betimes bridled the ambitious & active part, specially after the diffention betwixt him Philosophia and Pompey. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is faid, that when he was a yong inhibitation man, he layed a great wager with Hortenfius the Orator, and Sistenna the Historiographer (in time. ieast as it were at the first, but afterwards it fell to good earnest) that he would write the breuiarie of the Mars san warres in verse or prose, in the Latine or Greeke tongue, which soeuer fell to his lot and I thinke his hap was to do it in prose in the Greeke tongue, because we find a little Greeke storie extant of the warres of the ROMAINES against the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother M. Lucullus, as appeared by many manifest proofes; but the chiefest and most noted war of the proofeamong the Romaines was this. Himselfe was elder then his brother Marcus, and yet Marsians for all that would neuer fue to beare office in the commonwealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwaies till he should be chosen, and let his owne time passe ouer, This great cur- loue to his tefie to his brother fo wanne the peoples hearts, as Lucius being absent, they chosehim Ædilis, and his brother Marcus with him for his fake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of Luin and the Mars I AN warres, wherein he did many wife and valiant deeds. The cause not withstanding Marcus that moved Syllato make choice of him, was rather for his conftancie and good courteous nature, then for any other respect. For when Sylla had once won him, he euer after employed him #dules. continually in his most weighty causes: as in commission specially, he gaue to him to coine money. For indeed part of the mony that Sylla spent in the warres against king Mithridates, was coi- syllague ned by Lucullus comandement, within the country of PELOPONNESVS: Whereupon they were Lucullus called Lucullian pecces, and were currant a long time amongst the fouldiers, to buy such things to come me, as they stood in neede of, and neuer refused by any. Sylla being afterwards at ATHENS, the nein Poles stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut off his victuals from him, sent Luz ponnesses. cullus into Ægypr and Lybia, to bring him fuch ships as he found in those parts. It was in the deepe of winter, and yethe spared notto faile with three brigantines of GRECE, and as many galliots of the Rnodians, putting himfelfe not onely to the danger of the sea in so long a voyage, but of his enemies in like manner: who knowing themselues to be the stronger, went sailing euery where with a great nauie. But for all thefe dangers, he first arrived in the Ile of CRETA,& wantheir good wils. From thence went to the city of Cyrene, where he found the inhabitants turmoyled with civil warres, and continuall oppressions of tyrants: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them laws to establish gouernment among them, putting them in remembrance of Platoes words spoken to their ancestors in old time, in the spirit of a prophecie. For lawes to the when they prayed Plato to write them lawes, and to appoint them fome forme of government eyemans. for their commonwealth, he made them answer: It was a hard thing to give lawes to fo rich and Anotable fortunate a people as they were. For to fay truly, as nothing is harder to be ruled then a rich man; saving of so contrarily, nothing readier to receive counsell and government then a man in adversitie. This lesson framed the Cyrenians at that time to be more civill and obedient to the lawes Lucullus gaue them. When he departed thence, he coasted towards ÆGYPT, where he lost the more part of his shippes by pirates: but for his own person, scaping their hands, he was very honorably received in the city of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kings armie came to meete him at sea, gallandy trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the king when he retur- to AEgypt ned from any voyage by fea: and king Ptolomic himselfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honourable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his Court, and defrayed his ordinarie diet, where neuer strange Captaine was lodged before : and did not onely found the ordinary allowance in feathing of him which hee vsed vnto others, but commanded fouretimes as much provision more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, Lucullus tooke no more then was reasonable for his person: nor yet would he receive any maner of gift, although the king had fent him presents to the value of

Fourescoretalents. And which more is, would not so much as go see the city of MEMPHIS nor

A notable rich Eme. Lucullus Lucullus doings vn-

tivasageme.

tes in Pita-

any other of the famous monuments and wonderfull fights in ÆGYPT, saying, that it was for a man that trauelled up and downe for his pleasure, and had ley sure withall, to see such things, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the field, at the fiege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king Ptolomie would in no case fall in friendship with Sylla, fearing left he should thereby put himselfe into warres, but gaue him men and shippes to bring him into Cr. PRVs. And as he was readie to imbark, the king bidding him farewell; and embracing him, gaue rald given him a goodly rich Emerald fet in gold, which Lucullus at the first refused, vntill the king shewed him his picture grauen in it: and then he accepted the gift, fearing lest the vtter refusall might cause the king thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an ambush by fea for him. Thus having gotten a certaine number of ships together of the port townes thereabouts, ouer and befides fuch as the pirates and fea-rouers had hidden, being part of their spoiles, and bestowed with their receitors, went on with them into Cyprvs, where he vnderstood that his enemies lay close in certaine creekes under the foreland, watching to boord him as he failed by. Whereupon he vnrigged and bestowed his ships in dockes, and fent word to all the port townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there and therefore willed them to prouide him victuals and other necessarie munition to be in readingsse against the Spring, Bur in the meane while, when he faw time convenient, he put his whole fleete agains to the fea with all possible speede, went himselfe away, and in the day time carried a low saile, but in the night packt on all the cloath he could for life: fo that by this crafty fetch he wante Rhodes and loft not one ship. The RHODIANS they also furnished him with ships: and besides them, he so perfwaded the GNIDIANS and the inhabitants of the Ile of Co, that they for looke king Mithrida. tes, & went to make wars with him against them of the Ile of Samos. But Licully himselfalone draue king Mithridates men out of CHIO restored the COLOPHONIANS against to libertie, and tooke Epigorus the tyrant prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time. Mithridates was compelled to for fake the city of Per GAMV's, and to retire to the city PITANE within the which Fimbria kept him befieged very straightly by land. Wherefore Mithridates bauing the sea open vpon him, fent for his force and nauie out of all parts, not daring to hazard battell against Fimbria, who was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreouer was himselfe a conquerour. Fimbria perceiuing what Mithridates meant, and hauing no power by fea of his owne, fent straight to Lucullus, to request him to come with his nauie into those parts to his aide, for the our comming of this king, the greatest & most cruell enemiethat CUCT the ROMAINE people had. Because that so notable a prey, which they followed with such danger and trouble, should not escape the Romaines, while they had him in their hands, and was come himselfe within their danger: and that therefore he should so much the more hearken vnto it, because that if it fortuned Mithridates to be taken, no man should winne more honour and glory by his taking, then he that had stopped his passage, and layed hands on him, even as he thought to have fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble victory runne in equalitic between ethem both: the one that had driven him from land, and the other that had stopped his passage by sea. And furthermore, that the ROMAINE'S would nothing regard all the famous battels and victories of Sylla in GRECE, which he had wonne before the cities of CHOERONEA and Or CHOMENE, in comparison of taking the king. This was the effect of Fimbriaes message fent vnto Lucullus, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if Lucullus would have believed him at that time (and have gone thither with his ships to stop the havens mouth of the city, in the which Mithridates was befreged, confidering also that he was so neare at hand) this warre had taken end there, and the worldbesides had then benedeliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether Lucullus preferred the confideration and respect he had vnto Sylla, whose Lieutenant he was, before all other due regard of private or common benefit: or that he detefted and abhorred Fimbria as a curfed perion, who not long before had through his wicked ambition embrued his hands in the bloud of his Captaine: or elfe, that it was through the secret prouidence and permission of the gods, that he spared Mithridates at that time, to the end he might be referred as a worthy enemy, against whom he might afterwards shew his valour. Howsoeuer it was, it so fell out that he hearkened not vnto Fimbriaes message, but gaue Mithridates time and leyfurcto flie, and finally to fcorne all Fimbriaes force and power. But Lucullus felfcalone

afterwards

afterwards ouercame the kings armie by sea, once neare vnto the head of Lectum, which is on the coast of TROADE : and another time neare vnto the Ile of TENEDOS, where Weoptolemus, Mooptole Mithridates Lieutenant by sea, lay in waite for him with a farre greater number of shippes then mushing he had. Andyet so soone as Lucullus had descried him, he failed before all his nauie, being Admirall, in agalley of RHODES, at five oares to a banke, whereof one Demagoras was mafter, tes Lieutes aman well affected to the service of the Romaines, and very skilfull in battell by sea. And when Neoptolemus on the other fide rowed against him with great force, commanding his pylor that he should so order his galley, that he might stemme him right in the prowe: Demagoras fearing the full meeting of the kings galley, which was very strong and heavie, and furthermore wellarmed with points and spurres of brasse before, durst not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his galley to winde about, and turned his poupe towards him. Whereby the galley being low at the end, received the blow without hurt, confidering that they hit vpon the dead workes, and those parts which are alwaies aboue water. In the meane time Lucullus other shippes were come, who commanding his master to turne the beake-head of his galley forward, did many famous acts: fo that he made his enemies flie, and draue Neoptolemus away, Reoptole And departing from thence, went to feeke out Sylla euen as he was ready to passe ouer the seas, thridates about Cherronesvs: holpe him to wast his armie, and so passed him ouer with safetie. Af- Lieutenaus terwards when peace was concluded, and that king Mithridates was come into his realme and by sea. countries againe, which lie vpon the fea Maior, sylla condemned the province of Asia to pay the summe of twenty thousand talents for a fine by reason of their rebellion. And for leauying of his fine, he left Lucullus there with commission to coine money: which was a great comfort and hearts ease vnto the cities of Asia, considering the extremity that Syllahad vsed towards them. For in fo grieuous and odious a commission vnto them all, as that was, Lucullus did not onely behaue himselfe vprightly and instly, but also very fauourably and courteously. For, as touching the MITYLENIANS that were openly in armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for farisfaction of the offence they had committed taking Ma. rius part, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continue in their naughtinesse, he went against them, and having ouercome them in battell, compelled them to keepe within their wals, and laid fiege vnto their city, where he vsed this policy with them. At noone dayes he lanched into the fea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, and Lucullas fayled towards the city of Erea: howbeit in the night time fecretly returned backe, and making at the farge no noise, layed an ambush neare vnto the city. The MITYLENIANS mistrusting nothing, went of the MITYLENIANS on the next morning very rashly without order, & without any maner watch or ward, to spoile solutions. the campe of the ROMAINES, supposing enery man had bene gone: but Lucullus comming suddenly vpon them, tooke a great number prisoners, flue about fine hundred such as resisted, and wanne fixe thousand slaves, with an infinite quantity of other spoile. Now did the gods happily preserve Luculus, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles which Sylla and Marius made poore ITALIE suffer, cuen then when he was occupied in the warres of As 1A: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credite and fauour with Sylla, as any of his friends about him. For, as we have faid before, he dedicated his Commenta. Luculus ries vnto him, for the good will he bare him, and by his last wil and testament appointed him tutor vnto his fonne, leaving Pompey out: which feemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and The first occ grudge that fell out afterwards betweene them, because they were both young men, and vehe- sason of mently desirous of honour. Shortly after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen Consull with twist Ports. Marcus Cotta, about the threefcore Olympiade, and then they began to reviue the matter again, per and that it was very needfull to make wars against Mithridates, and specially Marcus Cotta, who gave Lucultus, outthat it wasnot ended, but only flept for a while. Wherfore, when the Confuls came to draw M. Cotta lots what provinces they should take charge of, Lucullus was maruellous sorie that the province Confuls. of GAVLE, lying betweene the Alpes & ITALY, fell to his lot, because he thought it no country wherein any great exploits were to be done; and againe, the glory of Pompey grieued him greatly, whose honourdaily increased by the famous battels he wan in SPAINE. So that it was most certaine, that fo foone as Pompey had ended the wars there, they would have chosen him General in the wars against Mithridates. Wherfore, when Pompey sent to Rome in earnest maner, to require money to make pay to his fouldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not fend him money the sooner, he would leave both Servorius and SPAINE behind him, and bring his army backe in-X x 3

Tacallus. world net aide rim-

Turius Quintius,

Turnillas ambition to maha wars azain? King Miebridates, famous curtifan of

Thego. nerasmismi of Cilicia and the wars a gainst king giusa to Luculus.

foldiers ve.

to ITALIE: Lucullus made all the meanes he could to have it quickly fent him, fearing left he should returne into ITALIE vpon any occasion, whilehe was Confull. For he thought that if he returned againe to Rome with fo great an armie, he would eafily do what he lift: and the ceibegus a rather, because that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at Rome, because he spake and did al that pleased the common people, being a vicious liver, and diffolutely giuen, for which cause Lucullus hated him. But there was another common Oratour among the people, called Lucius Quintius, and he would have had all Syllnes doings revoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole state of the commonwealth, and to turmoile the citie of Rome againe with civill diffention, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintius Lucullus talked withall apart, to perswade him, and openly reproued him with such words, that he was diffwaded from his euill purpole, & by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wifely and cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common-wealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to grow. While thefe things were thus in hand, newes came that Octavius the Gouernour of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themselves to sue for this charge, and to court Cethegus, as the onely man who aboue all other might make any man officer whom he though good. Now for Lucullus, he made no great reckening of the government of CILICIA in refpect of the country, but because CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it; and perswading himselfe that if he could obtain the government thereof, they would give none other (but himfelfe)the authority to make wars with Mithridates, he determined to procure althe meanes he could that none should have it but himselfe. And having proved fundry waies, was compelled in theend against his owne nature, to practife a meaneneither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly deuise to obtaine his defire. There was a woman in Rome at that time called Pracia, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasant grace in talke and discourse. howbeit otherwise vnchast after curtisan maner. But because she employed the credit and fauor of them that frequented her company, to the benefit and feruice of the commonwealth, and of them that loued her: she wanthe report (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louing woman, and ready to fauour and further any good enterprife, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after she had once wonne Cethegus, (who ruled all the common. wealth at his pleasure) and brought him to be so farre in fancy with her, that he could not be out of her fight: then had the all the whole power and authority of Rome in her hands, for the prople did nothing but Cethegus preferred it, and Cethegus did what euer Precia wold will him to do. Thus Lucullus fought to come in fauour with her, fending her many prefents, and vfing all other courtefies he could offer vnto her; befides that it feemed a great reward for so proud and ambitious a woman as she, to be fued vnto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by this meanes cameto haue Cethegus at his commandement. For Cethegus did nothing but commend Lucallus in all affemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CILICIA: who after it was once giáted him, had then no need of the help neither of Pracia, nor yet of Cethegus. For the people wholy of themselves with one consent did grant him the charge to make war with Mithridates, because he knew better how to ouercome him then any other Captaine, and because that Pompey was in the warres with Sertorius in Spains, and Metellus also growne too old, both which two were the only menthat could descruedly have cotended for this office with him. Neuertheles, Marcus Cotta his fellow Confull, made fuch fute to the Senate, that they fent him alfo with an army by sca, to keepe the coasts of Proportide, & to defend the country of BITHYNIA. Thus Lucullus having this commission, went into As 1 A with one legion onely, the which heleaued anew at Rome: and when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through conerousnesses and delicacy of the country. For amongst others, were the bands which they called § Fimbrian bands, in difficulties men giuen ouer to felfe-will, and very ill to be ruled by martiall diffcipline, because they hadliucd a long time at their owne liberty, without all obedience to any man. They were those selfe fouldiers that together with Fimbria, fluetheir general Flaceus, Conful of the Romains people, and that afterwards betrayed Fimbria himselfe, and forsooke him, leaving him vnto Sylla, being mutiners, traitours, and wicked people, howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trained, and painefull fouldiers. Notwithstanding, Lucullus in short time bridled their boldnesse meetly well and reformed the others also, who before had never proved (in my opinion) what the value

of a good Captaine and Generall meant, that knew how to command: but werevsed to flattering leaders, that commanded the fouldiers no more then they themselues liked of Now concerning the state of the enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very braue and bold (as these flourishing Sophisters commonly are) vndertaking warre against the Romaines, with a vaine unprofitable armie, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the Mibrida. eye: after he was once foyled and ouercome, with no leffe shame then losse, when he came teranny ato make his second warre, he cut off all superfluous pompe, and brought his atmicinto a conuenient furniture to serue for warres at all assayes. For he put by the confused multitude of fundry nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous people in fo many fundry tongues, and clearely banisht also the rich grauen armours with goldimiths worke, and set with precious stones, as things that more enriched the enemics that wan them, then gaue firength or courage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the ROMAINE fathat ware theath and countries, can be field a maruellous number of horse, more ready thion, and great heavy shields, & brought to the field a maruellous number of horse, more ready for service, then rich in furniture. Then he joyned fixescore thousand sootemen together, appointed and fer in order like vnto the battell of the Romaines, with fixteene thousand horse of feruice, befides those that drew his armed carts with fithes about, which were in all to the number of an hundred. And besides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of ships and galleys together, which were not decked with goodly golden paulions, as at the first, neither with stoucs nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and Gentlewomen: but furnished full of armour, artilerie, and slings, and with money also to paythe fouldiers. With all this army and preparation, he went first to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receited him very gladly, and not those onely, but all the other cities of Asia wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miseries and diseases, by the crueltic of the Romains farmers and vources, who raising taxes and imposts vpon them, made missis by thein abide vntollerable things. It is true that Lucullus draue them away afterwards, like the the Remails Harpy., which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mouthes: how beit at that time he did "Jureri. no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he vsed vnto them, and qualified a little the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being enery one of them in manier willing to renolt. Now Lucullus being busic about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other Contains Confull (and his companion) supposing that the absence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offeredhim to do notable service, prepared to fight with Mithridates. And although he had newes Mithridates brought him from fundry places, that Lucullus was with his armie in Phrygra, and comming towards him . ver por with flouding investigate that he beginned to the beautiful of the land of towards him : yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honour of triumph assured alreadic in his hands, and because Lucultus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwards to give bartel. But Mithridates overcame him both by fea and land: fo that Cotta by fea loft threefeore of his ships with all the men in them, foure thousand footmen by land, and was after with shame shut vp and besieged in the citie of Chalcedon, remaining there hopelesses to escape, but by Lucullus onely aide and meanes. Howbeit there were in Lucullus campe, that were very earnest with him to leaue Cotta; and to goe further, affuring him that he should finde the Realme of Mithridates both without men of warre, or any defence at all: fo that he might cafily be Lord of the whole. And these were the words of the souldiers that spited Cotta, because his foolish rashnesse and fond imagination had not onely brought those men to the shambles to be slaine and castaway, whom he had the leading of: but had let them also, that they could not ouercome him, and end this warre without blowes, for that they were driven to goto his helpe. Howbeit Lucullus making an oration vnto them, answered, that he had rather The godly faue the life of one Romaine citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And Luculus when Archelaus (who had bene Mithridates Licutenant in Bobotta in the first warres against forthe fa-Sylla, and now in the second warre tooke part with the Romaines) assured him that so soone ming of a sthey say him in the Realmoof Pourse, they would all rise against Mitheidates, and would stiffen. as they faw him in the Realme of Pontvs, they would all rife against Mithridates, and yeeld themselues vnto him: Lucullus answered him thus, that he would not shew himselfe more fearefull then the good hunters, which neuer fuffer the beaft to recouer his denne. And when Lucultus he had fo faid, he marched with his armie towards Mithridates, having in all his campe army. thirty thousand footmen, and two thousand fine hundred horse. When he came so neare vnto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discerne all their host, he wondered at the great multitude of fouldiers that were in their campe, and was in mind to give battell, supposing

X x 4

fire fell betweene both ment.

Luculles politicke confiderafeither the

yet that the better way was to prolong time and draw these warres out in length. But one Ma. rius a ROMAINE captaine, whom sertorius had fent out of SPAINE Unto Mithridates with a certaine number of fouldiers, came forwards, and prouoked him to battell. Luculus for his part did put his men also in readinesse to fight: but even as both battels were prepared to joyne, the element opened upon the fudden, without any shew of change of weather discerned before and they plainely faw a great flake of fire fall betweene both armies, in forme and fhape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten filuer. This celeftiall figne put both the armies in fuch a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a stroake: and this wonderfull fight fortuned (as they fay) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Now Lucullus afterwards confidering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor provision so great in the world, that could suffice to victuall fo many thousands of people as Mithridates had in his campe any long time together, having his enemies campe fo lying before them: willed that one of the prisoners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabbin, then what come he had left in their cabbin. And when the prisoner had answered to all his demands, he returned him to prison, and sent for another: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corne, and other proportion of victuals they had, with the number of menthe fame should maintaine: he found that all would be spent in three or foure daies at the vttermost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination to delay time without hazard of battel. So he caused a maruellous deale of wheat to be brought into his campe out of every quarter, that the fame being throughly victualled he might eafily tarry the occasion which his enemies necessity should offer him. Mithridates in the meane time, fought which way he might take the city of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene Ouerthrowne before with Cotta at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had loft three thoufand men, and ten of their ships. And because that Lucullus should not vnderstand of his enterprise, Mithridates stole away by night after supper, taking the opportunity of a dark rainie night, and marched thitherwards with fuch speed, that he was before the city of Cyzievs by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddesse Adrastria standeth, which is the goddeffe of fatall destinies. Lucullus receiving intelligence of Mithridates departure from his campe, followed him straight way es step by step, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in diforder, lodged his army in a village call THRACIA, in aplaceof great advantage for him, and commodiously seated also you the high wayes, and throughfare of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they must come of necessitie to victuall Mithridates campe. Wherefore Lucuttus wifely foreseeing what would follow, wouldnot keepe his purpose secret from his souldiers, but after he had wel trenched & fortified his camp, called them to counfell, and there making an oration vnto them, told them openly by manifest demonstration of affured hope, that ere many dayes passed, he would give victorie into their hands, and that with out losse of one drop of bloud. In the meane season, Mithridates environned the GRECIAN'S round about by land, having devided his armie into ten campes, and sopped vp the mouth of the arme of the fea, which deuided the city from firme land, with his ships from one fide to another. Now the CYZICENIAN'S were valiant men, and determined to abide all extremitie for the Romaine's fakes: but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of Lucullus, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe flood in fuch a place, wherethey might eafily differne it from the city. But Mithridates fouldiers deceived them; for flewing them the ROMAINES campethat lay aboue hard by them, they faid vnto them: do ye fee yonder campe there: They are the ME DE s, and the AR-MENIANS, Whom Tigranes hath fent to the aide of Mithridates. These words put the Cyli-CENIANS in a maruellous feare, feeing fuch amultitude of enemies differfed round about them: that when Lucullus should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of Lucullus approach, by one called Demonax, whom Archelaus fent vnto them, but they would not beleeve him at the first, taking it for a tale, onely tomake them to be of good courage, and valiantly abide the furie of the fiege: vntill fuch time as a little boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had taken him prisoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whom they inquired where Lucullus was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they iested to aske that question of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the Romaines campe with his finger: then they beleeved it indeed, and were couragious

couragious againe. There is a lake neare vnto the citie of Cyzrevs called Dafcylitide, and it is nauigable with convenient bigge boates. Lucullus tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a cart, and to caried it to the fea, and there put as many fouldiers in her as she could welcarry, who by night entred into the citie, the skoure of the enemies neuer descrying them. This small suppliedid maruelloudly comfort the befreged CYZICENIANS: and it feemeth that the gods, delighting to feetheir noble courage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they sent from heaven, and specially by one, which was this. The day of the feast of Proservina was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a blacke cow to offer in solemne sacrifice, as their ancient ceremonies required: fo they made one of paste, and brought it hard vn. to the altar. Now, the cow that was vowed to this facrifice, & which they reared vp of purpose to serve for that day, was feeding amongst the heard of the city in the fields, on the other side of thearme of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the heard, and swam ouer the state of the arme of the sea, and came into the city: where she went of her selfevneothe place of the sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddeffe Proferpina her felf appeared vnto Ariffagorax in his dreame, Secretary of the state and commonwealth of the Cyzicenians, and said vnto him : I am come hither to be series to bring the flute of Lybia against the trumpet of Pont, and therefore tell the citizens from find. me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the Secretarie had told tax wifen. them this vision, the Cyzicenians maruelled much at the goddesses words, and could not imagine whatthey meant. Howbeit at the breake of day there arose a great whistling wind, that made the sca billowes rise very high; and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the city to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one Niconides a THESSALIAN enginer had made and denifed) began to make such a noise, and to breake in peeces by the roughnesse of the winde, that a man might easily judge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one instant, the Southwind was become so vehement bigge, that in a moment it burst all these engines as funder, & specially a tower of wood of the height of an hundred cubits, which the wind shooke so vehemently, that it ouerthrew it to the ground. And it is sayd fur. thermore, that in the city of ILIVM the goddesse Mineraa appeared vinto diverse in their sleepe, all in a sweat, and shewing part of her veile torne, as if she had bene newly returned from giving aidevnto the Cyzicenians: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of ILIVM haue 2 pillar yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was Mithridates maruellous sorric for the breaking and losse of his engines, by meanes whereof, the CYZICENIAN'S had escaped the danger of affault, and of the fiege in like manner, vntill he truly vnderstood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreme dearth to be such, Extreme as the fouldiers were compelled to eate mans flesh, which (his Captaines abusing him) had for same in a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth indeed, he left to this was enformed of the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second to the troth indeed, he left to the second off his vaine ambition obstinately to continue siege: knowing well that Lucultus made not wars Proutebe with threats and brauery, but (as the common prouer be faith) leapt on his bellie with both his his belly his belly his belly feete, that is to fay, he did what he could possible to cut off all the victuals from him. And there with both foreone day when Lucullus was gone to affault a castle that troubled him, very neare vnto his bis sense. campe, Mithridates because he would not lose that oportunity, sent the most part of his horsemen to get victuals in Bithynia, with all the carts, and beafts of carriage, and his most vnprofitable footmen. Lucullus hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night vnto his campe, and the next morning betimes being in the winter scason, followed them by the tracke with ten enfignes of footemen onely, and all his horsethen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharpe, and the weather so rough, that many of his souldiers not being able to abide it, died by the way. For all that, he marched on still, till he ouertooke his enemies about the river of Rindacus, where he gaue them fuch an ouerthrow, that the very women came out of the Rindacus R. city of Apollonia, and went to steale the victuals they had loden, and to strip the dead, which were a maruellous great number as a man may judge in such a case: and neuerthelesse there were taken fixe thousand horse of service, an infinite number of beasts for carriage, and Lucullus ffteenethousand men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard werthers by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the Historiographer Salust, who writing of the hosse. this matter faith, that here was the first time that ever the Romains saw any camels. Methinks men. it strange how he should thinke so, that they who long before had ouercome Antiochus the Great under Scipio, and the others that a little before had fought against Archelaus, neare unto

Michrida sei fled by dates foot men by the Granicus.

Luculina dreame

the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHERONEA, should not have seene camels. But to returne as gaine to our matter. Mithridates being feared with this ouerthrow, resoluted with himselfe immediatly to flie, with all the speed he could possibly make; and to entertaine and stay Lucullus for atime behind him, he determined to fend Ariflonicus his Admirall with his armie by fea, into the fea of GRECE. But as Ariflonicus was readic to hoife faile, his owne men betrayed him, and deliuered him into the hands of Lucullus, with ten thousand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt (if he could) part of the Romain's army. Mithridates hearing of this, fled by fea, leaving the rest of his army by land in the hands of his captaines, to be brought away by them as well as Granicus ft they could. Lucullus followed vnto the river of Granicus, where he fet vponthem, & after he had flaine twenty thousand of them, tooke an infinite number prisoners. And they say there died in observations that wars, what fouldiers, what flaues, what lackeis, & other stragglers that followed the camp. about the number of three hundred thou fand people. This done, Lucullus returned to the city of Cyzicvs, whereafter he had spent some daies, enjoying the glory due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment of the CYZICENIAN s: he went to vifit the coast of Helles PONT, to get ships together, and to prepare an army by sea. And passing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of Venus: where, as he flept in the night, it feemed to him he faw the goddeffe appeare before him, which faid thefe verfes vnto him:

O lyon fierce and fout why fleepest thou so sound? Since at thy hand so faire a prey, is readie to be found.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his friends to him, told them the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some vnto him from the city of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene galleys of king Mithrida. tes, having five oares to every banke, that were seene in the haven of the Achaians, and that failed towards the Ile of Lemnos. Whereupon Lucullus tooke ship straight, went and tooke them every one: for at his first comming he slue the captaine called Isidorus, and went afterwards to the other mariners that lay at anker on the coast side, who seeing him come, drew towards land with their ships, in purpose to runne them all ashore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurtmany of Lucullus fouldiers, because they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had laied their ships was such, as there was no way to force them before, their galleys floting in the fea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. Lucullus with much ado all this notwith standing, found meanes in the end to put ashore certaine of the best fouldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily land. These fouldiers went straight and fet upon the enemies behind, flue some of them cuen at their first comming, and compelled the rest to cut a funder the cables that fastned the galleys to the banks. But when they thought to flie from land, the galleys brused and broke one another: and that worst of all was, ranne vpon the points and spurres of Lucullus galleys: and so many of themas flood about hatches were flaine, the refitaken prisoners: amongst whom, Marius the Romains captaine was brought vnto Lucullus, whom Sertorius had fent out of Spaine vnto Michidates. He had but one eye, and Lucullus had commanded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye, because Marius should not die so happie a death, as to be flaine, but that he should die some shamefull death, and be condemned by order of law. That done, Lucullus went in person with all the speed he could possible to follow Mithridates, hoping to find him yet vpon the coast of BITHYNIA, where Vocanius should have stayed him: for he had fent this Voconius before with a great number of his ships vnto the city of NICOMEDIA, to ftop him from flying. But he taried to long in the Ile of Samothracia facrificing to the gods of the same, and to be received into the fraternitie of their religion, that he could never after come neare Mithridates to stop him from flying: having alreadie made faile with all the whole fleete, and hafting with all possible speed to recouer the Realme of Pontvs, before Lucullus could return from whence he went. But in failing thitherwards, he met with fuch a terrible storme, that carried part of his ships so away, that they ranne straggling to seeke their fortune, and part of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coastes and rivers thereabouts, for many daies after, were full of dead bodies and shipwrackes cast ashore by waves of tes in great the sea. Now for Mithredates owne person, he was in a ship of great burthen, the which for her greatnesse could not faile neare the shore, nor recouer land, she was also very euill to be guided by the pilots in so boisterous a storme: the marriners besides were put out of all their skill and knowledge

cuercame Mishrida ies navy by

knowledge: and the ship her selfe moreover tooke in such store of water, and was so heavily charged withall, that they durst no more put her out to the sea. By reason whereof Mithridates was compelled to go aboord a little pinnace of pirats, and to put himselfe and his life into their hands, by whose helpe in the end (beyond all expectation, but not without great danger) he got to land, and recourred the city of Heraclea in the Realme of Pontys. Now here is to benoted, that the great brauerie Lucullus shewed vnto the Senate of Rome, fell out according to his imagination by the fauour of the gods. For when the Scnate had appointed for ending of these warres, to prepare a great natic of ships, and therewithall had given order also for three thousand talents: Lucullus stayed them by letters, that they should not do it, writing brauely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be ftrong inough to drive Mithridates from the fea, with the onely ships he would borrow of their friends and confederates. And indeed, through the speciall favour of the gods, he brought it Lucullus fotopasse: for they say, that this terrible storme that destroyed the armie of Mithridages was commended. raised vp by Diana, being offended with the men of the Realme of Pontvs, because they had bie. destroyed her temple in the city of PriAPos, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuerse that counselled Lucallus to deferre the rest of this warre vntill another season: but notwithstanding all their perswasions, he went through the countrey of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the Realme of Mithridates. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked vichuals, so that there were thirty thousand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried e- Lucullus uery one of them a bushell of wheate on their shoulders: howbeit entring farther into the countrey, and conquering the whole, there was fuch exceeding plenty of all things, that an oxe was fold in his campe but for a Drachma, and a flaue at foure times as much. And of all other spoyle bought for there was fuch great store, that either they made no reckoning of it, or else they made hauock of it, because there was no man to sell it vnto, every man having so much of his owne. For they ran ouerall the countrey vnto the city of THEMTSYRA; and to the valleys that lay vpontheriuer of Thermodon, and stayed no where longer then they were a spoyling. Therupon the souldiers began to murmure at Lucullus, because he affured all the cities vpon composition, & neuer took any of Lucullus of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich themselues by spoyle: and yet said they, saidiers. he would make vs now go farther, & leave Amisvs a great rich city which we might eafily take by force, if it were but a little straightly besieged; and leade vs into the deserts of the TIBARE-NIANS and the CHALD EIANS to fight against Mithridates. Lucullus passed ouer all these complaints, and made no reckoning of them, because he would neuer haue thought that they would haue fallen into fuch mutinie and furie, as afterward they did: and contravily excused himselfe the more carefully to them that blamed and reproued him, for his long tarying vpon townes and willages that were not worth the reckoning, & fuffering Mithridates in the meane time to gather anewforce & army cogether at his pleasure. For find he that is the mealer I do not get the realisment. a new force & army together at his pleasure. For, said he, that is the marke I shootat, & that ma- except to keth me linger time vp and downe as I do, wishing nothing more, then that he might once again bis soldiers make himselfe strong, and bring a second armie to the field, that might embolden him to come effloones to fight with vs, and runne away no more. Doyou not see, said he, that at his backe hehathan infinite number of defert countries, where it is vnpaffable euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him alfo the mount Caucasus, and many other vnpassible places, which are fufficient not onely to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings besides that would fliebattell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a little way from the countrey of the Cabir enians vnto the realme of Armenia, where Tigranes the king of kings inhabiteth, whose power is so great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS out of Asia, and carieth whole townes and cities of Grece vnto the Realme of Media, and hath all Syria and Pa-LESTINE in his hands, and hath flaine and rooted out the kings and fuccelfours of the great Seleucus, and hath carried away their wives and daughters prisoners by force. This great and beteucus, and hath carried away their wives and daughters prinoners by force. I his great and mighty king is allied vnto Mithridates, for he married Mithridates daughter; and it is not like- wing of dr. ly that when Mithridates shall come and intreate him to helpe him in his distresse, that Tigra-menis, man nes will refuse him, but rather we must thinke certainely that he will make warres vpon vs in red Miliis defence. And thus, in making haste to drive out Mithridates, we shall bring our selves into dingher, great danger, to prouoke a new enemic, euen Tigranes against vs, who of long time hathlurked " for a just occasion to make warres with vs. and he can have no honester cause to take armes, then to defend and keepe a king his neighbour, and so neare a kinsman, from vtter destruction, and «

LVCVLLVS.

tes camped Mitbrida-Lycus fl.

maint fouldier. Lucullus Azeth. Mithrida tes borfe

The fight of uell us force,

A politicke denice of the Ro. maines to punish cowardly fouldiers.

onethat is compelled to feeke vnto him for fuccour. What need we then to provoke him to procure it, & teach Mithridates (which he purpofeth not) to whom he should repaire for aide.to make warres against our selues: and pricke him forward, or to say better, put him with our owne hands into the way to go seeke aide of Tigranes, which of himselfe he will neuer do (thinking it a dishonor vnto him) vnlesse we drive him to it for very necessity? Is it not better for vs to give him leisure and time, to gather a second force againe of himselfe, and his owne people, that we might rather fight with the Colchians, TIBARENIANS, CAPPADOCIANS, & with fuch other people whom we have so many times overcome: then with the MEDES and ARMENIANS! With this determinatio Lucullus taried a great while before the city of Amisvs, continuing this fiege of purpose, without distressing them at all. Afterwards when winter was past, he less Minrena there to continue the fiege, and himselfe with the rest of his army went to meete Mithrida. Mubrida- des: who had planted his campe neare vnto the city of CABIRA, determining to tarrie the Ro. MAINEs comming having gathered together againe a new army of forty thousand footemen and foure thousand horsemen, in the which he put his most confidence and trust, so that he pass fed ouer the river of Lycus, and went and presented battell to the Romaine's in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, and the ROMAINS had the worse: for there was one Pomponius a ROMAINE taken, of great estimation, who was brought vnto king Mithridates hurt as he was. Mithridates asked him, if in faning his life, and healing his wounds, he would become his fernant & friend. Straight replied Pomponius, With all my heart, quoth he, so that thou make peace with the ROMAINES: if not, I will cuer be thine enemie. The king efteemed his courage much, and would do him no hurt. And as for Lucullus he was afraid to come into the plaine, because hise. nemy was the stronger of horsemen: & he doubted also on the other side to take his way by the mountaine, because it was very high, vneasie to clime, and full of woods and forrests. But ashe stood thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRECIANS by chance that were fled, and hidden in a caue hard by among the which there was an old man called Artemidorus, who promised Lucullus if he would beleeue and follow him, he would bring him into a fure strong place to lodge his campe, where was a castle about the city of CABIRA. Lucallus beleeved the old mans words, wherefore so soone as night came, he raised great fires in the campe, and went his way and after they had passed certaine straight and dangerous waies of the mountaines, he came in themorning vnto the place where Artemidorus had promised to bring him. Now the enemies were maruclloufly amazed when day light came, to fee him there over them, in a place where if he lift to fight, he might come vpon them with advantage: and if he liked not to stirre, it was vnpossible to compell him. For he stood indifferent then to hazard battell, or not. But in the meane season, they fay certaine of the kings campe by chance were a hunting the Hart. The Romaines perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them off by the way: and they began by this meane one to charge another in such sort (relief growing still on either side) as Mithridates men grew the stroger. But the Romain es seeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, werein fuch a rage, that they all ran in a choler to Lucullus to pray him he would leade them to battell, and give them a fignall to fight. Lucullus, because he would show them by experience how much the presence and eye of a good wife captaine in time of need was worth; commanded them they should not once stirre, and he himselfe in person went downe into the valley, where he commanded the first of his men he met withall flying, to stay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they presently did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together againe, did cafily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chafe, and draue them backe, fighting with them euen hard to their owne fort. Afterwards vpon this returne againe to his campe, he fet his fouldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to flame them withall, which the Romaines are wont to vie in fuch a case: and that is, that he made them digge a dirch of twelue foote long, being in their shirts, all vntrussed, and their other companions present seeing them do it. Now there was in king Mithridates campe, one Olthacus, prince of the DARDARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vponthe marishes of The Darda- Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his perfon, valiant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good indgement to do any great enterprife, as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainement in company, knowing how to fashion himselfe with all men. This prince, being alwaies at strife with other Lords of the countrey, and contending who should have the first place of honor and favour about the king: went vnto Mithridates, and promifed

promifed him that he would do him notable feruice, and that was, that he would kill Lucullus, The king was very glad of this promife, and praifed him maruelloufly in fecret howbeit openly of purpose he did him many injuries, because he might have some colour to counterfeit anger and displeasure, and to give way for him to go yeeld himselfe vnto Lucullus, as he did. Lucullus was maruellous glad of him, because he was one of the chiefest men of name in all his campe; Lucullus and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediately: in the which he behaued himselfe so well, that Lucullus greatly effected his wifdome, and commended his diligence, in fuch fort, conference, that he did him this honour, to call him fometimes vnto the Councell, and make him fit at his boord. One day when this DARDARIAN prince Olthacus thought to have found fit, occasion others roexecute his enterprise, hee commaunded his fotemen to be readie with his horse out of the prince of the Dardan trenches of the campe: and at noone daies when the fouldiers tooke reft, and flept here and there in the campe, he went vnto Lucullus tent, thinking to have found no body there to !:ed him from comming in, confidering the familiarity Lucullus shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of; and fure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if sleepe that casteth away so many other Capraines, had not then preserved and saved Lucullus that flept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called Menedemus, who by good fortune life land kept the doore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because Lucullus being wearied by supp, with trauell and lack of fleepe, was but then newly layed downe to reft. Olthacus, whatfoeuer the other faid to him, would not be so answered, but told him, he would come in whether he would or not, for he must needs speake with him in a matter of great importance. Menedemus answered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessaries then the preferuation of his mafters life and health, who had need to take reft: and with these words hethrust him backe with both his hands. Olthacus was afraid then, and withdrew himselfe secretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horse backe, and rode straight to Mithridates campe without his purpose he came for, which was to kill Lucullus. And thus it plainely appeareth, that occasion, and opportunity of time, even in great matters delivereth meanes to fave or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines given vnto the ficke and diseased perfons. Shortly after, Lucullus fent one of his Captaines, called Sornatius, to get victuals, with ten enfignes of footmen. Whereof Mithridates being aduertised, sent presently at his taile one of his Captaines also, called Menander, vnto whom Sornatius gaue battell, and flue him, with great flaughter of his men beside. And afterward Lucullus sent another of his Lieutenants, called Adrianus, with a great company of fouldiers, to get victuals into his campe more then he should need. Mithridates did not let slip this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines alfo, called Menemachus and Myron, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horsemen: Lucallus all which were flaine, two onely excepted, that brought newes backe to Mithridates campe: melens of the which he fought to falue as well as he could, faying that the loffe was much leffe then it was Muhrida. thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and raffinesse of his Licutenants. But tes captains Adrianus at his returne passed by Mithridates campe with great pompe and maiestic, carrying ahuge number of carts loaden with corne and spoyles he had wonne: which draue Mithridates selfe into so great a despaire, and all his people into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the Nobility and fuch as had place of credite a- Milbrida. bout him, began to fend before, and fecretly to conucy their stuffe out of the campe, but veterly men and prohibiting others to do the same. The rest of the souldiers seeing the stoutnesse of the Kings familiars, minions, began to set vpon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once cause of to iffue out of the campe. This mutiniegrew to fuch a fury, that they ouerthrew their carriages and fumpter moyles, and flue them prefently. Amongst others there was slaine Dorylaus, of bin while one of the chiefest Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple army. gowne, for the which they killed him: and Hermaus the Priest of the facrifices was troden vnderfoote, and smothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in fo great disorder. The King himselfe amongst others fled; but having neuer a one of his guard about him, nor any of the fquires of his stableto bring him a horse, Ptolomie, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiving him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his owne horse, and gaue him the King, but cuen in manner too late. For the Romaines that followed him Counterfree were then even hard at his taile: and it was not for lacke of speed they missed the taking of him, throw ef for they were very neare him; but the couctoufnesse of the souldiers was the losse of the prey souldiers.

Berenice

they had so long sought for with so great paine and hazard of battels, and deprined Lucullus of the honour and reward of all his victories. For they were fo neare vnto him, that if they had but followed Mithridates neuer so little further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and filuer (whether by chance. or of pretended policie of Mithridates, as a matter purposely abandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the middest of the high way betwirt him that fled, and the Romaines that followed, who stayed there to rob the gold and filuer, fighting about it, that Mithridates by that meanes wan ground so farre before them, as they could neuer after come neare him againe. And this losse was not all which the couctosnesse of the souldiers made Lucullus to lose. For one of the chiefest Secretaries of the King being taken, called Callistratus, whom Lucullus commanded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fine hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedinesse of them, slue him by the way; and yet notwithstanding Lucullus suffered them to spoyle and destroy the whole campe of their enemies. After Mithridates flight, Lucullus tooke the city of CAEIRA, and many other castels and strong places, where he found great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the Gar-Class, and many Princes a kinne vnto the king himfelfe, which were thought to be dead lone before; and then feeing themselue's deliuered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefite of Lucullus, thought with themselves they were not onely taken out of prison, but reviued & turned againe vnto a second life. There was also taken one of king Mithridates sisters called Niffa, whole taking fell out profitable for her: because all Mithridates other wines and fisters whom they placed farthest off, as out of all danger (& sent into a country of greatest safety, neare VINO the city of PHARNACIA) died pitifully, and were miserably slaine. For Mithridates sentone of the groomes of his prinie chamber vnto them, called Bacchides, to bring them word that they must al dic. Amongs many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kings sisters, called Roxane and Statira, which were forty yeares old apecce, and yet had never bene married; and two of his wives also whom he had maried, both of the country of Ionia, the one called Berenice, borne in the Ile of Chio, and the other Monime, in the city of Miletvin. Monime, the was very famous amongst the Grecians: for notwithstanding king Mithridates importunate dealing being far in loue with her, in fo much as he fent her fifteene thousand crownes at one time, yet she would neuer giue care vnto his fuite, vntill fuch time as the mariage was agreed vpon betweene them.& that he had fent her his Diademe or royall band, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore lady after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long lined a wofull life, bewailing continually her accurfed beauty, that in flead of a husband, had procured her a master. & in stead of the matrimonial company which a noble woman should enjoy, had gotten her a gard & garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, farrefrom the sweete country of GRECEIN change whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, having vnfortunately left them within her owne country she happily enjoyed before. Now when this Bacchides was come vntothem, and had commanded them from the king to chuse what manner The courage of death they would, and which every one of them thought most easie, and least paincfull: Ale of Monime, nime pluckt off the royall band from her head, and tying it on a knot about her necke, hung her felfe, but the band not being ftrong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cryed out O curfed and wicked tiffue, wilt thou not yet ferue me to end my forrowfull dayes? And speaking Monime her these words, cast it on the ground, and spit vpon it, & held out her throate to Eachides to be cut asunder. The other, Berenice, she took a cup full of poyso, her mother being present, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it off betweene them. The force of the poylon was strong enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not so quickly to deffroy the daughter, because shee had not taken that proportion which would have served her turne, but drew out the paines of her death in length, vntill fuch time as Bacchides hasting to difpatch her, she in the end did strangle her selfe. As for the Kings two sisters, Roxane and Statira, which were virgins yet vnmaried, they fay, that one of them also dranke poyson, cursing and detesting the cruelty of her brother: howbeit Statira gaue neuer an ill word, nor was faint harted of Stating, or forrowfull to die but cotrarily did commend & thank her brother highly that seeing himself in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them die, before they should fall as flaues into the hands of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonour them, or do them villanic. These pitifull misfortunes went to Lucullus heart, who was courteous and gentle

of nature; neuerthelesse he went on farther, still following Mithridates at the heeles; vnto the citic of TALAVRA. And there understanding that he was fled foure dayes before unto Tieranes in Armenia, returned backe againe, having first subdued the Chaldeans, and the Tiba-RENIANS, taken ARMENIA the leffe, and brought the cities, castles and strong places vnto his obedience. That done, he sent Appius Clodius vnto king Tigranes to summon him to deliuer Appius Clodius Atthridates vnto him: and himselfe tooke his journey towards the city of Amisvs, which diusent rate Tigra. was yet belieged. The cause why this siege continued so long, was the sufficiency & great expe-nession rience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called Callimachus, who vnderstood to well how Callimathus all forts of engines of batterie were to bevsed, and was so subtill besides in all inventions that governor of might serue to desenda place besieged, as he troubled the Romaines much in this attempt; amuse. but afterwards he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labour, but also outreached by Lucullus for all his finenesse. For where before he had alwaies vied to found the retreate at a certaine houre, and to call his men backe from the affault to rest them: one day he brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a wan down pecce of it, beforethose within could come in time to resist them. Callimachus seeing that, and fus. knowing it was now vnpossible to keepe the city any longer, forsooke it. But before his departing he set thecity on fire, either for malice to the Romaines, because he would not they calling. should enrich themselves with the sacke of so great a city: or else for a policie of warre to have the special to the special the more leisure to fauchimselse, and slie. For no man gaue eye to them that sled by sea, be- dmiss. cause the slame was so great, that it dispersed it selfe even to the very wals, and the ROMAINE & finish fouldiers, they onely prepared to spoyle. Lucullus seeing the fire without, had compassion of Lucullus the city within, and would gladly have holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, every one gaping after the spoile, wardsthe making great noyfe with clashing of harnesse, and being very loude besides otherwise, till at wife. the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to faue the houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrarie. For the fouldiers themselues in seeking all about with torches and linkes lighted, to fee if any thing were hidden, they fet a number of houfes on fire. So as Lucullus comming into the city the next morning, and feeing the great defolationthe fire had made, fella-weeping, faying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought Sylla happie, how beit he neuer wondred more at his good fortune, then that day had a for sylla field be defined as for the first syllage. that day he did. For, sylla faid he, defired to faue the city of ATHENS, the gods granted him that fauour that he might do it; but I that would faine follow him therein, and faue this city, fortune thwarting my defire, hath brought me to the reputation of Mummius, that caused Corint to be burnt. Neuertheleffe he did his best indeuour at that time to helpe the poore city again. For touching the fire, euen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and twenthus felfe before he left the city made agreat number of the houses which were spoyled by fire, to be built vp againe, and courteously received all the inhabitants that were fled, befides them he placed other GRECIANS there alfo, that were willing to dwell amongst them, and increased the bounds and confines of the city which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlongs in the countrey. This city was a colonic of the Athenians, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire flourifled, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many flying the tyrannie of Aristian. went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good hap fell vponthem, that for faking their owne goods, they went to possesse and enjoy the goods of other men: but the very citizens of Athens it selfe that had escaped from this great desolation, Lucullus clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas apeece, Tyrannien and fent them againe into their countrey. Tyrannion the Grammarian was taken at that time, the grange whom Murena begged of Lucullus: and Lucullus having granted him vnto him, he made him marian ta free, wherein he dealt very discourteously, and did much abuse Lucullus liberality and gift vnto him. For inbestowing this prisoner vpon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane Murana should take him for a bondman, whereby he should need afterwards to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to liberty, was no more then to take that freedome and libertie from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in that onely, Murena laid himselse open to the world, that he had not all the parts a worthy Captaine should have in him. When Lucullus departed from Amrsvs, he went to visite

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Appine Cla. isa wines

Zarbienus king of Gordiena.

Tigranes

the cities of Asia, to the end that whilest he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue fome refreshing of lawes and instice. For, by reason that law was not executed of long time in Asia, the poore country was fo afflicted and oppressed with so many cuils and miseries. as no man liuing would feant beleeue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreme and horrible couctousnesse of the farmers, customers, and Romaine vsurers, did not only denoure it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to fell their goodly yong fonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the interest and vsurie of the money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withall; and publikely the tables dedicated vinto the temples, the statues of their gods, and other church iewels; and yet in the end, they themselves were also to be judged bondmen and saues to their cruell creditors, to weare out their bodies in miserable servitude. And yet the worst of all was, the paine they put them to before they were so condemned for they imprisoned them, set them on the racke, tor. mented them upon a little brasen horse, set them in the stockes, made them stand naked in the greatest heate of sommer, and on the ice in the deepest of winter, so as that bondage seemed you to them are liefe of their miseries, and a rest of their torments. Lucultus found the cities of Asia full of such oppressions, but in a short time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he tooke order, they should account for the viurie that was payed monethly. the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no more. Secondly, he cut off all viuries that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor and yourer should enjoy the fourth part of the profits and reuenues of his debter. And hether ioyned vsurie with the principall, that is to fay, tooke vsurie vpon vsury, should lose the whole. So that by this order, all debes were payed in lesse then four eyeares, and the owners lands and revenues fet cleare of all maner payments. This furcharge of viviries, came of the twenty thou. fand talents, wherein Sylla had condemned the country of Asia: the which fummethey had payed twife before vnto the farmers and collectors of the Romains, who had raifed it, still heaping vfurie vpon vfurie to the fumme of fixfcore thousand talants. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ranne to Rome, and cryed out vpon Lucullus, faying, that he did them the greatest twrong that could be: & by meanes of mony, they procured certaine of the comon counfellors to speake against him: which they might easily do because they had divers of their names in their books that dealt in the affaires of the comonwealth of Rom B. But Lucullus was not only beloued of those countries whom he did good vnto, but was wished for and defired also of others, who thought the countries happie that might have fuch a governour. Now for Appius Clodius, whom Lucullus had fent before from TALAVRA Unto king Tigranes in ARMENIA, & whose fifter atthat time was Lucullus wife: he first tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high courty, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many daies iourneys spent in vaine: vntill such time as one of his infranchized bondmen that was borne in Syria, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong wayes they had led him, within few dayes past ouer the river of Euphrates, and arrived in the city of Antioch, furnamed Eridaphne. Where he had commandement to abide Tigranes returne, who was then in the country of Phoenicia, where he fubdued certaine cities, and had some other yet to conquer. Appius in the meane time wan secretly divers of the princes & noble men, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, & against their wils, amongst whom was Zarbienus, king of the prouince of Gordiana; and promised the aide of Lucullus also to many of the cities that fent vnto him (which had not long before bene fubdued and brought into bondage) to whom neuerthelesse he gaue in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once stirre, nor alter any thing. For the rule of these ARMENIANS was intollerable to the Grecians, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reason of his great prosperity, was growne to such pride and presumption, that what souer men did commonly effecte best, and make most reckoning of, he would not onely haue it, and vie it as his owne but also tooke it that all was made for himselfe whatsoener; and this great our weening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and fauour towards him. For at the beginning he had but verie little, and yet with this little (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downethe power of the Persians as much as any man that ever was before him. He replenished the countrey of Mesopotamia with Grecian inhabitants, which he brought by force out of Ciricia and Cappadecia, compelling

them to inhabite there. He made the Arrabian's change their maner of living, who are otherwife called the Scenifes, as much to fay, as tent dwellers, because they are vagrant people that dwell in no other houses but tents, which they euer vse to carrie with them; and brought them out of their naturall countrey, and made them follow him, vsing them for his commoditie in trade of merchandize. There were euer many kings in his court that waited on him: but amongst others, he had foure kings that waited continually on his person as his footemen: for when he rode abroade any whither, they ranne by his stirrop in their shirts. And when he was fet in his chaire of state to give audience, they stood on their feete about his chaire holding their hands together, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could doe vnto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they resigned all their liberty, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and master, more ready to soften, when their liberty, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and master, more ready to suffer, then proceedany thing to do. Notwithstanding, Appius Clodius being nothing abashed nor feared with all this tracical popular when and inner was given him told king Tigrange holdly to his fore Ambassa. this tragicall pompe, when audience was given him, told king Tigranes boldly to his face, dour rate that he was come to carry king Mithridates away with him, who was due to the triumph of Lis. Tigrans. cullus: and therefore did fummon him to deliuer that king into his hands, or elfe that he proclaimed warres vpon himselfe. They that were present at this summons, knew well inough that Tigranes (although he fet a good countenance on the matter openly with a faint counterfeit laughing) yet hearing these words so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quicke, and hit at the heart. For Tigranes having reigned (or to fay better, tyrannically gouerned) fine and twentie yeares space, had neuer heardany bold or franke speech but that. Notwithtlanding, he answered Appins, that he would not deliver Mithridates, and if the Romaines made warres with him, that he would defend himfelfe. And being greatly offended that Lucullus in his letters gaue him not the title, King of kings, but onely king simply in the letters he wrote backe to Lucullus againe, he did not so much as vouchsafe to call him Capcaine onely. But when Appius tooke his leaue, he fent him goodly rich presents, which he refused. Whereupon the king fent others againe vnto him, of the which Appius Appius abtooke a cup onely, because the king should not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: from the and so freeding all the restraction was him medianted before the sound of the sound and so fending all the rest againe vnto him, made great haste to returne to his Captaine Lucul. king of gifts lus. Now Tigranes before that time would not once see king Mathridates his so neare kinseman, who by fortune of warres had loft fo puiffant and great a kingdome, but proudly kept him vnder, in fennie, marish and vnwholesome grounds, without any honour giuen vnto him, asifhe had bene a very prisoner indeed: how beit then he sent for him honourably, and received him with great courtefie. When they were neare together in the kings pallace, they talked femm with great courtene. When they were neare together in the kings parace, they tarked tecretly one with another, and excusing themselves, clearing all suspicious conceiued betweene and Mithelater them, to the great hurt of their feruants and friends, whom they burthened with all the occasion meeting. of vnkindnesse betweene them: amongst which number Metrodorus the Scepsian was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in speech, and one whom Mithridates so much loued and Metrodoesteemed, that they called him the kings father. Mithridates at the beginning of his wars had sent and death. him Ambassadour vnto Tigranes, to pray aide of him against the ROMAINES. At which time Tigranes faid vnto him: but what fayest thouto it Metrodorus: what advice wilt thou give me? Metrodorus either because he had regard vnto Tigranes profite, or else because he was loth Mithridates should escape, answered him againe: As Ambassadour, ô King, I would wish you should do it: but as a Counsellour, that you should not doe it. Tigranes now reported this speech vnto Mishridates, not thinking he would have hurt Metrodorus for it, though indeed he presently put him to death vpon it. Whereat Tigranes was heartily sorie, and repented him greatly to hauctold him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, having but onely revived Mithridates evill will before conceived against him: for he had bornehim dilpleasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that Amphira. were taken from him, where he had ordained that Metrodorus should be put to death: but in reter an Orator of Acompence thereof Tigranes buried his body honourably, sparing no cost at all vnto the dead body of him, whom living he had betrayed. There died in King Tigranes Court also an Orator mking called Amphicrates, if he deserve that mention should be made of him, for the city of ATHENS court. fake wherin he was borne: for it is faid, that when he was banished out of his country, he fled into the city of Selevila, which standeth vponthe river of Tigris. When the inhabitants of the ding fame praied him to teach them the Art of Eloquence in their country, he wold not youch fafe it, Tigris,

leane the wars, because he would make himselfe great with the cost and perill of the common-

wealth. These crying counsellers in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home

lose that oportunity, he passed ouer his army immediatly: and was no sooner on the other side,

but he mer with a happic token of good lucke, which was this. On the other fide of the river,

would have had him to have taken a castle by force, where they said was great store of gold and filter, he shewed them mount Taurus afarre off, and told them, it is that which he must rather

go to take; as for the things which be in this castle, they be kept for them that vanquish. And go-

svs onely, and how he would straight flic out of Asia, so soone as he might but hearetell of his

coming against him, with so triumphing an army of so many thousand men. And thus may we

fee, that like as al bodies and braines, are not alike strong nor able to carrie much wine: so in like

cafe, all wits be not resolute & constant, neuer to do amisse, nor to swarue from reasons bounds

in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithribarzanes, one of Tigranes samiliars, was the next

man that enterprised to tell him the truth whose boldnesse had little better reward for his newes

properbe.

522 butanswered them proudly: that a platter was too little to hold a Dolphine in, meaning that bold a Dol. their city was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto Cleopatra, Mithridates daughter, and king Tigranes wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS company any more, which grieued him so much that he famished himselfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very honourably buried by the Queene Cleopatra, neare vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that countrey. Now when Lucallus had quieted all things in Asia, and had established good lawes among them, he was not carelesse also of games and pleasant pastimes, but while he was at leisure in the city of Ephesvs, he made many games, feasts, wrestlings, and fence-playes at the sharpe for ioy of his victory, delighting all the cities of Asia with them; the which in recompence thereof did institute a solemne teast also in the honour of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great ioy, shewing a true and no fained friendship and good will towards him, which pleafed him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honour they could deuise to give him. But after that Appius Clodeus was returned from his Ambassade, and had told Lucullus that he must make warres with Tigranes: Lucullus went back againe vnto the realme of Pontvs, where he tooke his army which he had left in garrison, and brought it before the city of Sinope to lay fiege vnto it, or rather to befiege certaine City CIANS that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of Mitbridates. But when they faw Lucullus come against them, they slue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the city, sled their way by night, Lucullus being aducrtifed of it, entred the city, put eight thousand of the Cilirope in Po- cians to the fword which he found there, and restored the natural citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserue the city, was this vision he had. He thought in his nights dreame that one came to him, and faid: goe a little farther Lucullus, for Autolyeus commeth, who is desirous to speake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision meant. It was the felf fameday on the which he tooke the citie of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that escapedby flying, he found an image lying on the ground vpon the sea side; which the CILICIAN'S would haue carried away: but they were taken and followed fo neare, that they had no leifure to flinit. This flatue (as it is reported) was one of the good lieft and notableft workes of Sthenis the image grauer. And some say it was the image of Autolyous, who founded the city of SINOPE. For Autolyeus was one of the princes that went out of Thessalle with Hercules to go against the AMAZONE s, and he was the some of Deimachus. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the ship in the which Autolycus was imbarked, with Demoleon and Phlogius, made shipwracke vpon arocke of the coast of Cherronesvs, where she was cast away: howbeitthat he and his men scaping with all their furniture, came to the city of Sinope, which he took from who fo cal. certaine Syrians, who came (as they fay) of one Syria the fonne of Apollo, and of the nymph led.

Sinone Alones danohron I would be supported to the city of Sinone Alones danohron. Sinope Asopus daughter. Lucullus vnderstanding this matter, called a faying of Sylla to minde. which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may give more credite vnto, then that which is fignified to vs by dreames. In the meane feafon he was aduertised that Tigranes and Mithridates were ready to come downe into LYCAONIA and CI-LICIA, because they might first enter As IA. Lucullus maruelled much at Tigranes counsell, that fithence he was minded to war with the Romaines, he did not vie Mithridates aid in his wars at fuch time, as when he was in his best strength & force: and that he did not then loyne his power with Mithridates, rather then fuffer him to be destroyed and overthrowne, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding himselfe with those that could not helpe themselues. While these things passed in this fort, Machares king Mithridates sonne, that kept the realme of Bosphorys, sent a crowne of gold vnto Lucullus, of the weight of a thousand crownes, praying him that he would name him a friend and confederate of the Romaines. Whereupon Lucullus thought he was then at the very last end of his first warre, and leaving Sornatius with fixe thousand mento keepe the realme of Pontvs, he departed with twelve thousand footmen, and lesse then three thousand horsemen, to goe to the second warre. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a part of him, to goe with fo fmall a company to fight with fo many warlike nations, and to put himselfe vnto the hazard of so many thousands of horsemen, in a maruellous large countrey, and of a wonderfull

length, enuironed round about with deepe rivers and mountaines, covered with snow all

taketh Si-

Lucullus dreame.

A STATUE made by Sthenes. Autolýcza faunderof the city of Sinope.

Machares Meshrida tes fanne praieth friendship of Lucullus

Lucullus geeth againft Ti a (mall co. gany.

the yearethrough: fo that his fouldiers, which otherwise were no speciall well trained men, nor The quarobedient to their Captaine, followed with an cuill will, and did stubburnely disobey him, And relling conon the other fide, the common counsellors at Rome cryed out on him continually, and openly fluorist protested before all the people, that out of one warre he fowed another, which the commonwealth had nothing to do withall; and that he looked after none other thing but still to raise new properity. occasions of warres, to the end he might alwaics haue armies at his commandement, and neuer

Lucullus againe, and to substitute Pompey in his place. But Lucullus for all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speed he could, so that he came in few daies vnto the riner of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough, by reason of the winter season: which trou. river of Enbled him maruelloufly at that prefent, doubting left it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boats, and making of posts and plancks to build a bridge to passe ouer his armie. But ry high and towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell fo much, that the next morning rough, the river was come to her ordinarie streame; and moreover the country men themselves discerand sudand sudning certaine little Hands that appeared vnto them in the middest of the water course, and the riner very calmeas a marifi round about them, did honor Lucullus as a god, because it was a thing of the river they had neuer feene chance before: as though at his comming the river had fuddenly yeelded tastron her vnto him, and was become gentle to give him safe and easie passage. And because he would not great smel-

there was a certaine number of kine confecrated to Diana Persica, whom the barbarous people Diana Persi inhabiting beyond the river of Euphrates, do reverence and honour above all the other gods: fea.

and these kine they employ to none other vse, but onely to facrifice them vnto this goddesse. Kine confe-They wander all about the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling crated to be a superior of the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying, or flackling blane Personal Country where they will, without any manner of tying the personal Country where they will, without any manner of the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country with the personal Country where they will be a superior with the personal Country with the personal Country with the personal Country will be a superior with the personal Country with the personal Country with the personal Country will be a superior with the personal Country with the personal Country will be a superior with the personal Country with the personal Country with the personal Country will be a superior with the personal Country with the personal Country will be a superior w otherwise, having onely the marke of the goddesse, which is, a lampe printed vpon their bodies, sia, and they are not easie to be taken when one would have them, but with great ado. One of these

consecrated kine, after that Lucullus army was passed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her selfe v- Afrange pona rocke which they suppose is hallowed or dedicated vnto this goddesse, bowing down her thing fa head, and stretching out her neck, like those that are tyed short, as if she had come even of purposeto presenther selse to Lucullus, to be facrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a fer berselse bull also vnio the river of Euphrates, intoken of thanks for his safe passage over. Lucullus the first to be face. day did nothing but incampe himselfe only, on the other side of the river but the next morning feed.

&the other daies following, he went farther into the country by the river of Sophene, hurting The country none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly received his armie. For when his men of Sephene.

ing on still with greatiourneys, passed ouer the river of Tigris, and so entred the realme of AR- Tigris st. MENIA with a maine army. Now for Tigranes, the first manthat ventured to bring him newes of Tigranes
Lucullus coming had no joy of infor he cut off his head for his labor. And therefore from shores Lucullus coming had no ioy of it: for he cut off his head for his labor. And therfore from thenceforth there durft no man fay any thing vnto him, vntill fuch time as he was at the last enuironed that round with fire, weh Lucullus army had raifed about him, before he could heare any thing therof. For he was sporting & gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that Lucullus of Lucullus indeed were a noble captaine, if he durst buttarry Tigranes coming downe in the city of EpHE- approach.

then the first that was beheaded. For Tigranes sent him immediatly with three thousand horse, Tigranes

and a good number of footmen, commanding him that he should bring Lucultus, aliue vnto him, Militoand that furthermore, he should march upon the bellies of his men. Now was Lucullus already barzenes camped withpart of his armie, and the other part comming after, when his skoutes brought him newes of the barbarous Captaines approach, which at the first put him in feare, that if the

enemie should come and affaile them thus scattered in companies, and not ranged in battel and

readie to fight, he might ouerthrow them while they were in disorder. And therefore he remain

I neullus fendeth. Sextilius against Mi. throbarza. nes.

Sextilise flue Mishrobarza ness and ouerthreno bis force. The city of Tiorano. certa,built by Tigranes

befregeth

Taxiles periwadeth Tigranes Romaines.

ned within his campe to fortifie the same, and sent Sextilius one of his Lieutenants, with a thoufand fixe hundred horse, and as many footmen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commanding him to approach as neare to his enemie as he could without fighting, onely to flav him there, vntill fuch time as he heard newes that al his armie was come together into his camp. Sextilius went to doe his commandement, but he was compelled to fight, (though against his will) Mithrobarzanes came fo brauely and luftily to affaile him. So was the battell striken be tweene them, in the which Mithrobarzanes was flaine valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying faued them felues. After this overthrow Ti. granes for fooke his great royall city of Tigranocerra that he built himselfe, and went to mount Taurus, where he affembled a great number of men out of all parts. But Lucullus would giue him no leifure to prepare himfelfe, but fent Murena on the one fide to cut them off by the way, and to ouerthrow those that were affembled about him; and on the other side Sextilius to stop agreat company of the ARABIANS that were coming to Tigranes, whom Sextilius setypon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in manner every man. And Nigrana following king Tigranes at the heeles, fpied an occasion to give the charge as he passed along a narrow valley, in the bottome whereof the way was very ill, and specially for an army of such alength: and taking the opportunity, fet vpon the rereward, which Tigranes perceiving, fled straight upon it, making all his carriage to be throwne downe in the way before the enemies to flay them. There were a great number of the Armenians flaine in this ouer throw, and motaken. Those things having this successe, Lucullus went to the city of TIGRANGE RTA, the which he befieged round. In that city were a maruellous number of GRECIANS that had bin brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people also whom they had vied inthe like forcible manner, as they had done the ADIAD ENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GOR-DIÆNIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whose townes and cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reason whereof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of gold and filuer, of mettals, statues, tables and pictures, because every man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lords) studied to please the king, to enrich and beautifie this city, with all kinds of furniture and ornaments fit for the same. And hereupon Lucullus straighted the siege as much as he could, perswading himselfe that Tigranes would never suffer that it should be taken, but(though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would present him battell, therby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he gessed right, had it not bene that Mithridates had diffwaded him by expresse letters and messengers that he should inno case hazard battell, and perswaded him rather to cut off the victuals on al sides from the Romains with his horsemen. The felfe fame counfell and aduice did Taxiles (the Captaine whom Mithridates sent) gine him in his campe, and prayed him very earnestly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the Romaines patiently hearkened to their reasons at the first; but when the Ar-MENIANS Were come, and all the force of the countrey befide, and the Gordianians, and that the kings of the MEDEs and of the ADIABENIANS were come also with all their power, and that on the other fide there came a maruellous great host of the Arabians that dwell vpon the sea of Babylon, and a multitude of the Albanian's from the Caspian sea, and of the In ERIANS their neighbours, besides a great company of free people living without a king, that dwell by the river of Araxes, some coming freely to do him pleasure, other for their pensions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table, nor in councell, but of affured hope of victory, and of great brags and barbarous threatnings, fo that Taxiles was in great danger of himfelfe, because he was against the determination taken in councell for giuing of the battell. Now was it thought that Mithridates did enuie the glorie of king Tigranes, and therefore did thus diffwade him from battell. For which respect Tigranes would not formuch as tarrie for him, and because also Mithridates should have no part of the honour of his victory but went into the field with all his great army vanting amongst his familiars as they report, that nothing grieued him but one, that he should fight with Lucallus alone, and not with all other ROMAINE Captaines.' Now this brauerie was not fo fond, nor fo farre out of square, but that there was great likelihood of it when he saw so many sundry nations about him, so

many kings that followed him, fo many battels of armed footemen, and fo many thousands of horsemen. For he had in his armie of bow-men and slings onely, twenty thousand: fine and fif- Tigrates ty thousand horsemen, whereof seuenteene thousand men of armes, armed from top to toe; as whole ar-Lucullus himselfe wrote vnto the Senate: and an hundred & fifty thousand armed footmen, deuidedby enfignes and squadrons: of pyoners, carpenters, masons, and such other kind of handi-threses crafts men, to plaine waics, to make bridges to palle ouer riners, to flop freames, to cut wood, men, and to make such kind of workes, of this fort of people, the number of flue and thirty thousand, who followed in battel ray in the rereward of the army, making their campe seeme far greater, and by so much the more stronger. When Tigranes shewed on the top of mount Taurus, and that the y might plainely see his whole army from the city, and that himselfealso might easily difeerne Lucullus armie that besieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the city were lo glad of this fight, that they made wonderfull shouts of ioy, and great clapping ofhands, threatning the Romaines from their wals, and shewing them the army of the An-MENIANS. Lucullus in the meane time fate in councell to confider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and go with his whole army vndeuided Lung. against Tigranes. But others liked northat he should leave so great a number of enemies at his gainst is backe, neither that he should raise his siege.. Lucullus made them answer, that neither of them grands both did counsell him well, but both together did counsell right. Whereupon he deuided his army, and left Murana at the fiege of Tigranocerta with fixe thousand men: and he with fourcand twenty cohorts (in the which were not about ten thousand armed footmen) and all his horsemen, with a thousand bowinen and slings, or thereabouts, went towards Tigranes, and camped in a goodly broad field by the rivers fide. The ROMAINES feemed but a handfull to Tigranes campe, so that for a while Tigranes parasites made but a May-game of them to sport withall. For some laughed them to scorne, other drew lots, and played away their part of the spoyles, as if they had already wonne the field : and every one of the kings and Captaines came and offered themselues to Tigranes, and besought him enery man for himselfe, that he would give him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would please him to sie by in some place to fee the sport. Tigranes then, because he would shew that he could be as pleasant as the rest, spake a thing knowne to enery man: If they come as Ambassadors (quoth he) they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but few. And thus they played vponthe Romaines, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, Lucullus brought all his men armed into the field, and put them in order of battel. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on the other side of the river toward the East, and by chance the streame of the riner turned fodainly towards the West, where there was a better foord to passe ouer. Wherefore Lucullus marching with his army by the rivers fide, following the freame to meete with some foord, casting to get ouer, Tigranes thought he had marched away, & called for Taxiles, and said vnto him, laughing: Doest thou see Taxiles those goodly Romaine legions, whom thou praisest to be men so inuincible, how they slieaway now? Taxiles answered the king again: I would your good fortune (O king) might worke some miracle this day: for doubtlesse it were astrange thing that the Romaine's should flie. They are not wont to weare their braue coates and furniture vpontheir armour, when they meane onely but to march in the fields: neither do they carrie their shields and targets vncased, nor their burganets bare on their heads, as they doe at this present, having throwne away their seather cases and coverings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we fee to bright & glistring in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they march towards vs. Taxiles had no sooner spoken these words, but Lucullus in theview of his enemies, made his enfigne-bearer turne fodainely that caried the first Eagle, and the bands tooke their places to passe the river in order of battel. Then Tigranes secretly come to himselfe, as out of drunkennesse, cryed out aloud twise or thrise, come they then to vs. But then was there no small stirre and tumult, to put such a world of people in battell. The king Tigranes himselfevndertook to leade the middle battel, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the Adiab E- The order. NIANS, and the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the most part of the com- grand bar. pleate armed men, who made the first front of all the battell. But as Lucullus was ready to passe y tall. river, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wish him to take heede that he fought not that day, because it was one of those which the Romaines thought unfortunate, or rasein. and call them Atri, as to say, blacke: for upon one of those dayes, one Capio was overthrown in a material said.

Lucullus battell with Tigranes. 1.ocullus

Turallut

famous vi

Clorier of

Tigranes

7 igranes

flight.

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fer battell with all his army by the CIMBRES. But Lucullus gaue them a prety answer againe. which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (faid he) for the Romaines. It was the fixteenth day of the month of October. And so with those words encouraging his men, passed ouer the river, and went himselfethe foremost man, and marched directly towards his enemie, armed with an anima of fteele, made with scallop shels, shining like the Sunne, and vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his fword drawne in his hand:to let his men vnderstand, that they must fodainly joyne with their enemies, and fight at the swords point that were not acquainted to fight but a farre off with shot and slings, and that he would so quick. ly winnethe distance of ground they had to march ere they could joyne, that they should have no ley sure to shoot. And furthermore, perceiuing that the strength of their men of armes (wher. of they made fo great account) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and cuen, and the way vp the hill not passing foure furlongs trauell, & not very hardnor freepe to clime: he fent thither certaine horsemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commanded them to give a charge on the flancke to diforder them, and affav to cut their launces with their fwords. For all the strength of these men of armes consisteth in their launces, and they can do nothing of themselves, nor against their enemies, they are so heauily armed and loden: fo as it seemeth they are locked vp in their armour, as in an iron prison. And he himself therewithall taking two enfignes of footmen, strone also to gaine the top of the hill, his fouldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable courage, because they saw him the foremost man trauelling on soote, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the top, he stayed a little in the highest place he could finde, and cryed out with a loud voice: O companions, the victory is ours. And as he spakethose words, he led themagainst these men of armes, commanding them they should not meddle with throwing of their darts, but taking their fwords in their hands they should strike at their thighes and legs, because they have no other parts of their bodies naked. Howbeit, there was no neede of such fight, for they taried not the Romaines, but with great crying out turned their horse heads immediatly. and ran cowardly (themselues and their horses, heavie armed as they were) through the midst of the bands of their footmen, before they had striken one stroke. And thus were so many thoufands of men broken without any ftroke ftriken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of bloud feene to be spilt. But the great flaughter was when they began to flie, or (to say better) when they Tigranes. thought to flie; for they could not flie, they ranne fo one vpon anothers necke, by reason of the maruellous length & breadth of their battels. Tigranes, amongst the rest was one of the first that diflodged with a small company, and seeing his sonne running the same fortune, flying as himfelre did, tooke off his diademe or royall band from his head, and gaue it him weeping, comdiadem ta manding him to fauc himselfe as wel as he could by some other way. But the yong Princedurst ken by I.11not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his trusty servants to keepe, who by chance was taken and brought vnto Lucullus: so that amongst the other spoyle and prisoners, there was taken Tigranes diadem. It is thought that there were flaine at this ouerthrow, aboue an hundred thoufand footmen, and very few of all the horsemen saued. On the ROMAINES side, there were about an hundred hurt, & fine flaine. Antiochus the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods, writeth that the Sunne neuer saw the like ouerthrow. And strabe another Philosopher in a certaine abridgement he made of stories, said, that the Romaines were ashamed and laughed at themselues, that they had drawne their swords against such dastardly flaues. And Titus Liuius declarethalfo, that the ROMAINES were neuer in any battell with fo small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerors were not in al the world thetwentieth part (nothing like) of those that were ouercome. Wherfore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the Romain's did highly commend Lucullus, because he had ouercome two of the greatest & most mighty Princes of the world, by two fundry contrary meanes: the one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftnesse. For he vndermined and confumed Mithridates by holding backe and delaying, at that time when all his strength was whole; and to the contrary he destroyed Tigranes with great speed and hast. And thus did he that which few Captaines could euer do that is, vsed delay of time to execute, and valiant expedition to winnethe victory. This was the cause why Mithridates made no hastero come to the battell, thinking still that Lucullus had vsed his wonted policie, to delay and give backe alwaies: and therefore he came by small journeyes vnto Tigranes campe. But meeting at

Tucullan praise Two pasf. Cant kings naevenne be cantrarie

the first with a few of the ARMENIAN sthat sled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he straight mistrusted the ouerthrow; but afterwards meeting greater troups of them naked, and fore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to fecke out Tigranes, whom he found alone, for faken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite 71granes in adverfity with that pride and disdaine he had vsed him before in his misery: but lighted off his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, and traine of a Kings court, that followed him to ferue him, comforting him, and exhorting him to pluck vp his heart again, and to be couragious thencefoorth. Hereupon they both leavied afreshthe whole force and power they could from all the parts of their dominion. In the meane feason, there fell out great sedition in the city of TIGRANOCERTA, betweenethe GRECIANS and the barbarous people: for the GRECIANS, they would have yeelded up the towne into Lu- Luculus cullus hands. Whereupon Lucullus gining an affault to the city at that very instant, wonne it, and tooke Tifeized vpon the kings treasure there, leaving al the rest to the spoile of the souldiers in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gaue of the spoyle that was wonne vpon the enemies, eight hundred Drachmaes vnto enery fouldier. And vnderstanding that there were diners musicians, common players, minstrels, and fuch kinde of people meete for feafts and sport, whom Tigranes had sent for thither from all parts, to dedicate the Theater he had made in this citie: he caused all them to serue at the sports and feasts of this victory. After the folemnization whereof, he sent the Grecians home againevnto their country, and gaue them money to defray their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their natiue coutries. And so it fortuned, that by the defolation and destruction of a city for faken, many others were built againe, and stored with people: because those cities had thereby recoursed their naturall inhabitants againe, who ener after did loue and honour Lucullus, as their benefactour and founder. All other things prospered also according to his vertue & merits. For Luculus liked better the praise that came of bounty, of iuftice, and of elemency, then that that came by force of martial proweffe & influence chiualry. For in deeds of armes, he faid his army partly deferued praife, and fortune also caried the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burthe praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther praise of the other was called the helt part away burther was called the helt part awa the best part away: but the praise of the other, was only due vnto himselfe. Whereby he shewed the valure of an excellent good man, well taught and trained vp in vertue; and so reaped the fruit of his worthy deferts. For by those good parts, he wan y hearts of the barbarous people in such fort, that the Kings of the ARABIANS came of good will to put themselves and their goods into his hands. So did the natio of the Sophenian salfo yeeld themselves vnto him. The Gordia-NIANS, in like manner, they liked Lucullus fo well, that they would willingly haue for faken their cities, houses and country, to follow him with their wives and children, vpon this occasion: Zarbienus King of these Gordi Enians, as we have recited before, had privily entred amiric with Lucullus, by meanes of Appius Clodius, who could no longer away with the tyrannie of Tigranes. This practise was bewrayed vnto Tigranes, who put Zarbienus, his wife & children to death, be- zarbienus forethe Romaine's mainearmy came into the courty of Armenia. Howbeit Lucullus did not king of the forget it but possing through this Realma cause him years would finance be beginned to b forget it, but passing through this Realme, gaue him very royall funerals: for having heaped vpa ans staine huge pile of wood, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and filuer, and other rich spoiles of by Tigrants Tigranes: he himselfe in person would needes set it on fire, and made the funerall effusions and accustomed sprinklings at funerals, with his friends & kinsmen, doing him this honor, as to call him friend and confederate of the ROMAINE people, & appointed also a great fumme of mony besides to creet a sumptuous tombe for him. For they found great store of gold & silver in the Kings castell, and there was plenty of prouision also of 300000. bushels of wheate: the which did enrich his fouldiers maruelloufly, and made Lucullus to be wondred at, that having received not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at Rome, he had notwithstanding made the war entertaine it selfe. About the selfe same time also, the king of the PARTHIANS sent Ambassadors vnto him, to offer him friendship and alliance: which Lucullus willingly accepted, and sent Ambaffadours to him also of acceptation, who made report to Lucullus at their returne, that the King of the PARTHIANS stood doubtfull how to resolute which part he should take, and that secreily he fent vinto Tigranes, to aske the Realme of ME sopotamia for his reward to aide him against the Romaines. Lucullus being truly enformed of the king of Parthiaes double dealing, determined to leaue Tigranes & Mithridates, as two enemies wearied and ouercome, & a litleto proue the force and power of the PARTHIANS by making warres upon them, thinking

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> 7 oculists befregesh Artazata, the chiefe city of Ar menia. Artaxes king of Asmenia.

Hannibal taxata.

it great honour vnto him, if he might discomfit and ouerthrow three so mighty kings, one after another, like a valiant conquerour that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and had passed through the countries of three of the greatest Princes vnder the Sunne, alwaies a conquerour, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto Sornatius, and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of Pontvs, that they should repaire to him with all speed with the bands they had under their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the countrey of Gordi Ena, togo against the Parthians: howbeit his purpose alteredby oc. casion. For his Lieutenants that had many times before found their souldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commandements, knew plainely then their cankred stomackes, and incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by any compulsion or perfwafions they could vse: but contrarily they cried out, and told him plainely, that they would no longer tarrie where they were, but would go home to their countrey, and leave the Realme of Pontvs without guard or garrison at al. And farther, that worst of al was, when these newes were brought to Lucullus campe, they gaue a full example of boldnesse to his fouldiers there, to mutine in like fort, having good will and disposition thereunto of themselves before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finenesse, were become so dull and lazie, that they could endure no paines nor hardnesse of warres, but desired to line in all idlenesse and ease. And hearing the report of their fellowes floutnes, called them luftie laddes, faying, they must needs take the like course, and do as they taught them, vanting of their good service of long time done. which well deserved leave now to depart home with safety, and thenceforth take their rest. Lu. cullus hearing of this their talke, and many other their words, worse and fuller of sedition then these, brake off his enterprise against the PARTHIANS, and went againe in the midst of Sommer to meet with Tigranes. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to fee the fields to full of wheate yet flanding, which came by the feafon of the yeare, and coldnesse of the ayre, being so flacke & flow in all those parts. Neuerthelesse, he came down einto the vally, & at two or three skirmishes ouerthrew the ARMENIANS, that ventured to abide his comming downe: and ranne ouer all the valley, and destroyed the whole country without let or stoppe of any man, taking away the prouision of come that was made for Tigranes campe; whereby he ftraighted his enemics vnto that neede and necessity of victuals which himselfe feared, and yet ceassed not to prouoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell: sometime inclosing their campe with trenches about, as if he meant to famish them: sometime againe destroying and spoiling the whole countrey before their face. But because they had so oft bene discomfited, they would no more stirre, nor once moue against him. Lucullus perceiving that, in the end raised his campe, and went and laid fiege vnto ARTAXATA, the chiefe city of the kingdome of ARMENIA, in the which were Tigranes lawfull wines and young children, hoping that Tigranes would rather hazard another battel, the suffer that city to be lost. It is said, that Hannibal of Carthage (after king Antiochus was ouerthrowne in battell by the Romain Es) went vnto king Artaxes, whom he taught many necessarie and profitable things for his Realme, & amongst others, considering that one of the goodliest & pleasantest places of all his kingdome lay waste, and no reckoning made of it, drew a plot of acity, brought the king thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his deuice maruellous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to see the work finished. And thus was this noble & famous city built, and called after the kings name, ARTAXATA: and held euer after the reputation of the chiefest place of the whole realme of ARMENIA. Tigranes being aduertised that Lucullus went to lay siege therunto, could not endure it, but went with all his armie to follow the Romaines, and the fourth day came and camped Arfanias fi. hard by them: infomuch as there was but the river of Arfanias betweene them, which the Ro-MAINES of necessity must passe ouer to go to ARTAXATA. Lucullus hauing first sacrificed vnto the gods, affuring himselfe of the victory, as if he had it alreadie in his hands, made/his armic passe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohorts in the front, and the other behind, fearing lest the enemies having a great number of men of armes should environ them at their backes. They had against them also the Mardian bowmen on horseback, & the IBERIANS with their lances, in whom Tigranes trusted more then in any other, as in the best fouldiers he hadin pay: & yet for all that they did no notable feruice. For when they had skirmished but a litle with the horsemen of the Romaines, they durst not tarie the legionaries or sootbands that came behind them, but dispersed themselves, some slying one way, some another, which enticed the Ro-

MAINE horseme to follow the chase. But when the men of armes that were about Tigranes perfon, faw the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight to breake vpon the footmen. Lucullus feeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat afraid therof: sent in hast to call in his horsemen that followed the chase, and in the meane time himselfe marched foremost, against these Lords and Satrapes, which were in the this place, front before him with all the nobility of their hoaft, whom he put in fuch a feare, that before he against the could come to hand strokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kings ranged in battell one hardby another, howbeit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was are people Mithridates king of Pontys, who had not the heart so much as to abide the cries of the Ro-MAINES. The chafe was very long: for it continued all night, vntill fuch time as the Romaines were wearied with killing taking of prisoners, & packing vp of all kinds of spoiles. Titus Linius baned. faith, that there were flaine moe men in the first battell, but greater personages in the second: & Lucullus maketh Tithe chiefe of the enemies were all taken. After this battell Lucullus heart being bigge, and fea-granes file ring nothing, determined to go farther into the country, even vtterly to destroy this barbarous egaine. king. But in the time of the equinoctiall autumne (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that season haue thought) there sell out so great a cold, that for the most part, it did nothing but fnow: and if the element did any thing cleare, then froze it so hard, that the horsecould come by no water, the rivers were so extremely congealed with ice. And there could no man passe ouer by foord: for they did not so soone enter, but the ice brake and cut the veines and finewes of the horse legs afunder, they were so hard and thicke withall. And furthermore the countrey being full of trees, woods and forests, and the waies very narrow, not being able to passe by the fields, they were through wet with snow that fel vponthem; and when they came to their lodging, then it was worfe, for there they were constrained to lye in softand moist places. And therefore the foldiers had followed but few daies after this battell, but they refufed to go any further. And first they sent their Colonels and Captaines to intreate Lucullus to leane offthis journey. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in troupes, and in the night time began to murmure and groine in their tents (which is a certaine figne and token of a mutinous armic, that hath a mind to rebell against their Generall) although that Lucullus vied all gentleperswassions to win them with patience to abide this journey, at the least, till time they might takethecity of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to the end they might there destroy the worke and memory of the greatest enemy that ever the ROMAINES had in the world, meaning Hannibal. But when he faw all this would not prevaile, he brought them back againe, & paffed ouer mount Taurus another way, and came downe into the country called My GDON 1A, a very hot and fertilefoile, where there is a great city, and maruelloufly replenished with inhabitants: who call it dovid NISIBIS, and the GRECIANS call it ANTIOCH OF MYGDONIA. In that city Gouras was Go- Ruffly, nernor, who was Tigranes ownebrother: but for experience in engines of battery, and for fufficiencic and skill in fuch matters, there was Callimachus alfo, he that io maruelloufly troubled Lacing of sing. cullus before at the fiege of the city of AMISVS. Lucullus placing his campe before this city befieged the same by alfuch meanes as might enforce it, & that so valiantly, that in very short time Lucultus he tooke it by affault. And as for Gouras, who submitted himselfe to Lucullus mercy, he was very taketh Wittenfly intreated. But for Calling thus he would not once heare him speake no with Ganding fibit by ascurteoully intreated. But for Callimachus, he would not once heare him speake, not with standing faith. that he promised, if they would sauc his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but himselfe onely. But Lucullus commanded them to bring him with gyues to receive the punishment he had instly deserved, for setting the city of Amisvs on consudid fire, and taking from him the meane to show the GRECIANS his goodnes, affection & liberality feetherity towards them. Vntill this present time, it might be truly said, that good fortune cuer sauoured & of smiles followed Lucullus in all his enterprifes and affaires: but from that time forwards, it was quickly feene that the fauourable blast of fortune failed him, he did all his things with so great paine, and The altera all that he did, fell out contrary vnto him, and to very ill purpose, Indeed he dideuer shew the valiancie parience & great courage that should be in a valiant General or Lineapone of an author culturgood liancie, patience, & great courage that should be in a valiant Generall, or Lieutenant of an army. fortune. But his exploits and doings had neuer after, that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to haue:but to the contrary, he was like to haue lost all that he had won before, through the misfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the bralles and vaine contention he had with his people to no Lucullus purpose. But the worst was, that they made himselfethe onely author of all these easies as because becould not or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multimade of his souldiers a chinting he could not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his fouldiers: thinking time

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that what socuera Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he harli vinder his charge, is to dishonour himselfe, and to give cause vinto his souldiers to despise his authority. But that which made most against him was this: that he gaue no estimarion to gentlemen, and men of like quality to himselfe, but disdained them, and thought them vnworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faults and imperfections, but otherwife that he wanted no vertues, nor generall gifts and good conditions that could be poffible wished for or defired. For he was a tall gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wife and difcreete, as well in matters of gouernement, as in warres: and as well to perswade the people in peace, as to encourage his fouldiers in warre. Saluft writeth of him, that his fouldiers beganto mislike with him, even from the first entrie into these warres, because he made them lie out two winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the city of C121cvs, & the other before the city of AMISVS. And cuen as much did the other winters following vexe and trou. ble them: for either they lay in their enemies countrey, or else if they lay in their friends, yethe made them campe abroad in the field, and shrowd themselves in their tents: for Lucullus never entred with his army into any city or confederate towne of GRECE. Now if the fouldiers of themselves misliked Lucullus, the Oratours at Rome that were his enemies, and enuied his prof. er jammer, perity and glory, gaue them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they continually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out his war in length, purposely because he would alwaics have occasion to rule, and means to get, having in his hands in manerall CILICIA, ASIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, ARMENIA, and all the provinces and regions as farre as to the river of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoiled the princely houses of Tigranes, as if he had bene sent thither only to sacke and spoile, and note destroy and ouercome those kings. And they say that it was Lucius Quintius, one of the Prators that spake these words. It was he also that most moued the people to take order that Lucullus should be called home, and other fent to succeed him in the charge and government of the countries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane it was also ordained, that divers which were under his charge, should be dispenced with all for their oathes, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But befides these & such like great causes, there was yet another moredan. gerous plague, and that most ouerthrew Lucullus proceedings, passing all the other euils being put together: and that was Publim Clodius, a wicked, licencious, and a harebrained man. He was Lucullus wives brother, and she was so light of her body, that Clodius her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This Glodius being at that time in Lucullus camp, caried not that estima. tion and credit he thought himselfe worthy of. For he tooke himselfe equal with the best, and would needes have bene holden for chiefe: when indeed there were many of far better defert, he being noted both for a vicious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he began for spiteto fuborne the band called FIMERIANS, and to stirre them vp against Lucallus, lowing sweet and plea fant words among ft the foldiers, which being wonted thereunto, looked fil to be flattered. For they were those whom Fimbria had procured to kill the Consull Flaceus, and chusehim in his ftead for their Captaine. By reason wherof they gaue good care to Clodius words, and called him a noble captaine, and a louer of fouldiers. For when he spake vnto them, he made as though he had pitied them, for that they should neuer see an end of their great paines and warres, but should miserably consume their daies in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and formetime with another: and that they wandred through all the countries of the world, receiuing no worthy rewardof fo long and painefull feruice, feruing onely to guard Lucullus carts & cammels loden with plate and veffels of gold and filuer, and other precious stones. Wherethe fouldiers that had ferued under Pompey, took now their ease at home in their country with their wines and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly faire cities, as rich burgesses and wealthy citizens; and yet they had not driven Mithridates and Tigranes out of their kingdomes, into descriplaces vnhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of Asia, but only made a little warre in Spaine against those that were banished, and in Italie against fugitive slaves. Shall we then, said he, carie harnesse on our backes all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped vntill this present, reserve our sclues, our bodies and lives for that noble Captaine, who effeemeth the greatest honour and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his soldiers rich that serue vnder him? Lucullus army was so seduced and corrupted with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the souldiers would no longer follow him, neither against

Tigranes, nor against Mithridates: who went presently out of ARMENTA into his realme of Pon-TVS, and began to conquer it again, whileft the ROMAINE fouldiers mutining against their General, remained idle in the province of Gordian, excusing themselves by the winter season, and tarying vntill Pompey or some other captaine should quickly come to raise the siege, and succeed Lucullus. Notwithstanding, when they understood that Mithridates had ouerthrowne Fabius, one of Lucullus Lieutenants, and that he went against Sornatius and Triarius: they were then assamed of themselues, and became contented to be led by Lucullus. But Triarius in a brauery, when he heard that Lucullus drew neare, made hast to win the victory, as if it had bin cockfive before Lucullus came and was him fulf event become in a contract to the victory as if it had bin cockof Lucullus fure before Lucullus came, and was himfelf ouerthrowne in a great battell, where some fay there Lieutensis. died aboue seuen thousand Romaines, amongst the which were a hundred and fiftie Centurions, and 24 Captaines or Colonels of a thousand men apeece, and yet besides, Mithridates took their campe alfo. Shortly after this ouerthrow, Lucullus came thither, who hid Triarius, whom came Tria. the fouldiers fought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when Lucullus was the Luculcome, he proued fundry meanes to procure Mithridates to battell: but Mithridates would not tains. once flirre abroad, because he looked for Tigranes that came downe with a mighty power. Whereupon he determined againe to go against Tigranes to fight with him, before Mithridates and he joyned forces together. But as he was in his journey towards him, the Fimbrian bands The Fimbegan to rebell anew, and would not follow his enfignes, faying, and alledging for themselues, brian some that by decree of the people they had leaue to depart, and were discharged from their outh; and diers for furthermore that Lucullus had no more to do to command them, confidering that the gouerne- sulus. ment of the provinces which he had, was given vnto others. Lucullus perceiving this, did fo humble himselfe vnto them, supposing that way to winthem, as there was no kind of vncomely forced to humility, but he submitted himselfe vnto it:insomuch as he went into their tents to pray and intreate them one after another, with water in his eyes, & with fo great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with water in his eyes, & with so great low line stee another with so great low line stee and so great low line stee another with so great lo hands with them. But they fiercely reiected all his courtefies and faire intreaties, casting their non foolds pennilesse purses before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, fince he had with the spoile of them all so well enriched himselfe alone. Neuerthelesse, at the intercession and earnest request of the other souldiers, these Fimerian bands were compelled to promise, that they would yet tary all that fommer, so that if no man in the meane time offered them battell, at the end of the terme they might go where they would. Lucullus was forced to accept this condition, or else to remaine alone, and consequently to forsake the countrey of the barbarous people. With much ado thus he kept them together, but in fuch fort, as he durft no more venture to dientarie compell them to come to battell, contenting himselfe that they were willing onely to stay with him, being forced to suffer Tigranes in the meane time to destroy and ouerrunne the countrey of conductor Cappa Docia, & Mithridates also to brag again, of whom he had before written to the Senate to depart that he had vtterly ouercome him: infomuch as there came commissioners and deputies from the benefits the ben Rome by his owne procurement, to order the state of the Realme of Pontvs with him, as of a done. kingdome alreadic won to the Romaine Empire. But when they were come, they found him not master of himselse, and that his owne souldiers stouted him, and did him all the spite and iniury they could. For they were so vnruly towards their Capraine, and did so much disdaine him, that when the end of the sommer was come, they armed themselves with armour and weapon, and drawing out their fwords in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the field: and after they had made the noise and cries accustomed when they io yned battell, and made as though they fought, hurling & fwinging their fwords in their aire, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promifed Lucullus to Pompey, tarrie. On the other fide, Pompey had written unto the other fouldiers that were yet in campe, to come upon him for through the peoples for our at Bourse different decreases of the people for in comevnto him: for through the peoples fauour at Rom B, the practifes and flatteries of the common counsellers there, he was substituted Generall in Lucullus place: which much misliked the Senate and Nobility: for they thought Lucullus greatly wronged to have a successor sent, not to fucceed him introubles and dangers, but in glory and honor of triumph. And that they should compell him not onely to refigne vp the office of a General to another, but (for the good feruice helong time had done) the reward of his honor due for the same: & this also more misliked the that were then about him. That fo foone as Pompey was arrived in As 1A, he tooke all power and Initiation authority from Lucullus, to punish or reward any man for good or il feruice done to the comon-fered Lucullus ha wealth in those warres; and did moreouer prohibite by publike billes set vp in enery common Pamper.

Z z 2

Lucullus and Pom. peysmie. ting.

Miflikings betweene Pompey &r Luculius. T.neullat nut beloved

> Crastiva defire to conquer Afia, vpon fight of Lu cullus eri. umth See the isfe of Craffie, ceffe he hade

Lecalies

place; that they should no more repaire vnto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the ten Commissioners sent to dispose of the state of the provinces wonne by him, should commaind or ordaine: and because Pompey came with a greater power and armie then his, he was in some feare of him. Their friends thought good neuertheleffe they should meete together; and so they did incontinently, in a village of GALAFTIA, where at the first meeting they saluted each other very courteoufly, reioveing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. Lucullus was theelder man, but Pompey of greater dignity, because he had bene Generall of the Romaine people in many warres, and had already triumphed twife. The bundels of roddes which the Sergeats caried before them, were wreathed about with Laurell branches for the victories they had both atchieued: but Pompeys bundels were withered away, because they had come a long iourney through hot and drie countries. Lucullus officers feeing theirs withered, courteoufly gaue them of theirs fresh and new gathered: which Pompeyes friends tooke for a figne of good lucke. For to fay truly, the things that Lucullus did in the time of his charge, were cause of the honour that Pompey afterwards wan. Howbeit in the end, for all their talk, they were no whitthe better friends: but departed the one from the other more strange then they met. For Pomper by a plaine Edict, brak, renoked & difannulled all Lucullus ordinances, and taking from him all his other fouldiers, left him but onely fixteene hundred to accompanie his triumph, and yet they followed him with vnwilling minds: fuch was Lucullus imperfection and mainic, either by nature or frowardnesse of fortune, that he lacked the chiefest thing a Generall should have, which was to be beloued of his fouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, among st many o. ther his excellent vertues, magnanimity and wildome, judgement and inflice, the river of Enphrates had not bene the vttermost confines of the Empire of Rome on Asia side, but it hadexrended as far as the fea Hyrcane, yea euen vnto the vtmost part of the world. For king Tigranes had already conquered the other nations that lie beyond that, fauing the country of PARTHIA. which then was not fo great nor ftrong, as it appeared afterwards in Craffus time: nor fo joyned and knit together, but (what through civill diffentions amongst them at home, and forraine warres of their neighbours abroad) was fo weake, that with great difficulty they could defend themselves from the Armenians, that continually harried them out of their skins. But to take things rightly as they be indeed, methinkes that Lucallus did more hurt vnto his country by other, then he did benefit the same by himselfe. For the tokens of triumph and victories which he wan in Armenia foncare vnto the Parthians, the cities of Tigranocerta and of Nisiві s., which he had facked & fpoyled, the great treasure that he brought to Rome, and the Diademealfo of Tigrames, which was shewed in triumph as a prisoner with the rest: moued crassus with fuch a manuellous defire to passe into Asia, as if althe barbarous people had bene nothing but an affured spoile, and a prey exposed vnto all those that would come to take them. But Crasfus farre otherwise finding himselfe gauled and troubled with the arrowes of the Parthians, knew then by proofe, that Lucullus had not fo much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wisedome and valiantnesse. But that shall be seene hereafter. Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to Rome, found first of all his brother Marcus accused by one Gaius Memmius, for that he had done in his office of Treasurer in Syllaes time, and by his commandement, whereof he was cleared by sentence of the Judges. But Memmius of spite turned his anger against Lucullus selfe, stirring up the people against him, and letting them understand that Lucullus had kept backe and robbed much part of the treasure, which should have come to the common-wealth; and that to worke his feate the better, he had prolonged these warres as he did: wherefore he perswaded them flatly to denie him the honour of his triumph. And truly Lucullus was in great danger to hauelost it veterly, but that the Noblemen of the city, and they that were of greatest authority, intermedled themselnes with the tribes when they came to passe it by voices of the people; whom they intreated fo much through sute and perswasion, that in the end, with much ado, the people suffered him to enter the city in triumph. So Lucullus made a triumphant entrie, not terrible nor troublesome for the long shew or fight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For he caused the fhew-place (which they call Circus Flaminius at Rome) to be fet out and furnished chiefly with armour and weapons of the enemies to a maruellous number: and with the kings engines & inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleafant fight to behold. And in this fhew, there

was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, ten carts of warre armed with fythes that passed by, and threescore of the chiefest friends and Captaines of the two Kings that were led prisoners through the citic. And there were also drawne after them, an hundred and tengallies al armed in the prores with strong spurres of copper, and a statue of Mithridates all of cleane gold, fixe foot high, with a rich target fet with precious stones. Besides all that, there were twenty cupboids as full of filuer plate as could be, and thirty cupbords full also of golden vessell, armour and coine of gold, caried vpon mens shoulders. After them followed eight mules laden with golden beds, and fixe and fiftie other mules that carried filuer bullion, and a hundred and feuen other mules that caried filter coine, amounting to the fumme of two hundred threefcore and ten thouland Sestertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of account caried also, wherein were particularly written the fummes of money which Lucullus had deliuered before vnto Pompey for the warre against pirats on the sea, and vnto the treasurers & high treasurers, to put into the sparing coffers of the common wealth at Roma. And afterwards in an article by it selfe, that he had given nine hundred and fiftie Drachmaes to every fouldier by the polle. After the shew of this triumph was ended, he made a generall feast, in the which he feasted all the city and villages therabouts, which the Romaines call Vicos. And afterwards for fook his wife Clodia for Lucultus her vnchast and wanton life, and maried Servilia, Catoes sister: howbeit he wan norhing by the forsates cooking of the forsates sister in the forsates in the first sister in the first exchange; for he fped as cuill with the fecond as he did with the first. For, sauing that she was marieth not flandered with the incest of her owne brethren, otherwise she was as dishonest and vnchaste services (also but at the length grown against another states) as Clodis: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers fake, but at the length grew wearie of for, as you her, & put her away as he had done Clodia. Now when he had filld the Senate with a maruellous chaft as hope and expectation of him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withftand Pompeys tyrannie, and to vphold and maintaine the authority of the nobility and Senate against the people, for that by his noble deeds he had archieued fo great fame and reputation) he suddenly gaue ouer al dealings in the affaires of the common wealth either because he saw it so best being a hard thing now to keepe it front ruine; or else (as other faid) for that he felt himselfe surf gireth our guerning of the surface of ficiently furnished with honour and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to line ment of the quietly al at his case, after so great paines, trauels and troubles, the end whereof fell not out ouer fortunately. And furth some were of his mind, and liked his area of his mind. fortunately. And furely some were of his mind, and liked this great change of his maruellous well, because he did not as Marius did, neither happened on the ill successe and end that Marius had. For Marins after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMERES, & after his valiantacts in warres which had won him great honor, yet would henot so leaue off, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnsatiable mind, and ambitious defire to rule and beare fway, (being withall a very old man) went and forted himfelfeamong ft yong men desirous of gouernment, who brought him not onely to commitmany outrages, but made himselfealso to suffer greater cruelties. It is thought also that Cicero had ended his aged course more happily, if after he had quenched Catilines conspiracie, he had then taken his ease. And so had Scipio in like case, if when he had ionned Nymantia vnto Carthage, he would then have quieted himselfe. And therefore, some say, that there is a certaine renolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wife ma should meddle any more with the affaires of the commonwealth:no more then a man whose youth and strength is gone and decayed, is any more sit to inft, wraftle, or enter into fuch exercises of the body. But contrarily, Crassus and Pampey mocked Lucullus, because he gaue himself so much to pleasure and pastime as if to line pleasantly and delicately did not worse become his age, thento command anarmy, or to gouerne the affaires of a commonweale. And for my part, reading Lucullus life, me thinks that I reade an anciet Comedie, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end joy full. For at the beginning of his life, you find notable exploits, done by him in wars, and great good gouernment also in peace: but in the end they all turned into feasts & banquets, and lacking litle of maskes & mummeries, dancing withtorches, and all other fuch delighs fit for yong men. For I bring within the compaffe and reckening of his finenesse and pleasures, his sumptuous buildings, his stately walks and galleries, his hot-houses and stones, his tables and pictures, his statues also, and the great workmanship and curiosity he had besides of all other arts by him gotten together out of all parts, to his infinite charge: abusing therein the world of goods and treasure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and other wife. Infomuch, that not with standing excesse and superfluity hath ever since increased untill this present time, yet they reken the

£ พรนนีนs gardens of great

Lucullus Xerxes the Xerxes taine Athe, channell to passe.

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Certaina Sayings of Lucuilu: .

gardens Lucallus made, to be the most sumptious and delicatest places that the Emperors have And therfore Tuberothe Stoicke Philosopher, having seene these stately workes which Luculled had caused to be made neare vnto NAPLES, by the sea side (where there are mountaines cur through, light as day, and hanged vpon vaults) and great ditches cast by force, to makethesca passe and run through his houses, to keepe sish therein; and lodgings also that he built in the sea it felfe:he called Lucullus, Xernes the gowneman, as if he would have faid, Xernes the Romaine. For euen so did Xerxes in old time cause the mountaine Athoto be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his ships through. He had also many other pleasant places within the territories of Rome neare vnto Thyscylvm, where there were great large halles fet vpontarraffes to fee round about far off in the day time. And Pompey going thither sometime to fee him. reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a maruellous faire fommer house, but not to be dwelt in in the winter feason. Lucullus laughing, answered him: Do ye thinke me to have lesse wit and reason then Storkes or Cranes, that I cannot shift houses according to the season? And another time there was a Prætor of Rome, that making playes to shew the people pastime, sent Vnto Lucullus to borrow certaine purple clokes to set foorth his players: Lucullus made himanfwer, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demanding of him how many he should neede; the other answered, that a hundred would serue his turne. Whereupon Lucullus told him againe, he would furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therfore the Poet Horace writing this story, addeth to a notable exclamation against fuperfluity, faying that men think that a poore house where there is no more riches then need fary, and where there is not more then appeareth in fight, and that the master knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinary feruiceat his boord, not onely in that his beds whereon he fed, were conered with rich carpets of purple, and himselfe served in gold and silver vessell set with precious stones; and that there was dancing, musicke, playes, and other such like pastimes of ordinary: but also for that he was continually served with all sorts of fine dainty dishes, with works of pastry, banquetting dishes, and fruit curiously wrought and prepared, which onely made him meater and to be wondred at of men of fimple vnderstanding and meane condition. Therefore was Pompey maruelloufly efteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the Phisitian had willed him to cate of a Thrush. For when his servants told him, they were hard to come by in sommer, but at Lucullus house, where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wife they should aske any of him, but said vnto his Phisitian: What, if Lucuilus were not given to pleasure, could not Pompey line ? And so willed them to get him some other fuch thing, as they might more cafily come by. Cato was Lucullus friend & kinfman both, & yet he fo much misliked his maner of living & ordinary expence, that one day a yong man making a long and tedious oration in open Senate (out of time, & to no purpole) touching meane diet, fobriety, and temperance of life; cato could no longer abide him, but rofe vp, and faid vnto him: What, wilt thou not leave babling to vsal day; thou that art rich as Craffus, that livest as Lucullus, and speakest as Cato? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not Cato that spake them neuerthelesse it is certaine, by the noble sayings they have gathered of Lucullus, he did not onely delight to line fo delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some write that he feasted certain GRECIANS many daies together in his house, that were come out of GRECE to Rome: and that they being men brought vp with the fobriety and simplicity of GRECE, after they had bene feasted there divers times, were ashamed, and refused to go thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to Lucullus, supposing that he had made the this great cheare for their owne fakes. Luculius hearing of it, told them: My Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that; indeede I must needes graunt that there is somewhat more then ordinary to welcomeyou withall; but Itell you truly, the most part is for Lucullus sake. Another time when he supped all alone, and his men had laid but one boord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his freward, to know why he was fo ferued: the fleward anfwered him: My lord, because I saw you send for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What faid he againe, knewest not thou that Lucullus should sup to night with himselfee. In fine, Lucullus fare was fo well knownethrough Rome, that there was notalke but of Lucullus noble housekeeping. Whereupon, Cicero and Pompey being desirous to see the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place feeing him at ley fure for Cicero was Lucullus very good friend, and Pompey (though there was some iarre betweene them for matters of warres) did not let for all that

to come vnto him, and to speake gently one to another. And cicero after he had faluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, said he, with all my heart : I pray you come to me. Well then, faid Cicero, Pompey and I will come and suppe with you to night, with condition that you prouide no more then your ordinarie: Lucutlus told them againe, they should then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that no nor suffer him to speake with his men, for feare he should command them to prouide somewhat more then for himselfe. Neuerthelesse, at his desire they suffered him onely in their presence alowd to tell one of his men, that he would sup that night in Apollo: (for fo was one of the most stately and sumptuous halles of his house called) and with that word onely he finely deceived them both, and they never found him. For every hall had having di-nerfeballes, his certaine fumme and rate appointed for the charge and expence of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of enery supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of energy supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of energy supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of energy supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of energy supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of energy supper they made bad appointed for the charge and expense of energy supper the expense of energy supper the ene in them, and the ordinarie furniture and service for the same. So that when his servants had their tea surry ball bis serv watch-word but in what hall he would sup, they knew straight what charge he would be at for taking fale his supper, & what orders should be observed therein. Now Lucullus maner was to spend when of dies he made any feast in the hall of Apollo, fiftie thousand pence, and that selfe day the supper was who I have prepared according to that value: infomuch as Pampey maruelled how it could be possible that a saturfue. supper of so exceeding great charge could be so suddenly prepared. In such things therefore did dollar levislation and riotandly found his goods. Like Spoiles indeed course of the spoiles of the spoiles indeed course of the spoiles Lucullus lauishly and riotously spend his goods, like spoiles indeed gotten of slaues and barbarous people. But that efpecially which he bestowed vpon books, was a very commendable and Insulan lie honest expence. For he had gathered together a great number of notable histories, the vse wherof was more honour vnto him, then the having of them. For his librarie was ever open to all comers, & they suffered the GRECIANS to come into his goodly tarrasses & faire walkes, or other pleasant places thereabouts convenient to fit and reason together, and never shut doore against them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses; being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had fo much leisure as but to go thither. And Lucullus selfe would also manie times be amongst them, in those tarasses and pleasant walkes; delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to dispatch them that had any businesse with him, and granted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his house was a common receipt for all them that came from GRECE to ROME. He loued all manner of Philosophie, & refused no sect of the same. But from his youth vpward, he cuer loued and esteemed best the Academick E sect, not that which they loved phicall the new ACADEMICKE (although it flourished at that time through Carneades workes, losely). which Philo made such estimatio of) but the old Academicke, which the Philosopher Antothus of the city of Ascalon did defend & maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rhetoritian and well foolen, whom I walke fought to winne by all meanes to make him his friend and as and well spoken, whom Lucullus sought to winne by all meanes, to make him his friend, and to and open and well spoken, whom Lucullus sought to winne by all meanes, to make him his friend, and to haue him in house with him: because he might inney against Philoes hearers and followers, Thatorinane. whose scholer Givero among the rest was, that wrote anotable booke against this old Acade-MICKE fect. And in the same he reciteth Lucullus, maintaining the opinion of the old Acade-MICKES: who hold, that a man may certainly know and comprehend fomething, and called that The opinion Catalepfin: but Cicero defended the contrarie. The booke is intituled Lucullus: for they were defined as we have rehearfed before) very good friends, and had both one false defined as demices. (as we haue rehearfed before) very good friends, and had both one felfe defire for gouernement in the commonwealth. For Lucullus did not fo withdraw himselfe from matters of state, that he would no more meddle at all, nor heare speake of them: but he betimes gauconer all ambition and contention, as a thing of no small danger, and breeding great reprochand dishonour Marcus to Marcus Crassus, and Cato, to be chiefe in authority. And these two were they that defended Crassus. the Senate, and whom they raifed vp to withftand Pompeyes greatnesse, being affraid of him, afterthat Lucullus had refused the chiefe place of authority. But otherwise, Lucullus would be in gainst Pemthe market place at courts and common councels, to pleasure his friends when they requested 19. him : and would goe to the Senate alfo, when there was occasion to breake any new practife, or Luculus to ouerthrow Pompeys ambitious policie, For he ouerthrew all the orders and constitutions gainst Pomthat Pompey had made, after he had ouercome the kings Mithridates and Tigranes: and with Perthe helpe of Cato hindered a distribution of money which Pompey had written for to Rome, Pompey, to help the following the follo to be bestowed amongst his souldiers.. Whereupon Pompey tell in friendship (or to speake far, confir more plainely, in conspiracie (with Crassus and Casar, by whose helpe and affistance, he filled reduces the Rome with arms and fouldiers: and made the people by force to passe and confirme what he fage.

Z z 4

* Cicero call shim Lucina Veftius, bombeit it mar be that he was a Brutian

Lucullus fell our of his witsbe. fore his death. Callifthenes poyfoned Lucultus whereof he died. Lucullus death.

would have done, after he had violently expulsed Lucullus and Cato out of the market place. Whereat the noble men were much offended, and misliking the great wrong they had offered Lucullus and Cato, Pompeyes followers suborned a *BRVTIAN, and said he was taken lying in waite to kill Pompey. Whereupon the faid BRYTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine. but when he came before the people, he named Lucullus, faying that he had hired him to kill Pompey. But no man beleeued him: for they perceived openly in the market place, that he was procured by themselues falsely to accuse Lucullus, and Pompeys other adversaries. And this was proued more plainely within few daies after, when they threw the body of this BRYTIAN dead in the middest of the streete, out of the prison: who they said died of himselfe with sicknesse. Howbeitthe markes being plainly seene of the halter wher with they had strangled him, and the ftripes appearing also which they had given him, did plainely shew that they themselves did it. whom after they had suborned to accuse Lucullus, they slew in this manner. This was the cause why Lucullus did more then before absent himselfe from meeting in publicke causes: but after. when he faw that they had so wickedly exiled Cicero, and found meanes also to conucy Cato far inough off, under pretenced colour to fend him with charge into the Ile of Cyprus: thenhe gaue vp altogether. Some write that a litle before his death, he was not perfit in his wits, decaying through age by litle and litle. Howbeit Cornelius Nepos faith, that it was not for age nor ficknesse that his wits did alter, but through poyfon which one of his flaues had given him, whom he had made free, called Callifthenes: who gaue it him, not of any cuill intent, but because his master should love him the more, supposing that this poyson had power to make him love him. But he troubled his wits fo much with this poyfon, that Lucullus while he lived was faine to hauchis brother Marcus to ouerfee his goods. Notwithstanding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewailed and lamented of all the people, as if he had died in his best credite, and greatest proficerity. For all the people ran to honor his funerals, and his body was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citic. The people would in any cafe haue buried him within the field of Mars as they had before buried sylla. But because no man thought of it before, and also forthat things necessarie were not easily to be prouided for the place: his brother Marcus befought the people they would be content his funerals might be at a towne of his owne, neare vnto the city of Thyseylym, where his tombe was prepared, and he himselfe lived not long time after. For as Lucullus both in age, and honour, had not left him farre behind him:

fo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwaies dearely loued him, he could not then long liue, and furniue him.

THE



THE COMPARISON OF Lucullus with Cimon.



Othing (in my opinion) made Lucullus more happie, then to die when he did, before he faw the change and alteration of the common-weale, which the farall destinies plagued the ROMAINES with- fel. all, with fedition and civill warres: and that he died in his countrey yet enioying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that (about all other things) he was likest vnto Cimon who died whileft the Grecians were in good lone and peace with other, and not in broile of difcord and civill warres. Indeed Cimon died in his campe, being Generall of his countrey, at the fiege of the city of

CITIVM in CYPRVS; not withdrawne to his home, as one wearied, lining idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feafts and banquets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphs: but as Plato faid, (when he wifely blamed and reproued orpheus, who promisch perpetuall drunkennesse in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merily. And truly it is a great comfort and contentation of minde, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weaknesse, to withdraw himselfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernment in peace, as in warres: and quietly to passe his time in studie, wheredelight is joyned with honest contemplations. But to finish his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleasure, as vnto their onely end, and moreouer, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, folemnizing Venus feaft all the rest of his life, after he had made such warres, and commanded fuch armies: that me thinkes a thing vnworthie of an honest Academicke. and altogether vnuncete for one professing old Xenocrates doctrine, but sit rather for a mangiuen ouer altogetherto Epicurus discipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be considered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether vicious and reprochfull, and the others to the contrarie, honest and vertuous. But he is the better that changeth for the better: and that nature is alwaies more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young; A good gift then that which by continuance of time sheweth still the contrarie. And furthermore, they to decay both grew rich by one felfe meane: but they did not both alike vse their riches. For it were so increase to no purpose to compare the buildings of the wall that standeth South within the castell verue. of ATHERS, which was built with the money Cimen brought thither, with the fine built chambers, and high raifed turrets to gaze afarre, and environed about with conduits of water, which Lucullus erected by NAPLES, with the spoyles of the barbarous people. Neither is Cimons table also of moderate fare and diet, but yet open to every man, comparable to Lucullus boord, which was sumpriously furnished, and shewed the greatnesse of his Lord. For Cimens boord fed many mouthes dayly with a small charge: and Lucullus table exceeded in expence, to feede a few, with superfluous dainties. Villesse they will say, that time

CIMON AND LVCVLLVS.

Cimons two v: Etcries cheained inone day. Great dif. ference be.

mon and

Lucullus.

caused this difference betweene them. But who can tell, if Cimon had bene at leisure to have withdrawne himselfe to quiet in age from gouernement and armes, he also would not have led a more sumptuous and dissolute life, giuento all pleasure, then Lucullus did? For of his owne nature he loued wine, banquets, and playes, and was also given to women, as we have told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate successe of things doe bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises, that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine defires. And therefore had Lucullus died abroad in the warres whileft he commanded armies, there had not bene that liuing man, how curious foeuer he had bene to reproue other mens faults, that could have detected him of any reprochfull vice. And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres. no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by fea as by land. And like as in games of prise and exercises of body which are shewed in GRECE, they that in one felfe day winne the games at wreftling, and weapons both, are called by a strange custome, not conquerours onely, but victours also, to honour them withall: euen so me thinkes that Cimon in like case having in one selfe day crowned GREECE with two notable markes of triumph. for two battels he wanne, the one by fea, and the other by land, deferueth to have fome place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreouer, Lucullus received the authority to command, of his countrey and commonwealth: but Cimon gaue his countrey both authorize and ability to command. Lucullus found his countrey a commanding people to all their friends and confederates: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And Cimon contrarily, twixt Cifound his countrey marching vinder anothers enfigne, and through his valiantnesse did sobehaue himselse, that he made his city goe before her confederates, and triumph ouer herenemics: compelling the Persians by force to give them the rule by fea, and perfivading the LACED EMONIANS willingly to give place vnto them by land. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make himselfeto be beloued of his souldiers, that they may delight to obey him; then was Lucullus despised of his souldiers, and Cimon esteemed and wondred at euen of the confederates themselues. For Lucullus was for saken of his owne men: and Gimon was followed by very strangers, for the confederates did ioynetogether with him. Lucullus returned home into his countrey, forfaken of those he caried out with him. Cimonreturned againe, commanding them that were fent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his countrey three notable things, and hard for them to have compaffed: to wir, made peace with the enemies, given them authority and rule over their confederates, and joyned friendship with the Laced Emonians. Both of them vndertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all Asia: but neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him off on the sudden being Generall, and when his affaires prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or because he would not satisfie the complaints and griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be saidalso, that in this fault he was like vnto Cimon: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his countrey for the space often yeares, because that in ten yeares space (as Plato faith) they should no more heare him speake. For to fay truly, it seldome times happe-Grave Ma. neth that the grave wits of noble men do pleafe the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people because they striuing continually to reforme them when they go awrie, do refembled grieue them as much, as furgeons do their patients when they bind vp their fores with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their naturall places againe the good furbroken bones and members out of ioynt: yet put they the patient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me thinkes neither the one northe other is to be blamed. Furthermore, Lucullus went a great deale farther with his army, then cuer Cimon did. For he was the first Romaine captaine that passed ouer mount Taurus, & the river of Tigris with an army. He tooke and burntalmost in the fight of both the kings, the royallcities of Asia, TIGRANOCERTA, CAPIRA, SINOPE and NICIBIS. Towards the North, he went as farre as the river of Phasis: towards the East, into Media and Southward, even to the red sea, and vnto the Realmes of Arabia, subduing all vnto the ROMAINE Empire. And having overthrowneall the power of these two mighty kings, he tooke from them all, but their persons onely: who fled and hid themselues like wild beaftes, in infinite deserts and unpassable forrests. Wherein is easily discerned the difference betwixt

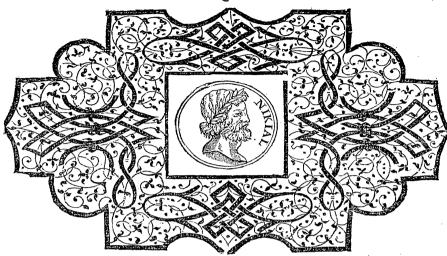
betwist the doings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ouerthrow at all by Cimon, fought a battell immediatly after against the GRECIANS, and onerthrew the greatest part of their army in AGYPT: where Mithridates and Tigranes, after Lucullus victories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding himselfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battels: durst neuer once onely shew his army vnto Pompey, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the Realme of Bosphorvs, where testing of he died. And Tigranes, he went and humbled himselfe on his knees, vnarmed and without Penns died weapon, vnto Pompey: and taking his diademe off from his head, layed it at his feete, not flat- in the tering him for the victories he had wonne, but for those which Lucullus had triumphed for By Bosphorus. reason whereof he scaped good cheape, and thought himselfe happie, when Pompey gaue him Tigranes onely the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. Hetherefore is king of to bethought the more worthy Captaine, and stoutest champion, that leaueth his enemy in submitted weake efface for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwards with him. And furthermore, himselfe to come found the power of the king of Persia over barried, the pride and ficreenesse of the Cimen found the power of the king of Persia ouer harried, the pride and fierceneffe of the Persians layed aground, by many great battels they had loft before unto Themifteeles, king Paulanias, and Leotychides, who had ouerthrowne them: and going now againe to fight afresh with them, it was an eafie thing to ouercome the bodies of those, whose hearts were already vanquished. Where Lucullus to the contrary, assailed Tigranes, that had never bene overcome, but bare a maruellous loftiemind with him, for the many great battels and conquests he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betweene those that Cimon ouerthrew, and those that were ranged in battell against Lucullus. So that all things weighed and confidered, it were hard to judge which of them two proued the worthieft

man: for that it seemeth, that the gods did fauour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should doe, and the other what he should not doe. And thus it appeareth by restimony of the gods, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euerlasting glory.

The end of Lucullus life.



THE LIEE OF Nicias.



The praise of Thucydi-

Haue reason (as I thinke) to compare Nicias with Crassus, and thee. uents that happened to the one in Parthia, with those that befell the other in Sicile: yet am Ito pray them that shall happen to reademy writings, not to thinke me in entermedling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, Thucydides hath gone beyondhimfelfe, both for variety and liuelinesse of narration, as also in choice and excellent words) to have the like intent and opinion, that Timeus the historiographer had. Who, hoping by the granitie and life of his words and reports, to darken the glory of Thucydides, and make Phi-

lifters (in comparison of himselfe) appeare ignorant, and without any grace of historicall narration: hath in his hiftory of purpole fought occasion to enter into the describing of those battels by fea and by land, and the report of those speeches and narrations, which are deliuered by them with great judgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neare them whom he contends to palle, as doth the footeman to the Lydian coach, as faith Pindarus: and befides sheweth himfelfe fond and of small judgement, or as Diphilus faith:

Tim aus follies.

A lubber laden with Sicilian grease. And in diversplaces he falleth into Xenarchus follies. As where he faith, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the Athenians, that Nicias the Captaine (whose name was deriued of this word Nice, fignifying victory) diffwaded their attempts against Sicile; and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to fay, the images of Mercury) it was foreshewed that they should receive great overthrowes by the Generall of the Syracvsans, called Hermocrates, the sonne of Hermon. And further, that it was not vnlikely that Hercules did fauour the SYRACVSANS by reason of the goddesse Proferpina (protector and defendor of the city of Sy-RACVSA) to requite her for that she gaue him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIAN'S befides, because they tooke the ÆGESTÆAN'S parts (who came of the TROTANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promife and faith with him, whose citie himselfe had ouerthrowne in reuenge of the wrong that Laomedon king of Thor had offered him. Howbeit Timens shewes as much wit and judgement, in delivering vs such toyes in Timeus ve- an history, as he doth in correcting the flyle of Philiftus, or in condemning and railing on Plato and Aristotle. But in my fancic, this ambition and contention to write or to speake more clearely then others, sheweth alwaies a base envious mind, like a scholler full of schoole points.

But when it striueth with things that for their excellencie are past imitation, then is it extreme folly and madnesse. Since therefore I may not passe ouer nor omit certaine things, which Thucydides and Philistus have already set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open Nicias nature and qualities, which the varietie of his successes and fortune did couer: I must lightly touch them, and report fo much as is necessary and convenient, lest men condemne me for floath and negligence. And in the rest I have endeauoured to gather and propound things not commonly marked and knowne, which I have collected as well out of fundry mens workes and ancient records, as out of many old antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will ferue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of Nicias therefore may be fayd that which Aristotle hath written of him, that there were three famous citizens of Arhens, very honest men, and which favoured the communaltie with a naturall fatherly loue: Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, Thueydides the sonne of Milesius, and Theramines the sonne of Agnon. But Nices of the three, this last was of smallest account: for he is flouted as a forreiner borne in the Ile of CEOS, and challenged befides for inconftant and irrefolute in matters of flate and gouernment: and inclining fometimes to one faction, fometimes to another: he was called Cothurnus, a kind ofbuskin indifferently feruing for both legges, and in old time was vied of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, Thueydides being the elder, did many good acts in fauour of the pobility against Pericles, who alwaies tooke part with the inferiour fort. Nicias that was the yonger, had reasonable estimation in Pericles life time for he was joyned captaine with him, and oftentimes also had charge by himself alone without him. After Pericles death, the nobility raised him to great authority, to be as a strong bulwarke for them, against Cleons infolencie and boldnefferand withall he had the love of the people to advance and preferre him. Now this Cleon in troth could do much with the people, hedid fo flatter and dandle them, like an old man, still feeding their humor with gaine: but yet they themselues whom he thus flattered, knowing his extremeconetoulines, impudency and boldnesse, preferred Nicius before him, because his granity was not seuere nor odious, but mingled with a kind of modesty, that he seemed to seare the prefence of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and efteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearfull and mistrust full nature & disposition, in wars he cloked his feare with good Wishard 1. fortune, which euer fauored him alike in all his iourneys & exploits that he took in hand where he was captaine. Now being much afraid of accusers, this timorous maner of his proceeding in the citic, was found to be popular, whereby he wan him the goodwill of the people: and by meanes thereofrose dayly more and more, because the people commonly feare those that hate them, and aduance them that feare them. For the greatest honor nobility can do to the communaltie, is to shew that they do not despise them. Now Pericles, who through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole state and comonwealth of Athens, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to win their fauour and goodwils:but Nicias lacking that, and having wealth inough, fought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauor. And where Gleon would entertaine the ATHENIANS with pleasant toyes and devices and could feed the peoples humour that way: Nicias finding himfelte no fit man to worke by fisch encounter, crept into the peoples fauour with liberalitie, with charges of common playes, beralty and and with fuch like fumptuoufnesse, exceeding in cost and pleasant sports, not onely all those that magnifhad bene before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his cence. consecrating vnto the gods, as the image of Pallas in the castel of Athens, the gilt being worne off:and the chappell which is vnder the festivall table of Bacchus: for he many times had the chiefe price in Bacchus dances, & neuer went away without some game. And touching this matter, theregoeth a report, that at certaine playes, whereof Nicias defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth vpon the players stage before the people, apparelled like Bacchus: and being a goodly tall young man, without any haire on his face, the ATHENIANS tooke fuch pleasure to lee him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. Therewithall Nicias stood vp, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leaue the body of a man in bondage, that openly was efteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young flaue a free man. Men write also of certaine sumptuous and denout acts he did in the Ile of DELOS, where the dancers and fingers which the cities of GRECE fent thither to fing rimes and verses in the honour of Apollo, were wont before to arrive disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to see them, who made them sing straight without any order, and

landing in haste out of their ships, they left their apparell, and put on such vestments as they should weare in procession, and their garlands of flowers on their heads, all at one present time. But Nicias being commanded to go thither to present the singers of ATHENS, landed first in the He of Renia, hard adjoyning to the He of Detos, with his fingers, his beafts for facrifice. and with all the rest of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at ATHENS, vpon measure taken of the channell, betwixt the one and the other Ile, set out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with no cgayes and garlands of triumph, and with excellent

wrought tapiftrie, which in the night he fet vp vpon the channell, being not very broad, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his singers to passe ouer vpon it, singing all the way as they went in his procession so nobly set forth, euen vnto the very temple of Apollo. And when the facrifice, the feast, and games that were to be played were finished, he games

goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered up to Apollo, bought lands besides that coff him ten thousand Drachmaes, which he consecrated also vnto the god Patron of the Ile: and ordained, that the profits of the fame should be yearely bestowed vponthe Delians, vpon an

open facrifice and feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and profeerity of Nicias: and so caused it to be written and grauen upon a pillar he left in Delos, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offering, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by winds, it fell vpon the great image of the NAXIANS gift, and threwit

downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremonie and act of his, there was a maruellous pompe, and great shew of popular ambition: neuerthelesse, he that shall consider of his life and actions. may eafily perswade himselfe that aboue all, he did it of very pure zeale and denotion, and se.

condly, to give pleasure and pastime to the people. For by Thucydides report of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly given to religion. We find written in one of the dialogues of Pasiphoon, that Nicias did facrifice dayly to the gods, and kept a soothfayer continually in his house, giving out abroad, that it was to counsell with him what should

happen about the affaires of the common wealth: but introth it was to inquire of his owne businesse, and specially of his mines of silver. For he had many great mines about LAVRION fide, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great danger, and hewas

driuen continually to keepe a maruellous number of slaues at worke there. The most part of Nicias riches was in readic money, and thereby he had many crauers and hangers on him. whom he gaue mony vnto: for he gaue as well vnto the wicked people that might do mischiese. Misias for as vnto them that descrued reward, and were worthy of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare

feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was also a reuenew to the good: and hereof thecomicall Poets do deliuer vs ancient testimonic. For Teleclides speaking of a certaine informer,

faid thus:

Micias fuperflicions

> Caricles did refuse to give one Mina, for to stay The bruiting of his fecret birth, conneyed close away: But Nice the sonne of Nicerate did willingly bestow Abrace of Minas double told, And though I well do know The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewray:

For why? the man is my good friend, and wife, I dare well say. And he, whom Eupolis mocketh in his comedic intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine simple man

And

vpon the stage, doth aske him:

The informer:

How long is it ago since thou didst speakewith Nicias?

The plaine man:

I saw him standing even right now upon the market place.

Theinformer:

This man affirmes he saw him there And wherefore should he say He faw him, but of some intent his lewdnesse to bewray?

Now firs, ye fee how Nicias here is taken in the trip,

For all his walking close in clouds to give the privie flip.

The Author:

O foolish folke, suppose ye that so good a man as he In any fault or shamefull fact will tardje taken be? And Clean threatening in the comedie of Aristophanes, intituled the Knights, fayth thefe words:

The Orators if by the throte Itake.

Then sure I am, that Nicias straight will quake.

Phrynicus selfe telleth vs also glaunfingly, thathe was so timorous and casie to be frayed, when he fayd, speaking of another man:

A good fout man (I know full well) he was.

And not a coward, like to Nicias.

Now Nicias being thus timorous of nature, and fearing to give any litle occasion to the Orators to accuse him, kept himselfe so warily, that he neither durst eate nor drinke with any man in the citie, nor yet put forth himselfe in companie to talke; or passe the time amongst them, but altogether avoided such sports and pleasures. For when he was in office, he would never out of the counfell-house, but still busied himselse in dispatching causes, from morning till night, and was cuer the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of state in hand, then was he very hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no accesse vnto him, but kept close in his house: and some of his friends did euer answer them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, faying, that he was bufie then about affaires of the commonwealth. Wides the One Hieron, whom Nicias had brought vp in his house, and had himselfe taught him both learning and musicke, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keepe him from speech with any maister. man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnesse and grauity. This Hieron (as it is reported) was the sonne of Dionysius Chalcus, of whom they find certaine Poeticall words at this day: Dionysius who being captaine of a certaine number of men that were fent to dwell in ITALIE, did build founder of there the citie of THVRIES. Hieron I say did serue his turne, and holpe him secretly to enquire the citie of what he would vi derstand of the Soothsayers, and gaue out these words among the people: that Nicias led too miserable and painfulla life, for the ouergreat care he took to serue the commonwealth:infomuch, as though he were in his hot-house to wash him, or at his table at meate, his mind ran still of some matters about the commonwealth, and to serve the state did neglect his owne private affaires: fo that he scant began to sleepe and take rest, when others commonly had slept their first sleepe, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was growne crabbed and vncourteous, even to such as before had bene his familiar friends: fo that, layd he, he loseth them together with his goods, and all for service of the commonwealth, where others growrich, and winfriends, by the credit they have to be heard of the people, and can make merry among them, and sport with the matters of state which they had in their hands. Now in troth, such was Nicias life, that he might truly say that which Agamemnon spake of himselfe in the tragedic of Euripides, called Ephigenie in Avi IDE.

In outward shew of stately pompe, all others I exceed, And yet the peoples underling I am in very deed.

And Nicios perceiuing that the people in some things did serue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, & wiser then others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their courage, by taking their authoritie from them: as for proofe, the condemnation of Pericles, the banishment of Damon, and the miftrust they had of Antiphon RHAMNVSIAN, and moreover by that they did vnto Paches (that tookethe Ileof Lassos) who being brought before the Iudges in open councell to give vpan account of his charge, drew out his fword, and flue himselfe in presence of them all. Nicias, I say remembring these examples, sought euer to slie from those offices which were either too great ortoo small; and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily coniccture, prospered maruellous well:but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisdome, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himfelfe to leffen his glory, and that onely to avoid envie: as the event of things falling out even in his time do sufficiently witnesse vntovs. For the citie of Athens having sustained many great losses and overthrowes, he was never a partie, nor had ought to do in any of them. As once for example: the Athenians were ouercome in Thracia by the Chalcidonians, how beit it was vnder the leading of calliades and Xenophon, who were their Captaines. Another time, the loffe they had in ATOLIA vnder the charge of Demosthenes. Moreouer, at DELIVM, a citic of

Bo E ot 1 A, where they lost a thousand men at one conslict, Hippocrates then being General there. And as touching the plague, the greatest number laid the fault thereof to Pericles, who by reason of warres kept the men that came out of the countrey, within the wals of the citie of ATHENS: and fo by changing of aire, and their wonted manner of life, they fell into it. Now with noncof all these great troubles and misfortunes, was Nicias ever burthened: but contrariwise he being Captaine, tooke the Ile of CYTHERA, which the LACED EMONIANS inhabited, being an excellent place for fituation to moleft and deftroy the countrey of LACONIA. He wan divers cities that had rebelled in Thracia, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of A-THENS. At his first coming, having shut in the MEGARIANS within their wals, hee tooke the He of Mino At and at his departure thence, shortly after wan the hauen of Nise A also. Furthermore, landing in the country of the Corinthians, he ouercame them that offered him bartell, and flew a great number, and among others Lycophron the Captaine. At this battell he chanced to forget to bury two of his men that were flaine, whose bodies could not be found in ga-The law of thering vp of the reft: howbeit, fo foone as he heard of it, he caused all his sleet to stay, and sent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by law of armes, they that fent to aske leaue to take away their dead to bury them, did thereby loie the honour of their victory, and were barred to fet vp any marke or token of triumph, because it see. med by the fuire, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to have made demained of them; Wicias not withfranding was contented rather to forfake the honour of his victory, then to leave the bodies of two of his countrimen in the field without buriall. So, after he had deftroyed althe coast of Laconia, and had our come certaine Laced Emonians that came against him in battel, he took the citie of THYREA, which the ÆGINETE'S kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners vnto Athens. And when the Peloponnesians had prepared great armies both by ica and by land to befrege the fort of Pyle, the which Demosthenes the Captaine had fortified: battell being given by fea, it chanced there remained foure hundred natural citizens of Sparta Within the Ile of Spacteria. Now the Athenians thought it anoble exploit of them (as indeed it was to take those four hundred aliue: howbeit the siege was very fore, because they lacked water even in the middeft of former, and were forced to fetch a maruellous compaffeto bring victuals to their campe; which when winter should be once come, would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to do. Whereupon they then became fory, and repented them much that they had fent away the Ambassadors of the Laced Amonians which cameto them to treat of peace, and that they had (through Cleans procurement) suffered them to depart in that fort without refolution taken who was against them altogether onely to do Nicias adefpite, being his enemie, and did earneftly follicite the matter the LACEDZEMONIAN'S requefied. This was the cause why Clean perswaded the ATHENIANS, to result their offer of peace. But when the people faw that this fiege drew out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wantsand necessicies, then they fell out with cleon, and he againe burthened Nicias, saying, that through his feare he would let the befieged Spartas s escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not have holden out solong. Thereupon the ATHENIANS saydaloudto Clean: And why doeft not thou go thither then to take them . Moreouer Nicias felfe alforifing vp, openly gaue him his authority to take this Pyle, and bad him leavie as many fouldiers as he would to go thither, and not to bragge with fuch impudent words where was no danger, but to doe fome notable feruice to the commonwealth. Cleon at the first shrunke backe, being amazed withall, little thinking they would have taken him fo fuddenly at his word: but in the end, perceiuing the people vrged him to it, and that Wicias also was importunate with him, ambition To enflamed him, that he not only tooke the charge upon him, but in a brauery fayd, that within twentie dayes after his departure he would either put all the Spartans to the fword, or bring them prisoners vnto Athens. The Athenians hearing Cleon fay so, had more luft to laugh agood, thento beleeue that he spake: for it was their manner euer to laugh at his anger and folly. For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being folemnly affembled in counfell early in the morning, to heare what Cleon wold fay, and having taried long for him, at the length he came with a garland on his head, and prayed the affembly to difmiffe the court till the next morning; for (quoth he) I shall not be at ley sure to day, because I have facrificed, and do feaftalfocertaine ftrangers my friends that are come to fee me. So the people burft out in a

laughing, and brake vp the affembly. This notwithstanding, fortune fauoured him at that time, and he handled himselfe so well in this charge with Demosthenes, that he tooke all the Spartans clean vithat they befieged, within the time he had appointed, fauing fuch as were flaine: & hauing made dory of the them yeeld, brought them prisoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to Nicias shame and re- Lacedaproach. For it appeared not onely a casting away of his shield, but worse then that, a voluntarie monians. for faking of his prouince vpon a base timorous mind, giving his enemie occasion thereby to do fome noble exploit, deprining himselfe of his honourable charge. Wherefore Aristophanes mocketh him againe, in his comedie of birds, faying:

It is no time to fleepe and linger Still,

As Nicias doth without good cause or skill.

Also in another place of his comedie of plowmen, he faith:

I faine would follow husbandrie. Who lets thee? Marry you. A thousand Drachmas I will give to be discharged now

Of office in the common weale. Content fo shall we have

Two thousand Drachmas insi, with those which Nicias lately gane.

But herein Nicias did great hurt to the common wealth, fuffering Clean in that fort to grow to credit and estimation. For after that victorie, Cleon grew to so haughtie a mind and pride of him- The immofelfe, that he was not to be dealt with al; whereupon fell out the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the citie of ATHENS, which most grieved Nicias of all other. For Clean among to of them. ther things tooke away the modestie and reverence vsed before in publicke orations to the people he of all other was the first that cried out in his orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, clems lead threw open his gowne, and flung vp and downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentious nessent and contempt of honestie, the which all the Orators and biprations, in the which all the Orators and biprations, the which all the Orators and biprations. counsellors fell into, that dealt in matters of state and commonwealth, and was in the end the ouerthrow of all together. In that very time began Alcibiades to grow to credit, by practife in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply euill, but as they say of the land of Ægypt, that for the fatnesse and lustinesse of the soile:

It bringeth for 1h most wholesome berbes, and also noisome weeds:

Euenso Alcibiades wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause & beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after Nicias was rid of Cleon, he could not yet bring the city Alabiader of Athens againe to peace and quietnesse. For when the common wealth began to grow to divers wit. some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through Alcibiades extreame furie of ambition. And thus it beganne. The onely peace-breakers and diffurbers des extreame furie of ambition. And thus it beganne, i ne onery peace-breakers and differences of common quiet generally throughout GRECE, were these two persons, Cleon and Brasidas; Cleon and Brasidas; Brasidas, for warre cloked the wickednesse of the one, and aduanced the valiant nesse of the other, giving the sun to either occasion to do great mischiefe, and also opportunitie to worke many noble exploits. Peace brea-Now Clean and Brafidas being both flaine together at a battell fought by AMPHIPOLIS, Nicias kersener-flaint perceiving the Spannance land long defined peace and the the A fraight perceiuing the Spartans had long defired peace, and that the Athenians were no Green. more so hotly given to warres, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet, denifed what meanes he might vic to bring Sparta and Athens to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GRECE also from broile and miseric of warre. that thenceforth they might altogether enion a peaceable and happy life. The rich men, the old men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace and talking privately also with divers others, he had fo perswaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of warre, Whereupon, putting the Spartans in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they fought it, the Spartans beleeved him, not onely for that they had found him at other times very fort and courteous, but also because he was carefull to see that their prisoners of Sparta (who had benetaken at the fort of Pyle) were gently intreated, and had made their miserable captivitie more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betweene the Spartans and the Athenians for a Nicias reyeare, during which abstinence, they frequenting one another againe, and beginning to taste the consists sweetnesse and pleasures of peace, and the safety of free accesse one to see anothers friends that the spartage with the sp were strangers, began then to wishthat they might still continue in peace and amitic together, the Albewithout effusion of bloud of either partie; and tooke great delight in their dances, to heare them was. fing fuch fongs:

And let my speare be ouergrowne, with dustie spiders webs.

They did also with great ioy and gladnesseremember him which sayd, that in peace no sound of

trumpet, but the crowing of a cockedoth wake them that be afleepe; and on the other fide; they cursed and tooke on with them that said it was predestined, the war should continue thrise nine yeres. And so voon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuersalpeace throughout all GRECE. Now most men thought; that surely all their forrows and miseries were come to an end, and there was no talke of any man out of Nicias, faying, that he was a man beloued of the gods, who for his denotion towards them, had this special gift given him, that the greatest bleffing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confesses troth, enery man was certainly perswaded, that this peace was Nicias worke, as the warre was Pericles procurement, who vpon light causes perswaded the GRECIANS to run headlong into most grieuous calamities: and Nicias on the other side had brought them to become friends. and to forget the greathurts the one had received of the other in former warres. And even to this present day that peace is called Nicium, as who would fay, Nicios peace. The capitulations of the peace were thus agreed upon : that of either fide they should alike deliner up the cities & lands, which each had taken from other in time of wars, together with the prisoners also and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it was to begin. Nicias (according to Theophrastus report) for readic money fecretly bought the lot, that the LACED EMONIANS might be the first that should make restitution. And when the Corinthians and Bosofians that disliked of this peace, fought by the complaints they made, to renew the warre againe, Nicias then perfwaded both the ATHENIANS, and LACED EMONIANS, that they should adde for strength vito their countrey, the alliance and peace offensive and defensive made between them, for a more fure knot of friendship, whereby they might be the better assured the one of the other, and also the more dreadfull to their enemies that should rebell against them. These things went cleaneagainst Alcibiades mind; who besides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemie also vnto the La-CED #MONIANS, for that they lought to Nicias, & made none account of him, but despised him. Here was the occasion that caused Alesbiades to prooue from the beginning what he could do to hinder this peace, wherein he prevailed nothing. Yet shortly after, Alcibiades perceining that the AT HENIANS liked not fo well of the LACED EMONIANS as they did before, and that they thought themselues injured by them, because they had lately made league with the BOE OTIANS without their prinity, and had not wholly rendred up the cities of PANACTUM & AMPHIPOLIS according to the conditions articled betweene them; began then to enlarge and aggrauate the peoples complaints, and to make them offended with enery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambatladors from the city of Argos to come to Athens, and to handled § matter, that the Athenians made league offensive and desensive with them. While these matters were thus in hand, there came to Athens also Ambassadors from Laced Emon, with full power & authority to fet all things at stay, and to compound all controuersies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounding things vnto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, Alcibiades being affraid that they letting the people vnderstand so much, should thereby bring them to yeeld to what they defired; he finely deceived the poore Ambassadours by this device. He promifed upon his oath to help them in that they went about, so far forth as they would not confesse themselves to have absolute power from the Ephores making them to beleeve it was the onely way to bring their matters to paffe. The Ambaffadours giving credite to his words, relied vpon him, and so forsooke Nicias. Whereupon Alcibiades brought them before the people, being set in counsell, and there demanded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accord all matters, yea, or no. Whereunto they make him answere with a loud voyce, that they had not. Thereupon Alcibiades, contrary both to their expectation, and his owne oath and promife made vnto them, began to call the counsell to witnesse, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so aduised the people not to trust nor give credit vnto such men, as were openly taken with fo manifest a lie, and that in one self matter would one while say one thing, another while another. It boots not to aske whether the Ambaffadours were much a-

mazed to heare Alcibiades words: for Nicias himselfe wist not what to say to the matter, the

fuddennesse of the cause did so confuse and grieue him, being a thing he least looked for. Now

the people they were so moued besides, that they became indifferent whether to have sent for

the Ambassadours of Argos presently to have made league with them, or not but there fell out

an earth-quake vpon this matter, that greatly ferued Nicias turne and brake vp the affembly.

The people meeting agains in counfell the next morning, Nicias with all that he could doc or fav. could feant withhold them from making league with the Argives; and to get leauein the meanetime to go to the LACED EMONIANS, promifing he would make all well againe. Therupon, Nicias going to Spanta, was received and honoured there like a nobleman, and wide feet as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he prevailed nothing, dimbesses, as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he prevailed nothing, and being ouercome by these that fauoured the Bosotians, returned agains to Athensas spatia. he departed thence: where he was not only ill welcomed home, and worse effected, but was alfo in danger of his person, through the fury of the people, that at his request and counsell had redelinered fuch men prisoners, and so great a number of them. For indeed, the prisoners which Clean had brought to ATHENS from the fort of Pyle, were all of the chiefest houses of Sparta, and their kinfmen and friends were the noblest men of the citie. Notwithstanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, faning that they chose Alcibiades their Captaine, and madeleague with the Elians, and Mantineans (which had revolted from the LAGED E. MONIANS) and with the Argives also: and sent pirates to the fort of Pyle, to spoyle the countrey of LACONIA. Vpon these occasions the ATHENIAN'S fell againe into wars. Now when the quarrell and controuerfie was greatest betweene Nicias and Alcibiades, the Ostracismon (to wit, There of the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the people banished for ten years any such the sheet fra of their citizens as they thought either of too great authoritie, or that was most enuied for his cifmon wealthand fub stance. Alcibiades and Ricias, were then not a little perplexed, confidering their present danger, being fure that the one of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the people hated Alcibiades life, and were afraid of his valiantnesse: as we hauemore amply declared in the description of his life. And for Nicias, his wealth made him to beenuied befides they misliked his strange manner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conuerfant with the people then he was and counted him too stately moreouer they hated him also because in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the people defired, and had enforced them against their wils to agree to that which was profitable for themselves. In fine, to fpeakemore plainly, there fell out great strife betweenethe yong menthat would have warres. &the old men that coueted peace, some defirous to banish Ricias, & some others Alcibiades; but

Where discordreignes in realme or towne. The wicked win the chiefe renowne.

And so it fell out then. For the ATHENIANS being divided in two factions, gave authoritie to certaine of the most impudent & insolent persons that were in all the citie: and among them was one Hyperbolus of the town of Perithys, aman of no haufor nor value, why he should be bold: but yet one that grew to some credit and power, dishonouring his countrey by the honour they gauchim. How Hyperbolus thinking himfelfefree at that time from any danger of banishment. (hauing rather deserved the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well inough that remained behind: shewed openly that he was glad of their discord & variance, and bufily stirred vp the people against the both. Nicias & Alcibiades being acquain-& variance, and builty itired up the people against the both. Nicros & Acciorates being acquainted with his wicked practifes, having fecretly talked together, joyned both their factions in one:

Alcohades wherby they brought it so to passe, that neither of the were banished, but Hyperbolus selfe for ten inned years. Which matter for the present time made the people very mery, though afterwards it grie-tribes ued them much feeing their ordinance of the Oftracismon blemished by the vnworthines of the person: which punishment was an honor vnto him. For this banishment was thought a meet pu- Hyperson was nishment for Thucydides, Aristides, and such like men of accomptas they, or their like: but for forten Hyperbolus, it was thought too great an honour, and too manifest an occasion of glorie to be giyearst. uen to him, that for his wickednesse had the selfe same punishment, which was to be inslicted vpon the chiefest estates for their greatnesse. And the comicall Poet Plato himself saith in a place:

Although his tend behaviour deferu'd as much and more, Tetwas not that the punishment he should have had therefore, The Ostracic denised was for men of noble fame, And not for varlets, whose lewd life deserved open shame;

After this Hiperbolus, there was never man banished with the Offracismon. For himselfe was the last, as Hipparchus CHOLARGIAN, & nearest kinseman to the tyrant was the first. Sure, for- The taking tune is a very vncertaine thing, and without conceit of reason. For had Nicias frankly put himfelf to the hazard of this banishment against Alcibiades, one of these two things must needs have nithment.

Ambaffa dor fent from Spar tato Ashens.

Nicias

yeare.

Alcibiades craft and decess.

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happened him: either to have remained in the city with victorie, his adversarie being banished. or being conuict by his banishment, to have scaped those extreame miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the same he had wonne of a wise Captaine, though he had bene ouercome. I know notwithstanding that Theophrastus writeth, how Hyperbolus not Nician was banished through the diffention that fell betwixt Phaax and Alcibiades: albeit most writers agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambassadours of the Egestans and Leon-TINES being come to ATHENS, to perswade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conquest of Sy-CILIA, Nicias being against it, was ouercome by Alcibiades craft and ambition. For he, before they were called to counsell, had already through false surmizes filled the peoples heads with vaine hope and perswasion of conquest. Insomuch as the young men meeting in places of excercife, and the old men also in artificers shops, and in their compassed chaires, or halfe circles where they fate talking together, were enery one occupied about drawing the platforme of St-CILE, telling the nature of the SICILIAN fea, and reckoning vp the hauens and places looking towards Africke. For they made not their accompt that Sicile should be the end of their warres, but rather the store house and armorie for all their munition and martiall provision to make warreagainst the CARTHAGINIANS, and to conquer all AFRICKE, and consequently all the Africk B feas, enento Hercules pillars. Now all their minds being bent to warres, when Nicias spake against it, he found very few men of qualitie to stand by him. For the rich, fearing lest the people would thinke they did it to avoide charge and the cost they should be at about these warres, they held their peace, though indeed not contented withall: yet would not Nicial leave still to counsell them to the contrary. But when they had past the decree in counsell for the enterprise of Sicile, and that the people had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with Alcibiades and Lamachus, to follow the same: at the next session of the counsell holden in the citie, Nicias rose vpagain, to fee if he could turne the people from this journey with all the protestations he could possibly make, burdening Alcibiades, that for his owne ambition and private commodities, he brought the common wealth into so farre and dangerous a warre. But all his words prevailed not. Himselfe before all others was thought the meetest man for this charge, partly, because of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he wold handle their matters with greater fafety. when his timorous forefight should be joyned with Alcibiades valiantnesse, and with Lamachus foftnesse, which indeed most confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, Demostratus one of the Oratours that most procured the ATHENIANS to vindertake this enterprise stepped foorth, and said: It were good that Nicias left off and set aside all these excuses and deuices, and preferred a decree, that the people should throughly authorize the Captaines that were chosen, to set forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so perswaded the people to passe & authorise it. Yet it is said that the Priests obiected many things to hinder the journey. But Alcibiades also having suborned certaine Soothsayers alledged in like case some ancient Oracles that said the Athenians should have great honour from Sicile: and further had enticed certaine pilgrimes, who faid they were but newly come from the Oracle of Iupiter Ammon, and had brought this Oracle thence: That the Athenians should take all the Syraculans. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signes or tokens to come, they held their peace, lest it should seeme they intermedled to prognosticate euill for affections sake, seeing that the fignes themselves, which were most plaine and notorious, could not remove them from the enterprise of this iourney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes and images of Mercurie, which in one night were all to be mangled, fauing one image onely called the Hermes of Andecides, which was given and confecrated in old time by the tribe of the ÆGEIDES, and was fet vp directly ouer against a citizens house called Andocides. Furthermore, the chance that happened by the altar of the twelue gods: where a man leaping fuddenly vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut off his genitories with a stone. And in a temple also in the citie of DEL-PHE s, where was a little image of Minerna of gold, fet vpon a palme tree of copper, which the city of ATHENS had given of the spoiles won of the MEDES. Vpon that palm tree sate certaine crowes many daies together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the fruit of it, which was all of gold, until they made the fame to fall from the tree. But the ATHENIAN'S faid, that the DEL-PHIANS (whom the Syracus ans had fubdued) had finely fained this deuice. There was a prophecie also that commanded them to bring one of Mineruaes Nuns to ATHENS, that was in the citie of CLAZOMENES. So they fent for this Nun called Hefychia, which is, rest; and it feemeth

it was that which the goddes by this proply fie did counfell them vnto, that for that time they thould be quiet. Meton the Aftronomer having charge in the army leavied for the war of Sici-1 E being afraide of this prophetic, or otherwife miffiking the celestiall signes and successe of the the made iourney, fained himselfe mad, and set his house on fire. Others say he counterseited not madnes, but did one night indeed set his house on fire, and that the next morning looking rufully on it, he officers. went into the market place as a man brought to pitiful flate, to fue to the people, that in confide mer. ration of his great misfortune hapned him, they would discharge his sonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gally at his own coft, and ready, to make faile. Moreover, the familiar foirit of wife Socrates that did vie to tel him before what should happen, told him then, that this iorney would fall out to the deftruction of ATHENS. Socrates told it to certaine of his very familiar friends, and from them the rumor became comon. And this also troubled a number of them, for the valueky daies on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very daies on the which the women celebrating the feaft and yeareday of Adonis death: and there were also in divers parts of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that fuch as did put any confidence in those fignes, faid they misliked it much, and that they were afraid left the fame fignified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was fet out with fuch pompe and branery) would come to nothing. Now for Aicies, that he foake against this warre in open counsell, whilest they were deliberating upon it, and that he was not carried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of fo honourable a charge to make him change his mind: therein furely he shewed himselfe an honest man, wife and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no perswasions remove the people from the enterprise of this war, neither yet by fitte nor intreaty get himself discharged from being a captaine therof. but that they would in any case make him one of the heads of the army : then was it out of time tobe fearfull, and still giving backe, turning his head so oft like a child to looke upon his gally behind him, and ever to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of his journey. For indeed this was enough to discourage his companions, and to marre all at the first setting out: histories where, to fay truly, he should suddenly have set vpon his enemics, and have gone to it with a lusty sold sold suddenly have set vpon his enemics. courage to have affayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary course. For when Lamachus thought good at their first coming to go straight to Syracys a, and to give them battel as neare the wals as might be, and that Alcibiades on the other fide was of opinion, first of all to go about towin the cities that were in league with the Syracvsans, and after that they had made them rebel, then to go against the Syracysans themselves: Nicias to the contrary spake in counsell, and thought it better to go on faire and fof ly, descrying the coasts of Sicile round about to Wide view their gallies and preparation, and fo to returne firaight to ATHEN's againe, leaving onely a counted for few of their men with the EGESTANS, to helpe to defend them. But this from the beginning the Syracu maruellously cooled the courage of the foldiers, and quite discouraged them. Shortly after also fam. the Athentans having fent for Alcibiades to answer to certaine accusations, Nicias remaining captaine with Lamachus (the other captaine in fight, but Nicias selfe in power and authority the Lieutenant generall of all the army)ftill vseddelaies, running vp and downe, and spending time folong in confultation, till the fouldiers were left without both hope and courage and the feare the enemie had of them at their first coming to see so great an armie, was now in manner cleane gone. Yet Alcibiades being in the armie, before he was fent for from ATHENS, they went with threescore gallies to Syrac vsa, of the which they placed fiftie in battell ray out of the hauen, and fent the other ten into the hauen to discouer: which approaching neare the citic, caused an Heraldto make open proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the LEONTINES to their lands and possessions, and tooke a ship of the enemies, in the which among other things they found tables, wherein were written the names of all the inhabitants of Syracvsa, according to their tribes and houses. These tables were kept far from the city, in the temple of Iupiter Olympian, but at that time they had fent for them to know the number of men of feruice, and of age to beare weapon. The same tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the Generals of the army: the foothfayers feeing this long rolle of names, at the first misliked it, fearing lest the prophesie had ben fulfilled, which promised them, that the ATHENTANS one day should take all the Syracusans. Howbeit it is reported this prophelie came to passe in another exploit, when Callippus ATHENIAN hauing slaine Dion, wonne all the citie of Syracysa. Now

when Alcibiades was gone from the campe, Nicias bare all the fway, and commanded the

fen Captain forthe

Signes to fearethe Atherians 116t 1941 tempt the enterprife of Sicila. Statutes mangled

Lauthe

courtifan

ponnesus.

whole armie. For Lamachus, though other wife he was a frout man, an honest man, and very valiant of his hands, and one that would not spare himselfe in time of need: neuerthelesse he was fo poore and miserable, that even when he was in state of a Generall, and gave vp an account of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much for a gowne, and so much for a paire of pantophles. Where Nicias authoritie and reputation contrariwife was of another maner of cut, as well for other respects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Cap. taine with others, and fitting in councell with his companions in the councell house at ATHENS about the dispatch of certaine causes he spake vnto Sophocles the Poet, then present among them and bade him speake first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole company. Sophocles answered him againe: Indeed I confesse I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom every man regardeth best. So having at that time Lamachus vnder him.a better Captaine and man of warre then himselfe was, yet by being so slow to imploy the army vnder his charge, by deferring of time still, and houering about Sicile as far from his enemies as he could the first gaue the enemies time and leisure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to befrege Hybla, being but a pelting little towne, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into to great a contempt with every man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him. At last, he retired to Carana with his army, without any other exploit done, fauing that he tooke HYCCARA, a baggage village of the barbarous people, and where it is faid Lais the curtifan was borne, and that being then a yong girle, she was fold among other prisoners, and afterwards caried into Peloponnesvs. And in fine, the sommer being far earned out spent, Nicion was informed that the Syracvs and had taken such courage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge upon them first and that their horsemen were approched already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if they were come into Sicile to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to restore the LEONTINES to their lands againe. Hereupon with much ado, Nicias determined to go to SYRACVSA, and because he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hazard: he sent one of CATANA before to Syracv sa, to tell them (as if he had bene a spie) that if they would suddenly come and set v-Nicias no pon the campe of the ATHENIANS and take all their carriage, he wishest them to come withall their power to Catana at a day certaine which he would appoint them. For the Athenians (said he) for the most part are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens, which sauouring the Syracusans, have determined so soone as they heare of their comming, to keepe the gates of the citie, and at the same time also to fet the Athenians ships on fire: and how there were also a great number in the citic of this confederacy, that did but look every hourefor their coming. And this was the nobleft stratageme of warre, that Nicias showed all the time hoewas in Sicile. For by this device he made the Syracvsans come into the field with all their power, so that they left their citie without guard: and he himselfe departing in the meanetime from CATANA with all his fleete, wonne the hauen of Syracys at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemics could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and of Strates might without let or difficulty fet vpon them with that wherein he most trusted. The Syracv. SANS returning straight from CATANA, and offering him battel hard by the wals of Syracvsa, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew them. There were not many of the SYRACVSANS flaine at this battel, because their horsemen did hinder the chase: but Nicias breaking vp the bridges vpon the river, gave Hermocrates occasion to mocke him. For comforting and encouraging the Syracus Ans, he told them Nicias deferued to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from Athens to Syracvsa, to fight. This not with standing, he made the Syracusans quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose out three only to whom the people were sworne, that they wold fuffer them to have full power and authority to command and take order for all things. The temple of Iupiter Olympian was hard by the ATHENIANS campe, which they would gladly have taken, for that it was full of rich iewels and offerings of gold and filuer, given vnto the temple aforetime. But Nicias of purpose still draue offtime, and delayed so long, till the Syracvsans at last sent a good garrison thither to keepe it safe thinking with himselfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoile the temple, his countrey should be nothing the richer by it, and himselfe befides should beare all the blame of sacriledge. So, having obtained victory without profit, (which ran ftraight through SICILE) within few days after he returned vnto the city of NAXOS, where he lay all the winter confuming a wonderful maffe of victuals with fo great an army for the doing of things of finall moment, vpon certaine Sigilians that yeelded to him. The Syracysans in the meane time being in heart againe and couragious, returned to Catana, where they spoiled and ouerran all the country, and burnt the camp of the Athenians. Wherefore energy man blamed Nicias much, because through his long delay and protracting of time to make all things fure, helet flip fundry occasions of notable exploits, wherein good service might have benedone. Yet when he would do a thing indeed, he did it fothoroughly as no man could take exception to his doings, for that he brought it to fo good a paffer and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all speed, though he was both flow to determine and a coward to enterprise. Now when heremoued his army to returne to Syracvsa, he brought it fo orderly, and alfo with to with fuch speed and safety, that he was come by sea to Thap sys, had landed and taken the fort signs sy of Epipolis, before the Syracvsans had any intelligence of it, or could possibly help it. For the rainfa. choilemen of the Syracvsan's being fet out against him, hoping to have stopped his passage. he overthrew them, tooke three hundred prisoners, and made their horsemen file, which beforewere thought inuincible. But that which made the Syracy sans most afraid, and seemed most wonderfull also to the other GRECIANS, was this; that in a very short space he had almost entironed Synacus a with a wall, which was as much in compasse about, as the wals of A- Nicion well THENS, and worse to performe, by reason of the woody country, and for the sea also that beateth vponthe wals, besides that there were divers marishes hard by it. & yet (fick as he was of the of Strains stone) he had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, vnto his ficknesse. For mine owne part I wonder maruellously both of the care and diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiantnesse and dexteritie of the souldiers, which appeareth by the notable feats they did. For Euripides after their overthrow and vtter ruine, made a funerall Epitaph in verse, and said thus:

Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuse to flight, So long as with indifferencie the gods did vee their might.

But we find it written, that the SYRACVSANS were not onely eight times, but many times more ouerthrowne by them: a time at length there was indeed, that both the gods and fortune fought against them, even when the ATHENIANS were of greatest power. Now Nicias in his owne person was ever in the greatest and most weightie affaires, striving with his sicke body. Howbeitone day when his difease grew fore vpon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: and Lamachus in the meane time alone having charge of the whole army, fought with the Syrac vsans, who then had brought a wall fro the city, vnto the wall with the which the Athenians had purposed to have that them in to keepe that they should not compasseit round. And because the ATHENIANS commonly were the stronger in these skirmishes, they many times ouer rashly followed the chase of their enemies that sled as it chanced one day that Lamachus went so farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horsemen of the citic, before whom Callierates marched foremost, a valiant man of his hands, who challenged Lamachus hand to hand. Lamachus abode him, and in the conflict was first hurt: but he gaue Callicrates also such a wound therewith all that they both fell downe dead presently in the place. The death Atthattime the Syrac vsans being the stronger side, tooke vp his body, & caried it away with of them: but they spurred out for life to the Athenians campe, where Nicias lay sicke, without chus. any guard or fuccor at all:neuertheleffe Nicias role with speed out of his bed, and perceiving the danger he wasin, commanded certaine of his friends to fet the wood on fire which they had brought within the trenches of the camp, to make certaine deuices for batterie, and the engines of timber alforhat were already made. That device onely flayed the Syracvsans, faued Ni. cias, and the strength of their camp, together with all the silver and carriage of the Athenians. For the Syraevsans perceiuing afarre off, betwixt them and the strength of their campe, such a great flame as rose vp in the aire, vpon the sight of it turned taile straight, and made towards their citie. Things falling out thus, Wisias being left fole Captaine of the armic with- Nicky Gle out any companion, in great hope not with standing to do some good: diverse cities of Sier- Garage of LE yeelded vnto him, ships fraught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and mashe whole
army. ny fubmitted themselues, for the good successe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the Syra-EVSANS also sent to parse with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend

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Golippus a their city any longer against him. Gylippus also a Captaine of the Laced Emonians, com-Lacedamo ming to aide the Syracusans, understanding by the way how the city of Syracusan was man aideli he syracu. Shut in with a wall round about, and in great distresse: held on his voyage not with standing, nor with any hope to defend Sicile (Supposing the Athenians had wonne the whole countries) but with intent neuertheleffe to help the cities of ITALY, if he could possibly. For it was a common rumour abroad, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wif. dome and good fortune was inuincible. Nicias himselfe now contrary to his wonted wisdome and forefight, trufting altogether to the good fuccesse which he saw to follow him, but specially beleeuing the reports that were told him of Syracvsa, and the newes that were brought him thence by fome of themselues which came secretly vnto him, perswading himselse that within few dayes he should have Syracvs a by composition, tooke no care to with stand Gylippus Coming thither, neither fent any man to keep him from landing in Sicile. By which negligence Gylippus landed in a paffenger, without Nicias knowledge: fo finall reckoning they made of him. and so much they did fondly despise him. Gylippus being thus landed farre from Syraces a, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the Syracvsans themselves knew of his landing, or looked for his coming: infomuch as they had already appointed the affembly of a councell to determine the articles and capitulations of peace, which they should conclude you with Nicias. Moreover, there were some that persuaded they should do well to make haste to conclude the peace, before the inclosure of Nicias wall was altogether finished, which then lacked not much to performe, having all the ftuffe for the purpole brought euen ready to the place. But as the fethings were even thus a doing, arrived one Gongylus at Syracvs A, that came from Corinth with a galley. At whose landing, the people vponthe peere flocking about him, to heare what newes he told them that *Gylippu* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other gallies after to their aid. The SYRACYSAN'S would hardly beleeue him, vntill there came another messenger also sent from Gylippus selfe of purpose, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the field. Thereupon the Syracv san's being maruellously remined went all straight and armed themselues. And Gylippus was no sooner come into Syracvsa, but arrived at he presently put his men in battel ray, to set vpon the ATHENIANS. Nicias for his part had like. wife also fet the ATHENIANS in order of batell, and ready to fight. When both the armies were now approached neare to each other, Gylippus threw downehis weapons, and fent a heraldynto Nicias to promise them life and baggage to depart safely out of Sicile. But Nicias would make the herald none answer to that message. Howbeit there were certaine of his souldiers that in mockeric asked the herald, if for the coming of a poore cape and wand of LACEDEMON, the Syracvs ans thought themselves strengthened so much, that they should despise the A-THENIANS, which not long before kept three hundred LACED EMONIANS prisoners in irons, farre stronger and more haire on their heads then Gylippus had, and had also sent them home to their citizens at LACED & MON. And Timeus writeth alfo, that the SICILIAN'S themselves, made no reckoning of Gylippus, neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they faw his extreme coueroufnesse and miseric and then, for that he came so meanely apparelled, with a threed-bare cape, and a long bush of haire, which made them form him. Yet in another place he faith, that fo foon as Gylippus arrived in Sicile, many came to him out of every quarter with very goodwil like birds wondering at an Owle. This fecond report feemeth truer then the first for they swarmed about him, because in this cape & wand they saw the rokens of the maiesty of the city and feigniory of Sparta, Thucydides also faith, that it was Gylippus only that did all there, And much like doth Philistus felf a Syracus an confesse, who was present then in person, and saw all things that were done. Not with standing at the first battel § AT HENIANS had the upper hand, & slue a number of the Syracvs ans, among the which Gongylus the Corinthian was one. But the next morning following, Gylsppus made them know the skill and experience of a wife Captaine. For the Corinwith the felfe fame weapons, with the fame men, with the fame horses, and in the same places, changing oncly the order of his battell, he overthrew the ATHENIANS: and (fighting with them still) having driven them even into their campe, he set the Syracy sans a worke to build vp a wall ouerthwart, (with the very felfe fame stones and stuffe, which the ATHENIANS had brought and laid there for the finishing of their inclosure) to cut off the other, and to keepe it from going forward, that it iouncd not together. So, all that the Athenians had done before wntill that prefent, was viterly to no purpose. Things standing in these termes, the Syracvsans

being couragious againe, beganne to arme gallies; and running vp and downe the fields with their horfemen and flaues, tooke many prisoners. Gylippus on the other fide, went in person to and fro through the cities of Sicil B, perswading & exhorting the inhabitants in such fort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. Nicias feeing things thus fall out, fell to his old trade againe; and confidering the change of his flate and former good Nicias lucke, his heart beginning to faint, wrote straight to the ATHENIANS to send another armie into 2004/0014118 Sicil B, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any case to give him leave to returne, and to discharge him of his office, for cause of his sicknesse. The ATHENIANS were indisferent before hee wrote, to fend aide thither; how beit the enuie the nobilitie bare vnto Nicios good fortune, did euer cause some delay that they sent not vntil then, and then they determined to fend with speed. So Demosthenes was named to be sent away immediatly after winter, with agreat nauic. In the middest of winter Eurymedon went to Nicias, and caried him both money and newes, that the people had chosen some of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in service with him, to wit, Euthydemus and Menander. Now Nicias in the meane Euthyde time being suddenly affailed by his enemies both by sea & land; though at the first he had tewer Menander gallies in number then they, yet he budged divers of theirs, and funkethem. But by land againe, shofen caphe could not aide his men in time, because Gylippus at the first onset had taken a fort of his called Nistes. Plemmyrion, within the which lay the store & tackle for many gallies, and a great masse of readiemony, which was wholy loft. Befides, in the same conflict also were many men staine, and many taken prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that therby he tooke from Nicias the great commoditie he had to bring his victuals fately by fea to his campe. For while the Athenian's kept this fort, they might at their pleasure bring victuals without danger to their campe, being couered with the fame : but then they had loft it, when it was hard for them foto do, because they were ever driven to fight with i enemies that lay at anker before the fort. Furthermore, the Syracvsans did not thinke that their armie by fea was ouerthrowne, because their enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the Athenians disorderedly: and therefore were defirous once againe to venture, in better fort and order then before. But Wicras by no meanes would be brought to fight againe: faying, that it were a madneffe, looking for fuch a great name and a new fupply as Demosibenes was comming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of ships then they, and but poorly furnished. But contrarily, Menander and Euthydemus newly promoted to the state of Captaines with Nicias, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines (Nicias and Demostheres that was then coming (defired to preuent Demosthenes, in performing some notable service before his arrival, and thereby also to excell Nicias doings: Howbeit the cloke they had to couer their ambition withal was, the honor and reputation of the citie of Athens, the which (faid they) were flamed & difhonored for euer, if they now should shew the selucs afraid of the Syracysans, who provoked them to fight. Thus brought they Nicias against his will to battel, in the which the ATHENIANS were flaine and ouercome, by the good counfell of a Corint Hian pylot called Ariffon. For the leftwing of their battell (as Thucydides writeth) was clearely ouerthrowne, and they loft a great number of their men. Wherupon Nicios was wonderfully perplexed, confidering on the one fide that he had taken maruellous paines, whilst he was sole Captaine of the whole army: and on the other fide for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had given him companions. But as Nicias was in this great despaire, they descried Demosthenes vpon a peere of the hauen, with his vemosities feet brauly fet out and furnished, to terrific the enemies. For he had threescore and thirteen gallies and in them he brought a thousand to the man well arread and apprising a State of the state of lies, and in them he brought 5 thousand footmen well armed and appointed, & of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with flings, about 3 thousand, and the gallies trimmed and set forth with goodly armors, numbers of enfignes, and with a world of trumpers, howboies, and such marine mufick, and all fet out in this triumphant shew, to feare the enemics the more. Now though the Sy-RAGVS ANS themselves againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiving they stroug against the streame, and confumed themselues to no purpose, when by that they saw there was no likelihood to be deliuered from their troubles. And Nicias also rejoyced, that so great aide was come, but his joy DemoRhe. held not long; for so soone as he began to talke with Demosthenes of the state of things, he found him bent forthwith to fet vpon the Syracy sans, and to hazard all with speed, that they might quickly take Syracvsa, and so dispatch away home againe. Nicios thought this more hast then good speed, and feared much this foole-hardinesse. Whereupon he prayed him to attempt no-Bbb

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554 thing raffly nor desperately and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be fortaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of victuals, that they would then quickly feek to him for peace, as they had done aforetime. For there were many within Sy-RACVS A that were Nicias friends, who wished him to abide time: for they were weary of warre. and waxed angry also with Gylippus. So that if they were but straighted a little more with want ofvictuals, they would yeeld straight. Nicias deliuering these perswasions some what darkly, and keeping somewhat also from vtterance, because he would not speake them openly, made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlinesse, and that he returned againe to his former delaies to keepeall in fecuritie, by which manner of proceeding he had from the beginning killed the hearts of his armie, for that he had not at his first comming set vpon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the courage of his souldiers was cold and done, & himselfe also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) Euthydemus and Menander, flucketo Demosthenes opinion: whereunto Nicias was also forced against his wil to yeeld. So Demosthenes the self same night taking the footmen, went to assault the fort of Epipolis; where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he flue many of them, and made the rest flie that offered resistance. But not content with this victory, he went farther, till he fell vponthe Bogotians. They gathering themselnes together, were the first that resisted the Athenians, basing their pikes with such fury and loud cries, that they caused the former to retire, and made all the rest of the assailants affraid and ama. zed. For the formost slying backe, came full vpon their companions; who taking them for their enemies, & their flight for a charge, refifted them with all their force, and so mistaking one ano. ther, both were wounded and flaine; and the hurt they meant vnto their enemies, did vnfortunatly light vpon their own fellowes. For this multitude meeting thus confufedly together, what through their great feare, and what for that they could not differne one another in the night, the which was neither so dark that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleare, as they might certainly indge by fight what they were that met them : (for then the Moone declined apace, & the small light it gaue was diffused with the number of men that ran to and fro) the feare they had of the enemic, made them mistrust their friends. All these troubles and disaduantages had the Athe-NIANS, and beside the Moone on their backs, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and gliftering of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets glaring in their eyes by the reflection of the Moone that shone vpon them, increased their fe re, and made them seeme a greater number and better appointed then they were indeed. At last, the enemies giving a lusticcharge vpon them on euery side, after they once began to give backe and turne taile, some were flaine by their enemics, others by their owne companie, and others also brake their neckes The flaughfalling from the rocks. The reft that were dispersed abroad in the fields, were the next morning euery.man of them put to the fword by the horfemen. So the account made, two thousand A-THENIANS were flaine, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their armors back againe. Wherefore Nicias that alwaies mistrusted it would thus come to passe, was maruellously offended with Demosthenes, and condemned his rashnesse. But he excusing himselfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the morning betimes; and so to hoise saile homewards. For, faid he, we must look for no new aid from ATHENS, neither are westrong enough with this army to ouercome our enemies; and though we were, yet must we of necessity avoid the place we are in, because (as it is reported) it is alwaies vnwholsome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, by reason of the autumne and season of the yeare, as they might plainly fee by exptrience. For many of their people were already ficke, and all of them in maner had no mindto tary. Nicias in no case liked the motion of departing thence, because he feared nor the Syracvsans, but rather the Athenians, for their accusations & condemnatio. And therfore in open counfell he told them, that as yet he faw no fuch danger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather die of his enemies hands, then be put to death by his owne countrimen. Being therein of a contrary mind to Leo BIZANTINE, who after that, faid to his citizens: I had rather fuffer death by you, then to be flaine with you. And furthermore, as for remooning their campe to some other place, they should have leifure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when Nicias had deliuered this opinion in counfell, Demosthenes having had ill lucke at his first comming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing

that Nicios flucke not fo hard against their departure, but that he relied you the trust and confidence he had of fome within the citie: they all agreed to Nicias. But when newes came that there was a new supply come vnto the Syracy sans, & that they faw the plague increased more and more in their campe: then Nicias selfe thought it best to depart thence, and gaue notice to the fouldiers to prepare themselves to ship away. Notwithstanding, when they had putal things in readinesse for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemie, or suspition thereof: the Moone began to eclipse in the night, and suddenly to lose her light, to the great feare of Nicios and divers others, who through ignorance and superstition quaked at such sights. For, of the touching the eclipse & darknesse of the Sunne, which is ever at any conjunction of the Moone, Moone, every common person then knew the cause to be the darknesse of the body of the Moone betwixt the Sunne and our fight. But the eclipse of the Moone it selfe, to know what doth darken it in that fort, and how being at the full it doth suddainely lose her light, and change into so many kinds of colours: that was aboue their knowledge; and therfore they thought i very strange; Moone perswading themselves that it was a signe of some great mischiefes the gods did threaten vnto men. For Anaxagoras, the first that ever determined and delivered any thing for certaine and alfured, concerning the light and darknesse of the Moone, his doctrine was not then of any long Anaxago. continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquitie, nor was generally knowne but only to a few, the first who durst not talke of it, but with feare, even to them they trusted best. And the reason was, for the property who durst not talke of it, but with feare, even to them they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the people could not at that time abide them that professed the knowledge of naturall Phi- of the celliffe losophic, and inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then Mercanos for me as much to of the fay, as curious inquirers and tatlers of things aboue the reach of reason, done in heaven and in the aire. Because the people thought they ascribed that which was done by the gods only, vnto certaine naturall and necessary causes that worke their effects not by prouidence nor will, but by force & necessarie consequences. For these causes was Protagoras banished fro Athens, & Anaxagoras put in prison: from whence Pericles had much ado to procure his deliuerie. And Socrates niam dee also, though he did not meddle with that part of Philosophie, was not withstanding put to death perfective for the suspinion therof. In fine, the doctrine of Plato being received and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessitie of natural causes vntothe controlment and Socrates disposition of divine power, as vnto a more excellent and supreame cause: tooke away all the ill passo opinion which the people had of fuch disputations, and gaue open passage and free entry vnto philosophie the Mathematicall sciences. And therefore Dion, one of Platoes scholers and friends, an eclipse of the Moone chancing even at the very fame time that he was weying vp his ankers to faile from Dion very ZAZYNTHE, to make warre with the tyrant Dyonifus: being nothing afraid nor troubled therewithall, made faile notwithstanding, and when he cametos yracvsa, draue out the tyrant, But causes. then it fell out vn fortunately for Nicias, who had no expert nor skilful Sooth fayer: for the party which he was wont to vie for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his superstition, called Stilbides, was dead not long before. For this figne of the cclipfe of the Moone (Philochorus faith) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very good; for faid he, things that men do in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemie vnto them. But this not withflanding, their custome was not to keepe the felues close about three daies in such eclipses of the Moone and Sun, as Autoclides selfe prescribeth in a booke he made of such matters: where Nicias bare them then in hand, that they should tarie the whole and full revolution of the course of the Moone, as though he had not feene her straight cleare againe, after shee had once passed the shannaturalt dow & darknesse of the earth. But all other things laid aside and forgotten, Nicias disposed himfelfe to facrifice vnto the gods:vntll fuch time as the enemies came again as well to befrege their forts, and all their campe by land, as also to occupie the whole hauen by sea. For they had not onely put men aboord into their gallies able to weare armour, but moreouer young boyes into fisher boats and other light barkes, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and shamefully reuiled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble house, called Heraclides, whose boate being forwarder then his companions, was in danger of taking by a gallie of the ATHENIANS, that rowed against him. Pollichus his vncle being afraid of it, lanby a gallie of the Athenians, that rowed against him: Pollichus his vncie being arraid of 12, 1811the Syrached forward with ten gallies of Syrac vs a for his rescue, of the which himselfe was Captaine.

The Syrached forward with ten gallies of Syrac vs a for his rescue, of the which himselfe was Captaine. The other gallyes doubting also lest Pollichus should take hurt, came on likewise amaine: so come like that there fellout a great battell by fea, which the Syracvsans wanne, and flue Eurymedon atheniane the Captaine, and many other. This made the fouldiers of y ATHENTANS fo afraid, that they

NICIAS.

The South fayer: doe

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Nicias de. ceived by Hermecra-

beganto cry out, it was no longer tarrying, there and that there was none other way but to depart thence by land. For after the Syracvsans had won that battell they had ftraight shurvo the hauens mouth. Nicias could not consent o such a retire : for, said he, it would be too greata shame for them to leaue their gallies and other ships to the enemie, considering the number not to be much lesse then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and tengallies with the best and valiantest of their footmen, and darters, that were in the armic, because the other galleyes had spent their owers. And for the rest of the armie, Nicias for saking their great campe and walles which reacheth as far as the temple of Hercules) did fet them in battell rav vpon the peere of the hauen. Insomuch as the Syra evsans which vntill that day could not performe their wonted facrifices vnto Hercules, did then fend their Priests and Captaines thither to do them. The fouldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Priests and Soothsayers came and told the Syracvs ans, that vindoubtedly the figures of the facrifices did promife them a noble victorie, so that they gaue no charge, but onely stood vpon their defence: for so did Hercules euer ouercome, defending when he was affailed. With this good hope the Syracysans rowed forward, and there was such a hote and cruell battell by sea, as had not beene in all this warrebefore: the which was as dreadfull to them that stood on the shore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, feeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hurt themselves by the order they keptin their fight, & by the rankes of their ships, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placedall their great ships together, fighting with the heavy against the enemies that were light and fwift, which came on on every fide of them, hurling stones at them, which were made sharpe to wound how euer they lighted wheras the ATHENIANS only casting their darts, and vsing their bowes and flings, by meanes of their rowing vp and downe, could not lightly aime to hit with entities ever the head. That manner of fight Arifto a Corinthian (an excellent ship-master) had taught the some on the Syracysans, who was himselfe flaine valiantly fighting, when they were conquerors. The Syraufan. Athenians thereupon being driven to fight, having sustained a maruellous flaughter & overthrow, (their way to flie by sea being also clearcly taken from them) and perceiving moreouer that they could hardly faue thefelues by land: were then fo discouraged, as they made no loncer refistance, whe their enemics came hard by them and caried away their ships before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take up their dead mens bodies to bury the, taking more pity to for sake their diseased & sore wounded companions, then to bury them that were already staine. When they considered althesethings, they thought their own state more miserable then theirs, which were to end their lives with much more cruelty, then was their miserie present. So they being determined to depart thence in the night, Gylippus perceiuing the Syracusans through all the city disposed themselves to sacrifice to the gods, and to be merry, as well for the joy of their victory, as also for Hercules feast: thought it bootlesse to perswade them, and much lesse to compell them to take armes vpon a sudden, to set vpon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit Hermocrates deuising with himselfe how to deceiue Nicias, sent some of his friends vnto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all things during this war : and willed him to take heed not to depart that night, left he fel into the ambushes which the Syracusans had laid for him, having sent before to take al the straights and passages, by the which he should passe. Nicias being ouerreached by Hermocrates craft and subtiltie, staied there that night, as though he had bene afraid to fall within the danger of his enemics ambush. Thereupon the Syracvsans the next morning by peepe of day, hoiffed faile, got the straights of Nielas passage, stopped the rivers mouths, and brake vp the bridges: and then cast their horsmen in a squadron in the next plaine fields adioyning, so that the ATHE-NIANS had no way left to escape and passe by them without fighting. At last not with standing, having frayed all that day and the next night following, they put themselues in journey, and departed with great cries and lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall countrey, and not out of their enemies land, as well for the great distresse and necessity wherin they were (lacking all things needfull to sustaine life,) as also for the extreame forrow they felt, to leave their fore wounded companions and diseased kinsemen and friends behind them, that could not for their weaknesse follow the campe, but specially for that they looked for some worse matter to fall to themselues, then that which they saw present before their ejesto be happened unto their fellowes. But of all the most pitifull fightes to behold in that campe, there was none more lamentable lamentable nor miserable, then the person of Nicias self: who being tormented with this disease. and waxen very leane and pale, was also vnworthily brought to extreame want of natural suffer nance, euen when he had most neede of comfort, being very fickely. Yet notwithstanding his miline. weaknesse and infirmitie, he tooke great paines, and suffered many things which the soundest bodies do labour much to ouercome and fuffer: making it appeare evidently to every man, that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himselfe, or defire that he had to save his own life fo much as for their fakes, in that he yeelded not vnto present despaire. For where the soldiers for very feare and forrow burst out into teares and bitter wailing, Nichas selfe shewed, that if by chance he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather youn remembrance of the than eand dishonour that came into his minde, to see the vnfortunate successe of his voyage, in fleed of the honour and victorie they hoped to have brought home, then for any other respect. But if to fee Nicias in this miferie, did mone the lookers on to pity: yet did this much more increase their compassion, when they remembred Nicias words in his orations continually to the people, to breake this journey, and to diffwade them from the enterprise of this warre. For the they plainely judged him norto have descrued these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the fouldiers viterly to dispaire of helpe from the gods, when they considered with themselues, that fo denout and godly a man as Nicras (who left nothing vndone that might tend to the honour and feruice of the gods) had no better fuccesse, then the most vile and wicked persons in all the whole armie. All this not withflanding, Nicias ftrained himtelfe in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerefull words, and his kindvfing of enery man; to let them know that he fainted not under his burthen, nor yet did yeeld to this misfortune and extreame calamitie. And thus travelling eight daies journey out-right together, not with standing that he was by the way continually fet your wearied and hurtivet he euer maintained his bands, & led them whole in company, yntill that Demosthenes with all his bands of foldiers was taken prisoner, in a certain village called Polyzelios: where remaining behind, he was enuironed by his enemies in fight, nestekenef and feeing himselfe so compassed in, drew out his sword, and with his owne hands thrust himfelfe thorow, but died not of it, because his enemies came straight about him, and tooke hold of fans. him. The Syracusans thereupon went with speed to Nicias, and told him of Demost heres case. He giving no credit to them, sent presently certaine of his horsemen thither to vnderstand the truth who brought him word that Demosthenes and all his men were taken prifoners. Then he befought Gylippus to treat of peace, to fuffer the poore remaine of the ATH ENIANS to depart Nicia meout of Sicile with fafety, and to take fuch hostages for the fure paiment of all fuch fummes setterary of money the Syracysan's had disburfed by meanes of this warre, as should like himselfe; of peace, which he promifed he would cause the ATHENIAN'S to perform and fatisfie vnto them. Howbe it the Syracovs and s would in no wife hearken to peace, but cruelly threatening and reading them that made motion hereof, in rage gaue a new onfet vpon him, more fiercely then euer before they had done. Nicias being then veterly without any kind of victuals, did not with standing hold out that night, and marched all the next day following (though the enemies darts still flew about their eares) untill he came to the river of Afinarus, into the which the Synaevsans did forcibly drive them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entred the river of them- William felues, thinking to drink. But there of all others was the most cruel slaughter of the poore wretthes, even as they were drinking; untill fuch time as Nicias falling down flat at Gyllippus feete, of ofinatus faid thus ynto him: Since the gods haue given thee (Gylippus) victorie, shew mercy; not to me that by these miseries have wonimmortal honor and same, but ynto these poore vanquished A-THENIANS : calling to thy remembrance, that the fortunes of warre are common, and how that words yet. the ATHENIAN'S have vied you LACED EMONIAN'S courteoufly, as often as fortune favoured ding himthem against you. Gylippus beholding Nicias, & periwaded by his words, took copassion of him Gylippus. (for he knew he was a friend vnto the Laced Amonians at the last peace concluded betwixt them, & furthermore thought it great honour to him, if he could cary away the two Captains or Grlippus Generals of his enemies prisoners) shewed him mercy, gaue him words of comfort, and moreouer commaunded befides that they should take all the residue prisoners. But his commandement Nicias, was not knowen in time to all: infomuch as there were many moe flaine then taken, although some private soldiers saved divers not with standing by stealth. Now the Syracusans having brought althe prisoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, first vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them, hung them vp vpon the goodliest young trees that stood vpon

NICIAS.

NICIAS.

ZbeSyra cular en ter into Syracufa umph.

The Cap mians condemned to

> Grippus, tondemnea

the riners fide, in token of triumph. And so putting on triumphing garlands upon their heads. and having trimmed their owne horses in triumphant manner, and also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing fort they made their entrie into the city of Syracvsa, hauing gloriously ended the most notable warre that euer was among st the GREEKES one against another, and attained also the nobleft victorie that could be atchieued, & that only by force of arms and valiancie. So at their returne, a councell and affembly was holden at Syracvs a, by the Gitizens and their confederates: in the which Eurytles one of the Oratours (a practifer in publike causes) first made petition, that the day on the which they had taken Nicias, might for ever thenceforth be kept holy-day, without any maner of work or labour, but only to do facrifice to the gods; and that the feast should be called, Assures feast, after the name of the river where the ouerthrow was given. This victoric was had the fixe and twentieth day of the moneth of Inly. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederates of the ATHENIANS and their flaues fhould be openly fould by the drumme: and that the natural Athenian s which were freemen. and their confederates of the country of Sieil, flould be clapped in irons and layd in prison. the Captaines onely excepted, whom they should put to death. The Syracvsans, confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine Hermocrates went about to perswade them, that to be mercifull in victorie, wold be more honor vnto them, then the victory it felfe; they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when Gylippus made fuite that for the Captaines of the A. THENTANS, he might cary them aline with him to Sparta, he was not only shamefully denied. but most vilely abused so lusty were they grown vpon this victoric, besides also that in the time of the war they were offended with him & could not endure his straight seuere LACONIAN go. uernement. Times faith moreouer, that they accused him of couctous fuell and thest, which vice he inherited from his father. For Cleandrides his father was convict for extortion, and banished ATHENS. And Gylippus selfe having stolne thirtie talents out of a thousand which Lysander sent to Sparra by him, and having hid them under the eauings of his house, being bewrayed, was for exterti. compelled with shame to flie his countrey, as we have more amply declared in the life of Lyfander. So Timeus writeth, that Nicias & Demofthenes were not stoned to death by & Syracvsans, Wisias and as Thucydides & Philiffus report, but that they killed themselves, ypon word sent them by Hermocrates (before the affembly of the people was broken vp) by one of his men, whom the keepers of the prison let in vnto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the jayle doore, for eucry man to behold. I have heard there is a target at this present to be seen in a temple at Syracvs A, which is faid to be Nicias target, couered alouer with gold and purple filke, paffing finely Wroughttogether. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them died of ficknesse, and of ill handling in the prison, wherethey had no more allowed them to live withal but two dishfuls of barley for their bread, and one of water for each man a day. Indeed many of them were convayed away, and fold for flaues; and many also that scaped vinknowne as flaues were also fold for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a horse, who not with standing besides their bondage, endured also this paine. But such their humble patience and modefly did greatly profit them: for either shortly after they were made freemen or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated and beloued of their masters. Some of them were fauedalfo for Eurypides fake. For the Sicilians liked the verses of this Poet better then they did any other GRECIAN'S verses of the midst GRECE. For if they heard any rimes or fongs like vnto his, they wold have them by heart, & one wold prefent them to another with greatioy. And therfore it is reported, that divers escaping his bondage, & returning againto A-THENS, went very louingly to falute Eurypides, & to thank him for their liues; and told him how they were deliuered from flauery, only by teaching the those verses which they remembred of his works. Others told him also, how that after the battel, they scaping by flight, and wandering vp and downe the fields, met with fome that gaue them meate and drinke to fing his verses. And this is not to be maruelled at, weighing y report made of a ship of the city of CAVNVS, that on a time being chased in thither by pirats, thinking to saue theselues within their ports, could not at the first be received, but had repulse; howbeit being demanded whether they could fing any of Eurypides fongs, and answering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The news of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleeued at the first, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a stranger that landed in the hauen of PIR AA, went and sate him down (as the maner is) in a Barbers shop, and thinking it had bin comonly known there, began to talke of it.

The Barber hearing the stranger tell of such matters: before any other had heard of it, ranne into the city as fast as he could, and going to the gouernours told the newes openly before them all. The Magistrates therupon did presently call an assembly, & brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard these newes, could make no certaine report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the city in feare and trouble, he was prefently bound, and layed on a wheele, whereon they vie to put offen-nians do ders to death, and so was there tormented a great time, vntill at last there arrived certaine men torment the in the city; who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told enery thing how the ouerthrow the newes of the new of the n came. So as in fine they found Nicias words true, which now they believed, when they faw their ouerall those miseries light fully vponthem, which he long before had prognosticated vnto them.

Nicias fore Shewed the

the Atheni-

The end of Nicias life:

THE LIFE OF Marcus Crassus.



Arcus Crassus was the sonne of a Censor, who had also received the Marsus honour of triumph: but himselfe was brought vp in a little house with kinred, and two other of his brethren, which were both maried in their fathers & mothers lifetime, and kept house together. Whereupon it came to passe, that he was a man of such sober and temperate diet, that one of his brethren being deceased, he maried his wife, by whom he had children. For women, he lived as continent a life, as any ROMAINE of his time: notwithstanding, afterwards being of riper yeares, he was accufed by Plotinus to have defloured one of the Vestall Nunnes called

Licinia. But in troth the cause of that suspition grew thus. Licinia had a goodly pleasant garden hard by the suburbes of the citie, wherewith Crassus was maruellously in loue, and would faine hauchad it good cheape: & vpon this onely occasion was often seene in speech with her; which made the people suspect him. But for as much as it seemed to the Judgesthat his couctousnesse was the cause that made him follow her, he was cleared of the incest suspected, but he neuer left following of the Nun, till he had got the garden of her. The Romaine's fay there was but that only vice of couctous fresh crass, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine crass as owne opinion me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, fince it well-young. grew fo great, as the note of that only did hide and couer all his other vices. Now to fet out his extreme couetous desire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifest reasons. Bbb 4

Craffie

Craffies care about

Whatbelon bushandry & in whom ir confitta. Craffin Archede

The first, his manner and meanes he yied to get; and the second, the greatnesse of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth, then three hundred talants. And during the time that he dealt in the affaires of the common wealth, he offered the tenths of all his goods wholly vnto Hercules, kept open house for all the people of Rome, and gaue also to enery citizent of the same as much corne as would keepe him three moneths: and yet when he went from Rome to make warre with the Parthians, himselfe being desirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the fumme of feuen thousand one hundred talants. But if I may with licence vie euill speech, writing a troath: I say he got the most part of his wealth by fire and bloud, raifing his greatest revenew of publicke calamities. For when Sylla hadtal kenthecitie of Rome, he made portfale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gaue most terming them his booty, onely for that he would the nobilitie and great test men of power in the citie should be partakers with him of this iniquitie: and in this open fale Crassus neuer left taking of gifts, nor buying of things of Sylla for profit. Furthermore, Crassus perceining that the greatest decay commonly of the buildings in Rome came by fire, and falling downe of houses, through the ouermuch weight by number of stories built one vpon another: bought bondmen that were masons, carpenters, and these deuisors and builders, and of these he had to the number of flue hundred. Afterwards, when the fire tooke any house, he would buy the house while it was a burning and the next houses adjoying to it, which the owners fold for litle, being then in danger as they were, and a burning: so that by processe of time, the most part of the houses in Rome came to be his. But not with standing that he had so many slaves to his workmen, he neuer built any house from the ground, sauing his owne house wherein he dwelt: faying, that fuch as delighted to build, vndid themselues without the helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mines of filter, many ploughs, and a number of hinds and ploughmen to follow the fame yet all that comodity was nothing in respect of the profit his flaues and bondmen brought him daily in. As readers, scriueners, goldsmiths, bankers, receivers, stewards of houshold, caruers, and other such officers at the table, taking paines himselfe to help them whe they were learners, and to instruct them what they should doe: and to be short, he thought the greatest carea good housholder ought to have, was to see his slaves or servants weltaught being the most lively cattell and best instruments of a mans house. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake; that all things must be done by servants, and his feruants must be ruled by him. For we see that the art and skill to be a good husband, when it confifteth in gouernment of things without life or fenfe, is but a base thing, only tending to gaine: but when it dependeth vpon good order and gouernement of men, me thinks then it is to know how to gouerne well a common wealth. But as his judgement was good in the other, fo was it very bad in this: that hethought no man rich and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole armie with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king Archidamus was wont to fay) is not made with any certaintie of expence; and thereforethere must no sufficiencie of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. But herein Marius and he differed farre in opinion: who having allowed every Romaine fourteen acres land(called with them, Jugera) vnderstanding that some were not pleased, but wold have more; made them this answer: The gods forbid any ROMAINE should thinke that land little, which indeed is inough to suffice for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, Crassus was courteous to strangers, for his house was open to them all, and he lent his friends money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roundly demaund his money of them. So, his courtefie to lend many times without interest, did more trouble them, than if he had take very great vsury. Indeed whe he bade any man to come to his table, his fare was but even ordinary, without all exceffe but his crassusfare fine and cleanly service, and the good entertainement hee gaue every man that came to him, pleased him better, than if he had bene more plentifull of diet and dishes. As for his learning and study, he chiefely studied eloquence, and that fort specially that best wold serue his turneto speake in open presence so that he became the best spoken man in Rome of all histime, and by his great industry & diligent indeauour excelled all them that even by nature were most apt vnto it. For some say, he had never so small nor little a cause in hand, but he alwaies came prepared having studied his cause before for pleading : and oftentimes also when Pompey Cafar, and Cicero refused to rife and speake to matters, Crassis would defend every cause, if he were requested. And therefore was he generally beloued & well thought of because he shewed himself painful, and willing to helpe enery man. Likewise was his gentlenes maruellously esteemed, because he faluted enery body curteoufly, and made much of all mentfor whom socuer he met in the streets that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he neuer so meane, he wold speake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is fayd also he was very well studied in stories, and indifferently seeme in Philosophy, specially in Aristotles workes, which one Alexander did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and patient of nature, by vfing of craffus company: for it were hard to fay, whether Alexander was poorer when he came to Crassus, or made poorer whilehe was with him. Of all his friends he would euer haue Alexander abroad with him, and while they were abroad, would lend him a hat to couer his head by they way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull patience of a man! to feethat hemaking profession of Philosophy as he did, the poore man being in great pouerty, did not place pouerty in things indifferent. But hercof we will speake more hereafter. Cinna and Marius being now of greater power, and coming on directly towards Rome, enery man suspected straight their comming was for no good to the commonwealth, but as appeareth plainly, for the death and destruction of the noblest men of Rome. For it so fell out indeed, that they slue all the chiefe men they found in the citie, among whom Crassus father and his brother were of the number, and himfelfe being at that time but yong, escaped the present danger only by flight. Furthermore, Crasses Continue file hearing that they laied waite to take him, and that the tyrants fought him in every place, tooke eth Marius three of his friends in his company and ten feruants only and fled into Spaine with all possible and cinna, speed, where he had been with his father before, & had got some friends when he was Prætor, and ruled the country. Neuertheleffe, seeing enery body afraid, and mistrusting Marins crucky, as if he had bin at their doores, he durft not bewray himself to any man, but went into the fields, and hid him in a great cane being within the land of one Vibius Piciacus by the sea side, from whence he fent a man of his to this Piciacus, to feele what goodwil he bare him, but specially for that his victuals began to faile him. Vibius hearing that Craffus was fafe, and had escaped, became Vibius very glad of it: and vnderstanding how many persons he had with him, and into what place he was gotten went not himselfe to lee him, but called one of his slaues (who was his receiver and craffeto occupied that ground for him (and bringing him neere the place where Crasus was, comanded him encry night to prouide meat for supper, to bring it ready dressed to this rocke whereunder was the caue, & make no words of it, neither be inquisitive for who it was; for if hedid he should die for it, and otherwise, for keeping the thing secret as he commanded, he promised to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the fea fide, and is closed in round about with two rockes that meet together, which receive a fost coole wind into them. When ye are entred into ŷ caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownesse therofare many other caues of great receipt one within another, & befides that, it neither lacketh light nor water for there is a wel of paffing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall rifts of the rocks also receiving the light without, where they meet together, do fend it inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruellous light, & hath no dampe aire, but very pure and drie, by reason of the thicknesse of the rocke, which sendeth all the moistnesse and vapour into that springing well. crassus keeping close in this caue, Vibius receiver brought victuals thither daily to releeve him and his company, but faw not them he brought it to, nor could viderstand what they were : and yet they faw him plainely, observing the houre and time of his coming when he brought the same. He provided them no more then would even necessarily serve their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheere withal for Vibrus was bent to entertain Crassus as honourably as he could possible, in so much as he considered he was a young man, and therefore reason would he should offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to releeue his necessity onely, he thought that rather a part of feare, than any shew of love towards him. One day he tooke two faire young damfels, and brought them with him to the fea fide: and when he came to the caue, shewed them where they should get vp, and bad them not be afraid. crasfus at the first, when he saw the young wenches, was afraid he had beene betrayed: yet he afked them what they were, and whom they fought. They being instructed by Vibins what they should fay, answered, that they fought their maister that was hidden there. Then Crasus knew this was Vibius mirth to shew him courtesse: so he received them into his caue, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting Vibius vnderstand by them what he lacked. Fenestella writeth, that he saw one of them when she was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale

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Craffus enmeth Pompey. maines calle d Pempey the great. **Cr**affus

cause of

many a time with great delight. In fine, Crassus (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight moneths) vnderstanding that Cinna was dead, came out: and so some as he made himselfeto be knowne, there repaired a great number of fouldiers vnto him, of whom he only chose two thoufand fine hundred, and with them passed by many cities, and sacked one called MALACA, as diuerse do write but he statly denied it, and stoutly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwards having gotten ships together, went into Africke, to Metellus Pius, a man of great rojuge into fame, and that had already gotten a great armie together. Howbeit he taried not long with Metellus, but iarring withhim, went vnto sylla, who welcomed and honoured him as much as any that he had about him. Sylla afterwards arriving in IrALY, intending to imploy all the yong no. crassius sent bilitie he had in his companie, gaue every one of them charge vnder him, and sent Crassius into the countrey of the MARSIANS, to leavie men of warre there. Crasse desiring certaine bands of Syllato aide him, being driven to passe by his enemies: Sylla answered him angerly againe: I give thee thy father, thy brother thy friends and kinfemen to aide thee, whom they most wickedly haue flaine and murthered, and whose deaths I pursue with hote reuenge of maine army, vpon those bloudy murtherers that have slaine them. Crassus being netled with these words. departed thence prefently, and floutly passing through his enemies, leavied a good number of fouldiers: and was euer after ready at Syllaes commandement in all his warres. Here began first (as they fay) the ftrife and contention betwixt him and Pompey . For Pompey being yonger than Craffus, and borne of a wicked father in Rome, whom the people more hated then ever they did manicame yet to great honour by his valiancy, and by the notable acts he did in the wars at that time. So that Sylla did Pompey that honor many times, which he feldome did vnto them that Syllacalled were his elders, nor yet vnto those that were his equals: as to rise vp when he came towards him, to put off his cap, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieuetenant generall. And this galled Craffus to the heart, although he had no wrong in that Pompey was taken before him, because he had no experience in matters of war at that time, & also because these two vices that were bred in him, mifery and couctoufnesse, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the sacke of the city of TVDER, which he tooke, he privily got the most part of the spoyle to himselfe, whereof he was accused before Sylla. Yet in the last battell of this civill warre (which was the greatest and most dangerous of all other) cuen before Rome it selfe, the wing that sylla led, was repulsed and ouerthrowne: but Crassus that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent sylla word of his victory, and demaunded victuals for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging, the confiscate goods of the outlawes appointed to be flaine, for little or nothing. And it is faid also, that he made one an outlaw in the countrey of the BRYTIANS, without Syllaes privitie or commandement, only to have his goods. But Sylla being told of it, would neuerafter vse him in any open service. Surely this is a strange thing, that crassus selfe being a great flatterer of other, and could creep into any mans fauor, was yet himselfe casie to be wonthrough flattery, of any man that would seeke him that way. Furthermore, it is faid of him that he had this property: that though himself was as extreamly couctous as might be, yet he bitterly reproued and vtterly misliked them that had his own humor of auarice. Pompeyes honour that he attained vnto daily, by bearing great charge and rule in the warres, did greatly trouble craffus: both because he obtained the honour of triumph before he came to be Senator, and also for that the Romains commonly called him, Pompeius Magnus, to say, Pompey the great. Crassus being in place on a time when one sayd that saw Pompey comming, Sec, Pompey the great is come. And how great I pray ye, faydhe scornefully : howbeit despairing that he could not obtaine to match him in the warres, he gaue himselfe vnto the affaires of the city: and by his paines and industry of pleading, and defending mens causes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that fued for any office, or deindustry & manded any thing else of the people, he attained in the end to the like estimation and authoritic that Pompey was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in cither of them. For Pompeyes fame and power was greater in Rome, when himself was absent; and contrariwise when he was there present, Crassis oftentimes was better esteemed than he. Pompey caried a great maiefty and grauity in his maner of life, would not be feen often of the people, but kept from repairing to open places, and would speake but in few mens causes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauour and credite whole for himfelfe, when he flood in need to employ the same. Where Crassus diligence was profitable to many, because he kept continually in the

market place, and was easie to be repaired vnto by any manthat required his helpe, daily following those exercises, indeauouring himselfe to pleasure enery mansso that by this easie accesse and familiaritie, for favour and goodwill, he grew to exceed the grauitie and maiefty of Pompey. But as for the worthinesse of their persons, their eloquence of speech, and their good grace and countenance; in all those (it is said) Pempey and Crassus were both alike. And this enuie and emulation never caried Crassus away, with any open malice or ill will. For though he was fory to fee Pompey and Cafar honoured about him: yet the worme of ambition never bred malice in him. No, though Cafar when he was taken by pirates in As 1 A (as he was once) and being kept prisoner cried out aloud: O Crassus, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou shalt heare I am in prison! This notwith standing, they were afterwards good friends, as it appeareth; for Cafar being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prator into Spaine, & not being able to fatisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to flay and arrest his cariage: Crasus, in that time of need for looke him not, but became his furctie for the fumme of eight hundred and Three fact. thirty talents. In fine, all Rome being divided into three factions, to wit, of Pompey, Cafar and ions at Crassius (for as for Cato, the estimation they had of his sidelitie was greater then his authoritie: Reme. and his vertue more wondred at then practifed) in fo much as the grauest and wifest men tooke part with Pompey. The liuclieft youthes, and likelieft to runne into desperate attempts, they followed C. elars hope. Crasus keeping the middest of the streame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes changed his minde and purpose. For in matters of gouernement in the commonweale, he neither shewed himselfe a constant friend, nor a dangerous enemic: but for gaine, was eafily made friend or foe. So that in a moment they faw him praise and reprooue, defend and condemne, the same lawes, and the same men. His estimation grew more, through the peoples feare of him, then for any good wil they bare him. As appeareth by the answer that one Sicinius (a very busic headedman, and one that troubled enery governor of the commonweale inhis time) made to one that asked him, why he was not buffe with Crafius among the reft: and how it happened that he fo feaped his hands? O, faid he, he caried hav on his horne. The Sicinius manner was then at Rome, if any man had a curst bullocke that would strike with his horne, to wind hay about his head, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commotion offencers, which some call Spartacess warre, their wasting and destroying of ITALIE The warre came vpon this occasion. In the citie of CAPVA, there was one Lentulus Batiatus, that kept a of the bind. great number of fencers at variebated foiles, whom the Romaines call Gladiatores, whereof Spartam the most part were GAVLES and THRACIANS. These men were kept locked vp, not for any fault warre. they had committed, but onely for the wickednesse of their maister that had brought them and compelled them by force, one to fight with another at the sharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steale away: but their conspiracie being bewrayed, threescore and eighteene of them entred into a cooks house, and with the spits and kitchin-kniues, which there they got, went quite out of the citie. By the way they fortuned to meete with carts loden with fencers weapons, that were brought from CAPVA, going to fome other city: those they also took by force, and arming themselues therewith, got them then to a strong place of situation. Where among ft themselves they chose three Captaines, and one Spartaeus a Thracian borne (and of those countreymen that go wandering vp and downe with their heards of beasts, neuer staying long in a place) they made their Generall. This Spartacus was not only valiant, but ftrong made Thewhe withall, and endued with more wisedome and honesty, than is commonly found in men of his behaviour of Sparts. flate and condition: and for civilitie & good vnderstanding a man more like to the Grecians of spans then any of his countrymen comonly be. It is reported, that when Spartacus came first to Rome elife capto be fold for a flaue; there was found as he flept, a fnake wound about his face. His wife feeing tains of the bondmens it, being his own countriwoman, and a wife woman befides, possess with Bacchus spirit of diul- marre. nation: faid plainly that it did fignifie, that one day he should be of great power, much dread, and haue very good fuccesse. This same woman prophetesse was then with him, and followed v him likewife when he fled. Now first they overthrew certaine soldiers that came out of CAPVA against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their armorand weapons, made them clodius a glad to take the fencers weapons, which they threw away as vile & vnfemly. After that, the Ro- Romaine MAINS fent Clodius Prætor against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their grains fort, fituate vpon a hill that had a very freepe and narrow afcent vnto it, and kept the passage Sparacus vp to them: all the rest of the ground round about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging with 3000

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ouer, and vpon them great store of wild vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest strips, and made thereof ladders, like to thele ship ladders of ropes, of such a length and so strong, that they reached from the top of the hill euen to the very bottome; vpon those they all came lafely downe, fauing one that tarried aboue to throw downe their armour after them, who afterwards by the fame ladder fauing himselfe last of all. The Romain's mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the hill round, affailed them behind, and put them in such a seare with the fudden onset, as they fled upon it euery man, and so was their campe taken. Thereupon divers ouercome of heardmen and shepheards that kept cattell hard by the hill, joyned with the Romains that fled, being ftrong and hardy men of which some they armed and others they vsed as scouts and spials to discouer. Vpon this ouerthrow was sent another Captaine from Rome, called Publius Varinus, against these bondmen: who first ouercame Furius, the Lieuetenant of Varinus in battell, and two thousand of his men: and after that against they flue one Cossinius, and ouerthrew a great armie of his, being joyned with Publius Various, as his fellow and counsellor. Spartacus having intelligence that Cossinius was bathing himselfe at a place called the falt pits, had allmost taken him tardie, hauing much ado by flight to faue him selfe: not with standing, Spartacus wan all his c riage at that time, and having him hard in chase, took his whole campe with great slaughter of his men, among whom Cossinius selfe was flaine. Spartacus having thus now in fundry battels and encounters ouercome the Prætor himfelfe, Publius Various, and at the length taken his fergeants from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horse whereon be rode himself. was grownethento fuch a power, as he was dreaded of enery man. Yet all this not with standing. Spartacus wisely considering his owne force, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the Romains, marched with his army towards the Alpes, taking it their best way after they had passed them ouer, every manto repaire hometo his ownecountrey, some into GAVLE, the rest into THRACIA. But his souldiers trusting to their multitude, & persivading the. sclues to do great things, would not obey him therein, but went againe to spoile and ouer runall ITALY. The Senate of Rome being in great perplexitie, not onely for the shame and dishonour that their men should be ouercome in that fort by slaues and rebels, but also for the scare and Cellius and danger all ITALY stood in besides: sent both the Consuls together, Gellius and Leniulus, as vnto as difficult and dangerous a warre, as any that could have happened vnto them. This Gellius one of the Confuls, fetting fuddenly vpon a band of the Germaines, which in a brauery & contempt as it were, dispersed themselves from their campe, put them to the sword every man. Lentulus, his colleague and fellow Confull on the other fide, compaffed in Spartacus round with a great army:but Spartaens charged his Lieutenants that led the army, gaue the battell, ouerthrew them, and took all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on still with his army towards the Alpes, Cassius the Prator and governor of GAVLE about the Po, came against him with an army often thoufand men. Spartaeus ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him. Cakius hauing lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty faued himfelf by flying. The Senate hearing of Caffins ouerthrow, were maruelloufly offended with the Confuls, and fent commandement vnto them, to leaue off the warre; and thereupon gaue the whole charge thereof vnto Marcus Crassus, who was Creffur fent, accompanied in his iourney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houses, both for that he was maruelloufly effected, and also for the good will they bare him. Now went Crassus from Rome, and camped in Romania, tarying Spartacus coming, who was marching thirherward. He fent Mummius one of his Lieutenants with two legions, to fetch a compaffe about to intrap the enemie behind: straightly commanding him to follow Spartacus rereward, but inno Deutename. case to offer him skirmish nor battell. But Mummius notwithstanding this straight comman-Munmus dement, seeing some hope given him to doegood, set vpon Spartacus, who gave him the overthrow, flue numbers of his men, and moe had flaine, fauing that certaine of them faued themfelucs by flight, having onely loft their armour and weapons. Hereupon Crassus was grieuously offended with Mummeus, and receiving his fouldiers that fled, gaue them other armor and weapons:but yet vpon furctics, that they should keepe them better thencefoorth, then they had before done. Now Craffus of the five hundred that were in the first rankes, and that first fled, them he deuided into fiftietimes ten, and out of euery one of those he put one of them to death, as the lo, fellout: renewing againe the ancient discipline of the Romains stopunish cowardly souldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vse. For it is a kind of death that bringeth open shame withall: and because it is done in the face of the campe, it makethall the residue

afraid to feetheterrour of this punishment, crassus having done execution in this fort ypon his men, led his armie against Spartacus, who still drew backe, vntill he cametothe sea fide through the countrey of the Lycanians, where he found in the straight of the far of Messi-MA, certaine pirates ships of Cilicia, and there determined to go into Sicilia. And having Dur two thousand men into Sicile, he then remined the warre there of the flaues, which was but in manner newly ended, and lacked small prouocation to begin it againe. But these pirates having promifed Spartacus to paffe him over thither, and alfo taken gifts of him, deceived him, and brake their promife. Whereupon Spartacus returning backe againe from the fea fide, went and camped within a little He of the RHEGIANS. Crassus comming thither to seeke him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him whathe should doe, determined with a wall to choke vp the barre or channell entring into this little Iland, both to keepe his men occupied fro idlenesse, and his enemies also from victuall. This was a maruellous hard and long peece of worke, notwithstanding Crassias finished it beyond all mens expectation in a very short time, and brought attench from one fide of the feato the other ouerthwartthis barre, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fifteene foote broade, and so many in height; and you the top of crafts this trench built a high wall, of a maruellous strength, whereof Spartacus at the first made light wonderfull account, and laughed at it. But when pillage beganto faile him, and trauelling all about the Ile wall. for victuals, perceiuing himfelfe to be shut in with this wal, and that there was no kind of victuals to be had within all the compasse of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boysterous night, the wind being very great, when it snowed exceedingly, set his men on worke, and filled vp a peece of the trench (being a finall breadth) with earth, ftones and boughes of trees, whereupon he passed over the third part of his armie. Crassus at the first then became afraid, lest spartacus would have taken his way directly toward Rome: but he was soone put out of that feare. when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them re belling against Spartacus, went and camped of themselves by the lake of Lycanta, which water by report Awonderhath this variable propertie, that at certaine times it changeth and becommeth very sweete, and of the mater at some other times againe so falt and brackish as no man can drinke it, Grafius going to set vp- of the lake on them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow of Lucania. them very farre, because spartacus came presently to the rescue with his armie, who stayed the chase. Crassus had written letters before to the Senate, to call Lucullus home out of THRACIA, and Pompey out of Spaine, wherof he then repented him, and made all the possible speedhe could to end this warre before either of them came thither; knowing, that which of them fo cuer came to his helpe, to him would the people give the honour of ending this warre, and not to himselfe. Wherefore he first determined to assaile them that had revolted from Spartacus, and camped by themselues, who were led by Caius Canicius, and another called Castus, So Crasfus sent fixe thousand footmen before to take a hill, commaunding them to lie as close as they could, that their enemies might not discouer them; and so they did, and couered their morians layed by and head-peeces as well as might be, from being seene. Neuerthelesse they were discouered by craftia. two women doing facrifice for the fafety of their armie, and thereupon were all in great hazard of casting away, had not Crassus beene, who came in time to their aid, and gave the enemies the cruellest battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were slaine of the slaues at that battell twelue thousand and three hundred, of which, two onely were found hurt in the backes, and all the rest slaine in the place of their rankes, valiantly fighting where they were fet in battel ray . Spartacus after this ouerthrow, drew towards the mountaines of Petel Y, whi- Spania us ther Quintus one of Crafius Liuctenants, and Scrofa his treasurer followed him, still skirmishing Soulders. with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, Spartacus turned fuddenly vpon them, made the reined to ROMAINES flie that still harried his men in that fort, and hurt Scrofa Craffus treasurer fo fore, that the meunhe hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the ROMAINES by this ouerthrow, of Fetelie, fell out in the end to the vtter destruction of Spartacus. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitive bondmen, grew to such a stoutnesse and pride of themselves, that they would no more flic from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their leaders and Captaines; but by theway as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and told them, that they should goe backe againe with them, whether they would or not, and be brought through Lycania against the Romaines. All this made for crassis he wished, for he hadreceived newes that Pompey was comming, and that divers were futers for him at Rome to be fent in

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this journey, faying, that the last victorie of this warre was due to him, and that he would difparch it at a battell, as soone as he came thither. Crassus therefore seeking occasion to fight. lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day cast a trench; which the bondmen seeking to preuent, came with great furie, and set vpon them that wrought. Wherevpon fell out a hot skirmish, and still supplies came on of either side, so that Spartacus in the end perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had fet them in order, and that they brought him his horse he was wont to ride on, he drew out his fword, and before them all flue the horse dead in the place, saying: If it be my fortune to win the field, I know I shall have horse enow to serve my turne; and if I chance to be overcome, then shall I need no more horses. After that, he flue in among the Romaines, thinking to attaine to fight with Crasius, but he could not come neere him; yethe flue with his owne hands two ROMAINE Centurions that refifted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, for fooke him and fled, fo as Spartacus was left alone among his enemies; who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though craffus fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had shewed himselfe a noble and valiant Captaine, venturing his person in any danger, yet he could not keepe Pompey from the honour of ending this warre: for the flaues that scaped from this last battell where Spartacus was flaine, fell into Pompeys hands, who made an end of all those rebellious rascals. Pompey hereupon wrote to the Senate, that Crassus, had ouercome the slaues in battell, but that he himselfe had pulled vp that warre even by the very rootes. After this Pompey made his entrie into Rome, and triumphed for his victorie of Sertorius, and the conquest of Spaine, Crassus also sued not for the great triumph, neither thought he the small Quation trisarph for triumph on foote, which they granted him, any honour vnto him, for ouercomming a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this small triumph, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it diffeounts, see reth from the great triumph, see Marcellus life, where we have at large discoursed therof. Now Pompey being called to be Confull; Craffus, though he ftood in good hope to be chosen Confull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherance. Pompey was very willing to helpe him, and was ever defirous to make Craffus beholding to him: whereupon he dealt friendly for him, and spake openly in the assembly of the citie, that he would no lesse thanke the people to appoint Crassus his companion and fellow Consull with him, then for making himfelfe Confull. But not withftanding they were both Confuls together in office, their friendship held not, but were euer at iarre, and the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulship without any memorable act done fauing that Crassus made a great sacrifice to Hercules, and kept an open feast for the people of Rome of a thousand tables, and gaue to euery citizen corne to find him three moneths. But in the end of their Confulship, at a common councell holden, there was a knight of Rome called great feaft-Ouatius Aurelius (a man not greatly knowne, for that he had no dealings in the state, and kept most in the countrey) who getting voto the pulpit for orations, told the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame. Inpiter (faith he) appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you o-2 b : dreame penly, that ye should not put crassus and Pompey out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the words, but the people commanded them to be friends. Pompey fate still, and said neuer a wordtoit. But Crassus rose, and tooke Pompey by the hand, and Craff.is and turning him to the people, told them aloud: My Lords of Rome, I doe nothing vnworthy of my felfe, to feeke Pompeys friendship and fauour first, since you your selves have called him the Great, before he had any haire ypon his face, and that ye gaue him the honor of triumph before he was Senator. And this is all that crasus did of any account in his Counsulship. When he was Censorallo, he passed it ouer without any act done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goods, although Luctatius Catulus was his colleague and fellow Cenfor, as gentle a person as any of that time that liucd in Rome. Now Crassus at the first entric into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent act to bring ÆGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMAINE'S Casulus did foutly withstand him: wherby diffention falling out between them, they both did willingly refigne their office. In that great conspiracie of Catiline, which in maner ouerthrew the whole state and common wealth of Rome, Crassus was had in some icalousic and mistrust, because there was one of the confederates that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credite vnto him. Yet Cicero in an oration of his, doth plainly accuse Crassa and Casar, as confederates with Catiline: howbeit this

pration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authoritie of Confull ceased, he sayd: that Crasus came one night to him, and showed him a letter touching Cariline, certainely confirming the conspiraciethen in examination. For celar conwhich cause Crassus euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by sederates meanes of his fonne. For Publius Craffus much favoring eloquence, and being given to his booke, Ediling. bare great good willynto Givero: in fuch fort, that you his banishment he put on changed gar- crassing ments as Cietro did, and procured many other youths to do the like alfo, and in fine, perfwaded entitle. his father to become his friend. Cafar now returning to Rome from the province he had in gouernement, intended to fue for the Confulfhip; and perceiving that Pompey and Crassus were againe at a jarre, thought thus with himselfe, that to make the one of them his friend to further his fuite, he should but procure the other his enemic; and minding therefore to attaine his defire with the fauour of them both, fought first the meanes to make them friends, and perswaded casarre with them, that by their controversie the one seeking the others vindoing, they did thereby but crassing and make Cicero, Catulus and Cato of the greater authoritie, who of themselves were of no power, if Pompey they two joyned in friendship together: for making both their friends and factions one, they together. might rule the state and common wealth even as they would. Cofar having by his perswasion reconciled Crassand Pompey, ioyning their three powers in one, made themselves vnuincible, which afterwards turned to the deftruction of the people and Senate of Rome. For he made crafting or them not only greater than they were before the one by the others meanes; but himselfe also of caser, all great power through them. For when they began to fauour Cefar, he was straight chosen Confull without any deniall: and so behaued himselfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gaue friendpip, him charge of great armies, and then fent him to gouerne the GAVLES; which was, as a man may fay, euen themselues to put him into the castle that should keepe all the citie in subjection: imagining that they two should make spoile and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a government. Now for Pompey, the cause that made him commit this error, was nothing elfe, but his extreame ambition. But as for Craffus, befides his old vice of conetoufnesse rooted in him, he added to that a new auarice and defire of triumphs and victories, which Cafars fame for proweffe and noble acts in wars did throughly kindle in him, that he being otherwife his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferiour: which furie tooke fuch hold as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the commonwealth to great miserie. Thus Cafar being come out of his province of GAVLE VNto LVCA, divers ROMAINES went thither to fee him, and among other Pompey and Crassus. They having talked with him in fecret, agreed among them to deuise to have the whole power of Rome in their hands: fo pompey and that C. efar should keepe his armietogether, and Crassus and Pompey should take other provinces crassus del and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that Pompey and Crassus Cestar as should again fue the second time to be Confuls, and that Cafars friends at Rome should stand Luca, with them for it, fending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of chufing the Confuls. Thereupon Pompey and Craffus returned to Rome to that end, but not without sufpition of their practife: for there ranne a rumour in the citie, that their meeting of Cafar in Lyca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius asked Fompey in open Senate, if he meant to make fuite to be Confull. Pompey answered them: Peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the same question : he and Pompeys fwered, he would fue for the good men, not for the cuill. Pompeys answers were thought very answer. proud and haughty. Howbeit Craffus answered more modefily, that if he saw it necessarie for the commonwealth, he would fire to be Confull: if not, that he would not stand for it. crass was Vpon these words, some were so bold to make suite for the Consulship, as Domitius among o- delt anther. But afterwards Pompey and Crassus standing openly for it, all the rest lest off their suite for feare of them, Domitius only excepted: whom Cato fo prayed and intreated, the kinfman and friend, that he made him to feeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their libertie, and how that it was not the Confulship Crassus and Pompertooked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyrannie; and that they fued not for the office, but to get fuch prouinces and armies into their hands as they defired, vnder colour and countenance of the Confulfhip. Catoringing these words into their cares, and beleeuing it certainely to be true as he said, brought Domitius as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men joyned with them: because they wondered what the matter meant, that the set wo noble men should suc

Fompey made him felfe and Confuls by

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the second time to be Confuls, and why they made suite to be loyned together, and not to have any other with them, confidering there were fo many other worthic men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. Pompey feareing he should be preuented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongst other, when the day came to chuse the Consuls, Domitius going early in the morning before day, accompanied with his friends to the place where the election should be this man that caried his torch before him was flaine by some whom Pompey had laid in waite, and many of the company hurt, and among others, Cato. And having thus dispersed them, he beset a house round about whither they fled for Pomper and succour, and inclosed them there, vntill they were both chosen Consuls together. Shortly after Craffus they came with forcetothe pulpit for orations and draue Cato out of the market place, and flue seendtime. some of them that resisted and would not flie. They also then prolonged Casars gouernement of the GAVLES for five yeares more, and procured for themselves by decree of the people, the craffushad Countries of Syria and Spaine. Againe, when they drew lots together, Syria fell to Craffus, and Spaine to Pompey. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one side were loth Pompey should go farre from Rome and himselfealso louing his wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so neare her, that he might remain the most part of his time at Rome. But Crassus of all other rejoyced most at his hap, that he should goe into S Y R I A: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happiest turne that euer came to him; for he would euer be talking of the journey, were he in neuer fogreat or strange company. Furthermore being among his friends and familiars, he would give out such fond boasts of it, as no yong man could haue made greater vaunts: which was cleane contrarie to his yeares & nature, hauing lived all his life time as modefuly, and with as smal oftentation as any man liuing. But then forgetting himfelfe too much, had fuch fond conceipts in his head, as he not onely hoped after the conquest of Syria, and of the Parthians, but flattered himselfe, that the world shold see all that Lucullus had done against king Tigranes, and Pompey against king Mithridates, were buttrifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Ocean seatowards the East, though in the decree passed by the people, there was no mention made of any wars against the Parthians. Now every man faw Crassus ambition and greedy defire of honour: in fo much as Cafar felfe wrote vnto Crassis out of GAVLE, commending his noble intent and forwardnesse, and wished him to goe through therewith. But Atteins one of the Tribunes being bent against Crassus to withstand his departure: (hauing diuers other confederates with him to further his purpose, who much missiked that any man of a brauery and lustinesse should make warre with any nation or people that had no way offended the Romains, but were their friends & confederats) Crassus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pempey to affift and accompany him out of the city, because he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then. For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpose to let Crassus of his departure, and to cry out vpon him: yet when they saw Pompey goe before him, with a pleasant smiling countenane, they quieted themselues, and made alane for them, suffering them to passe on, and said nothing. This notwithstanding, Atteins The Tribune stepped before them, and commanded crassus he should not depart the city, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiuing Crasus still held on his way notwithstanding, he commanded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, and to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not suffer the officers to do it. So the sergeant dismissed Crassius. Then Atteius running towards the gates of the citie, got a chafind ish with coales, and set it in the middest of the street. When Crassus against it, he cast in certain persumes, and made sprinklings ouer it, pronouncing horrible curfes, and calling vpon terrible and strange names of gods. The ROMAINES fay, that those maner of curses are very ancient, but yetvery secret, and offo great force, as he that is once curfed with that curfe can neuer escapeit, nor he that vieth it doth neuer prosper after it. And therefore few men doe vse it, and neuer but vpon vrgent occasion. But then they much reproued Atteins, for ving these dreadfull ceremonies and extreme curses, which were much hurtfull to the commonwealth, although he for countries sake had thus curfed Crassus. Crassus fetting forward notwithstanding, sailed on, and arrived at BRV N-DYSIVM, when winter stormes had not left the seas, and he had lost many of his ships: how-Deiotarus, beit he landed his armie, and marched through the countrie of GALATIA. There he found king Deiotarus, avery old man, and yet building a new city:and to taunt him pretily, faid vnto him: What, O King, begin you to build now in the afternoone . To whom the king of the GALATI-ANS againe smileing made answer: And truly Sir Captaine, you go not very early (methinks) to make warre with the PARTHIANS. For indeed crasus was threescore and voward, and yet his face made him feeme elder then he was. But to our storie againe. Crassis being come into the countrey, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he eafily built a bridge vpon the river of Euphrates, and passed his armie outrit without any let or trouble. So entring into Musoposurring the source of t TAM IA he received many cities that of good will yeelded themselves vnto him. Howbeit there was one citic named Zenodotia, whereof Appelonius was tyrant, where Crassus lost a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thirher, tooke it by force, facked their goods, and fold the prisoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this city Zeno Doria, and taken by for winning of the same Crassus suffered his men to call him Imperator to say, soueraigne Cap- crassus. taine: which turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base minde as one that had finall hope to attaine to great things, making fuch reckoning of so small a trifle. Thus when he had bestowed seuen thousand of his footmen in garrison in those cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thousand horsemen, he returned backe to winter in Syria. Thither came his sonne Publins Crassus to him out of GAV LE from Iulius Cesar, who had giuen him such honors, as Generals of Rome did vse to give such valiant souldiers for reward of came whi their good service: and brought vnto his father a thousand men of armes, all choise men father in This methinkes was the greatest fault Crasus committed in all his enterprise of that warre. Spria. For when he should presently have gone on still, and entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA; (cities that were cuer enemies vnto the PARTHIANS) he tracted time, and gaue them leasure to prepare to encounter his force when he should come against them. Againe, they found great fault with him for spending of his time when he lay in Syria, seeming rather to leade a merchantslife, than a chiefetaines. For he neuer faw his armie, nortrained them out to any martiall muted by exercife, but fell to counting the reuenew of the cities, and was many dayes bufily occupied craffus. weyghing of the gold and filuer in the temple of the goddesse Hierapolis. And worse then that: he sent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furnish him with a certain number of men of warre, and then he would discharge them for a summe of money. All these things made him to be bothill spoken of and despised of enery bodie. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddesse Hierapolis, whom some suppose to be Venns, other say Inno and others, that she is the mother and chiefe cause that gineth beginning of moisture to cuerie thing that commeth foorth and hath a being, and taught men the originall cause also of cucrie good thing. For as Crasus the father, and sonne both, were coming our of the temple, Crasus the yonger fell first on his face, and the father afterwards vpon his sonne. Likewise as he was gathering his garisons together, calling them out of the cities into the field, there came Ambassa crasuil dours vnto him from Arfaces king of the PARTHIANS: who delivered him their message in luste. few words, and told him, that if this armie he brought came from the ROMAINES to make This name warre with their maister, then that he would have no peace nor friendship with them, but of different would make mortall warres against them. Further, if it were (as he had heard say) that Craf- des, was fus against the peoples minds of Rome, for his owne conetous desire, and peculiar profite commons. was come in a iolity to make warre with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their countrey: then in that respect Arsaces would deale more fauourably, in consideration of Crassus yeares, and thian. was contented also to suffer his mento depart with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be ambassa in prison, then in garrison within his cities. Thereto Grassus couragiously answered, that he Parihians would make them answer in the citie of SELEVCIA. Therewith Vagifes, one of the eldest Am- fention baffadours fell a laughing, and shewing Crassius the palme of his hand, told him thus: Haire will Crassius. fooner grow in the palme of my hand, Crassus, then you will come to Seleveia. In this fortthe Veguin Ambassadours tooke their leaue of Crassus, and returned to their king Hyrodes, telling him he words shew was to prepare for warre. In the meane space, certaine of Crassus souldiers whom he had lest in the palme garrison in the cities of MESOFOTAMIA, having scaped maruellous dangerously and with of his hand, great difficultie, brought him newes of importance, having themselves seene the wonderfull hyrids great campe of the enemies, and their maner of fight in the assaults they made to the cities where Parthiam. they lay in garrison. And, as it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any danger, making things more fearefull and dangerous then they be indeed, they reported that it was vn-

possible by flying to saue themselues, if they did follow in chase: neither to ouertake them also

if they fled. And further, that they had fuch kind of arrowes as would flie swifter then a mans

Castion treasurer vnder warned by the South Sayers of facceffe. Artabazes king of Ar cameto

> Wonderfull siznes and

eye could discerne them, and would pierce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who shot them. Besides, for the horsemens weapons they vsed, that they were such, as no armour could possibly hold out: and their armours on the other side made of such a temperand mettall, as no force of anything could pierce them through, The Romaines hearing these newes, fell from their former stoutnesse and courage, being borne in hand before, that the PAR-THIAN'S differed nothing at all from the ARMENIAN'S and CAPPADOCIANS, who Lucultus had ouercome and spoiled so. oft, that he was wearie with all and they had already made account, that their greatest paines in this warre, was but the tedionsnesses of the iourney they had to make, and the trouble they should have to follow those ment hat would not abide them. But then contrary to expectation, they looked to come to stroakes, & to be lustily fought withal. Herupon, diverse Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom Cassius the treafurer was one) aduised Crassus to stay, and to deliberate in councel to know whether he were best togo on. orto remaine where he was. The foothfayers themselnes did partly let Crassus vnderstand, that the gods shewed no good tokens in all their facrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But Graffus gave no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only liftned to them that counselled him to make haste. Yet Crassus chiefest comfort and incouragement. was of Artabazes king of ARMENIA, who came to his camp with fix thousand horse, which were but only the kings corner and gard. Againe, he promifed him other tenthousand horsemen all armed and barbed, and thirtie thousand footmen which he kept continually in pay, and counselled Crassia enter the Parthian's countrey upon Armeniae's side: because his campe shold not onely have plenty of victuals, which he would fend him out of his countrey, but for that he should also march in more safety, having a countrey full of mountaines and woods before him, very ill for horsemen, which was the only strength and force of the PARTHIANS. Crassus coldly thanked Artabazes for his good will, and all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his journey through MESOPOTAMIA, where he had left many good fouldiers of the Romaines. And thus departed the king of Armenia from him. But now as Craffus was passing his armie vpon the bridge he had made ouer the river of Euphrates, there fel out sudden ftrange and terrible crackes of thunder, with fearefull flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: morcouer, out of a great blacke cloud came a wonderfull fforme and tempest of wind vponthe bridge, that the maruellous force thereof ouerthrew a great part of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Befides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twife stricken with two greatthunder-claps. One of his great horse in like case, being braucly furnished and fer out, tooke the bit in his teeth, leapt into the river with the rider on his backe, who were both drowned, and neuer feeneafter. They fay also, that the first Eagle and ensigne that was to betaken vp when they marched, turned backe of it selfe, without any hands layd vpon it. Further it fortuned that as they were distributing the victuals vnto the fouldiers, after they had all paffed ouer the bridge, the first thing that was given them, was falt and water lintels. Which the ROMAINES take for a token of death and mourning, because they vse it at the funerals of the dead. After all this, when Crassus was exhorting his fouldiers, a word scaped his mouth that troubled the armie maruellously. For he told them, that he had broken the bridge which he had made ouer the riuer Euphrates, of purpose, because there should not a man of them returne backe again. Where indeed when he had seene that they took this word in ill part, he should have called it in againe, or have declared his meaning, seeing his men so amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was fo willfull. In the end he made ordinarie facrifice for the purging of his armie: and when the Soothfayer gaue him the intrailes of the beaft that was facrificed, they fell out of his hands. Crassus perceiuing that the standers by were troubled withall fell a laughing, and told them. You fee what age is: yet shall you not fee my sword fall out of my hand. So having ended his facrifice, he began to march forward into the countrey by the rivers fide, with feuen legions of footmen, and little lacke of foure thousand horse, and in manner as many shot and slings lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his scoutes that had viewed the country, and told him there was not an enemie to be seene in the field, howbeit that they had found the tracke of a maruellous number of horse, which seemed as if they were returned backe. Then Crassus first of all began to hope well: and his souldiers also they fell to despise the Parthians, thinking certainely that they would not come to battell with them.

Yet Cassius his treasurer euer perswaded him the contrarie, and thought it better for him to refresh his army a little in one of the cities where he had his garrison, vntill such time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or elfe that he would march directly towards SELEVCIA by the riverfide, which lay fit for him to victuall himselfe easily by boats that wold alwaies follow his campe & should be sure besides that the enemies could not enuiron him behind, so that having no way to fet vpon them but before, they should have none advantage of them. Crassus going about then to confult of the matter, there came one Ariannes vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine subtill fellow, which was the greatest mischiefe and euill that fortune could a captaine send to Crassus at that present time; to bring him to vtter ruine and destruction. For there were sine forme of Craffus foldiers that had ferued Pompey before in that country, who knew him very wel. Arabians. and remembred that Pompey had done him great pleasures: whereupon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMAINS. But Ariannes had been laboured at that time by the king of PARTHIAE's Captaines, and was won by them to deceive Crassus, and to entice him all he could, to draw him from the river and the wooddy country, and to bring him into the plaine field, where they might compaffe him in with their horimen, for they meant nothing leffe then to fight with the ROMAINES at the fwords point. This barbarous Captaine Ariannes comming to Craffus, did highly praise and commend Pompey, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent spoken man) and extolled Grassus armie, reprouing him that he came to slowly forward, tracting time in that fort as he did, preparing himselfe as though he had neede of armour crasses and weapon, and not of feet and hands fivift & ready against the enemies : who for the chiefest of the) had of long time occupied the selues to flie with their best moueables, towards the desarts of Scythia & Hyrcania. Therfore if you determine (faid he) to fight, it were good you made hast to meet them, before the king have gathered all his power together. For now you have but Surena and Syllaces, two of his Lieutenants against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you, that you follow him not : & for the king himself, be, bold he meaneth not to trouble you, But he sillates, lyed in all. For king Hyrodes had divided his army in two parts at the first, wher of himself tooke Aspaces the one, and went to spoile the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king ArtabaZes; and with Lieute. the other he lent Surena against the Romaines, not for any contempt he had of Crassus (for it was not likely he would disdaine to come to battell with him, being one of the chiefest nobleme Surena fent of Rome, and to thinke it more honourable to make war with king Artaba Zes in Armenia) but Graffie. I thinke rather he did it of purpose to avoide the greater danger, and to keepe farre off, that he might with safety see what would happen, and therefore sent Surena before to hazard battell. and to turne the ROMAINE's backe againe. For Surena was no meane man, but the fecond person of PARTHIA next vnto the king in riches, reputation, valour and experience in wars, the chiefest of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution, no man like him. Surena when he did what he but remode into the countrey onely with his houshold, had a thousand camels to cary his sump- was. ters, and 200 coaches of Curtifans, a thousand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many surenaes mo befides lightly armed: fo that his whole traine and court made about 10000 horse. Further, traine, by the tenure of that land he had by fuccession from his ancestors, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the royall crowne or diadem vpon the kings head. Moreover, he had restored king Hyrodes that then reigned, to his crowne, who had been before driven out of his realme: and had won him the great citie of SELEVCIA, him felfe being the first man that scaled the wals, and ouerthrew them with his owne hands that refifted him. And though he was vnderthirty yeares of age, yet they counted him a wife man, as well for his counfel as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame Crassus: who through his rashnesse and your man, folly at the first, & afterwards for very feare & timorousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policie or deceit. Now this barbarous cap- wife. taine Ariannes having then brought Craffus to beleeve all that he faid, and drawne him by perswasion from the river of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plain country, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sands where their feet sunke deep, and into defert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could differn by eye, for hat not only extreame thirst, and miserable way maruelously amazed the ROMAINS, but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their fight vpon: that aboue all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For neither farre nor neere any sight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, graffe, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an Ccc 4

Amba [age vnte Craf.

endlesse sea of desert sands on every side round about their campe. Then began they to suspect that they were betrayed. Againe, when newes came that Artabazes king of ARMENIA, was kept driabages in his countrey with a great warre king Hyrodes made vpon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towards ARME-NIA, that both their armies being ioyned together, they might the better fight with king Hyrodes. if not, that he would alwaies keepe the wooddy countrie, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountaines: Crassus was so wilfull, as he would write no answer to it, but angerly told the messenger, that he had no leasure then to hearken to the Armenians, but that afterwards he would be reuenged wel enough of Artabazes treason. Cassius his treasurer was much offended with Crassus for his answer: howbeit perceiuing he could doe no good with him, and that he tooke enery thing in ill part, he faid vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking Ariannes this Captaine of the Armenians aside, he rebuked him roundly, and sayd : O thou wretch, what curfed deuill hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched and charmed Crasus: that thou hast made him bring his army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captain of theeues, then for a Generall and Consull of the ROMAINES! Ariannes being craftie and subtill, speaking gently vnto Callins, did comfort him, and prayed him to have patience; and going and coming by the bands, seeming to helpe the souldiers, he told them merily: O my fellowes, I beleeue you thinke to march through the countrey of NAPLES, and looke to meet with your pleafant springs, goodly groues of wood, your naturall baths, and the good Innes round about to refresh you, and do not remember that you passe through the deserts of ARABIA and Assy-RIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMAINES a while :but afterwards he dislodged betimes, before he was openly knowne for a traytour, and yet not without Crassus privity, whom he bare in hand, that he would goe fet fome broile and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that Crassus the very same day came out of his tent not in his coate armour ofscarlet, (as the manner was of the ROMAINE Generals) but in a blacke coate : howbeit, remembring himselfe, he straight changed it againe. It is said moreouer, that the ensigne-bearers when they should march away, had much ado to plucke their ensignes out of the ground, they stucke so fast, But Crassus scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to march forward, compelling the footmen to go as fast as the horsemen, till a few of their skouts came in, whom they had fent to discouer: who brought newes how the enemies had slaine their fellowes, and what ado they had themselues to scape with life, and that they were a maruellous great armic, and wel appointed to giue them battell. This newes made all the campe afraid, but Crassus felf more then the rest, so as he beganto set his men in battell ray, being for hast in manner besides himselfe. At the first following Cassius mind, he set his ranks wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, agood way afunder one from another, because he would take in as much of the plaineas he could, to keepe the enemics from compassing them in, and so divided the horsmen into the wings. Yet afterwards he changed his mind againe, and straighted the battell of his footmen, fashioning it like a bricke, more long then broad, making a front and shewing their faces enery way. For there were twelue cohorts or enlignes imbattelled on either fide, and by enery cohort a company of horse, because there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be alike defended. Then he gaue Casius the leading of one wing, his sonne Publius Crassus the other, and himselfe led the battell in the middest. In this order they marched forward, till he came to a little brooke called Balissus, where there was no great store of water, but yet happily lighted on for the soldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painfull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most part of Crassus Captaines thought best to campe all night, that they might in the meane time find meanes to know their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But Crassus yeelding to his sons and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to march on with his armie, and to set vpon the enemies presently: commanded, that fuch as would cate, should eate standing, keeping their rankes. Yet on the sudaine, before this commandement could runne through the whole armie, he commanded them against to march, not faire and foftly, as when they go to give battell, but with speed, till they spied the enemies, who feemed not to the Romains at the first to be so great a number, neither so brauely armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, Surena had of purpose hid them, with certaine troupes he sent before; and to hide their bright armour, he had cast Surenaes cloakes and beafts skins ouer them, but when both the armies approached neare the one to the for the biother, and that the figne to give charge was lift up in the aire first they filled the field with a ding of his dreadful noise to heare. For the PARTHIAN'S do not encourage their men to fight with y found craffic bat. of a horne, neither with trumpets nor howboies, but with great kettle drums hollow within, and sell within the about them they hang litle bels and copper rings, and with them they all make a noise enery Parthiams, where together ; and it is like a dead found, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of thias a wild beaft, and a feareful noise as if it thundred, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that kinds foonest moueth the heart and spirit of any man, and maketh him soonest beside himselfe. The drums, ROMAINES being put in feare with this dead found the PARTHIAN'S straight threw the cloaths and courrings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempred fleele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with steele & copper. And Surena alfo, Generall of the PARTHIANS, who was a goodly personage, and as valiant as any The terson other in all his host, though his beauty somewhat effeminate, injudgement shewed small like- of surena, lihood of any fuch courage: for he painted his face, and ware his haire after the fashion of the Generallof MEDES, contrarie to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their haire grow after ŷ fashion of an design the TARTARES, without combing or tricking of them, to appeare more terrible to their enemies. bed. The Parthians at the first thought to have set you the Romaines with their pikes, to see if they could breake their first ranks. But when they drew neare, & faw the depth of the ROMAIN s battel standing close together, firmly keeping their ranks, the they gaue backe, making as though they sted, and dispersed themselves. But the Romain Es maruelled when they found it contraric, and that it was but a deuice to entiron them on enery fide. Whereupon Crassus commanded his shot and light armed men to affaile the the which they did: but they went not far they were fo beaten in with arrowes and driven to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both seared and troubled the Romaines, when they saw the vehemencie and great force of the enemies shot, which brake their armors, and ran through any thing they hit, were it neuer so hard or soft. The PARTHIANS thus still drawing backe, shot all together on every fide, not aforchand, but at adventure for the battel of the Romaines ftood fo nearetoge- thin ther, as if they would, they could not miffe the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great fought ftrength & had big, ftrong bowes, which fent the arrows fro them with a wonderfull force. The returns. Romans by means of these bows were in hard state. For if they kept their ranks, they were grieuoully wounded again, if they left the, and fought to run vpon the Parthians to fight at land with them, they faw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harmethemfelues. For as fast as the Romaines came vponthem, so fast did the Parinians flie from them, and yet in flying continued fill their flooting: which no nation but the Scy- The maner THIAN'S could better do then they, being a matter indeed most greatly to their advantage. For thian fight by their flight they best do saue themselues, and fighting still, they therby shun the shame of that their flying. The ROMAINE's still defended themselves, and held it out so long as they had any hope that the PARTHIANS would leave fighting when they had fpent their arrowes, or would Toyne battell with them. But after they understood that there were a great number of camels loden with quivers ful of arrows, where the first that had bestowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiuers: then Craffus seeing no end of their shot, began to faint, and sent to Publius his fon, willing him in any case to charge vponthe enemies, and to give an onset, before they were compaffed in on enery fide. For it was on Publius fide, that one of the wings of the enemies battell was nearest vnto them, and where they rode vp and down to compasse them behind. Wherupon Crasins sonne taking thirteene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thousand were of the men of armes whom Inlins C. efar fent) and fine hundred fhot, with eight enfignes of footmen having targets, most neare to the place where himselfe then was: he put them out in breadth, that wheeling about they might gine a charge vpon them that rode vp and downe. But they feeing him coming, turned straight their horseand fled, either because they met in a marish, or elicof purpose to beguile this young Crassus, inticing him thereby as far from his father as they could. Publius Crasius seeing them she cryed out, These men will not abide vs. & so spur-red on for life after the so did Censorinus & Megabacchus with him (the onea Senator of Roma Censorinus. a very eloquent man, the other a front couragious valiant man of war) both of them Crassius well and Mega approved friends, and in maner of his own yeres. Now the horsemen of the Romain as being backer.

The mife vable fight of the Romaines against the Parthians.

trained out thus to the chase, their footmen also would not abide behind, nor shew themselves to haue leffe hope, joy and courage, then their horsemen had. For they thought all had beene won, and that there was no more to doe, but to follow the chase: till they were gone far from the armie, and then they found the deceipt. For the horsemen that fled before them, suddenly turned againe, and a number of others besides came and set vponthem. Whervpon they staved thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were so few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. How beit they fet out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, & made their light horsemen wheele round about them, keeping no order at all: who galloping vp and downe the plaine, whirled vp the fand hils from the bottome with their horse feet, which raised fuch a wonderfull dust, that the Romaine s. could scarce see or speake one to another. For they being shut vp into a little roome, and standing close one to another, were fore wounded with the PARTHIANS arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting themselues vpon the sand, they brake their arrowes sticking in them. Againe, striuing by force to plucke out the forked arrow heads that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and finewes, thereby they opened their wounds wider, and fo cast themselues away. Many of them died thus miserably martyred: and such as died not, were not able to defend themselves. Then when Publius Crassus prayed and belought them to charge the men at armes with the barbed horse, they shewed him their hands fast nailed to the targets with arrows, and their feet likewise shot through and nailed to the ground: so as they could neither flie nor yet defend themselues. Thereupon himselse encouraging his horsemen, went and gaue charge, and did valiantly set vpon the enemics, but it was withtoo great disaduantage. both for offence, and also for defence. For himselfe and his men with weake and light staues. brake vpon them that were armed with curaces of steele, or stiffe leather tackes. And the Par-THIAN'S in contrary maner with mighty strong pikes gaue charge vpon these GAVLES, which were either vnarmed, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom Crasus most trufled, having done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they received the PARTHIANS pikes in their hands, and tooke them about the middles, and threw them off their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not stirre for the weight of their harnesse; and there were diuerle of them also that lighting from their horse, lay vnder their enemies horse bellies, and thrust their swords into them. Their horse flinging and bounding in the airc for very painethrew their masters vnder feete, and their enemies one vpon another, and in the end fell dead among them. Morcouer, extreame heate and thirst did maruellously comber the GAVLES, who were vied to abide neither of both: and the most part of their horse were slaine, charging with all their power vpon the menat armes of the PARTHIANS, and so ranne themselves in vpon the points of their pikes. At the length, they were driven to retire towards their footmen, & Publius Crasus among them, who was very ill by reason of the wounds he had received. And seeing a fand hill by chance not farre from them, they went thither, and fetting their horse in the middest of it, compassed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defend themselues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the country being plain, they in the foremost ranckes did somewhat couer them behind, but they that were behind, standing higher then they that stood foremost (by reason of the nature of the hil that was highest in the middest (could by no meanes saue themselves, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miseries and misfortune, that must needs die without renenge, or declaration of their valiancie. At that present time there were two Grecians about Publius Crasus, Hieronymus, and Nichomachus, who dwelt in those quarters, in the citie of CARRES: they both counselled Publius Crassus to steale away with them, and to slie to a citie called Is chars, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the Romaine's part. But Publica answered them, that there was no death so cruel as could make him for sake them that died for his sake. When he had fo faid, wishing them to faue themselues, he embraced them, and tooke his leaue of them: and being very fore hurt with the shot of an arrow through one of his hands, commanded one of his gentlemento thrust him through with a sword, and so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported Cenforinus did the like. But Megabacchus flue himfelfe with his owne hands, and lo did the most part of the gentlementhat were of that company. And for those that were left aliue, the PARTHIAN'S got up the fand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their speares and pikes, and tooke but five hundred prisoners. After that, they aroke off Publius Craffus

Carres a cisy of Alejopotamia, Ifchnes, a

> The death of Publius Crassus

Craffus head, and thereupon returned straight to set vpon his father Craffus, who was then in this ftate, crassus the father, after he had willed his son to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and purfued the chase: and perceiving also that they that remained in their great battell, did not preafle vpo him so neare as they did before, because that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue he then began to be lively again, and keeping his menclose, retired with them the best he could by a hils side, looking ever that his sonne would not be long before that he returned from the chase. But Publins seeing himselfe in danger. had fent divers mellengers to his father, to advertise him of his distresse, whom the PARTHI-ANS intercepted and flue by the way; and the last messengers he sent, scaping very hardly, brought Craffus newes, that his fonne was but cast way, if he did not presently aid him, and that with a great power. These newes were grieuous to Crassus in two respects; first for the seare he had feeing himfelfein danger to lofe all and fecondly, for the vehement defire he had to go to his fons helpe. Thus he faw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined togo with all his power to the refeue of his fonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his fons ouerthrow, with a more dreadfull noise and cry of victorie, then euer before and thereupon their deadly founding drummes filled the airc with their wonderfull noife. The Ro-MAINES then looked itraight for a hot alarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought Publius Craffus head upon the point of a launce, comming necre to the ROMAINES, shewed them his head, and asked them in derifion, if they knew what house he was of and who were his parents; for it is not likely (faid they) that fo noble and valiant a yong man, should be the fon of so cowardly a father, as Crassias. The fight of Publius Crassus head killed the Romaine's hearts more then any other danger they had been in at any time in all the battell. For it did not fet their hearts on fire as it should have done, with anger, and defire of revenge; but farotherwise, made them quake for feare & stroke them stark dead to behold it. Yet Crasus selfe shewed greater courage in this misfortune, then he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by euery band he cried out a- bis soldloud: The griefe and forrow of this lofte (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine onely: but the bis heart noble fuccesse & honor of Rom E remaineth still vnuincible, so long as you are yet living. Now was full of if you pitie my losse of so noble and valiant a son, my good souldiers, let me intreat you to turne fortime. your forrow into furicimake them dearely buy the joy they have gotten: be revenged of their crueltic, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why, afpiring minds fometime must needs 32 fustaine losse. Lucullus ouercame not Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, but their bloud did pay for " it. Our ancestors in old time lost athousand ships, yea in ITALIE divers armies and Chiefetaines "> for the conquest of Sicilia eyet for all the losse of them, at the length they were victorious oucr them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of Rome came not to that " greatnesse it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble " and aduerfitie, neuer yeelding or gining place vnto any danger. Craffus vfing these perswafions to encourage his fouldiers for refolution, found that all his words wrought none effect; but contrarily, after he had commanded them to give the shoute of battell, he plainely faw their hearts were done, for that their shout rose but faint, and not al alike. The PARTHIAN'S on the other side their shout was great, and lustily they rang it out. Now when they came to joyne, the PARTHI-ANS archers on horsebacke compassing in the Romaines vpon the wings, shot an infinite number of arrowes at their fides. But their men at armes giving charge vpo the front of the Ro-MAINES battel with their great lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow roome, a few excepted, that valiantly, and in desperate manner ran in among them, as men rather desiring so to die, then to be flaine with their arrowes, where they could doe the PARTHIANS almost no hurt at all. So were they foone dispatcht, with the great lances that ranne them through, head, wood and all, with fuch a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, faying: they would give Craffus that nightes respit, to lament and bewaile his sonnes death; vnlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his fafety to come and offer himfelf to king Arfaces mercy, then to tarry to be brought vnto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the Ro-MAINES, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The Romaines on the other fide had a maruellous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dreffe their wounded menthat died in miserable pain; but every man bewailed his hard fortune, when they faw not one of them could escape, if they tarried till the morning. On the other side, to depart in

To departed. Surena hearing this, was glad he had them at fuch advantage, where he might be-

fiege them. The next day he brought all his armie before the citie of CARRES. There the PAR-

Governor of Carres in

the night through that defert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Because, to carie them fo away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them so behind, their pitifull cries would give the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now though they all thought Crasus the only author of their miserie, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But Crassus went aside without light, and layd him downe with his head couered; because he would fee no man, shewing thereby the common fort an example of vnstable fortune : and the wisemen, agood learning to know the fruits of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to command fo many thousand men, but thought (as a man would fay) himselfe the meanest of all other, and one that possess nothing, because he was accounted inferior vnto two persons onely, Pompey and Casar, Notwithstanding Octavius one of his Chieferaines, and Cassius the Treasurer, made him rise, and sought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so ouercome with forrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor spirit in him, they themselves called the Captaines and Centurions together, and fate in councell for their departure, and so agreed that there was no longer tarying for them. Thus of their owne authoritie at the first they made the armie march away without any found of trumpet or other noise. But immediatly after, they that were left hurt and sicke, and could not follow, seeing the campe remoue, fell a crying out and tormenting themselues in such fort, that they filled the whole campe with forrow, and put them out of all order with the great moane and loud lamentation: so as the foremost ranke that first dislodged, fell into a maruellous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and fet vpon them. Then turning ofte and fetting themselves in batell ray, one while loading their beasts with the wounded men, another while valoading them againe, they were left behind, having three hundred horsemen that scaped, who came about midnight to the city of CARRES. Ignatius their Captaine called to the watch on the wals, and spake in the Latinetongue. Who answering, he willed them to tell Coponius, Gouernor of the towne, that Crasus had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and faid no more, neither told he what he was: but rode on stil, til he came to the bridge which Crasus had made ouer Euphrates. Yet this word Ignatius gaucto the watch to tell Coponius, served Crasfus turne very well. For Coponius thought by this great hast of his, and the short confused speech he made, passing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight armed his fouldiers, and understanding that Crassus was returning backe, went to meet him, and brought him and his armie into the citie of Carres. The Parthians knew wel inough of the remouing of the Romaine's campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their campe where they lay, flue all that were left behind, which were aboue foure thousand men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many stragglers in the plaine. Among them there was Barguntinus, one of Crassus Lieuctenants, who stayed in the night out of the army with fourewhole enfignes, and having loft his way, got a hill, wherethe PARTHIAN'S befieged him, flue him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himselfe yet twentie of them onely cscaped, who with their swords drawne in their hands, running forwards with their heads, thrust in among the thickest of the PARTHIANS, They wondering at their desperation, opened of themselues, and suffered them to march on towards the city of CARRES. In the meane time falsenewes was brought to Surena, how Crasus with al the chiefest men of his host was sled, and that the great number that were received into the citie of Car-RES were men of all forts gathered together, and not a man of any qualitie or estimation. Surena therevpon thinking he had loft the honour of his victorie, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would know the truth, that he might either besiege the citie of CARRES, or pursue after Crassisent one of his interpreters to the wals of the citie, charging him to call for Crassus or Cassius, and to tell them that Surena would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commanded. Word was brought to Crassus, & he accepted parlence. Shortly after also, thither came certaine soldiers of the Arabian's from the campe of the Parthians, who knew Crassus and Cassius very well by fight, having divers times feen them in their campe before the battel. These ARABIANS seeing Callius vpon the wals, told him, that Surena was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go fafely, as his mafters good friends, so that they would surrender MESOPOTAMIA into the king of PARTHIAMS hands; and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather then to be enforced vnto it by extreamitie. Cassius thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day and place, where Crassus and Surena

THIAN'S maruelloufly remited the ROMAINES, and told them, they must deliner them Crasus and Callius bound hands and feete, if they would have any grace or peace with them. The Ro-MAINES were maruellously offended that they were thus deceived, and told crassus that it was no boote any longer to look for aide of the ARMBNIANS, but prefently to flie:howbeit to keep in secret in any wise from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet Crassus selfhad told it to Andromachus the veriest traitor & villaine in all the city, whom he had shue treas chosen to be his guide. This traitor Andromachus aduertised the enemies in euery point, of their Crassus purpose and departure. But because the Parthians do neuer vse to fight in the night, and that it was a hard matter to bring them to it; and againe that Crasus departed in the night time: An- The Parish dromachus was afraid lest the Romain's would win such ground before the Parthian's, as they and one could not possibly ouertake them the next day. Therfore of purpose he sometime brought them nicht. one way, other while another way, and at the last, brought them into a great bogge or marish, ful of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needs makes many turnes, and returnes before they could get out againc, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, fome in the armie began to mistrust, that Andromachus meant no good, to turne and tosse them vp and downe in that sort, and therfore would follow him no more: infomuch as Cassius among others, returned towards the citie of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARADI-ANS) counselled him to tarie there till the Moone were out of the figne of Scorpio, he answered them: I feare the figne of Sagitarie more. So as foone as he could, he tooke his way towards canius Assyria with flue hundred horsemen. And other of the army also having faithful guides, reco-gentle and ucred a country of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retired into a fafe place before the break for in the fraights. of day: and they were about five hundred men, whom offaulus a noble man had in charge, But the day stole upon Crassus, hunting vp and down yet in the marish, in those ill fauored places, into the which Andromachus that traitor had of purpose brought him, having with him 4 ensignes of footmen all with targets, and very few horimen, and fine fergeants that caried the axes and rods before him, with whom, with much ado and great labour he got into the right way when the enemies were almost upon him, and that he was within twelve furlongs of ioyning with Octavius. There in hast he had gotten a hill, which was not so steep for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hils were, called Sinnaces, yet vnder them, & joyning to them by a long hil that runneth along the plaine, fo as Octavius plainely faw the danger Crasus was in. Therupon he first ran downe the hils with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, faying they were cowards if they should tarie behind. At their comming they gaue such a hote onfet vpon the PARTHIANS, that they made them give backe from that hill: and compassing Craffus in the middest of them, covering him round with their targets, they spake nobly, that never The world; arrow of the PARTHIANS, should touch the body of their General, before they were slaine one Romaine after another, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Herupon Surena per- soldiers to ceiuing the Parthian's were not so couragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came their chief vponthem, and that the ROMAINES did once recouer the high mountaines, they could neuer possibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile Crassus once more by this de- another

that the king of PARTHIA would have no mortal war with the Romaines; but far otherwife:

he rather defired their friendship, by shewing them some notable fauour, as to vie Crasus very

courteoully, And to give colour to this bruite, he called his men from fight, and going himself

in person towards crassus, with the chiefest of the nobilitie of his hoast, in quiet maner, his bow

vnbent, he held out his right hand, and called crassus to talke with him of peace, and said vnto

to let them go fafely where they would. Althe Romaines besides Crassus were glad of Surenaes

words. But Crassus that had been deceived before by their crasty fetches & devices, considering

also no cause apparant to make them change thus suddenly, wold not harken to it, but first confulted with his friends. Howbeit the foldiers they crycdout on him to go, and fel at words with

nice. He let certain prisoners go of purpose, before whom he made his men giue out this speech fraiagens

him: Though the Romaine's had felt the force and power of their king, it was against his will, Surera for he could do no leffe but defend himfelf; how beit that now he was very willing and defirous to make them tast of his mercy and elemencie, and was contented to make peace with them, and crasses

Surende craft to

oftanius Crassus

berefthe

Caine.

him, faying, that he cared not though they were all flaine, and that himselfe had not the heart only to come downe and talke with the enemies that were ynarmed. Crassus proued first to pacifie them by faire meanes, perswading them to have a little patience but till night, which was at hand, and then they might fafely depart at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines & streight passages, where their enemies could not follow them : and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint hearted; nor to despaire of their safety, seeing they were so neare it. But in the end Crassus perceiuing they fell to mutinie, and beating of their harnesse, did threaten him if he went not: fearing then they wold do him fome villanie, went towards the enemie, and comming backe a litle; faid only these words: O Octavius, and you Petronius, with al you ROMAINE gentlementhat haue charge in this armie, you all see now how against my wil mainer go. I am inforced to go to the place I would not, and can witnesse with me, how I am driven with shame and force; yet I pray you, if your fortunes be to escape this danger, that ye will report wherefoeuer you come, that Craffus was flaine, not deliuered vp by his owne fouldiers into the hands of the barbarous people, as I am, but deceived by the fraud and subtiltie of his enemies. cc Octavius would not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with Crassus: but Crassus fent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHIANS VIITO CTASUS WETE TWO mongrell Grecians, who difmounting from their horse, saluted him, and prayed him to send some of his men before, and Surena would shew them, that both himselfe and his traine came vnarmed towards him. Grassus thereto made him answer, that if he had made any account of his life, he wold not have put himselfe into their hands. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before called the Roscians, to know what number of men, and to what end they met so many togeher. These two brethren came no sooner to Surena, but they were staid, and himselfe in the meanctime kept on his way a horsebacke, with the noblest men of his armie. Now when Surena came neare to Crasus: Why, how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? a Consull and Lieutenane generall of Rome on foot, and we on horsebacks. Therwithall he straight commanded one of his men to bring him a horse. Crassus answered Surena againe: In that they neither of both offended, following the vse and maner of their countrey, when any meeting is made for treatie of peace. Surena replied: As for the treatic of peace, that was already agreed upon between the king Hyrodes and the ROMAINES; howbeit that they were to goe to the river, and there to fet downe thearticles in writing: for you Romain es (said he) do not greatly remember the capitulations you have agreed vpon. With those words he gave him his right hand. As Crassus was sending for a horse; You shal not need, saith Surena; for look, the king doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steele saddle richly gilt, vpon the which his gentlemen mounted Crassis immediatly, and following him behind lashed his horseto make him runne the swifter. Ottavian sceing that, first laid hand on the bridle, then Petronius Colonell of a thousand footmen; and after them, all the rest of the Romaine's also gathered about Crassus to stay the horse, and totake him from them by forcethat pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at another at the first very angrily, and at the last felto blowes. Then Octavius drew out his sword, and slue one of the barbarous noblemens horsekeepers: and another came behind him and slue Octavius. Petrowins had no target, and receiving a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurt: and on the other fide came Pomaxathres, one of the PARTHIANS, and flue Graffus. Some fay notwithstanding that Pomaxathres slue him not, but another; yet that he cut off his head and his hand after he fel dead to the ground. But all these reports are rather coniectures, the any certaintie. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting for Crasus, and other faued themseleues by flying to the hil. The Parthians followed them, and told the that Crassus had paid the paine he had deserved, and for the rest, that Surena bad them come downe with fafetie. Then some of them yeelded to their enimies, and other dispersed themselues when night came, and of them very few escaped with life. Others being followed & pursued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the fword. So asit is thought there were flaine in this ouerthrow abouttwentie thousand men, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Surena had now sent Crassus head and his hand vnto Hyrodes the king his maister, into ARMENIA, and gaue out a bruite as farre as the city of Selevela, that he brought Crasus aliue, and that he had prepared a fight to laugh at, which he called his triumph. Among the ROMAIN prisoners, there was one called Cains Pacianus who was very like Graffus: him they clothed in womans apparell of the PARTHIANS, and had taught him to answer, when any called him Crassus, or Lord captain. Him they put a horseback, and had many trumpets before him, and Sergeants vpon Camels backes, that caried axes before him, and bundels of rods, and many purses tied to the bundels of rods, and Romaines heads newly cut offtied to the axes: and after him followed all the strumpets and women minitrels of Selevcia, who went finging of fongs of mockerie and derifion of Crassas womannish cowardlinesse. Now for these open shewes, every one might see them: but besides that fight, Suwardinene. Now for there open newes, energy one might be them. Dendes that light, Sm. Arifides bookes of ritena having called the Senate of SELEVEIA together, layd before them Arifides bookes of ribookes inbaldrie, intituled The Milefians, which was no fable, for they were found in a Romains fardle similed, she or truffe called Ruffins. This gaue Surena great cause to scorne and despise the behauiour of the Milesians ROMAINES, which was fo far out of order, that even in the warres they could not refraine from doing euill, and from the reading of such vile bookes. Then the Senators of SELEVEIA found that Alope was a wife man, who faid, that enery man caried a fack on his necke, and that they put Alope wife other mens faults at the fackes mouth, and their owne towards the bottome of the facke: when faring. they confidered that Surena had put the booke of the laciniousnesse of the MILBSIANS at the fackes mouth, and a long tale of the PARTHIANS vaine pleasures and delights in the bottome of the facke, carying fuch a number of carts loden with naughty packes in his armie, as he did, which seemed an army of ermits and field-mice. For in the voward and foremost rankes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely lances, pikes, bowes, and horse; but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, instruments of musicke, dauncing, finging, ban- son of suqueting, and rioting all night with curtizans. I will not denie but Ruftins deserved blame: but remaistrup yet withall, I fay, that the PARTHIANS were shamelesse to reproue these bookes of the vanicies of the MILESIANS, confidering that many of their kings, and of the royall bloud of the arfacides, were borne of the Ion IAN and MILESIAN curtizans. Things paffing thus in this fort, king Hyrodes had made peace and league with Artabazes king of ARMENIA, who gave his fifter in mariage vnto Pacorus, king Hyrodes sonne, and made great feasts one to another: in the which were many Greeke verses sung, Hyrodes selfe understanding well the Greeketong, and Artabazes was fo perfect init, that he himfelfe made certaine tragedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are, yet extant at this day. The fame night Craffus head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, Ia- craffus fona common player of enterludes (borne in the citie of THALLES came before the king, and bead recited a place of the tragedie of the BACCHANTES of Euripides, telling of the misfortune of A- brought to gaue, who strak off his sons head. And as enery man took great pleasure to heare him, syllaces coming into the hall, after his humble duty first done to the king, deliuered him Crasus head before them al. The PARTHIANS feeing that, fel a clapping of their hands, and made an outcrie for ioy. The gentlemen Vihers by the kings commandement did fet Syllaces at the table. Infor casting off his apparell representing Pentheus person, gaue it to another player to put it on him; and counterfeiting the BACCHANTES possest with furie, began to rehearse these verses, with a gesture tune and voice of a man mad and beside himselse:

Behold, we from the forrest bring a stag now newly staine, A worthis bootie and reward beseeming well our paine.

This maruelloufly grudged the companie, and specially singing these verses afterwards, where the Chorus both asked and answered himselfe:

who strake this stag? None else but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the table with others, rose straight, and went and took the head himselfe, to whom of right it belonged to say those words, and not vnto the player that fpake them. King Hyrades liked this fport maruelloufly, and rewarded Pomarathres according to the manner of the countrey in such a case: and to lason he also gaue atalent. Such was the successe of Crassius enterprise and voyage, much like vnto the end of see therea tragedie. But afterwards Hyrodes crucltie, and Surenas foule periurie and craft, were in the end ward a tragedie. But atterwards Hyrodes crucitie, and Surenas some persurte and craft, were inches in filly reuenged vpon them both according to their deferts. For king Hyrodes enuying Surenaes septimie. glorie, put Surenato death. And Hyrodes fell into a disease that became a dropsie, after he had lost The misea. his sonne Pacorus, who was flaine in a battel by the Romain Es. Phraates his second sonne, thin-

king to fet his father forwards gaue him drinke of the inyce of Aconicum. The dropfie received des and the poy son, and one draue the other out of Hyrodes bodie, and set him on foot againe. Phraates perceiuing his father to amend vpon it, to make short worke, with

his owne hands strangled him.

Hyrodes

by his fore,

THE COMPARISON OF Crassus with Nicias:



Micias and Erasjus riches

Vt now to proceed to the comparison: first, Nicias goods were more iustly gotten, and with lesse reproach then Grasus wealth, for otherwise a man cannot giue any great praise to minerall workes, the which are wrought by lewd and ill disposed barbarous fellowes kept in irons. and toiled to deach in vnwholesome and pestilent places. But being compared vnto Grassus buying of confiscate goods at Syllaes hands, and vingentlemanlie bargaines of houses on fire, or in danger thereof, furely Nicias trade will appeare the better way of getting : for as open-

ly did Crassus auow vsury, as tillage. And againe for other faults, where-with Crassus many times was burthened, and which he stoutly denied: as, that he tooke money of men having matters before the Senate at Rome, to winne favour for their fide: and that he preferred matters to the prejudice of the confederates of the Romaines, onely for his private profit; and therfore curried fauor with Ladies, and generally fought to cloke all foule offenders: of all these faults was Micias neuer so much as once suspected. For he to the contrarie, was mocked of enery body, because for searche maintained wicked doers by gifts: which perhaps wold not have becomed Pericles nor Ariftides, and yet was meete for Nicias, who was borne a timorous natured man, and neuer had courage in him. Whereof Lycurgus the Orator did vaunt afterwards to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractors with money: I am glad, said he. that having dealethus long in affaires of the state, it is found I have rather given then taken. And now touching expences, Nicias was thought the better and more civill citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the gods, or in making of publike playes or passimes to recreate the people, But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small part of that Crassus bestowed in an open seast he made at Rome, feasting so many thousands at one time, and did find and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I cannot but wonder at those men, that denie vice to be an inequalitie and disagreement of manners, repugnant in it felf, seeing men may honeftly spend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goods. For Nicias doings in the commonweale he did nothing malicioufly, cruelly, nor vniuftly, neither any thing of felfe-wil or ftomacke, but rather dealt plainely and fimply. For he was deceived by trufting of Alcibiades, and never came to speake before the people, but with great feare, Crassus on the other side was reproued for his vnconstancy and lightnesse, for that he would easily change friends or enemies; and he himselfe denied not, that he came to be Consull the second time by plaine force and crueltie, hauing hired two murtherers to kill Cato and Domitius. And in the affembly the people held for dividing of the provinces, many men were hurt, and foure were flaine in the market place: and more then that, crasus himselfe (which we have forgotten to write in his life) gave one Lucius

Nicias and Cr4ffes acts in the Lucius Annalius fo fore a blow on the face with his fift, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with bloud about his cares. But as Craffus in those things was very fierce and cruell: fo Nicias womanish behauiour on the other side, and faint heart in matters of common wealth, humbling himselfe to the meanest and most vile persons, deserved great reproach. Where Crassus in this respect shewed himselfeassuredly of a noble mind, not contending with men of small account, as with Clean or Hyperbolus, but would give no place to Cafars fame and glorie, not yet to Pompeys three triumphs, but fought to go euen with them in power and authoritie: and had immediatly before exceeded Pompeys power, in the dignitic of Cenfor. For Magistrates: and Go- The duty of uernours of the commonweale, should make themselves to be honoured, but not enuied, killing Governors enuic by the greatnesse of their power. But if it were so that Nicios preferred quietnesse, and the giftates fafetie of his person about all things esse, and that he feared Alcibiades in the pulpit for orations, the LACED AMONIANS in the fort of Pyle, and Perdiceas in THRACIA: he had libertie and scope enough to repose himselfe in the citie of Athens, and might have forborne the dealing in matters, and (as R hetoricians fay) have put a hood of quietnesse vpon his head very well. For doubtlette, concerning his defire to make peace, it was a godly mind in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to passe he did, appeasing all warre: wherein *Crassus* certainly was not to be compared to him, though he had in one dall the provinces to the empire of Rome, that reach vnto the Caipian fea, and to the great Ocean of the INDIAEs. But on the other fide also when one hath to deale with people that can discerne when a man ruleth according to equitic and inflice, and that he feeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he must not then for lack of courage fuffer wicked men to step in his roome, nor give occasion to preferre such to authoritie in the commonweale, as are vnworthiefor that place and countenance: neither should allow fuch any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor truft, as Nicias did: who was the onely occasion that Clean, being before but a pratting Orator, was chosen Generall. Neither do I also commend Crassus, for that in the warre against Spartacus, he made hast to give him battell, more rashly then safely or consideratly. For his ambition spurred him forward, because he was afraid left fombers coming should take from him the glorie of all that he had done in that war:as Mummius tooke from Metellus the honour of the winning of Corinth. But besides all this, Nicias fact therein was without the compaffe of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not refigne his honour and office of Generall to Cleon his enemie, when there was hope of good fucceffe, or little perill: but fearing the danger of the journey, he was contented to faue one, and fearefulnes tooke no care besides for the common wealth. Which Themistocles shewed not, in the time of the warre against the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe Epycides an Orator (a man of no reckening befide his eloquence, and extreamely couetous) from being chosen Generall of ATHENS, lest he veriues. should have overthrowne the common weale: sccretly bribed him with money to leave off his fuire. And Cato also when he saw the state of Rome in greatest danger, sued to be Tribune of the people for the commonwealths sake. And Nicias in contrarie maner, reserving himself to make war with the citic of Minoa, or with the Ile of Cithera, or with the poore vnfortunate Me-LIANS, if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the LACED EMONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the ships, the armie and munition to the charge and gouernment of Cleons rashnesse and small experience of warre, when the necessary of the service required the wifest and most expert captaine. The which he did not, despising the meanes to make him honored but it was a plaine drawing backe, at time of need to defend his countrey. Wherefore afterwards he was compelled against his wilto be General to make wars in Sicilia with the Syracysans: because the people thought he was not so earnest to disswade the journey, for that he thought it not meet for the commonwealth, but because through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make his country lose so good an oportunity to conquer Sicile. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he euer hated war, and did flie from the offices of honor and charge in the comonwealth, his countrimen notwith standing did alwaics chuse him, as the most experienced person and meetest man of the city. Now Crasfus in contrary maner, defiring nothing else but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of another: (for Pompey Metellus, and both the Lucullus were then abroad in the wars) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authority. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his friends that loued him best, thought him (as the comi-

A good man any way elsebut in warres.

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call Poet faith:

Craffus by

commenda-

Kicias end

ble then

His ambition not with standing, and couetous desire of rule, did nothing benefite the ROMAINS. For the ATHENIAN'S fent Nicias to the war against his will: but Crasus led the Romaines thiprioritions ther against their wils. So that the common wealth fell into miserie by the one and the other through the commonwealth was brought into miscrie: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise Nicias, the to blame Crasus. For Nicias like a wife man, and a Captaine of great experience, could neuer formuch as be brought to thinke they should conquer Signatand therefore diffwaded his countrimen from the journey; and would give no place to the vaine hope of the people of ATHENS. But Crassus taking upon him to make wars with the PARTHIANS, as though it had been an casse matter to overcome them, found himself deceived, yet did he aspire to great things. For as Iulius Cafar had conquered and subdued to the imperiall crowne of Rome, all the countries of the West parts, to say, the Gavles, the Germaines, and England : even so did Crassus desire to go towards the East parts to conquer all to the great West sea of the India ANS, and to subdue all the regions of Asia, whereunto Pompey and Lucullus aspired, being both very noble personages, aud such as euer courteously behaued themselves to all men : notwithstanding provoked thereunto with the like defire that Crassia had. For when the charge of the wars in the East parts was affigned to Pompey by decree and order of the people, the Senate vtterly misliked it, and were against it althey could. When newes were brought to Rome that Inlins Calar in battell had ouer thrown and flaine three hundred thou fand GERMAINES, Cate perswading with the Senate, was yet still of this mind, that C.e.far should be deliuered into the hands of his enemies whom he had ouercome, for to be punished therby to turne the sharpe reuenge and wrath of the gods from Rome, vpon him onely that was the vniust breaker of peace. This notwithstanding, the people making none account of Catoes perswasions, made common feafts and proceffions fifteene dayes together, and open facrifices to the gods with great iov through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victorie. How glad may we thinke would they haue beene, and how many daies would they have feafted and facrificed, if Crassus had written from BABYLON of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, Of the HYRCANIANS, of SYSE and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and provinces to the Empire of Rome?

If aman will needes doe wrong and iniuffice,

As Eurypides faith to them that cannot live in peace, and be contented with their owne, he must not then sticke at trifles, (as the razing of a castle of Scandia, or of a citic of Menda, or chasing of the ÆGINETES being out of their own naturall country, and hiding themselues like birds with. out nefts, in any other birds holes) but must dearely sell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne inflice, as athing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of Alexander the Great in his voyage, for the conquests he made in the East, and do dispraise Crassus voyage, do not well to judge of the beginning, by the events and fuccesse of the end. For executing of their offices, Nicias did many noble exploits: for he ouerthrew his enemies in diverse battels, commended and hadalmost taken the city of Syracusa: and fure they cannot justly blame him for all the misfortunes that chanced in the warre of Sicilia, but partly the plague was cause of it, and partly also the enuie of those towards him that remained at ATHENS. Wheras Crassus ranne into so many errors, and committed such foule parts in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no levfure to do him good: fo that I wonder not fo much that his folly was ouercome by the power Stelappin of the Parthians, as that it could our come the good fortune of the Romaines, Sithence Rymainss. it fo falleth out the, that they both came to like vnfortunate end, Nicias prognosticating before what things should happen, by art and rule of divination; and Crassis contrarily distaining to observe any thing: sure it falleth out hard in judgement, which of the two proceeded with most fafery. Yea according to the best approued opinions, a fault committed of seare is more excusable, then of rashnesse and folly to breake any ancient law or custome. For their deaths, Crassus end deferued leaft reproch. For he against his wil did yeeld himselfe, and was neither bound nor

mocked, but onely perfwaded by his friends, and through his enemies fraud and treason most traiterously deceived: where Nicias cowardly and dishonourably hoping to faue his life, trusting to the mercy of his enemies,

made his death more infamous.

The end of Crassus life.

THE LIFE OF

Sertorius.





Eraduenture it is not to be maruelled at if in long processe of time (fortune altering her effects daily) these wordly events fall often out one like another. For whether it be that the variety of things are infinite. fortune hath store of matter aptinough to worke to likenesse: or be it that worldly matters be comprehended within determinate number, of necessitie one thing must fall out like another, since they proceed from one cause, tyed to the same meanes it before did vse. But because men doe delight to compare fuch chancestogether, as they have feene why chanor heard to have happened so like as if they had beene done of pur- fity happen

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pose, the one by example of the other, as that of two men being both named Attis, both one like of them come of noble houses, the one in Syria, and the other in Arcadia, both the one and the other were flame with a wild bore. That of two called Action, the one was torne in pecces by his dogges, the other by his louers. That of the two famous Scipioes, the CARTHA-GINIAN'S Were first ouercome by the one and afterwards viterly destroyed by the other. That the citie of Tao y was first taken by Hercules, for the horses that Laomedon had promised him: the second time by Agamemnon, by meanes of the great woodden horse: and the third time by Charidemus, by meanes of ahorse that fell within the gate, and kept the Troians that they could not shurit in time. And that of two sweete smelling plants, Ios, and Smyrna, two cities were named, the one fignifying the Violet, and the other Myrre: it is supposed that the Poet Homer was borne in the one, and that he died in the other. We may also adde to this example, The sources that amongst the ancient Captaines, the greatest warriers (and that have done the noblest exploits by wit and warlike stratagemes) had but one eye : as Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, bonneant and Sertorius also, whom we write of at this present. Whom we may truly report to have did beenemore chaft than Philip: more faithfull to his friend than Antigonus: more courteous moustains to his encomies than Hannibal: and for wifedome and indgement to give place to none of them, same that but in good fortune to them all. The which, though she shewed her spite more to him, than to his enemies that were all great mensyet in experience he was equall with Metellus, in prowes The praise and valiancie with Pompey, and in fortune with Sylla. So that being banished his country, a stran- of Sertorius ger in another realme, and having to governe a barbarous nation, he not with standing maintained warres for a time, against the power of the Romaine's. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the

The parensage of

Rhea the mother of Sertorius

Serterius 1000 feat. Calluloa

Serterios generall of abcut

GRECIAN Captaines I can liken none so well vnto him as Eumenes the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to command, both were very valiant and politicke in wars, both were banished men out of their countrey, both were Captaines ouer strangers, and both of them were traiteroufly and villanoufly flaine by them, through whom they had before ouercome their enemies. Now for Sertorius, he came of worthipfull parents, and was borne in the city of NVR \$ 1A in the country of § SABINES. His father left him a very child with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he fingularly loued and reverenced. Her name as they fay was Rhea. His first rifing and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: info much as being a yong man he came to Rome, and wan some name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honour and estimation he atchieued afterwards by his valiant acts, made him employ all his studie and ambitious care, to armes and warres. The first time of his souldier fare was, when the CIMBRES and TEVTONS inuaded GAVLE with a mighty armie: where when the ROMAINS had been ouercome under the leading of Capio, his horse being staine under him, and himselse hurt, he notwithstanding swam ouer the river of Rone, with his corslet and target vpon him, breaking the furie and rage of the river with meere strength, fo able and lustie a bodie he had to brooke all paines and hardnesse. The second time that these barbarous CIMERES returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with proud and dreadfull threats, the Romaines were then so afraid, that they thought him a stout man that had but the courage to keepe his rancke, and obey his Captaines. At that time was Marius Generall of the Romaine army, and then did Sertorius vndertake to go and discouer the enemies campe. And for the purpose apparelled himfelfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common words and phrases of their language, to salute one another when they met, and in this fort went among them: and having partly by fight and report learned that he fought for, he returned to Marius, who then gaue him fuch honourable reward as was due to his defert. All the time of the warre after, he did fuch valiant acts and deeds of armes, that his captaine had him in great estimation, and committed the chiefest matters to his charge. Whereupon the warres being ended with the TEVTONS and CIMBRES, Sertorins was fentinto Spaine, under Didius the Prætor, with charge of a thousand footmen, with whom he wintred in the citie of CASTVLO, in the marches of the CELTIBERIANS: where the fouldiers finding plenty of victuals', fell to gluttony and drunkennesse, and committed great insolencie, being ouercome with wine. Infomuch as the barbarous people of the city grew to fuch a misliking and disdaine of them, that they sent one night to their next neighbours the GYRISENIANS for aide, and as they came by the Romaine's lodging, flue a great number of them. Sertorius hearing the noise, went immediatly out of the city with a few of his men, and gathering them together also that fled on after another to faue themselues, went round about the wals of the citie, and finding the gate open where the Gyrisenians came in, there entred healfo: who being more carefull than they had shewed themselues, left the gates and all the parts of the citie well guarded, and then put all to the sword within that were of age to carie weapon. Now when he had executed this revenge, he commanded all his fouldiers to leave off their owne apparell #ra: 13' mo. and weapons, and to take those of the barbarous people whom they had slaine, and to follow him to the citie of the Gyrisenians, from whence they came that had on such a sudden assailed them in the night. The Gyrisenians feeing the garments and weapons of their supposed men farre off, thinking certainly they had been they, opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their friends and citizens, whom they thought had happily feed of their purpose. Thus were a maruellous number of them slaine by the Romaine seeuen hard at the gates of their citie: and the rest putting themselues to Sertorius mercy, he sold for slaues. After this exploit, Sertorius wanne great fame through all Spaine, and returning to Rome, was made Quaffor or treasurer generall of GAVLE, on this fide of the mountaines, by the river of Po. A happy chance for Kome: for even at that very present time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARSIANS warre, in the which he had commiffion to preft fouldiers, and to make armour. And therein he shewed such diligence and expedition for quicke dispatch of that service, in respect of the long delay and carelesse regard other young men had of the same before: that he wonne the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwards would atchieue great enterprises. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captaine himselfe, he would not let to venture his person as valiantly as any other private, souldier whatsoeuer, but did maruellous actes with his owne hands, euen in greatest perils and conflicts: in so much as at the length he lost one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was noand conflicts: in 10 much as at the length he lott one of his eyes in fight. Whereon he was nothing ashamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, said he, do not alwaies carie the markes left one of his eyes in fight. about them of their valiant fervice, but leave them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carcanets, jauclins, and crownes, given them by their Captaines for testimonie of their valiancy: fghs. how be it that he alwaics caried the markes about him (wherefoeuer he went) of his feruice. fo that fuch as faw the blemish of his eye, did therewithall witnesse his valiantnesse and courage. The people also did honour him as became them. For when he came into the Threater. they welcomed him with clapping of their hands, and great praifes, which the ROMAINES did feantly vie vnto their oldest Captaines, and which were most honoured for their great and noble feruice. Neuerthelesse, when he sued to be Tribune, he was rejected by Syllaes practise. who hindred him : whereupon grow as it seemed, that grudge and malice which he cuer after bare vnto Sylla. For after that Mariu was fled being ouercome by Sylla, and that Sylla was gone The scale out of ITALIE to make warre with Mithridates, and that of the two Confuls, Octavim tooke one make make part with Sylla, and cinna the other Confull (which fought change and alteration) was gathe- mospila, ring mentogether to fet vp Marsus faction, that was in manner vnderfoote: Serverius tooke his part, because he saw that Octavius was but a flow and lither man, and did not besides trust any serious of Marius friends. So was there acruell conflict betweene them, euen in the market place with Ginnel within the citic felfe, where Octanias had the upper hand; and Cinna and Sectorius leaved by flying, having loft few leffe then ten thousand men in this onely overthrow. Neverthelesse, afterwards through practife and pollice, they got those fouldiers together againe that were difperfed here and therethrough Iral 15 foas in short time they made their power equall with odansus force. Marius also being aduertised of the same, tooke the sea incontinently, and returned into ITALY out of AFRICKE, and came to Cinna to ferue as a private foldier, vnder his Captaine and Confull. Now they alliked well, thate Marius should be received, saving Servorius, who was against him all he could fearing that ei her his credit and estimation should diminish, Canna Sertorius having a worther Captaine, then himfelf, to feruchim, or elfe that Marius crueltie and feueritie Linna to (who pardoned none offence) would marre alroge, ther, having no ftay in his anger, but bent yt-, receive terly to Mixed of crueltie to his enemies, if Cruna fortuned to hauethe victorie. And thereunto he added this further that now they had the victory in manner in their hands, if they once receiued Marius vnto them, he would rob them of all, he honour of ending this warre, and being alto inauthority, he was neither to be trufted nor commanded. Whereunto Ginna answered thus: that he thought the words he had alledged to be true, how beit that he was assumed; and befides could not fee with honestie how he might refuse Marins, or send him backe, fithence he had purposely sent for him, to commit part of the charge of these warres vnto him. Sertorius againe replied: Sure I thought Marius had come of his owne good will vnfent for, and therefore (as for the best in mine owne opinion) I gaine aduice not to receive him: but sithence it is so that you lent for him before, and that he is now come vpon your commandement, you were much to blame to aske counsell whether you should now receive him, or not. And therefore you must needs accept his service that is come voon your word for the bond of your promise past you, doth now cut off all counsell or other resolution. Thereupon Marius was called for: and when he came, they deuided their whole armie into three parts, and then began to charge Vpon their enemies of all hands, fo as they obtained victorie. Howbeit Cinna and Marius committed as horrible crueltie in this victorie, as could possibly be shewed: in so much as the ROMAINE s thought at the inferies they had endured in time of this war nothing, and but a play as i were, in respect of the great calamities they fell into afterwards. Now Sectorius on the other fide neuer caused manto be flaine for any prinate malice, or quarrell he had with any perfon, reither did he hurt any man when he had ouercome, but was much offended with Marins infolencie and cruel murthers, and whe he had good opportunity to speake with Ginna apart, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more mild and tractable through his perswafion. I fine, Sertorius seeing Marius guarded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of o. Seriarius ther fouldiers in this warre, whom he yield as executioners of his flaughter and butcherie, alwaies attending about his perfonas a guard, and suffering them also to make themselues rich, partly with that he gaue them, or commanded them to spoile, and partly also with that they violently tooke without his commandement of their owne mailters, killing them when they had done, ranishing their mistresses, and defiling their children the could no longer abide such

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wickednesse and villanie, but made them all to be slaine in their campe where they lay together, Sue Marius being no lesse then foure thousand persons. Afterwards when he saw that the elder Marius was dead, and that soone after Cinna was slaine, the younger Marius his sonne (against his counfell, and contrarie to the lawes of Rome) had by force made himselfe Consull: and that Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus (which had been ouercome by Sylla) were come out of GRECE to Rome. wards, partly through the cowardlinesse of their Captaines, and partly also because they were betrayed and fold of their owne men: and further, confidering therewithall, that his person could do no good in those affaires, which waxed worse and worse, by means of the authority of fuch as had least wit and vnderstanding, and specially also seeing Sylla campe hard by Scipio, makingmuch of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilst vnderhand he wanne his foldiers from him, notwithstanding, that he was certainly warned and told of it before: Sertorius then vtterly despairing of Romes prosperity and welfare, departed from Rome to go towards SPAINE, thinking that if he could get the first possession and government of that realme, it wold at the lest be a refuge and receipt for al those of their tribe that should chance to be banished out of their country. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, hemet with foule and rough weather; and paffing through a country of mountaines, the barbarous people inhabiting the same, demanded tribute of him, for licence to passe through their territories. Therat the soldiers of his company were maruellously offended, saying that it were too much shame and dishonour for a Proconfull of Rome, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithstanding, Sertorius passed nor for the shame they said it would be to him, but answered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should not reckon of that aspireth to haughtie enterprises; and so pleased the barbarous people with money. And thus he madefuch speed, as he quickly recouered Spaine, which he found greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to weare armour. But now Sertorius perceiuing that they had been hardly dealt withall before, through the infolency, pride, and couctous firest of the Romaine gouernours, whom they ordinarily sent from Rome and that therforethey hated all manner of gonernment : first of all songhtto win the good wils of all the whole countrimen one and other. Of the noblemen, by being familiar and connerfant with them: and of the common people, by eafing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most love of al men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of fouldiers, and receiving of any garrison within their cities, compelling his fouldiers to let vo their tents, and to make their cabins without the fuburbs, of great cities to winter there, and cau. fing also his owne pauillion to be first set vp, and lay in it himselfe in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauour for he armedall the ROMAINE citizens of age to carie weapon that dwelt in Spain, and made them make al forts of engines for battery, and a number of gallies besides, so that he had all the cities at commande. ment, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to hisenemics. After Sertorius, vinderstood that Syllakept Rome, and that the most part of the tribe of Marius and Carbo was veterly ouerthrown, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a greatarmic against him: he sent Iulius Salinator betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with fixe thousand men well armed. Immediatly after Cains Annius also came thither, fent by Sylla: who feeing no possibilitie to distresse Salinator in a place of suchaduantage, was driven to stay at the foot of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune one Galphurnius furnamed Lanarius, traiterously flue Salinator: whereupon his fouldiers forthwith forfook the top of the mountaines, and by this meanes Annius had easie paffage with his armie which was very great, and ouerthrew them that refulted his farther coming on into the country . Sertorius finding himselfe not strong inough to fight with him, marcheda, way with three thousand men vnto the city of new CARTHAGE, and there took sea from thence Spains into he coasted ouer into A FRICKE, and fell with the coast of the MAVRYSIANS, where his foldiers landed immediatly for freshwater, dispersing themselues without keeping any order. Therupon the barbarous people gaue charge vpon them, and flue numbers of them: insomuch as Sertorius was driuento imbarke againe, and to take his course towards Spaine, where he was kept from landing. Then was he drive to take certaine pirates boats of the Sicilians, & to faile towards the Ile of PITYVSA, where he landed in despite of Annins garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came Annius thither himself with a good number of ships, and five thousand fighting men in them. Him Sertorius determined to abide, and to fight withall by fea, though he had

Sertorius. courtefie so the

but small barkes, purposely made for swift sailing, and of nostrength for fight. But now the West wind rising very big, did swel the sea in such fort, that it cast the most part of Sertorins ships (being weake and very light) vpon rockes in the sea, and himselfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the fea by storme, was driven to ride ten dayes together at anker. working still for life against the danger of the furging waves and boisterous winds, which continueth roughall that time; yet in the end when it calmed again he weighed anker, and ran into certaine desolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoysing faile from thence, he passed the ftraight of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hand, landed vpon the coast of SPAINE, lying toward the great Westerne sea, a litle aboue the mouth of the river of Bæris, the which falling into the sea Atlanticum, gaue name in old time to that part of Spains, which was called His-PANIA BÆTICA. There certaine failers met with him that were newly arrived from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the ancients called the fortunate Ilands. These two Ilands are The fortunate not farre one from another, being but a litle arme of the sea betweene them, and are from the motelland. coast of Africke only tenthousand furlongs. They have rainethere very seldome, howbeita gentle wind commonly that bloweth in a litle filuer dew, which moistnesh the earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lustie, not only to bring forth all that is set or sowen vponit, but of it felfe without mans hand it beareth fo good fruit, as sufficiently maintaineth y inhabitants dwelling upon it, living idly, and taking no paines. The weather is faire and pleafant continually, and neuer hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the aire neuer extreame: because the winds that blow vponthat land from the other side of the coast opposite to it, as the North and Easterly wind comming from the maine, what with their long comming, and then by differfing themselues into a wonderfull large aireand great sea, their strength is in manner spent and gone before their comming thither. And for the winds that blow from the sea (as the South and Westerly) they sometime bring litle showers with them, which commonly do but moift the ground a little and make the earth bring forthall things very trimly: insomuch as the very barbarous people themselues do faithfully beleeue, that there are the Elysian fields, the The Elysian aboade of bleffed creatures, which Homer hath fo much spoken of. Sertorius hearing report of felds. these Ilands (vpon a certaine desire now to live quietly out of tyrannie and warres) had straight a maruellous minde to go dwell there. But when the pirates of Sicilia (who were no men of peace, but given alrogether to spoile and pillage) heard that, they by and by for sook Sertorius, & went into Africk E, to restore Ascalius the son of Iphtha to his realine of MAVRITANIA againe. Sertorius quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre against Ascalius, and all to the end that his fouldiers seeing matter of new hope and meanes to be imployed, should not so leave him, as being forced to be discharged of very necessitie. The MAVRV STANS being verie glad of his arrivall, he presently went on with his enterprise, o, uercame Ascalius in battell, and besieged the citie wherinto vpon the ouerthrow of his armie he was fled for refuge. Syllabeing aducrtifed thereof, fent Paccanius thither with an army to aide Afcalius Sertorius gaue him battel, flue him in the field, and wan the rest of his army, which yeelded Sometime vnto him : then took he the citie of Tingis, whereinto Afcalius was fled with his brethren. The Lybians write that Antens is buried there. But Sertorius giving no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that countrey, by reason of the greatnesse of the tombethey shewed, made tombe and it to be broken open round; and finding there the body of a man(as they fay) of threescore cubits great nego. long, he maruelled at it, and so finishing his facrifice to honour the memory thereof, caused the tombe to be well closed vp againe. By this act he did greatly increase the honour of Anlaus memory, which the city did vnto him, and therby confirmed the countrimens report of Aniaus. For the Tingians do report, that after Antans death, his wife Tings lay with Hercules, and had a goodly fon by him called Sophax, who was king of that country, and there built this citie, giuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is faid also that this Sophax had a sonne called Diodorus, who conquered the most part of Africk E with an army of the Grecians, Olbianians & MYCENIANS, which Hercules brought thither to inhabite those parts. We were willing to imbrace theoccasion offred vs to speake of this matter as we went, for y honor of luba, the noblest historiographer that ever came of royall bloud; for it is thought his ancestors were lineally def- kings specific cended from Sophax and this Diodorus, Sertorius as conqueror now, having the whole country in fubicction, did in no wife hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put trust in him, but restored them

their goods, cities, and governement againe, contenting himselfe with that they offered him

Sectorias was fent for by the Luftiani. ans to be their Cap taint.

Sertorius wereues and qualities.

Sertorus

of the Hind.

of their good wils. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine, the LVSITANIANS fent Ambailadors vnto him, to intreat him to be their Chiefetaine: for they stood in great need of a worthie personage, and a man expert in warres to defend them against the furie of the Ro-MAINES: and therefore they only trusted him, hearing of his honorable behaviour, by them that were conversant with him. Whose qualities as we find writte, were these. He was never greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a resolute man without feare in most danger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperitie. In valiantnesse inferiour to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in every imminent danger. For where any present exploit was to be done, any strong place of advantage to lodge or fight into be taken, or that he was to passe over any riuer, or scape any instant danger, where it stood vpon speedy execution, and to shew some stratageme or policy in time and place to supplant the enemie : in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good service, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the foule murther he did in his latter dayes vpon certaine young children that were pledges with him (which doubtlesse was an act of great cruelty, and anger that could not forgive) doth manifestly proue, that he was neither mercifull nor courteous of nature: but that he many times did finely counterfeit it, when both the time and occasion did so require it. But for mine opinion, sure I am perswaded that no missortune can haue power to make perfect vertue, grounded vpon good reason, to worke in any sort contrarie to it selfe: neither do I thinke it impossible also, but that mens good wils and gentle natures being iniured without cause, may peraduenture change their naturall dispositions. Which then proued true in Sertorius, who finding fortune contrarie vnto him, and his good hap changed into ill, grew fo crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruel reuenge of them which had villianously betrayed him. But now to our matter where we left. Scrtorius departed out of A-FRICKE VPOn the LUSITANIANS offer, who chose him for their Generall, giving him absolute power and authoritie and fo foone as he arrived, he straight leavied men of war, and with them fubdued the people of SPAINE fronting vpon their marches, of which the more part did willingly submit theselues, vpon the brute that ran of him to be merciful and courteous, & avaliant man besides in present danger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuices and subtilities to win their good wils: as among others, the policy and deuice he had of the Hinde; which was this. There was a poore man of the countrey called spanus, who meeting by chance one day with a Hindin his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters, he let the Dammego, not being able to take her: and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young Hind, and of a strange haire. for she was all milke-white. It chanced so, that Sertorius was at that time in those parts, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him fuch manner of prefents: as fruits, fowle, or venison, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the same. So, this poore man presented Sertorius with his young Hind, which he gladly received, and which with time he made fo tame, that she would come to him when he called her, and follow him where ever he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily fight of fuch a number of armed fouldiers together as they were, nor yet affraid of the noise and tumult of the camp. Infomuch as Sertorius by litle and litle made it a miracle, making the fimple barbarous people beleeue that it was a gift that Diana had fent him, by the which she made him vnderstand of many and fundry things to come: knowing well inough of himselfe, that the barbarous people were meneafily deceiued, and quickly caught by any subtill superstition, besides that by art also he brought them to beleeue it as a thing very true. For when he had any secret intelligence giuen him, that the enemies would inuade some part of the countries and provinces Subject vnto him, or that they had taken any of his forts from him by any intelligence or sudden attempt, he straight told them that his Hind spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put himselfe in strength. In like manner if he had heard any newes that one of his Lieutenans had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, he would hide the meffenger, and bring his Hind abroad with agarland and coller of no legayes: and then say, it was a token of some good newes comming towards him, perswading them withall to be of good cheare; and so did sacrifice to the gods, to give them thanks for the good tidings he should heare before it were long. Thus by putting this superstition into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, in so much as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a stranger wifer than themselues, but were stedfastly perswaded

perfiyaded that they were rather led by some certaine god; and so much the more, because that his deeds confirmed their opinions, seeing his power so daily to increase beyond the hope and expectation of man. For with two thousand and fine hundred souldiers, which he called Ro- sertorius MAINES (although the most of the indeed were Africans, which came ouer with him out of arme. AFRICKE into SPAIN) and foure thousand Lycitanians, with seuen hundred horsemenalso, he made war against foure great Captaines of Rome, which had the leading of fixe score thou- The armie fand footmen, two thousand archers and sling-men, with a world of cities and countries besides. of the Ro-Where Sertorius at the first had not aboue twentie at the most, and yet with this small power to by some maintaine this warre withall, he did not onely conquer great countries and many goodly cities, Captaines. but tooke some of the Captaines prisoners also, whom the Romaines sent against him. Of Sertorism which company Cotta was one, whom he ouerthrew in battel by fea, not farre from the citie of victoria. MELLARIA. Healfo ouercame Fidius in battel, being gouernor of Spaine Bætica, by the riner of Bæris, where he flue two thousand Romans, by histreasurer likewise he ouercame Lucius Domitius Proconsull of the other province of Spaine. And another time he discomfited Toranss another Captaine, one of Metellus Lieutenants, whom he flue in fight with all his armie. And Metellus felfe, being taken at that time for one of the most expertmen of warre, and chiefest Captaines among the ROMAINES: him he put also so oft to distresse, that Lucius Lollius was faine to come out of GAVLE NARBONENSIS (now Languedocke) to his aid. And they were furthermore driven to fend Pompey the great with all speed fro Rome with a new army, because Metellus knew nor what course to take, having to fight with a most valiant man, and one whom he could never either bring to any fet battell, nor yet intrap in the plaine field (fo eafily could he cast himselfe into all kind of formes) by reason of the dexteritie and swiftnesse of his Spanish Thinglace foldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without removing a foot, and to leade an armie heavy armed, which could keepe their rankes, and taken two fighting fleadily could ouerthrow their enemies with hand-ftrokes, and march vpon their beleither of lies. But to climbe vp the mountaines, and to be continually (as it were) charged in the rere-buhallow. ward with these menarmed as light as the wind, and to pursue them in chase that sled still and according neuer kept place, it was impossible for them to do it; and much lesse to abide hunger and thirst, to liue without a kitchin and fire, and likewise to lie on the bare ground without tents or paullions, is might be as Sertorius fouldiers did. Furthermore, Metellus being growne an old man (hauing spent all his Romaine youth in feruice of the warres, and taken and fuffered great paines and troubles, giving himfelfe entents now to quiet and pleasure) was matched with Sertorius, being then eyen at his best age, and lufliest of body; besides that nature had made him both strong, active, & temperate withall. For he the raliant was neuer giue to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and out of wars, he was likewise acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with long iournies, watch many daies and nights without fleepe, cate litle, and content himfelfe with any meat warlike that came to hand. And had he neuer fo litle leifure, he would continually be on horsebacke, riding a hunting vp and downethe fields, which made him very ready and expert to know how to wind himself out of danger whe he was distressed, and contrarily also to compasse in his enemy vponany aduantage: and befides, to fee where he might enter, and where not. For this cause was Metellus driven (who was still desirous to fight) to abide the losses and discommodities which they suffer that be vanquished: and Sertorius on the other side refusing battell, and slying before him, had all the vantage of him that they have which chase their enemies whom they have overcome. For he cut off his victuals on every fide, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march further forward, Sertorius stated him: and when he lay still in his camp, Sertorius came and gaue him alarums, and draue him to dislodge. If Metellus laid siege to any place, Sertorius straight besieged him for want of victuals: so that his souldiers were even weary of altogether. Whereupon, when Sertorius challenged the combat of Metellus: Oh, well faid, criedall the fouldiers, let Captaine fight against Captaine, and R o M A I N B against Ro- Metellus MAINE. Howbeit Metellus refused him, and the souldiers laughed him to scorne. Neuerthelesse practigeth he did but smile at them, and therein shewed himselfe a wise man: for as Theophrastus saith, A the Lange. Captaine must die as a Captaine, not like a private souldier. Furthermore, Metellus considering briter, and that the Langourites (who gaue aide vnto Sertorius in all services) were easie to be taken for lacke of water, (hauing but one onely well in all their citie) and that who foeuer did befrege that for lacke of fame, should straight be master of all the spring heads of the suburbes about it hoping therby to water, Eee

Serterius finely defiege of the Langobri-

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Sertorius.

Perpenna

make the citie yeeld vnto him within two daies at the vtmost, he commanded his soldiers to victuall themselues for fine dayes onely. But Sertorius having intelligence thereof, gaue good direction & speedy order to preuent him. For he caused two thousand goates skins to be filled with water, and promifed round fumes of mony for every skin brought thither. Many Spaniards and MAVRVSIANS ftraight tooke vpon them the enterprife. Thereupon Sertorius chusing the luftiest men among them, sent them away through the mountaine, commanding them withal, that when they deliuered their goates skinnes with water vnto the citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might last the the longer which defended the city. Metellus receiving advertisement herof, was much agrieved withal, because his foldiers victuals were welneare spent, which they had brought according to his commandement:& therfore he sent Aquinus one of his Lieutenants, with fix thousand men to get victuals. Sertorius having intelligence of his purpose, presently layed an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wood, and bestowed there three thousand men to set vpo the rereward, whilest he himself gaue charge on the voward. Thus made he Aquinus flic, flue the most part of his men, and took the rest prisoners. Howbeit Aquinus selfe the Captaine, having lost his weapons and horse, by slying recouered Metellus campe: who thereupon was driven with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the Spaniards. For these valiant deeds was Sertorius wonderfully beloued and ho. noured of all the barbarous people, and specially because he had made them good souldiers. brought them from their former rude and beaftly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the Romain E fashion, to keepe their rankes when they fought, to follow their enfigne, and to take the fignall and word of the battell; infomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly armie weltaught and trained being before a confused multitude of theeues and robbers. Furthermore he deuided great store of gold and silver among them, shewing them how they should gild their head-peeces, fet out their shields and targets with fine workmanship, and also brauely apparell themselues with rich clokes, and sleeuelesse cassocks upon their armor, teaching them to be fine, and furnished them with mony, whereby he maruellously wanthe hearts of the barbarous people. Yet did he farther bind them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children: for he fent generally for all the noblemens yong fons, through althe countries and provinces subject vnto him, and brought them to the goodly citie of Osca, where he prouided them of schoolemastersto teach them the Greeke and Latine tongue: bearing their parents in hand, that it was to no other end, but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be employed in the feruice of the commonweale, albeit indeed it was but a fine deuice of him, to have them as hostages for their faith and loyalty towards him. Then were the fathers of these childreglad men to see their sons apparelled like Romains, infaire long gownes garded with purple, to go civilly to the schools, that Sertorius payed for their learning, and that oftentimes he went thitherto apposethem, to see how they profited : and how he gaue rewards vnto them that were the best scholers, hanging iewels about their neckes, which the Romaines call Bulla. Infomuch as they having a custome at that time in Spaine, that such as were about the Prince or their Chieftaine should die with him when he died: that custome of voluntarie vow to die with their Lord, being called by the barbarous people, denotion; there were very few of their followers and familiars that would vow to die with other Captaines, but on the other fide, thousands commonly followed Sertorius, having vowed to lose their lives with him. And for proofe hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowne by a certaine citie of Spaine, the enemies eagerly pursuing him, the Spaniards not regarding their owne lives to saue his, tooke him vpontheir shoulders, and so passed him from man to man vpon them, till they put him into the citie, who being fafe & out of danger, they then looked by running to faue themselues the best they could. Thus was Sertorius not onely beloued of the Spaniar Ds, but of other fouldiers also that came out of ITALIE. For when Perpenna Vento, being of the same faction, arrived in Spaine full of money, and with a good number of fouldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe against Metellus, his fouldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of Sertorius: the which spixed Perpenna to the heart, being proud and stately by meanes of his wealth and cflate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that Pompey was past ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the foldiers armed themselues, & plucked up their ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cryed outvoon Perpennato leade them to Sertorius, threatning him that if he would not they would leauthim alone, and feeke them a Captainethat could both faut himselfe and them. So was Perpenna forced against his will to follow their minds, and to leade the three and fiftie en fignes he had with him, to joyne with Sertorius force. Thus became Sertorius armie very great, and specially after all the cities on this side the river of Ebrus had yeelded vnto him. For then Ebrus A came fouldiers to him out of all parts, how beit they were a rash confused multitude of Omnigatherum together, having no reason nor patience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to set vpon their enemies. This troubled Sectorius much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he saw they fell to mutiny, and would needs have their wils, and both without reafon and all good order would so go set vpon their enemies: he gaue them the head, and let them go as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly; but yet took fuch order and direction, as they should not veterly be cast away, hoping after that to have them the more obedient vnto him. And indeed they had their payment as he coniectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, and so brought them safe into his campe. Now to take away the feare and perplexity from them, which this ouerthrow perhaps had striken into them, immediatly after he caused his whole armie to assemble, as purposing to vse some speech vnto them. At which time he caused two horses to be brought and set in the middest among them, the one an old and secble A fine deiade, and the other a goodly lufty horse, which besides other things, had a maruellous faire thick toriusto taile. Behind the old leane iade, he fet a lufty tall fellow: and behind the goodly horsealso, he placed a litle wearish man, and seeming to fight to have but small strength. Now vpon a signe gi- the benefits uen them which he had made them privieto, the strong man tooke the leane horse by the taile persent with all his might, as if he would have pluckt it off by the stumpe; and the other wearish man fell rance. to plucking off haire by haire from the great horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and fwet a great while in vaine at the leane horse taile, thinking to have plucked it off, and in the end did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearish wretch on the other side in a short space (and at ease) had left the great horse taile with neuer a haire on it: Sertorius then rifing vp, spake in this fort to his foldiers: Do ye not see(my friends & companions) saith he, how time and perseuerance exceedeth force ? and that things vnlikely at the first to be ouercome by force, are yet in time by litle and litle obtained? For continuance ouercometh all things, and word solds there is no force nor power, but processe of time consumeth & bringeth to nought, being a most certaine helpe to them that can take oportunitie, and abide time: as in contrariwise hast and rashnes is as dangerous an enemy as may be to the that do things of a head without regard. By these of his commo devices wher with Sertorius dayly acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportunity of time. But of all the stratagems he vsed in warre, that onely exceeded all other, which he shewed vnto a people called y CHARACITANIANS. The people do dwel on the other fide of the river of Tagus, and have neither cities nor villages for their comon abode, but only agreat high hil, full of hollow caues and deep holes among the rocks, looking towards the the chara-North. At the foot of this mountaine the valley is a great flimie ground, and so rotten, that it is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crumeth like white lime, and turneth to dust vider they be. his fect. And therfore by meanes of the fame, when those people were afraid of any enemics, or Tigor fi that they had conuayed the goods they had robbed and stolne from their neighbours into those caues, they thought themselves safe, if they were once gotten into themsfor it was impossible to compel them to come out. Now it chanced that Sertorius flying from Metellus, came and encamped hard by this hill which thefe barbarous people inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining Metellus had ouerthrown him. But Sert orius, being in a rage with them, & because he would shew that he fled not took his horse-back the next morning, and rode as neare to the hill as he could to view the nature and fituation of the place: and when he faw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, & walked vp & down, vainly threatning them to no purpose. Yet going and coming to & fro, he perceived the wind raised a great dust, of that britle earth we have ipoken of, and caried it ful into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes wherof as we faid before, lay full vpon the North. This Northren wind which some call Cacias, is the only wind of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and riseth from the moores and mountaines therabouts, which be continually couered with fnow, and then in the heat of fommer is nourished desire and inforced by the melting of theyee and fnow, and so bloweth a jolly coole wind, which barbarous refreshed the barbarous people and beastes all the day long Sertorius marking this with himselfe, people, caland vnderstanding by the inhabitants thereabouts, that this wind blew commonly among led the chathem: commanded his souldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light brittle earth together

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andto raise a mount of it, right against the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockeric of

it at the first, thinking Sertorius would have made a mount to have fought with them vponit :

howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his fouldiers backeagaine

the hill where he was, to the end that if Pompey came by chance to affaile him, they should give

acharge vpon his rereward. Pompey having found this too late, durst not offer Sectorius battell,

fearing to be compassed in behind; and on the other side he was ashamed to for sake the LAVRO-

NITANS, whom he was driven in the end to fee veterly spoyled and destroyed before his eyes

and durst not once stirre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the countrie part seeing no

hope of aide by him, yeelded straight vnto Sertorius, who did not onely pardon them, but also

fuffered them to go whither they would. How beit he burnt the citie, for no anger or crueltie

(being a Captaine that neuer shewed crueltie in anger (but to shame Pompey withall, and to stop

their mouthes that made such account of him: and that this bruit might runne among the bar-

barous people, that Pompey himselfe being present, and might in manner have warmed him

by the fire that burnt a goodly citie of his confederates, neither durst nor could helpe them.

words fate downe in his chaire to give audience. Whereupon they that kept the Hind not farre

from thence, did secretly let her go. The Hind being loose, when she had spied Sertorius, ranne

straight to his chaire with greatioy, and put her head betwixt his legges, and layed her mouth

in his right hand, as she before was wont to do. Sertorius also made very much of her, and

of purpose appeared maruellous glad, shewing such tender affection to the Hind, as it seemed

the water stood in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that stood there by and beheld the

fame, at the first were much amazed therewith, but afterwards when they had better bethought

themselues, for ioy they clapped their hands together, and waited vpon Sertorius to his

lodging with great and joyfull thours, faying, and ftedfastly beleeuing, that he was a heauenly

creature, and beloued of the gods: whereuponthey were maruelloufly pleased in their minds,

his Captaines loft, then his enemies did that had put them to the worfe. As in the battell he wan into his camp. The next morning by breake of day there was a prety litle wind flirring, that only against Pompey, by the citie of Sveron and in another he wanne against Pompey and Metellus blew off the top of his forced mount, and the highest part of that masse of earth, as chasse when both by the city of TVTTIA. And as for the ouerthrow of SVCRON, it is thought it came through they winnow corne; and as the Sun began to haue any power, the North wind also rose which Pompeys ambition, making the more haste for feare Metellus should be partaker of the honour of forthwith filled all the hill with dust. And with all came Sectorius fouldiers, who threw downe his victoric; and that was the thing Sertorius looked for, to fight before Metellus came to ioyne the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all those drie clods of with him; and therefore he fought the battell with Pompey towards night, Supposing the darknes twist See. clay in peeces. The horsemen on the other side, they still managed their horses vp and downe in of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to faue themselues if they were ouer- torius and it, to raife vp the greater dust, which the wind caried as soone as it rose; and blew into the caues come, and also to chase the enemies if it so happened they had the upper hand, because they were of these barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and rifts of the rockes. So they strangers and knew not the country. When both battels came to give charge, Sertorius at the first having no other vents nor ayreany way, but there where the wind blew vpon them: it did fo was not directly against Pompey, but against Afranius who led the left wing of Pompeys battell, blindfold their eyes, and filled their caues with fuch a hot fluffing ayre, that they were almost and himselse was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howbeit Sectorius being aductised that choaked withall, notable to take breath. For when they should draw their breathes, this stuffing the left wing of his ownearmie against which Pompey fought, was in such distresse as they gaue ayre and dust came in at their mouthes so fast, that they had much ado to hold out two dayes; back, and could abide no longer, if they were not presently aided, straight left the leading of the and on the third yeelded themselues vnto Sertorius mercy; the which thing did not so much inright wing, which he affigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all speed possible crease his power, as it wanne him honour, by policy to have wonne such an vnlikely conquest. vnto the left wing, which were then even as good as flying. And first he gathered them together which by force could neuer haue been gotten, and where to fight was a matter impossible. So againe which had turned their backs, and after put those also in good order that were yet a fighlong therefore as he made warre with Metellus alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him. ting; and so having encouraged them, both with his words and the presence of his perso, he gaue because Metellus was an old man and heavie, and could not resist Sertirius Iustie youth, that led a new charge againe voon Pompey, more couragiously then before, (who thinking he had alreaa lightarmic, like rather to a company of thecues and robbers, than to an armie of men of warre dy wonne the field, was then a chafing fuch as fied) and came fo fiercely vpon him, that he put But afterwards when Pompey was come ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them all the whole armie of the Romains to flight, infomuch as Pompey himselfe escaped killing in Pompey fled were encamped each before other, and that Pompey had shewed him all the stratagemes and pothe field very hardly being fore hurt, and faued by a strange meane. For the Africans of Ber- Sertorius at licies of warre possible for a good captaine to deuife, and he the like vnto Pempey, and found that torius having taken Pomperes horse (which was richly trapped with harnesse of gold and other Sertorius had the better of him, both in laying his ambushes, and also in foreseeing to intrap him: precious furniture) falling out among themselves, and fighting for division of the same, in the then grew the fame of Sertorius to be fo great, that cuen in Rome it felfe he was thought to be meane time let Pompey go, and neuer followed after him. Afranius againe on the other fide, the noblest Captaine, and of best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was Pompey at that whilest Sertorius was gone to helpe the other wing of his battel, made them all flie that stood betime of great fame and reputation, which afterwards also waxed greater, by the noble actes he fore him, and followed killing of them cuen into the trenches of their camp, entring in amongst did vnder Silla, who gaue him the furname of Pompey the great, for that he descrued the honor of them that fled, and spoiled the campe, being darkenight, knowing nothing of Pompeyes ouertriumph before his beard was growne. So, when he was come thus into Spaine, divers townes throw, neither could be withdraw his men from spoile. Sertorius also comming thither vpon the and ciries subject vnto Sertorius, were halfe in mind to yeeld vnto Pompey: but afterwards they instant, finding Pompeys men in disorder, flue a number of them, and the next morning betimes altered againe, vponthe chance that happened vnto the citie of LAVRON, beyond all expectaarmed his men againe, and brought them out into the field to fight once more with Pompey. But tion. For Sectorius being gone to lay fiege toit, Pompey in hafte went thither with his armie receining intelligence that Metellus was at hand, he founded the retraite, and dislodged from Serterius to raise the siege. Neare vnto the citie there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a campe the place he incamped faying Had not that old woman come, I would have whipped that yong misters in, and also to distresse them of the citie: whereupon the one made haste to get it, and the other to boy to Rome with rods. Now was Sertorius very heavy, that no man could tell him what was Fompey. keepe him from it. Notwithstanding, Sertorius was the first man, and got the hill : and Pompey become of his white Hind: for thereby all his subtiltie and finenesse to keepethe barbarous peocame euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to have made serple in obedience was taken away, and then specially when they stood in need of most comfort. torius fure at that time, being kept in on the one fide with the citic of LAVRON, and with his But by good hap, certaine of his fouldiers that had loft themselues in the night, met with the armie on the other. Thereupon he sent vnto the citizens, and bade them care for nothing, Hind in their way, and knowing her by her colour, tooke her and brought her backe againe. Sermore then to stand vpon their walles at their pleasure, to see Sertorius straightly besieged, who torius hearing of her, promised them a good reward, so that they would tell no living creature thought to have befreged them. This meffage being brought to Sectorius, he smiled at it, and that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be fecretly kept. Then within a few faid, that he would teach Sillaes young scholler (for so in mockerie he called Pompey) that a wife dayes after, he came abroad among them, and with a pleafant countenance told the noble men Captaine should rather see behind then before him : and therewithall he shewed the LAVRONIand cheife Captaines of these barbarous people, how the gods had reuealed it to him in his TANS fixe thousand footmen wellarmed, which he had left in his campe when he came to take dreame, that he should shortly have a maruellous good thing happen to him: and with these

Indeed Sertorius in concinuance of this warre sustained much losse and great hurt, howbeit it was Sertorius of alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenants: for, as touching himfelfe, he was never ouer- winfelfe inthrown, northole heled. And yethe euer wan more honor in recouring of those battels which windle.

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and certainly hoped that their affaires shold prosper daily better & better. Another time having straighted his enemies with scarsitie of victuals, in the territorie of the SAGVNTINES, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great troupes of men to forrage the countrey, to get victuals. Vpon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either fide, where Memmius was flaine, (the valiantest Captaine Pompey had) couragiously fighting in the middest of limienant. the battell. Sertorius finding himselfe the stronger, followed his first wing, making great slaughter of those that withstood him, vntill he came vnto Metellus selfe, who taried his coming, defending himselfe more valiantly then was either hoped or looked for in a man of his yeares: in fo much as he was at the last hurt with a partizan. Which was such a dishonor to the ROMAINSA not vnto them onely that faw it, but vnto fuch also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to forfake their Captaine, and turning their shame into anger against their enemies, they couered Metellus round about with their shields and targets, and getting him out of the presse and furie of the fight, gaue such a fierce onset, as they draue the Spaniar Ds to flie. Thus fortune changing the victorie, Sertorius to giue his scattered mentime to saue themselues, and leasure also for a new fupply (which he caused to be presently leaused) to come at their pleasure, fled of purpose into a citie of the mountaines of strong situation, and there setting a good face of the matter, repaired the rampiers and fortified the gates, thinking nothing leffe then to abide there to be befleged, but onely to lay a bait for his enemies, coming to be flege the citie, hoping they should easily win it, and in the meane time left pursuing of the barbarous people, which had thereby good leisure given them to sauethemselves. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppresse the new supply that was comming to Sertorius, who had sent out his Captaines to the next cities and shires adioyning to leauiemen, with expresse commandement, that when they had mustered a convenient number together, they should fend them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderstood of their comming, he casily passed through his enemies to meete them, and with them sodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worse then before, sometime cutting their victuals from them by land, through his ambushes and continual subtill policies, being quickly in every place whither they thought to go, with his light armie, and on the sea also with certain pirats pinnaces, with the which he scoured all the coaft vpon the sea side. By this meanes both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to seuer themselves farre one from the other, in To much as Metellus went to winter in GAVLE, Pompey remained in SPAINE (in great scarsity of all things for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCETANS, and wrote to the Senate of Rome that he would return with his army into ITALY, if they fent him not money out of hand, for that he had spent all his owne, daily fighting for the defence of ITALIE. Thus it was certainly thought at Rome that Sertorius would be in ITALY before Pompey, because he had through his valiancie and great skill brought two of the most famous Captaines of their time to great extremitie and diffresse. Then did Metellus shew how much he feared Sertorius, and how he thought him a greatand dreadful enemy. For he proclaimed by found of trumper, that if any ROMAINE could kill him, he would give him a hundred filuer talents, and twentiethousand Iugera of land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his countrey and goods againe, buying his death by treason, whom he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore being his chance once to winne a battell of Sertorius, he was so iocond and proud for this victorie, that he would needs therefore be called Imperator, to fay, Prince, or foueraigne Captaine and was contented the people should fet vp altars and do sacrifices vnto him in eueric citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlands of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to diffolute banquets, fitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victorie go vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine secret engines carying triumphs of gold, and crownes and garlands of triumph, and dauncers of goodly young boyes and faire girles following of them, with fongs of triumph in his praise. Wherin doubtlesse he descrued to be laughed at, shewing himselfe so much carried away withio and vaine glorie, for one overthrow given vnto him, whom himselfe was wont to call Syllaes fugitiue, and the remnant of the banished men of Carbo. On the other side, Sertorius noble courage was eafily difference; first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped from Rome, and come to him, Senators and having them about him, called them the Senate, making some of them Treasurers, others Prætors, directing and ordering all things according to the manner of his country. And in this also, that making warres with the fouldiers of the cities of Spaine,

and defraying the same at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authority, so much as in word, butruled them alwayes with ROMAINE officers and captaines: faying ftill, that he fought for the libertie of the people of Rome, and not to increase the glorie and power of the Sectorius, Spaniar Ds, to the hurt & dishonor of the Romains. Forto say truly of him, he cuer loued his reput ye country wel, and longed much to be fent for home againe and yet in his greatest troubles, when things thwarted him most, then was his mind greatest, yeelding no maner of shew or appearance to his enemies, of any faint heart or discouragement in him. Againe, when he was in best pro- mind greatsperitie, and had most advantage of his enemies, he sent vnto Metellus and Pempey both, letting testinad urstite. them understand that for his part he was content to lay armes aside, and to live at home like a private man, fo that he might be lawfully restored and called home by edict: and that he had Sertorius rather be counted the meanest citizen in Rome, then being a banished man out of his countrey, affection to to be called Emperour of the world. And it is faid, that one of the chiefest causes which made him defire fo much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had broughthim vp from the time of his fathers death) vpon whom he cast all his love and delight: infomuch as after that his friends in Spaine had fent for him to come to be their captaine. and that he had been a while among them, receiving newes that his mother was departed out of natural the world, it fo ftrake him to the heart, that he had almost died for forrow. For he lay seuen daies lone to his together continually on the ground weeping, and neuer gaue his fouldiers the watchword, nor mother, would be feen of any of his friends; vntill that the other noblemen and captaines of his owne effare, came to him to his tent, and were fo importunate of him by intreatie and perswassion, that they got him out of his tent to flew himselfe to his souldiers, to speake to them, and to take order for his affaires, which prospered very well. By these signes many haue judged, that he was of a courteous and pitifull nature, and that naturally he was given to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessitie to take charge of men of warre, because he could not other wife line quietly nor fafely, being purfued by his enemies, which would never let him rest, and thereupon entred into warre, for his owne guard and safety. The treatie selfe he made with king Mithridates, argued his noble mind. For when Mithridates whom Sylla had our come was recoursed againe (like a wrestler that being ouerthrowne, getteth vp on his feet to trie another fal with his enemy) & took vpon him to inuade As IA. Sertorius fame was then fo great, that he was spoken of through the world, by merchants coming from the West, who blew abroad the report thereof all the East parts over, even into the Realme of Pont, like to merchandizes which they went to feeke for in strange countries. Whereupon Mithridates being perswaded by the vaine vaints of his fauoured Courtiers, who compared Sertorius to Hanniball, and himfelfe vnto king Pyrrus, faying, that the Romain's being fet vpon by them both, could not withfrand two fuch exceller natures, & great powers together, whe the noblest captain of the world shold be joyned with the greatest and most puissant Prince that euer was: sent therupon his Ambassadours into Spain E vnto Sectorius, with full power and commission to promise him money and tessens ships towards the maintenance and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he defired that Sertorius would redeliuer him the possession of As I A againe, the which he had surrendred vp vn- Sertorius in to the ROMAINES vpon the peace made betwixt him and Sylla. Sertorins hereupon called his spaine. Councell together (which he termed the Senate) to confult vpon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept Mithridates offers, and were exceedingly glad of the fame confidering that they asked them nothing but a title in the ayre, and a name of things which were not in their power, offering them therefore things prefent, whereof they had greater need: yet would Sertorius neuer agree therunto. Notwithstanding, thus much he granted Mithridates that he should enjoy CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, which had ever been countries subject vnto Sertorius kings, and wherunto the ROMAINES had neuer any right: excepting this specially that he would prothie and neuer fuffer him to your pany country, vnto the which the ROMAINES had any just title; and fiver to Mi the which he had lost in wars by force of armes vnto Fimbria, and had afterwards also willingly thridates. furrendred by agreement made betwixt him & Sylla. For he faid he wold enlarge the Empire of Rom Ethrough his victories, but not impaire or hurt it by his coquests. For avaliat man (said he) Sertorius should couet to conquer with honour, but in no wife defire life with dishonor. His answer being fajing. reported vnto king Mitbridates, did much amaze him and some haue written, that he then said vnto his familiars: What would Sertorius commaund vs then, ifhe fate among them in the Senate at Rome, who being an exile now, & remaining in the farthest part of the world by the sea

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King Mi. thridates Proconfull,

Sertorius.

Sectorial. flue the Spaniards

and hises. Sertorius.

Atlanticum doth take voon him to bound the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs also with wars, if we attempt any thing against As IA? All this notwithstading, they were agreed vpon othes taken between them; that Mithridates should enjoy the countries of CAPPADOCTA and BITHYNIA, and that Sertorius should fend him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre; and that vpon performance thereof, the king should give him the summe of three thoufandtalents, and forty ships of warr. So Sertorius sent thither one of his Captaines called Marcus Marius, a Senator of Rome, who fled to him for fuccour with whom Mithridates distressed certainecities of As 1A. And when Marius entred into them, with his sergeants carying the bundels ofrods and axes before him, as before a Proconsuli of the Romains, Mithridates gaue him the vpper hand, as his better, & followed after him. Furthermore, Marius did fet certaine cities at liberty, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that Sertorius of his grace and goodnesse did release them of their taxe and customes they paid fo that poore Asia which had ben oppressed Marius by the couctous field taxe and current and Farmers of the Romaines, and also by the pride & infolencie of the fouldiers which lay in garrifon among them, beganne to have fome hope of change, and to defire the alteration of gouernement, which Sertorius offered. But on the other fide, the Senators of Rome that were in Spaine as banished men in Sertorius armie, and of the like dignitic and estate that himselfe was of, they hearing say that all was well againe at Rome. and perswading themselues that they shold be strong enough for their enemies, having no cause The enay of to feare any more danger, began then to enuie Sertorius greatnesse and authority; but Perpenna fpecially among other, who by reason of his nobility, being puft vp with a vaine presumption and ambitious selfe will, practised to make himselfe chiefe of all the army, and to that end threw forth amongst his friends and familiars such kind of seditious wordes. What curfed fortune The fediti-tan words of (quota he) my friends doth daily haunt vs worse then other, making vs that were vn willing to obey sylla (commanding at this day both land and sea at his will) to choose rather to for sake our lands and countrey. And now being come hither in hope to line at liberty, we willingly make our felues flaues, becomming Sertorius guard for defence of his person in exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with faire words, calling vs the Senate, whereat enery man laugh-" eth to heare vs fo called; and in fine we must abide this dishonour to be at his commandement, 23 and drudge and take as much paines, as the Spaniards and Lvsitanians doe them-³⁹ felues. Hereupon the more part of them being caried away with these mutinous words, durst " notyet shew themselues in actuall rebellion against Sertorius, being affraid of his authoritie: 39 howbeit fecretly vnderhand they ouerthrew his doings, by shewing extreame cruelty vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of inftice, impofing great payments vpon them giving out it was Sertorius commandement. By which their leud practifes, many cities revolted against him, and put themsclues into his enemies hands; and they dayly also raised new mutinies and rebellions vpon him. Furthermore, those whom he sent to pacifie the tumults did handle themselucs in fuch fort, that where they should have quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they set them farther out, and procured new tumults. Hereupon was Sertorius gentle nature and former goodnesse so altered, that he committed a most cruell act vpon all the noble mens children of that land, which he brought vp at schoole in the citie of Osca: for some of them he put to death, and others he fold as flaues. Thus Perpenna having many affociates in his wicked confpiracy against Sertorius, brought into his confederaciealso one called Manlius, who had chiefest charge in all the armie. This Manlius loued a yong boy exceedingly, and because he wold let him know he loued him well, he rold him on a time the whole plot of this conspiracie, willing him not to reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him onely; for he should fee him a great man before it were long. The young boy louing another better then him, called Aufidius, went and reuealed vnto him all that Manlius had told him. Aufidius maruelling to heare the boy made priny to it, seeing himselfe also was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that Manlius was one of them. And when the boy also named Perpenna, Gracinus, and some other whom Aufidius knew well to be of counsell, he was worse affraid then before, but yet seemed to make litle of it, and told the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counfelled him not to credit Manlius words, who was but a vaine man, and boasted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceive him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went forthwith vnto Perpenna, and told him how their practife was discouered, declaring further what danger they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he said,

and thereupon they deutled this treafon. They had fuborned a meffenger to bring counter- The treafon feit letters to Sertorius, faining in the same that one of his Lieutenants had wonne a great battell, deuifed in the which he had flaine a maruellous number of his enemies. Sertorius being very glad of the good newes, made facrifice vnto the gods to give them thankes. Whereupon, Perpenna taking the present oportunitie, inuited Sertorius to supper-to-him, and all other his friends that were prefent (enery one of the conspiracie with him,) and was so importunate with Sectorius, that in the and he promifed him to come. Now Sertorius did ever vie great modestie at the board, and wold fuffer no diffolute talke nor light parts at his meate, and had acquainted them also that vsed Section his table, to talke of graue and wife matters, & yet one to be honeftly merry with another, with. out any playing or vincomely talke. In the middest of suppersthey that sought occasion of quarrel begantospeake leud words, counterfetting to be drunke, and to play many vile parts, of purpose to anger Sertorius. Whereupon Sertorius, whether it was that he could not abide to see those villanous parts, or that he mistrusted their ill will towards him, by fumbling of their words in their mouthes, and by their vnwonted irreverent maner shewed vnto him; fell backwards you the bed where he fate at meate, feeming no more to marke what they did or faid, Perpenna at that instant tooke a cup full of wine, and making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpose. The cup falling downe made a noise, and that was the figne given among them. Therwithal Antonius that the fate about Sertorius at the table, stabbed him in with his dagger. Sertorius feeling the thrust, strong ther of to rife; but the traiterous murtherer got vpon Serterius breaft, and held both his hands. And thus Serterius was Sertorius cruelly murthered, not able to defend himfelf, all the confpirators falling vp6 him. Sertorius death being blowne abroades the most part of the SPANIAR DS fent Ambassadours immediatly vnto Pompey and Metellus, yeelding themselves vnto them and Perpenna with those that remained with him, attempted to do fomething with Sertorius armic and preparation; but all fell out to his vtter destruction and ruine, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither command, nor knew how to obey. For he went to affaile Pompey, who had ouerthrowne him straight, and was in the end taken prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamitic, he did not vie himselfe like a valiant minded man, and one worthy to rule; for, thinking to Pampy faue his life, having Sertorius letters and writings, he offered Pompey to deliver him all Sertorius letters fent him from the chiefest Senators of Rome, written with their owne hands requesting Sertorius to bring his armie into ITALY, where he should find numbers of people desirous of his coming, and that gaped still for change of government. But here did Pompey shew himselfe a grave and no young man, delivering thereby the citic of Rom a from great feare and danger of rentiges change and innouation. For he put all Sertorius letters and writings on a heape together, and wildows in burnt them enery one, without reading any of them, or fuffering them to be read. And moreouer, he prefently put Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, tearn. would breed new occasions of trouble and sedition. And as for the other conspirators, some of them afterwards were brought to Pomper, who put them all to death and the rest of them seed present into Africk B, where they were all overthrowne by them of the country, and not a man of fute death them scaped, but fell vnfortunatly vpon the edge of the sword, Aufidius onely except, Manlius companion in loue. Who, either because he was not reckoned of, or else, vnknowne, died

> ble, and hated of all the world. The end of Sertorius life.

an old man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poore mifera-

THE LIFE OF

Eumenes.



parentage,



Vristhe Historiographer writeth, that Eumenes was born in the citie of Cardia in Thracia, being acariars sonne of the same countrey. (who for pourty earned his living by carying merchandizes to and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought vp, aswell at schoole, as at other comely exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, Philip king of MACEDON chancing to come through the citie of CARDIA, where having nothing to doe, he tooke great pleasure to see the young men of the citie handle their weapons, and boyes to wrastle : and among them, Eumenes shewed such activitie, and

Ham

camero pre- performed it with so good agrace withall, that Philip liked the boy well, and tooke him away with him. But sure their report seemed truest, which write that Philip did advance him for the loue he bare to his father, in whose house he had lodged. After the death of Philip, Eumenes continued his service with King Alexander his sonne, where he was thought a wise man, and as faithfull to his mafter, as any : and though he was called the Chancellor or chiefe Secretary, yet the King did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefest friends or familiars. For he was fent his Lieutenant general of his whole army, against the Indians, & was Perdiccas succeffor in the gouernement of his prouince, Perdiccas being preferred vnto Hephaftions charge after his death. Now because Neoptolemus (that was one of the chiefe Squires for the bodie vnto the King) after the death of Alexander told the Lords of the councell of Mace Don, that he had scrued the King with his shield and speare, and how Eumenes had followed with his penne and paper: the Lords laughed him to scorne, knowing that besides many great honours Eumenes had received, the King efteemed so well of him, that he did him the honour by mariage to make him his kinseman. For the first Ladie that Alexander knew in Asia, was Barfine Artabazus daughter, by whom he had a sonne, and called his name Hercules: and two of her sisters he maried the one of them called Apama vnto Ptolomie, and her other fifter also called Barsine, he bestowed vpon Eumenes, when he distributed the PERSIAN Ladies among his Lords and fami-Eumenes. liars to marie them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with King Alexander, and stood in some danger by meanes of Hephastion. For Hephaston following Alexanders Court on a time, having appointed Euius a fife-player alodging, which Eumenes fervants had taken up for their maister: Eumenes being in a rage, went with one Mentor unto Alexander, erying out, that a man were better be a fife and a common player of Tragedies, than a fouldier, fithence

warres. Alexander at that present time was as angry as Eumenes, and roundly tookevo Hebbeltion for it: howbeit immediatly after having changed his mind, he was much offended with Eumenes, because hethought him not to have vsed that franke speech so much against Hethastion, as of a certaine prefumptous boldnesse towards himselfe. And at another time also, when Alexander was fending Nearchus with his army by fea to cleare the costs of the Ocean, it chanced the king was without money; whereupon he fent to all his friends to take vp money in press, and among others, vnto Eumenes, of whom he requested three hundred talants. Eumenes lent him but a hundred, & faid he had much ado to get him fo much of all his tenats. Alexander faid nothing to him neither would be fuffer them to take his hundred talants; but commanded his officers to fet Eumenes tent on fire, because he wold take him tardy with a lie, before he could give order to cary away his gold and filter. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make shift to faue any thing: the which Alexander repented afterwards, and was forry it was burnt, because al his letters and writings were burnt withal. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and filter mingled together, about a thoufand talants, & yet Alexander tooke none of it away but more then that he fent vnto all his Lieutenants, Captaines, and Gouernours of countries, wher focuer they were, that they should send him copies of all the letters which they before had fent unto him, because all those which he had were burnt, and commanded Eumenes to take them againe. After that, Eumenes and Hephaftion fell at variance againe, by reason of a gift that was given him, infomuch as very foule words passed betwixt Hepheltion and him . yet did not the King give Eumenes any ill countenance at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after Hiphaftion was dead, the King taking his death grieuously whom he loued so dearely, gaue no good countenance (and was very briefe besides) vnto those whom he knew bare any grudge to Hiphestion whiles he lived, and that he thought were glad of his death, but specially vnto Eumenes of all other, whose malice towards Hephaltion was knowne to him well enough in fomuch as he would oft twit him withall, remembring him of the iniuties he had offered Hepheflion. But Eumenes being very wife, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the Telfe fame meane that did him hurt: and deuised (to further Alexanders desire, seeking to honour Hephelions funerall with all pompe possible) new inuentions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before beene feene sparing for no cost, laying on mony bountifully, to make him a rich and stately tombe. Againe, when Alexander was dead, there fell out great variance betwixt the Mac BDONIAN footmen, and the noble men that had been nearest about him: and in that quarrell, Eumenes in good will stucke to the Lords, but in words he feemed aneuter &friend to both parts, faying, It was not for him being a stranger, to thrust himself into the quarrels of the MACEDONIANS. And when the other Lords were departed from BABYLON, Eumenes tarying behind pacified the greatest part of the soldiers, and made them more tractable and readie to agree with the Lords. Whereupon, after the Lords and Captaines had confulted together, and taken order for these contentions, they divided the government of the provinces among them, which they called Satrapes: in which partition Eumenes had CAPPADOCIA, made Go-PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coast vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the citie of TRAPEZVNTE, the Mernour of which at that time was not subject to the Empire of MACEDON, for Ariarathes kept it then as of Cappaking. Howbeit it was faid, that Leonatus and Antigonus would put him in possession of it, with a docta and great and puissant armic, and make him gouernour there. Yet afterwards Antigonus made none Paphla. account of Perdiceas letters vnto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to conquer all, despissing all other. And Leonatus also came downeinto Phrigia, and vndertooke the journey of this conquest for Eumenes sake. But when he was in his iourney thirherward, Hecataus tyrant of the Cardians, went to him to his army, and prayed him rather to go helpe Antipater and the other MACEDONIANS, which were belieged in the citie of LAMIA. So Leonatus being willing to take fea, & go thither, went about to perfuade Eumenes alfo to like of it, & to reconcile him with Hecations; for they were not friends one with another, by reason of a quarrell that Eumenes father had with this Hecateus, about the gouernement of their city. Besides that, Eumenes had many times complained of him openly vnto King Alexander, faying that he was a tyrant, and befought the King that it would please him to set the CARDIAN'S at liberty. And therefore Eumenes refusing that journey against the Grecians, alleadged that he was affraid of Antipater, who had been his enemic of long time, doubting that for the old grudge he bare him,

and also to gratifie Hecateus, he would put him to death: Leonatus then reuealed himselfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe ouer the seato aide Antipater, where indeed his meaning wasto take the kingdome of MACEDON. Thereupon he shewed him letters fent from Cleopatra, willing him to come to the citie of PELLA, and there she would marrie him. When Eumenes was made private to his purpose either because he feared Antipater, or else for that he had no great good opinion of Leonatus, knowing him to be a fond man, and very rash and vnconstant in his doings, he stole away from him by night, with those few men he had (being about three hundred horfemen, and two hundred footmen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the fumme of fine thousand talants; and fled with them vnto Perdiccas, vnto whom he bewrayed all Leonatus intent and mind: whereupon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after Perdiccas brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with a great armie which he himself did leade. Where Ariarathes was taken prifoner, and Eumenes established Gouernor of the country, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his friends, and left them there Captaines of garrifons which he appointed, placing euery where Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernours, and all fuch other officers necessary as he thought meete, Perdiccas medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, Eumenes went away with Perdiceas againe as well to wait vpon him, as also because he would ever be about the king. But Perdiccas thinking with himfelfe that he alone could well enough performe the enterprise he went about: and confidering also that the realme he left behind him stood needfull of a wise and skilful Gouernor, whom he might trust with the safety of his state: whethey were in CILICIA, returned Eumenes backe againe, vnder colour to fend him to his gouernment, but indeed to keepethe realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined vpon the frontires of his country whereof he was Gouernour, because Neoptolemus did under-hand practise some alteration. Now though Neoptolemus was a proud and infolent person, yet Eumenes still deuised to hold him in, & kept him from attempts by gentle and faire words. Furthermore, perceiuing also that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footmen were growne exceeding from and infolent, he for a strength and defence against them, set vp a company of horsemen; and to bring it to passe. released all the countrimen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serue on horsebacke. and brought a great number of horie of service, which he gave amongst them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them couragious, by honors and gifts he gaueto them that served wel; and so by continuall exercise and often remouing them fro place to place, made them very ready and seruiceable. Thus were the noble men of Macedon, some much amazed, some others very glad when they saw how by this diligence Eumenes had in so short a time gotten about him such a number, as sixe thousand three hundred horsemen. About that time, Craterus and Antigonus having subdued the GRECIANS, came on with their army into As 1A to ouerthrow Perdiceas greatnesse and power and newes also, that shortly they wold inuade CAPPADOCIA. Whereupon Perdiccas being otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against Ptolomy, made Eumenes his Lieutenant generall, and gaue him commission and full authority ouer alhis foldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA, and wrote letters vnto Neoptolemus and Alcetas, commanding them by the fame that they should be obedient vnto Eumenes, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for Alcetas, he flatly answered, that he would not be at this warre: for the Macedonians under his charge were ashamed to take armes against Antipater; and moreover they wold not fight against Craterus, but contrarily were bent to receive him for their Captaine, fo much good will they bare him. Weoptolemus on the other fide, was as ready to play the traitour, and to do Eumenesa shrewd turne, as Alcetas was. For being sent by Eumenes to come to him, where he should have obeyed him, he set his me in battel ray to fight with him. There did Eumenes reape the first fruite of his wife forefight of the horsemen, which he had set up to make head against the footmen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footmen were broken and ouerthrown, he ouercame Meoptolemus, and put him to flight with his horfmen, and took al their cariage. Then he made the march in order of battel against the MACEDONIANS, who were dispersed every where, following the chase of his footmen, who they had ouerthrowne. Thus coming vpon them in this disorder, he draue them to throw away their weapons, and to yeeld vnto him : and moreouer, euery man to take his oath to serue him faithfully in this war, whersoeuer he would leade them. Now Neoptolemus gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto Craterus and Antipater: who fent vnto Eumenes to pray him to take their part, with condition that he should not onely enjoy the countries and provinces still which he had in government, but furthermore that they would give him others vnto them, and make him stronger then ever he was: besides that by the acceptation of the offer, he should be taken for Antipaters good friend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemie. Whereunto Eumenes made answer: that having alwayes beene Antipaters enemy, he could not of a fudden become his friend, specially seeing him vse his friends as enemies: howbeit otherwise that he was very willing to make Craterus peace with Perdiccas, and to restore him againe to his fauour, vpon reasonable and indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he meant to affaile him, that then he would aide him so long as he had any breath in his bodie, and would lose his life before he would breake his promife. This answer being brought vnto Antipater, they fell to confult at leisure what was to be done. In the meane space, Neoptolemus that fled vpon his ouerthrow, was come vnto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and befought them both very instantly (but Craterus chiefely) to give him aide if it were possible. For the MACEDONIANS were so farre in lone with him, that if they did but see his hat, and heare him speake, they would all arme themselues and follow him. For to speake a troth, Craterus was had in great estimation among the MACEDONIANS: insomuch as after Alexanders death, he was more defired of the common fouldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for their fakes incurred Alexanders difgrace and difpleasure, because he went about to perswade him to leave the king of Persiaes manner, wherunto Alexander by litle and litle gaue himselfe; and also for that he maintained and defended the custome of the countrey of MACEDON, the which every man through pride and excesse beganto forsake and contemne. At that time therefore Craterus sent Intipater into CILICIA. and he himselfe with Neoptolemus, went against Eumenes with the best part of his army, hoping to take him tardie and altogether vnprouided, supposing he would give himselfe to pleafure and pastime, after so great a victorie. But Eumenes, like a wise and valiant Captaine, had taken such order, that he heard newes time enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readinesse to resist him. Yet was not this the chiefest point of his skill Eumenes in warre: for he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not onely keepe his enemies from soll in. knowledge of any thing that he did; but making his men alfo to kill Craterus in battell, before warre. they knew against whom they should fight, and to keepealso so dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge, that of all other shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policy. First, he made a rumor to be spread in his hoast, how Neoptolemus and Pigres were againe come against him, with certaine horsemen of all forts gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great desire of sleepe came vpon him, in the which he had a maruellous strange dreame. For it seemed vnto him that he saw two Alexanders preparing to fight one with another, either of them leading a battell of footmen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN dreams. fashion: who coming to give chargethe one vpon the other, the goddesse Minerua came to aide the one, and Ceres likewise to aide the other. Then he thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom Minerua aided was ouerthrowne, and that Ceres had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to give him that had wonne the field. Hereupon Eumenes perswaded himselfe that this dreame made for him, and promised him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile countrey of corne, where was great plentie of it. For all the fields were sowne with corne in euerie place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefite of long peace, to see all the corne fields how greene they looked. But when he vnderstood that the enemies had given their fouldiers for the fignall of battell, Minerua and Alexander, then was his first imagination confirmed morethen before. Whereupon, he gaue Geres and Alexander for fignall of the battell to his fouldiers, and commaunded every man to make him a garland of wheate eares to weare on their heads, and that they should wreath flowers and no legaies about their pikes. He was in mind many times to make his trustiest Captaines privile against whom they should fight, and not alone to trust himselfe withall, to keepe so necessary athing as that fecret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution thinking it the safest way, not to commit this danger, but to himselfe. Now when he came to give battell, he would place never a MACEDONIAN directly against Craterus, but set two companies of men at armes that were strangers against him, the which Pharnabazus (Artabazus sonne) and Phanix Tenidian did leade. Then he

Battell Eumenes Craterus.

wiftery of Crateruster Reoptole-

fpecially commaunded, that so soone as they saw the enemies before them, they should straight giue charge, giuing them no leifure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Herauld or trumpet that they should send vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne against him, if they once came to know Craterus. Now for himselfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie. where he would meete full with Neoptolemus front. When they had passed a litle hill that stood betweene both battels, Eumenes horsemen following his commaundement, ranne with full carriere to fet vpon their enemies. Craterus feeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and curfed Neoptolemus that had deceiued him in that fort, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his fide, if they might but once fee him: not with standing, he prayed them that were about him, to shew themselves like valiant menthat day, and therewithall siercely set spurres to his horse to meet with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their staues being broken, they fell straight to their swords: but that day did not Crateria dishonour the memorie of Alexander, for he flue many of his enemies round about him, valiantly repulsed them that did affaile him, and many times ouerthrew them. Yet in fine, one of the men of armes of Thracia gauchim fuch ablow on the fide, that he turned him off his horfe, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But Gorgias, one of Eumenes Captaines know. ing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to guard him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and even in the very pangs of death. Eumenes and Neoptolemus on the other fide, which had bin mortall enemies of long time, being on fire with an old malice, they fought vp and downe the one for the other. And at the two first courses they could not one light vpon the other, but at the third meeting, when they knew one another, then they fet fpurres to their horses, their swords drawne, and with great cries gaue charge vpon each other. And their horses met so siercely together, as if two armed galleys had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridles in their horses neckes, closed together, and with both hands striued to plucke offeach others head peece, & to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing each other their horses ran fro them, and they felto the ground, one holding the otherfast as if they had wrastled together. Neoptolemus got vp first : but as he rofe, Eumenes cutthe ham of his legge, and raifed himfelfe vp withall. Neoptolemus staying himfelfe vpon one knee, his other legge, being very fore hurt, defended himfelfe on the ground the best he could, from Eumenesthat was on his feete, but he could give him no deadly wound: neuertheleffe himfelfe had a blow on the necke, that layed him flat on the ground. Then Eumenes inflamed with choler against him, went about to strip him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious mood, remembred not that Neoptolemus had his sword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about his groine, not farre from his prinie parts; how beit the wound made Eumenes worse afraid then there was cause of hurt, for that Neoptolemus strength was gone before the stroake came, dying presently upon it. Eumenes having stripped him, found himselfe very ill(by reason of his wounds) on his armes and legges, which had many a sore gash: notwithstanding, he got vpon his horseagaine, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had beene fighting still. But there being told that Craterus had his deaths wound, he went straight to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not past knowledge. Then Eumenes lighted from his horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accursed Neoptolemus that had brought him to that pitifull state, and had also forced him to be in battell against one of his deerest friends, to make him the instrument of his veter vndoing. This second battell Eumenes wanne ten daies after the first battell obtained, which got him greathonour, for that he had discomfited one of his enemics through wisedome, and the other by valiantnesse. But yet this bred him muchill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his friends also that tooke his part, when they bethought them, that he being a stranger, had with the weapons and power of the Macedonians themselves, slaine the greatest and most famous Captaine among them. Now if Perdiccas had been so happy, as to have lived and received the advertisement of Craterus death, no doubt he had been the greatest person of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill lucke would haue it, within two dayes after that Perdiccas was flaine in a mutinie of his men in A-GYPT, newes came to his armie of Eumenes victory, and also of the death of Craterus. Whereupon the Macedonians were so offended with Eumenes, that incontinently they condemned him to die, and gaue Antigonus and Antipater commission to execute the reuenge. When Eumenes

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Eumenes passing by mount Ida(where the king kept a race and breed of horses) had taken away with him as many horses as he would, and had sent letters of aduertisement therof to the kings riders: Antipater, as it is reported, finiled, and in mockerie faid, that he maruelled to fee Eumenes greateare, to thinke that he should either give or receive any account of the kings goods. So Eureenes thought good to fight in the great plaines of Lydia, especially neare vnto the chiefe citie of SARD is because he was the stronger in horsemen, and for that he wold make Cleopatra see the power of his armie. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of Antipater) he sadiuste TVCHT further into high PHRYGIA, and wintred in the citie of CEL ANES. But there Polemon Al- observation cetas and Decimus, fell in contention with him for leading of the armie, faying that they had as of Lyais. much right to leade the armie as he. Eumenes answered them. Truly here is the common saying vp and downc: Desperate men regard no danger. Now Eumenes having promised his fouldiers pay within three dayes, to keep his promife, fold them all the farmes and caffles of that country, together with the men and beafts of the same, wherof the province was fully replenished. Therupon his Licutenants of the bands having bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through Eumenes engines of batterie which he suffered them to cary with him: and having taken them, they went and divided the spoile, paying every fouldier ratably his wages due. This deuice brought him againe in fauour among his fouldiers. For certaine papers being found in his campe cast abroad by his enemies promising great offices, and a hundred talents besides to any man that killed Eumenes: the Machdonians that ferued vinder him were so offended withall. that they presently set downe an order, that from that time forward a thousand of the best souldiers among them (which also had charge under them) should alwaies guard his person, keeping watch enery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after another. Wherunto they all agreed: and Eumenes gaue them those honors and rewards which thekings of Macedon were wontto give vnto their friends, and which they gladly received. For through their grant he had authoritic to give purple cloakes and hats to whom he thought good, which was the honorablest gift the king of MACEDON could give. It is true, that prosperity maketh simple men high minded. wherby they feeme (though they be not) very honorable, but specially whe fortune hath raised them to honor and wealth. But indeed he that is of a noble mind and frout courage, is best discerned in aductfity; for he neuer yeelded to any troubles, as appeareth by Eumenes. For when he had lost a battel among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADOCIA, through the treasonof one of his fouldiers he being purfued, yet neuer gaue the traitor any leisure to flie to his enemies The confor fafety, but took him and truffed him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horfe Eumtra in head upon a fudden, and leaving his enemies fide-hand of him that had him in chafe he closely admission. ftole by them without their knowledge, and held on journeying fo long, vntil he came to the felf fame plaine where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies (the captaines by themselues, and the souldiers apart) he burnt them with the doores, gates, and windowes of all the villages and townes thereabouts that he could get together; and in feed of tombes for them, he raised up great heapes of earth. Insomuch as Antigonus coming thither immediatly after he wondered much at his valiantnesseand inuincible courage. Removing thence, he met with Antigonus cariage, and might eafily without danger haue taken a number of prifoners as well free as bond, and haue gotte all the riches and treafure which they had spoiled in so many fundry warres, townes and countries howbeit he was afraid that if his fouldiers were loden with that spoile, it would make them more heavie to march, and vnable to flie, but specially frategine more tender to abide to runne from place to place a long time together, being the onely meane wherein he trufted to come to end this warre. For he made account that Antigonus in the end would be wearie in following him follong a time, and therefore that he would turne some other way. Moreouer he perceived that it was impossible for him by his authority to keepe the MACB-DONIANS from taking such a prey, as offered it selfe vnto them: whereupon he commaunded them to fray a while, and bait their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies cariage. But in the meane time he fecretly fent a messenger to Menander (who had the charge and conduct of all the carriage) to will him to flie with all speed out of the plaine, & to get him to the hanging of a hill not far from thence, and fafe from horsemen, where they could not be enuironed, and there to fortifie himfelfe, fending him word also, that he sent him this aduertisement, for the old friendship and acquaintance that had been betweene them afore. Menander

hearing what danger he was in, made his mentruffe vp their cariage straight, Therupon Eumenes

openly fent certaine light armed mento discouer, and to bring him newes; and therewithall commanded them to arme, and bridle their horses, as if he had meant to have led them against the enemies. His scouts were now returned, and told him that it was vnpossible either to diffresse ortake Menander, for that he was fled into a place of fuch strength, and therefore was not to be come by. Eumenes feemed to be very forry for it, howbeit heled his army from thence notwith. standing. Menander afterwards reported this matter to Antigonus, and the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend Eumenes, and after that loued him better then euer they did before: because that having their children in his hands who he might have made slaves. and their wives also whom he might have defiled he spared them all. Howbeit Antigonus to put them out of this humour, told them, Ye are deceived, my friends: for it was not for your fakes, nor yetto pleasure you, that Eumenes tooke not your wines, your children, and your goods, but only for the feare he had to haue shackles on his heeles, to let him from speedy slying. So Eumenes departing from thence, fled still before Antigonus, and wandring vp and downe, did himselfe wish his souldiers to get them somewhere esse; either indeed for that he was carefull of them, or for that he was vnwilling to have such a number about him, being too few to fight a battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strange place of situation, called Nora, in the confines of Lycaonia and Cappa Docia, with five hundred horsmen, and two hundred foot. men well armed: and when he was come thither also, he gaue every one leave to depart that asked him licence, because they could not have abidden the discomodity of the place, which was very ftraight, and the lack of necessary victuals, which they must need shaue wanted, if the siege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good words and louing countenance. Shortly after came Antigonus before the fort, but would not beliege it, before he fent for Eumenes to come to him vpon his word. Eumenes answered him, that Antigonus had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the heads of his tribe, and that himselse on the other fide had not a noble man for whom he fought; and therefore if Antigonus would have him come and speake with him, that he should send him one of his chiefest friends in hostage. Againe, Antigonus being earnest with him, and telling him, it was reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power; Eumenes answered him: I will acknowledge none better then my felf, folong as I can hold my fword in my hand. In the end, Antigonus (according to Eumenes request) fent his owne nephew Ptolomie into the fort, and then came Eumenes out. At their meeting they both embraced & faluted each other, as friends of old acquaintance and familiaritie, and to fell in talke of divers matters; but all this while Eumenes neuer once made request to depart in safety, neither yet demanded pardon, but onely desired the goarimity. confirmation of his charge and gouernment, and that he might be restored to that which was giue him. They that were present at that meeting, maruelled much at Eumenes, and greatly commended his stoutnesse. Now whiles they were thus in talketogether, the MACEDONFANS came out of all parts of the campe, to see what maner of man Eumenes was: because that after the death of Craterus, there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN fouldiers of any Captaine but of Eumenes. Neuerthelesse. Antigonus fearing they would do Eumenes some mischiefe, commanded them aloud to give backe, and made stones to be throwne among them to keepe them off him. All this notwithstanding he was faine in the end to put them off with his guard, and to take Eumenes in his armes, and had much ado to deliuer him fafely into his fort againe. After this impar. lance, Antigonus compassed this fort of Nora round about with a wall, and left a sufficient number of men to continue the fiege, and so went his way with the rest of his army. In the mean time Eumenes remained befieged within this fort, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and falt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor of sweete taste, to sustaine them with their bread. Yet with such as he had he kept them in good likeing that were in house with him. For he made them every one after another sit at his boord with him, and withall did fashion out that maner of diet, with a certaine life and familiaritie of pleasant deuices to entertaine them at their meare. For besides that he sought to shew them as pleasant a countenance as he could, yet naturally he had a sweete faire face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had been trained vp in it: but like a fresh youth, being of such a constitution of body, that the excellentest workman that euer was could not better set out all the parts and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be seene in him. His speech was not harsh nor churlish, but very milde and pleasant, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the siege, there was nothing that

more annoyed the befreged then the narrownesse of the fort wherein they were, which was not aboue two furlongs compaffe about; and their houses so litle and narrow, that they could scant turne them in them, and did eate and drinke without any manner of exercise for themselves, or Eamone their horse. Now Eumenes to take away the sluggishnesse that groweth by idlenesse, a thing most the free for hurtfull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines, to keepethem in breath, and to market make them the lighter to flie, if occasion were offered, put his men into the longest and widest hall he had in his house (being fourteene cubits long to walk vp and downe in) and taught them first of all to march faire and fostly, and then by litle & litle to hasten their pace; for the horses he had them he made to be girt before, one after another, & the did foftly trife them vp with long pulleys fastned to the beames, their hindmost part standing on the ground, and their formost being aloft. The horses being trised up in this maner, their riders came with loud cries behind them and some with whips in their hands to lash them, that the horse being mad withall, yerked out behind, & sprang forward with his formost legs to touch the ground, that they did but euen rafe italitle, fo as enery veine and finew of them were strained by this meanes, that they blew, and were all of a fome withall, so good an exercise to them it was, as welto put them in breath, as to keepe their legs supple to run. After that, they had their oates very cleane pickt and dresied, that they might digeft them the fooner. Antigonus having long continued this fiege, newes came vnto him that Autipater was dead in MACEDON, and that the realme was in a great broile, through the factions of Callander and Polypercon. Antigonus whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coueting with himfelfe the whole kingdome of Mace Don, thought good to make Eumene, his friend, that through his help he might attaine his defired purpole. Therupon he fent Hieronymus vnto him to treat of peace, & gaue him the forme of the oath which he wold have him sweare vnto him. When Eumenes had seene it, he would not be sworne in that maner, but corrected it, and faid: that he did referre himselfe to the judgement of the MACEDONIANS which kept him befieged, to judge which of those two formes was most meetest, that which Antigonus hadfent him, or the fame which he had corrected. For in Antigonus forme of oath, there was a litle mention only made at the beginning of the bloud royall, but in all the rest following, he bound Eumenes particularly to himselfe. But Eumenes in his forme of oath, did first of all put Olympias the mother of king Alexander, & the kings his fons afterwards and for the relt he fwore he would be friend of the friends, and enemy of the enemies, not of Antigonus onely, but of the kings, and of Olympias. The MACEDONIANS being at the fiege before Nora, did better like the forme of Eumenes oath, then they did that of Antigonus. So having given Eumenes his oath, and made him sweareaccording to that forme, they raised their siege, and sent also vnto Antigonus to take his oath. Allthis accomplished, Eumenes redeliuered the Cappadocians their hostages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gave him in their stead, horse of warre, beasts of carriage, tents and paulions. Thus he began to gather his men againe together, which were dispersed abroad after his ouerthrow, so that in few dayes he was aboue a thousand horsemen, with whom he fied, fearing yet Antigonus: and he did wifely. For Antigonus had not onely commaunded them to flut him vp againe straighter then he was before: Thin we but besides that wrote sharpe letters, and veric angrily vnto the MACEPONIANS, which dridens, had accepted the correction of the oath. Whilest Eumenes wandred up and downe flying still, the sen of he received letters from certaine in Macedonia (fearing Antigonus greatnesse) and special-futher to ly from Olympias, which fent vnto him to come into MACEDON, to take the charge and gouetn- alexander ment of her young sonne Alexander, whom they sought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewiferceined letters from Polyperchon, and from king Philip, who commanded him to make war ed Philip. with Antigorus with his armie he had in CAPPADOCIA, and to put in his purse of the kings fine Exments hundred filuer talents (which had been taken from him before) which were in the citie of Cys
Philip. DES: and besides, to defray the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meet. And there- Lientemant withall also they wrote vnto Antigenes and Teutamus, the two Captaines of the Argyraspides, Argyraspi to wit, the fouldiers with the filuer shields, or shields filuered, which were of the old bands of det alwa. Alexanders armie. These two Captaines having received these letters, did vie Eumenes with dry soul. very good words, and shewed him great countenance: yet a man by their lookes might easily deristo coniecture that they enuied him; for either of them both thought themselves men inflicient, the other fluor and worthy to commaund Eumenes, notto aid him. Howbeit Eumenes behaued himselfe ve-edshaid. rie wisely, for as touching their enuic, he pacified that, because he tooke not the money which temperance, Fff 3

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ne was commanded to take for his owne vie, for that he had no need of it. And as for their armsition and prefumption, diffdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell how to command nor obey, he did reclaime them by a superstition he layd before them, which was this. He made them beleeue that Alexander did appeare to him in his sleepe, and that he shewed him a paulion sumptuously set out in the state and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and told him, that if they would keepe their councell place in that paullion, he would be present among them, and aide them in all their counsels, and conducts of their warres, so that they would alwaies begin by him. He casily perswaded Antigenes and Tentamus to beleeve that which he spake, who would not go to him to consult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for himself to be seene to go to other mens gates. Wherfore with al their confents they incontinently fet vp a goodly rich pauillion, which was called Alexanders pauilion and there they kept their councels and affemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest causes. After this, they went towards the high countries, & met with Pencestas on the way (Eumenes ve. ry great friend) who loyned with them, and other great peers of the realme, with all their power besides. This didgreatly strengthen the army of the noblemen of MACHDONIA, as touching the number of men, and their braue armours and furniture: but for their owne persons, because they had no man to command them fince the death of Alexander, they were growne selfe willed by diffolute liberty, and effeminate in their manner of life; and moreover they had gotten a tyrannicall fiercenesse, nourished and increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many of them being then together, could not be quiet one with another, but shamefully flattered the old bands of the MACEDONIAN fouldiers, giving them money, and making them banquets and feasts of sacrifices. And thus in short time, of a campe they brought it to be a dissolute tauerne, where the noblemen got the fouldiers fauour that they might be chosen Chieftaines of all the armie: like as the common peoples voices are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honourable states and offices of the common wealth. Now Eumenes found straight that these peeces of the realme disdained one another, howbeit that they al seared and mistrusted him, and sought but for oportunitie to kill him. Wherefore to preuent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupie mony, and so borrowed a great summe of them specially whom heknew most hated him, to the end that from thenceforth they should no more feleout of distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the mony they had lent him. And therof followed a strange thing : for other mens mony and goods was the safety of his life. For where others giue money to faue their liues, he by taking of money faued his owne life. Now for the foldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whileft they faw they were without danger of enemies to make them afraid, they still hung vpon them that gaue them, being defirous to be made Generals, and came eucry morning to their vpriling to waite upon them, and follow them wherefoeuer they went. But when Antigonus was come to campe hard by them with a great and puissant armie, and that their case required then a valiant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the souldiers alone, but all the pecres and states besides (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit themselues vnto Eumenes, to be at his commandement. For when Anticonus Passigniss affayed all the waies he could to passe ouer the river of Pasitigris, the peeres which were laided in divers places to let him from passing over , heard nothing of it, so that there was none but Eume-Eumenes nes onely that refifted him, and fought with him, where he flue fuch a number of his men, that he filled the river with them, and tooke foure thousand of them prisoners. Againe, when Eumenes was ficke, these old bands did more plainly shew what opinion they had of him, and of others, to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them good cheere at their houses; yet victorie. that Eumenes onely of all other was worthiest to be their Captaine, and to command them. For Peucestas having feasted them in the kingdome of PERSIA, and given every souldier a mutton to facrifice, thought he had won great fauor and credit among them. But shortly after, as the army marched against their enemies, Eumenes by misfortune fell dangerously sicke, and therfore foldiers ar- would needs be carried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noise, because he could take no rest. Butthey had not gone farre, before they faw their enemics, which having passed ouer certaine litle hils betweene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the foldiers faw the glistering of the gilt armours of their enemies that glared in the Sunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephants with the towers vpon their backes, and the men at armes with their purple coates vpon their armours (which was the apparell

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they were when they went to fight with their enemies) then the foremost staid upon it, and cried out, willing them to fend for Eumenes to leade them; for they would elfe go no further if they had not him for their Generall. And therwithal they raifed their pikes, and laid down their shields at their feet, calling from one to another to stay, and to their private Captaines also: and told them plainely, that they would not stirre a foot from thence, nor fight at all, vnlesse Eumenes were among them to leade them. Eumenes hearing of it, came to them with great speed, hastning his flaues and littermen to bring him thither; and then opening his litter on every fide, he held out his right hand to the fouldiers, and told them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The fouldiers also as soone as they saw him, saluted him in the Macedonian tongue, and tooke up their shields, clapping them against their pikes with a great shout, bidding their enemics come when they would, they should be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. Antigonus on the other fide, being informed by certaine prisoners which his fouldiers had taken in skirmish, that Eumenes was fallen very fore sicke, and by reason therof was caried in a litter, thought now he should have no great ado to discomfit the rest of the army, and therefore made all possible speed he could to fight. But when he came so neare, that he might eafily fee the order and countenance of his enemies, who were fet in fuch good order of bartell, that it could not any waies be amended, he was much amazed withall, and pawfed a great while; and in the meane time spied Eumenes litter a farre off, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and turning himfelfe to his friends, faid: See, faid he, I beleeue it is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But Antigonna with those words, he sounded the retraite, and brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was a little passed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their old trade againe, the Pecres to flatter the foldiers, and the foldiers to waxe braue and floute against their Captaines: fo that when they came to take their garrifons for the winter time, they divided in maner among them the whole countrie of the GABENIANS, the first from the last being lodged almost a thoufand furlongs off. Which Antigenus vnderstanding, determined to set vpon the, they mistrusting nothing; and fo went fodainly towards them, by a fhorter way then that he had alreadic come, but the worser way a great deale, and where no water was to be had:in hope that if he metthem thus difperfed afunder, their Captaines could not readily affemble them all together. But while he was in this his journey, in the defert crooked way, he was so ouertaken with such boisterous winds and extreame bitter cold, that his fouldiers couldgo no further, but were forced to tarrie still, to prouide them present remedy against the surie of the time. Now the only remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knew of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines, towards the defert, being amazed to fee fuch a number of fires in the valley, fent prefently with speed vpontwo camels light loden, to aduertise Pencestas, who being nearest vnto the mountaines was so scared with these newes, that he was at his wits end, not knowing what to do. For feeing his other companions as much afraid as himselfe, he fled upon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But Eumenes quieted this great feare, affuring them that he would flay the fudden attempt of their enemies, and that they should come three dayes later then they looked for: which they beleeued. Then did Euments send messengers into every quarter to all the Captaines, commanding them specdily to put their men in readines, and to meet him in a certaine place which he appointed. Himfelfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to chuse a fit ground to lodge a campe, the which might easily be seen from the top of the mountaines which they must passe that come fratageme from the defert : and there fortified the same with trenches, and divided it out into quarters, ma- against king fire in every place, such a distance off one from another, as they vse commonly to make in a campe. It was no sooner done, but Antigonus came to the top of the mountaines, and saw these fires afarre off, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had long before knowne of his comming, and that they came against him. Being affraid therefore less his enemies would compell him to fight, comming fresh vpon him, his owne men being wearie and done with the paines they had abidden, comming through that defert countrey: he tooke his way to leade backe his army, not the nearest way by the which he came, but through the country richly inhabited and replenished with great cities and good townes, to refresh his ouer-wearied people. Yet feeing he had none alarmes giuen, nor any skirmishes offered him, (as they

vie commonly when both armies are neare together) and that the valley men told him that they

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had seene none other armie but his, sauing that round about there was store of fires: then he ftraight mistrusted that it was one of Eumenes stratagemes of warre, wherewith he had deceived him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to find him, determining no more to steale vpon him, but to put all to the hazard of a battell. But in the meane time, the most part of the hoast was gathered about Eumenes, for the great estimation every man had of his wisedome and sufficiencie: insomuch that they agreed and ordained. that he onely as their Lieutenant generall should command the whole armic. This spited the two Captaines of the ARGYRASPIDES, Antigenes and Tentamus, who bare him fuch an inward grudge, that from that time forth they practifed his death: and affembling together with many of the States and particular Captaines, they fate in councell to know when, and in what fort they should kill him. Howbeitthe most voices affembled in this councell, were whole of opinion. that they should take the benefit of his service in leading the battell, and that immediatly after they should put him to death. This being thus resoluted vpon, Eudamus Captaine of the Elephants, and another called Phadimus, went fecretly and told Eumenes what they had concluded vpon in the affembly against him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they foughtto pleasure him, but onely because they were afraid to lose the money they had lent him. Eumenes gaue them great thanks, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it vnto his best friends, and told them: You see how I am enuironed with a troope of wild & brutish beasts. That done, he made his Will, and tore all the letters and writings that had ben fent him, because he would not have them fuffer for him after his death, that had Ient him fecret advertisements. zers to keep. Afterwards when he had disposed of all his private matters in this fort, he stood in a doubt whether he should lose the battell, giving his enemies the victory, or whether it were better for him to flie into Cappado Cia, through Media & Armenia. Howbeit herefolued of nothing before his friends. But when the mischiefe he was in had put divers thoughts into his head, in fine, he determined to fight, and did fet his army in battel ray, perfwading the GRECIANS as well as the barbarous people to stand to it like men. And as for the old soldiers of the Macedonians. they fo litle needed exhortation, that they themselves did exhort Eumenes to be of good courage faying that their enemies wold neuer abide them, because they were all the oldest souldiers, and of greatest experience that had been in all the conquests of king Philip, and of his sonne Alexander; and that it was neuer heard that they had been ouerthrowne in any fet battell, the most of them being threescore and ten yeares old, and the youngest no lesse then threescore. Whereupon, when they ran with great furie to give charge vpon their enemies, they cryed out aloude speaking to the souldiers of the MACEDONIAN'S that were under Antigonus: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers: And so affailing them with a lustie courage, and in rage withall, in a short space ouerthrew the squadron of their enemies, and slue the most part of them in the field. Thus was Antigonus armie cleane ouerthrowne on that fide : but on the other fide where his men'of armes were, through Pencestas cowardlinesse (that handled himself very ill at that battell) he had the upper hand and wanne all their carriage, through his forefight in the greatest fury of the battell, and the strength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a maruellous great plaine of length, neither too deepe, nor yet too hard vnderfoot, but couered ouer with a finall fine fand, much like to a drie fand the fea casteth vp, and leaueth vpon the shore. This sand being feattered abroad by riding and going too and fro of so many thousands of men and horses during the time of the battell foughten, had raifed fuch a mighty dust and white smoke in the elem et, as if they had ftirred or tempered white lime together: which troubled their fight fo fore, as they could fee nothing before them: in respect whereof Antigonus might easily seize all their cariage, themselues being neuer a whit the wifer. The battell being come to this passe you have heard, Teutamus sent presently vnto Antigonus, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage again. which he had taken and caried into his campe. Antigonus made him answer, that he would not only redeliver the goods vnto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreover vie them with all the fauour he could fo farforth as they deliuered Eumenes into his hands. Whereupon the Argy-RASPIDES tooke prefently a wicked resolution, to deliuer him aliue into § hands of his enemies. berned by And with that determination they came neare vnto him, not making any countenance as though they would lay hands on him, but rather feeming to guard and defend his person, as their maner was:fome of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had won the battell and others accusing the noblemen of cowardlines, saying, that

EVMENES.

the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of them having spied his time, flew to him, and tooke his fword out of his hand: the others straight laid hold of him. and bound both his hands behind him with his owne girdle. Antigonus vnder standing it, fent Nicanor thither to take him out of their hands, and to bring him to him. Then Eumenes having made request ynto them to suffer him to speake, as they brought him through the bands of these old MACEDONIAN fouldier, it was granted him with condition, that he should make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determined to do, but to tell them of things, which (as he faid) tended greatly to their benefit. Whereupon filence being made, he got vp vpona little hillocke, and there spake vnto them, putting forth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithlesse men, the wickedess that ever Mace on bred! What so great triumph or victory, hath ener Antigonus wonne of you, having fought it fuch infinite wayes, as you your selves doe now to the train put into his hands, deliuering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Willnot this be to your terous Argy great shame, that being masters of the field, you will grant the honour of the victory vnto your his popular enemie, only for a litle couetousnesse of money and paltarie stuffe which you have lost. And yet is not this all but the worst behind to send your Captaines as you do to pay the ransome of your baggage. For my felf, though now they leade me bound, yer do I remain free vnouercome, van- 33 quiffer of mine enemies, and fold by them that should be my friends. Well, yet this request I >> onely make vnto you in the name of Inpiter, protector of armes, and for the honour of the gods, 35 (vnto whom all vowed othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray & conjure you to kill me your >> felues in this place. For all commeth to one end. To be flaine in Antigonus campe by the hands » of mine owne enemies, will euer be counted your deed; and you may be affured he will not be >> angry withall, for he onely defircth Eumenes death, and not his life. If you will needs hold your hands from this attempt, vnloofe yet one of mine onely, that shall suffice to do the feate. And if ... for feareye will not put a fword in my hand, throw me bound yet hand and feete vnto wild » beafts: which if ye performe, then do I discharge you of your oth taken between both my hands ... which we have Iworne vnto your Captaine, as holily & perfectly performed. Vpon this speech >> of Eumenes, all the rest of the army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the Argyraspides cried out to cary him away, and not to give eare to his preaching and >> that it was a good deed to punish this wicked Choerrones IAN according to his deferts, confidering that he had surmoiled the MACEDONIANS with endlesse warre and battell. And moreouer, that it were too much shame that the worthiest souldiers that euer serued king Philip and Mexander, so painfully in al their warres, shold for recompence of their service in their old age be turned a begging, their wines having now lienthree nights with their enemies. With those words, they violently draughim on towards Antigonus campe, who fearing left the multitude of people that ranne to fee him, would smoother him in the presse, because every man ranne out of the campe, he fent thither ten of the strongest Elephants he had, and a good number of men at armes of the Medes and Parthians, to make way for him in the preffe. When Eumenes was now come into Antigonus campe, his heart would not ferue him to fee him in that miferable flate, for that they had once been familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him in their cuftodie, came to Antigonus to aske him, how he would have him kept: who answered Antivonus them: Like a Lion or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pitie of him, and dischar- answer for ged him of his weightiest irons, and sent one of his houshold servants to him to see him well v- keeping of fed, and suffered his friends to come and bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did Antigonus being prideferre many dayes before he would determine ought of Eumenes, hearing euery man speake, soner. and pondering their purposes and seucrall opinions. Wearchus CRETAN, and his owne sonne Demetrius spake for Eumenes, and made suite to saue his life, contrarie to all the other Lords and Captaines that were about Antigonus, who would in any case have him die. Eumenes standing In these termes, asked his keeper Onomarchus one day, what Antigonus meant, that having his enemie in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or nobly deliuer him? Onomarthus churlishly answered him againe, that the time was past now to shew his courage, as though Emerses. he feared not death: and that he should have shewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me Inpiter (quoth he) fo haue I done, and if thou beleuest not me, aske them that set vpon me: for I neuer met with man yet more strong then my selfe. Onomarchus replied againe: sith now therfore thou hast found a stronger then thy felf, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure. In fine, whe Antigones had refolued of his death, he commanded them to give him no more meate; and thus

AGE SILAVS.

The death

The inflire ward of treafon.

taking his fustenance from him. Eumenes was three daies a dying. In the meane time came fuch newes, that fuddenly the campe remound, and therfore before their departure, a man was fent to Eumenes to dispatch him out of his paine. Antigonus licenced his friends to take his body & burn it, and then to gather his affect and bones to fend them to his wife and children. Eumenes being flaine in this manner, the gods appointed none other judges to reuenge the difloyalty and treafon of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying Eumenes, but Antigonus selfe: who detesting them as cruell murtherers, and periured persons to the gods, appointed Ibyrtius Gouernor of the province of ARACHOSIA, to kill them every mothers for what way he could, that none of them might euer fee MACEDON agains, nor the Greekish sea.

THE COMPARISON OF

Eumenes with Sertorius.



Thegouern-Sertorius.



Ere have we fer downe the things worthy memorie of Eumenes and Sertorius. Now to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being strangers in a strange countrey, and banished out of their owne, had alwayes been Captaines of divers nations, and chieftaines of great and warlike armies. But this was proper to Sertorius, that all those of his faction gaue him the chiefest place of authoritie, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to commaund: where Eumenes having many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained

the chiefe place and authoritie in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be gouerned by a good Captaine; and for their ownefafety gaue place to the other, feeing themselues vnableto command. For Sertorius being a ROMAINE, gouerned the SPANIARDS and Lysi-TANIANS and Eumenesa Choer Ronesian, the Macedonians. Of the which the Spani-ARDS of long time had beene fubicat to the Empire of Rome: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had fubdued all the world. Furthermore, Sertorius being then of great estimation, for that he was a Senator of Rome, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignity and eftate to be chieftaine of agreat armie. Where Eumenes came with small reputation, diffained for that he was but a Secretarie; and when he began to come forwards, had not only leffe meanes to preferre him then Sertorius had but greater lets and impediments also, to hinder his rifing and estimation. For many openly stood against him, and secretly conspired his death : and not as Sertorius, whom no man contraried from the beginning, vntill his latter end, when certaine of his companions secretly conspired against him. Therfore Sertorius end of all his dangers, was to ouercome his enemies: where Eumenes greatest dangers came through his victories which he wan of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuied his honour. Now for their deeds of armes, they are both in maner alike: but on the other fide for their conditions, Eumenes naturally loued warre and contention, and Sertorius embraced peace and quietnesse. For Eumenes that might have lived in safety with honour, if he would but have given place to his betters, and for faken the warres; liked better with the daunger of his life to follow martiall feates, with the greatest personages of MACEDON, and in the end so came to his death. Sertorius contrarily being vnyilling to come in trouble, was forced for the fafety of his person to take armes against them that would not let him live in peace. For had not Eumenes been so ambitious and flour to strive against Antigonus for the chiefest place of authority, but could have been contented with the second. Anticonus would have been right glad thereof: where Pompey would never formuch as fuffer Sertorius to liue in rest. So the one made voluntarie warre onely to rule, and the other against his will was compelled to rule, because they made wars with him. Whereby it appeareth that Eumenes naturally loued warre, preferring the couetous defire of a better estate, aboue the fafety of his life; and the other as a right fouldier, yled the warres onely for a meane to fauchis life by valiant defence of armes. Furthermore the one was flaine, mistrusting no treason against him: and the other, looking enery houre for present death threatned him: Whereof the one argued a noble mind, not to mistrust them whom he thought his friends: and the other shewed a Sertorius faint heart, being taken when he meant to flie. So Sertorius death dishonoured not his life, suffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him suffer. The output the state of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him suffer. ther having no power to avoide his destinie before he wastaken, and having sought meanes to death of liue being in prison and captiuity, could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For begging life at his enemies hands, he gaue him his heart with his bodie, who before had but his bodie in hispower. The end of Eumenes life.

THE LIFE OF





Rebidamus the sonne of Zeuxidamus, having honourably reigned in La-CED AMON, left two fons behind him, Agis which he begat of that no- The parent ble Ladie Lamprido, and Agesilaus a great deale yonger, which he had by Eupolia, Melisippidas daughter. So the kingdome falling by succession vnto Agisthe elder, the yonger fon Agefilaus remaining a private perfon, was brought vp after the LACONIAN manner, which was a straight kind of life: but withall it taught children how to obey. Whereof it is The inference thought the Poet Simonides calleth Sparta, Damasimbrotos: to wit, finn of making men civillifor that by continuance of custom, it frameth the ci-

tizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much or more the any other city that ever was in y world taming the from their childhood, as they do yong colts. The law dispenceth with the heires apparent to the crowne, fro that straight subjection & hard life but Agestians had that excellency in

The deeds and condisions of Lumenes and Ser

obey, before he came to

The mode. fty of Azrfilaus

Azesians king, L)fanders

A lame

him about all others of his estate, that he came to the dignitie and honour to commaund, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which vndoubtedly was the cause, that he knew better then any other king, how to please and beare with his subjects, helping his royall state and princely behauiour grafted in him by nature, with that courtefie and familiaritie, which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, Lyfander fell in loue with him, wondering at the modesty of his wit. For hauing better spirit, and being more constant in his opinion than any of the other children, striuing euer to excell in all things, with such a vehemencie he tooke all trauels in hand, that it was vnpossible to ouercome him, much lesse to compell him. He was on the other side so mild and gentle, that every courteous word wrought in him better obedience then any feare could doe: because it grieued him more to be reproued, then to take vpon him any paine or labour. And for the deformitie of his legges, the one being shorter then the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleasant wit, he vsed the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merrily mocke himselse: which manner of merrie behauiour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men faw that notwithstanding his lamenesse, he refused no paine nor labour. Of his person we have drawne no counterfeite, because he would not in any wife haue it drawne, and did expreshy command by his will, that they should neither draw his picture nor make any mould or image of his body Howbeit we find that he was small of stature, whereby his presence promised no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was ever merry and pleafant, and never penfive nor troublesome in word nor look, euen to the last end of his life he was better loued, then the most faire creature that lived. Not with standing, the Ephori (as Theophrastus writeth) did condemne king Archidamus in a summe of mony because he maried a little woman: saying that he would beget them demy kings, no kings indeed. In the time that his eldeft sonne Agis reigned king, Alcibiades being banished ATHENS, fled out of SICILE into LACED EMON, and had not long reecommuteth mained in Sparta before they suspected him that he kept king Agis wife, called Timea, for which cause Agis would not acknowledge the child she brought to be his sonne, saying that Alcibiades had begotten him. But Timea cared not much for it, as Duris writeth: for otherwhile as she sate amongst her women, softly she called him Alcibiades, non Levrychides. On the other side they report, that Alcibiades himselfe sayd, it was for no hurt be incant to any man, that he lav with Queene Timea, but onely for the defire he had that fonce of the kings of LACED ÆMON should be begotten of his feede. Neuerthelesse at the length he was driven to for sake LACED #-MON, mistrusting king Agis, who ever after doubted of the child, and thought him a bastard : vntill fuch time as being on his death bed, Leosychides falling on his knees, wept, and fo behaued himselse, that Agis before many witnesses, said he did acknowledge him for his sonne. This notwithstanding, when king Agis was dead, Lyfander that had then ouercome the ATHENIANS by sea, and was more in credit and authoritie in the citie of Sparta then any other, practifed to put the crowne vpon Agesilaus head, saying, that Leotychides had no interest vnto it, because he was a baftard. The like did divers other citizens fay of him, which loued Agefilaus vertue, and liked him paffingly; for that he had been brought vp from his childhood among them. But on the contrarie part also, there was a Soothsayer or wisard in Spart a called Diopithes, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, and was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and divinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of Sparta; and for proofe thereof he told this ancient oracle before the Councell. As stately as thy stomacke is, O Sparta take good heed, And stand upon thy guard, and looke about thee, I thee reed.

For halting one day downe will cast thine Empire to the ground, By meane of warres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.

Lyfander replied against it, saying, that if the Spartans were afraid of this oracle, they should rather beware of Leotychides. For y gods cared not, if any man lame of a foot aspired to be king: but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the race of Hercules. For that, said Agefilam he, were to make the kingdome halt. Agefilaus furthermore alleadged, that the god Neptune himproclaimed felfe had witnessed, that Leotychides was a bastard : for he draue Agis by an earthquake, to runne Leotychides out of his wives chamber, and that ten moneths after that, and more, Leotychides was borne. So abahard. was Agesilaus vponthese allegations not onely proclaimed king of Sparta, but he had given

him moreouer, as lawfull heire, all his brother Agis goods, and Leotychides reiected as a baftard. Notwithstanding, considering that his parents by his mothers sidewere very poore(yet honest men)he left them the moitie of all the goods: by which act, Agefilaus wonne all their good wils, where elfethey had enuied him for his fuccession in the kingdome. And (as xenophon faith) by obeying his countrey, he grew to fuch power that he might do whatfoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senators at that time bare all the fway and gouernment of the commonwealth; the Ephores office changing yearely, the other being for life the which Ephori were onely ordained Ephori were to bridle the infolencie of the kings, for that they should not (as we have more amply written in seriaulto-Lycurgus life) haue absolute power in their hands. Vponthis occasion, the kings that succeded rised conin the government, had (as it were) by inheritance a present grudge and malice against them. troll the This notwithstading, Agesilaus took a contrary course to all his predecessors. For whereothers levels and presently quarelled with the Ephori and Senators, Agesilans did honour and reuerence them, inchine, if and would neuer dispatch any matter without their primitie, but was alwaics ready to goe when their yeld find him IXI has been feed. they did fend him. When he was fer in his chaire of frate to give audience, if any of the Ephori chanced to come in, he would rife vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senator, he would for honours fake prefent him a gowne and an oxe. And thus cunningly feeming to honor and increase the dignity of the Senators, winning their good wils, he made his power great; and the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behauiour towards the rest of his countrimen was Agestilaus fuch, as his enmity was leffe faulty then his friendship. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without inst cause, but he aided his friends euen in vniust causes. And whereas he thought it a share even it an not to honour his enemies when they had done well, he could not find in his heart to rebuke a friend. his friends when they did amiffe, but rather gloried in fuccouring and helping of them in their euill doings. For he thought it no shame to serue his friendsturne, howsocuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduerfaries offended, he was as fory for it as any man, & as ready to be are with it if he were intreated; wherby he allured and wan the hearts of all men. The Ephorifeeing that, and fearing his power, punished him in money, for that he made the common loue of his countrey private to himself. For as naturall Philosophers hold opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of nature, it would come to passe that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all things should be at a stay, by reason of the mutual agreement be- whether tweene the world and them: even to, the law-maker of LACED AMON feemed to have allowed contention ambition and strife in the commonwealth, as a spurre to vertue, by procuring alwaies some contention and emulation among great persons. And his reason was that this base and effeminate problem. fauour, in winking one at another when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called manufalls. by the name of concord. And fure fome think that Homer also faw the same, for he would never else haue made Agamemuon to haue rejoyced to see Viisses and Achilles at great words together, if he had not been of opinion, that enuic and contention among great men, were very availeable for the commonwealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent, and do bring great dangers with them. Now when Agefilaus was entred into his kingdome of LACED EMON, newes were brought him out of As 1A, that the king of Perrsia prepared agreat nauy to conquer the Laced & Monians fignoric by fea. Lyfander being glad of this occasion, longing to be fent againe into As rato fuccour his friends whom he left there as gouernours and Lieutenants of cities and prouinces, (of the which, fome of them were driven away by their citizens, others also put to death for abusing of their authoritie, and ruling ouer cruelly, perswaded Agesilaus to go into As 1 A, to make war vpothis barbarous king, far from GREECE, before his army were gathered together. And to compaffe this the cafilier, he wrote vnto his friends in Asia, that they should fend vnto Sparta to require Agestlaus for their Captaine, and so they did. Therupon Agestlaus going to the assembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would give him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counsellers and affistants to him in these warres, two thousands free Ir or Es, and 6000 of the confederates of LACED EMON. All this was immediatly granted through Lyfanders friedship towards him, and he was fent away straight with the thirty Captaines which he had requested: of the which Lyfander was the chiefest, not onely for his riches and authoritie, but also for the immersions good will he bare vnto Agefilaus: who thought himselfe more beholding to him for procuring .4fa. him this charge, then for his friendship he shewed him in bringing him to be king. Now Agest-

laus army being affembled at the hauen of Gerestæ, himself with certain of his friends went vnto

Agefilaus dreams in

the city of AVLIDE, where in his fleepe he dreamed that one faid vnto him: O king of the LA-CED EMONIANS, thou knowest that neuer none but Agamemnon, and now thy selfe, was chosen Generall of all GRECE: confidering therefore that thou commandest the same people he did. that thou makest warrs with the selfe same enemies, departing from the selfe same place to goe thither, it is reason that thou make the selfe same sacrifice vnto the godd esse, the which he made at his like departure. Agestlans straight vponthis vision, remembred that Agamemnon through the perswasion of the Soothsayers did sacrifice his owne daughter in the same place : yet this made him not afraid, but the next day he told it to his friends, and faid, he wold facrifice that vnto the goddesse, which he thought would please her well enough, and that he would not follow that cruell deuotion of this ancient Captaine Agamemnon. And with that, he brought a Hinde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commanded his Soothfayers to facrifice her; and would not suffer him to have the honour to do the facrifice that was appointed for the same purpose by the gouernours of Bo for 14 according to the custome of that place. The Gouernours of BOEDTIA vnderstanding it were much offended, and sent their officers to will Agesilans not to do any facrifice there, contrarie to the law and custome of their country. The officers that were fent, performed their commission; and finding that the beast was slaine, and the quarters of it vponthe altar, they tooke and flung them off the altar enery way. This vexed Agefilans, being ready to imbarke, and depart thence in choler against the THERANS, and mistrusted much his good successe by this valuckie prediction, which seemed to prognosticate vato him, that he should not preuaile according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was arrived at Ephesys, he presently misliked the honor he saw done vnto Lysander, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the countrimen there repaired continually to his house; and when he came abroad, they all followed him wherefoeuer he went; as though Lyfander had indeed been in authoritie to do what he would, and that Agesilaus only had but the name to be General, so appointed by the law of LACED AMON, For in truth there was never GRECIAN Captaine in those parts that had won him fuch estimation, nor that was more feared then he; nor there was neuer man that was more beneficiall to his friends, neither also that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All these things being freshin memory, the countrimen of that country perceining the simplicitie of Agesilans, and how he was given to please the people, and caried no great maiestic nor countenance with him, and observing in Lysander that wonted roughnesse and sharpe speech wherewith they had beene acquainted before; cuery man obeyed him, & nothing was done but what he commanded. This first of all made the other Spartan sangry, for that it appeared they were come as it wereto ferue Lyfander, and not as to counsell the king : but after that, Agefilaus himself also grew mifcontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious, nor forieto-fee others honoured befides himfelf. Yet being a man ambitioufly giuen, and of a noble courage, fearing if he should do any noble exploit in this war, that they would impute it vnto Lyfander, for the great estimation he was of he began to deale in this fort with him. First he contraried all his counsels : and what matters soeuer he preferred, which he was desirous shold hauetaken essect. Agesilaus wold none of that, but tooke some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of Lysanders followers came to make fuite to him for his fauour, perceiuing that they did leane vnto Lyfander, he fent them away without any thing done for them. In like case also in matters of judgements, if Lysander were against any, they were fure to have the matter passe on their side. On the contrary part also, if Lysander bare good wil to the partie, and fauored the cause to gratifie him, they hardly escaped fro setting a fine on their heads, Agefilaus continuing these shewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chanceto one or two, but indifferently to all: Lyfander looking into the cause, dissembled not with his friends, but told the plainly, that it was for his fake they had those repulses & wrongs, and therfore did counsell them to wait vpon the king, and those that had more credit then himself. Now Sacrie Vie Agestlans supposed he gaue that aduice to make every man to malice him: wherfore, to despite him the more, he made him distributer of his victuals: & hauing done so, some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: Now let them go and honor my flesh distributer, Lysander being grieued withall, said vnto the king: My Lord, you know how to oppresse your friends. And so do I, said Agesilaus, how to keepe them vnder that would be greater then my selfe. It may be yet (replied Lysander) I haue not done as your Grace doth say: yet if you so conceine of me, put me I befeech you in some place of charge or office, where I may do you good service without offence. After this talke betweene them, Agefilans fent him into Hellespont, where

AGESILAVS. 615 by practife he tooke prisoner anoble man a Persian, called Spithridates, out of Pharnabazus province whereof he was governor, and brought him to Agesilans with a great summe of gold and filter, and neare about two hundred horsemen with him. All this not with standing, he forgat not his grudge to Agelilaus, but being offended still, sought oportunity and means to defeate the two houses of the priviledge of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of Sparra, and furely he had made great broile (in my opinion) in the citic of Sparra, had he not been preuented by death, in a journey he made into Bo Fot 1A. Thus we fee, that ambitious minds observing no meane, are in a common weale of times more hurtfull then beneficiall. For Ambitions though Lyfander was indeed intollerable, to shew himselfe so ambitious, and out of time: yet beaders was not Agefilaus ignorant neither, that there were divers other meanes leffe reproachfull to punish such anoble man, that offended onely by greedinesse of honour. But to tell you my opinion they were both blinded with one felle passion; the one not to know his Princes power; and the other not to beare with his friends imperfection. Now Tifaphernes at the first being afraid of Agestlaus, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderstand that the king would be content to fet the cities of GRECE in ASIA at liberty:notwithstanding, when he thoughthe had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed war. Agefilaus was very well content withall; for the expectation was great of him through all GRECE, that he would do some noble exploit in his journey. Moreouer he thought himself dishonored for ever that the tenthous and GRECIANS which were returned back from the furthest part of Asia, even vnto the sea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of Nenophon their Captaine) had our come the king of PER-SIAES armie as ofcas they lifted themselves; and that he which was the Lieutenant generall of the LACED AMONIANS (who at that time commanded both fea and land) should not do some deed worthy memoricamong the Grecians. Prefently therefore to reuenge Tifaphernes periury by iust deceit, he made a countenance as rhough he would first inuade the countrey of CA-RIA. Whereupon this barbarous person Tisaphernes gathered all his power together. But Age-deeds in Glaus on a Sudaine returned backe againe, and entred into Phryora, tooke there many cities, Afa, who and wan great spoile, making his men see by experiece, that to infringe and breake a league made fallhad of and anowed by oath, was a facriledge, & contemning of the gods. On the other fide alfo, that to beguile his enemies, it was not onely just and honourable, but also profitable and pleasant. Now Agefilans being weaker in horsementhan his enemies, and finding the liners of the beasts which he had facrificed, without heads, he returned into the city of Er HESVS, and there gathered horfmen together, letting the rich men vnderstand (which would not themselves serve in person) that he did dispence with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for seruice in their place. Many of them took that course, and by this means Agestlaus within few daies had leavied a great number of men at armes, in stead of footmen that could do small service. For Azostan they that were vnwilling to go to the wars, did hire the that were willing to ferue in their place; eaft. and fuch also as would not ferue a horsebacke, did gine them pay that were defirous to serue in their steeds. In this he wisely followed king Agamemnons example, who did dispense with the person of a rich coward for going to the warres, by taking a good mare of him. Then Agestians commanded them that fold the prisoners by the drum taken in the warres, that they should strip them naked, and so fell them, which they did. And fundry persons willingly bought their spoils and raiment, but they fcorned their bodies, because they faw them white skinned, foft and delicate: for that few men would out-bid the price for them, for that they thought those men vnprofitable and good for nothing. Agefilaus also being present at this fale of purpose, said thus vnto his men: See, my friends, quoth he, these be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoiles for the which ye shall fight. Time being come now to put himselfe into the field, and to inuade his enemics countrey againe, he gaue it out that he would enter Lydia, not meaning to deceive Tisaphernes againe, but Tisaphernes deceived himselfe. For he being deceived before by Agefilaus, gaue no credit to this fecond rumor, but perfwaded himfelfe that doubtleffe Agefilaus meant then to enter into CARIA, and the rather for that it was a woody courty, very ill for horfmen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, Agesilans inuading (as he had given Sardinsta it out) the champio country, in the which stood SARDIS the capitall citie of Lydia, Tisaphernes, cliefe city was copelled to come to refeue it in haft; and being comethither with great speed with his horf. of spia. men he ftole vpon many of his enemies whom he found stragling out of order, spoiling the contry, and put the most of them to the sword. Agesslaus having intelligence of this, imagined with

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himselfe that the sootmen of his enemy could not yet be arrived, and considering also that he had his armie whole about him, thought it best forthwith to bid him battell, rather then to delay time any longer. Therupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed footmen, and commanded them fraight to charge the enemy, whileft he caused the heavier armed mento follow attheir heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled vpon it immediatly: and the GRE-CIANS luftily following the chafe, took their camp, and made great flaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leisure enough not only to spoile and ouerrun the kings country at their pleasure, but also to see the reuenge taken of Tisathernes, that was a vile mã, & a cruell refigures enemic to the Grecians. For the king of Persia made another his Lieutenant immediatly in his roome, called Tithraustes, who firake off Tisaphernes head, and sent vnto Agestlaus to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him ftore of gold & filuer to depart out of his courty. Thereto Agestlaus answered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the LACEDEMO-NIANS; and that for his owne part, it was an easier matter to enrich his fouldiers then himselfe. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thought it dishonor to them, to take any gift of their enemics, other then spoiles. This not with standing, to gratific Tithronftes somewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of al the GRECIAN s; for the fum of thirty takents given him to defray his charges, he withdrew his army out of Lydia, and went into Phrygia. In his jourmade Gene nev he received from the councel of LACED ALMON the Seytala or serole of parchmet wreathed about, aducrtifing him that the citizens had made him also their Generall by sea, as he was by land. Agefilaus onely of all men obtained this honour, who without comparison was of all other the worthiest man of fame in his time, as Theopompus witnesseth; and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, then for the greatnesse of his authoritie. In this notwithstanding he was to be blanted, when he made choise of one Pifander his wines brother, to be Lieutenant of the natie, and forfooke other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: seeking rather to please his wife, and to aduance one of his kinne, then to regard the weale and safety of his country. Afterwards he led his army in to Pharnaba us countrey which he had in charge, where he found not onely plenty of all forts of victuals, but gathered together also a wonderfull masse of money. From thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with king Cotys, who for his vertue and constant fidelitie was very desirous of his friendship. The like did Spythridates, forfaking Pharnaba Zus, and came vnto Igefilaus: & atter he was come to him, he neuer went from him, but alwaies followed him wherefoeuer he went. Spithridates had a yong fon that was passing faire, called Megabetes, (of whom Agesilans had great liking) and likewise a faireyoung woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom Agesilas caused king Cotys to marry Sotaking of king Cotys a thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen light armed, he returned backe into PHRYGIA, and there destroyed Pharnabazus countrey which he had in gouernment, who durst not meete him in the field, nor trust to his holds, but still sled from him, carying all his chiefest things with him, slitting from place to place, vntill that Spubridates under accompanied with Erippidas the Spartan, followed him fo neare, that he tooke his campe, and of his zeros. all his treasure in it. But there did Erippidas shew himselfe so hard and cruell, ouer-straightly fearching out part of the spoile that had bin imbezeled, compelling the barbarous people to deliner it againe, ranfacking enery corner for it; that spithridates was fo offended withall, that on a Todaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, and went backe vnto the citic of SARDIS. This more grieued Agestlausthen any thing that happened to him in all his iourney, for that he had lost so valiant a man as Spithridates, and such a number of good souldiers as he caryed away with him. Moreouer, he was afraid left they would detect him of miserable couctousnes, a thing which he euer was carefull to avoid, not only in his owne person, but also to keepe all his countrimen from it. But besides these knowne causes, the loue he bare to Spithridates son pinched him nearely, though when the boy was with him, he striued with his owne nature to subdue that naughty affection and defire he had of him. For when Megabetes on a time came to make much of him and to kiffe him, Agefikus turned his face from the boy. The boy being ashamed of the repulfe, durst no more come so familiarly, but saluted him aloose off. Agesilans then repented him that he had not fuffered Megabetes to kiffe him, made as though he maruelled why he did not kiffe him as he was wont to do. Then answered some of his familiars about him: Your selfe, O king, is in fault, because you durst not tary, but were afraid to kisse so faire a boy : for if he knew your mind, he would come againe, fo that you turned your face no more away. When Agesilaus

Angeliaus had heard them, he paused a while, and faid neuer a word, but in fine answered them. It shall not need you say any thing to him, for it would do me more good I could refuse such an other kisseagaine, then if all that I see before me were gold. Thus was Agesilans disposed when Megabates was with him: but in his absence he did so loue him, that I dare scantly say, that if the boy had come againe into his prefence, he would have refused a kiffe at his hands. After that, Pharnabazus fought to speake with him, and one Apollophanes a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a friend vnto them both. Agefilaus, was the first that met at the place appointed with his friends, and tarying for Pharnaba Tus comming, he laid him downe vpon the deepe Themest graffe in the shadow, under a faire great tree. Pharnabazus also came thither, and they spread soft and sufficient skins long haired, and tapestry excellently wrought, of diuers colours, for him to sit on vpon the and Pharground. But being ashamed to see Agesilaus laid on the bare ground in that fort, he also lay down makazus. by him, though he had vpon him a maruellous rich gowne, of excellent tiffue and paffing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, Pharnabazus began first to speake, and lacked no good perswasions & inst complaints, for that he having been (as he was) a friend vnto the LACE-DEMONIANS in the warre against the 'ATHENIANS, was then spoiled and sacked by them. Agesilaw then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung downe their heads for shame, not knowing how to answer him, considering that Pharnabazus had injurie offered him, began to speake in this manner: Heretofore when we were friends with the king (my Pharna-Lord Pharnabazus) we have vsed his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like e- bazus nemics we vie them: and fince we fee that thou wilt needs be a flaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his fake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a friend of the GRECIANS then a flaue to the king of Persia, then make account that all these souldiers, this armor, our ships, and all we, are to defend thy goods & libertie against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon Pharnabazas told him his mind plainly: Surely, faid he if the king do fend hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenant, be fure I will then take your part straight; but on the other side, if he make me his Lieutenant in this war, trust to it, I will do him the best service I can against you. This answer passingly pleased Agesilans who taking him by the hand, and rifing vp with him, faid vnto him: I would wish (my Lord Pharnabazus) hauing so noble a mind as thou hast, that thou wert rather our friend then an enemie. So Pharnabagus departing from thence with his men, his sonne being left behind, ran to Agefilaus, and similing told him, King Agesilaus, I will make thee my friend; and therewith gaue him a dart he had in his hand. Agefilaus tooke it of him, and liking well the beautie of the young youth, and the courtefie he had offered him, looked about him if any man in his companie had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his Secretarie Adens horse, which had a rich caparison on the straighttooke it from him, and gaue the horse and furniture to this lively youth Pharnabazus son, who neuerafter forgate it. For it chanced afterwards, that being driven out of his countrey by his brethren, and flying into Pelloponnesvs, Agefilaus made very much of him, and did not sticke to further him in his love abroad. For he had a great fancy and liking to a boy of Athens, whom they brought up in wrestling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was growne a big man and ftrong, and that he came to offer himselfe to be billed with them that should wrastle at the games Olympicall, being in some perill to be veterly refused; this decilars Persian that loued him, went vnto Agefilaus, and befought his helpe, that this wreftler might not receiue the foyle to be reiected. Agestlans being desirous to please him, performed his request with some difficultie. Thus Agesilans in all things else was a strict observer of the law: out respecta but in his friends causes to be straight laced in matters of instice, he said that was but an excuse friend, for them that would do nothing for their friends. To this effect, they find a letter of his written deleter in the vnto Idrian Prince of CARIA, for the deliucric of his friend. If Nicias haue not offended, let him behalfe of go; if he have offended, then pardon him for my sake: but how soeuer it be, let him go. This was Agefilaus maner in the most part of his friends causes. Notwithstading, occasions fell out often-other reads times, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the commonwealth. As appeared one day when whome pro he was driven to remove in haft on a sudaine, and to leave one sicke behind him whom he loved wife, dearely: the sicke man calling him by his name as he was going his way, besought him that he Agestian wold notforsake him. Agesilaus (as Hieronymus the Philosopher reported) turned backe againe sand said: O how hard is it, both to loue and to be wise! Now had Agesilaus spent two yeares retuen. in this warre, and was spoken of throughout Asia, being maruellously commended to

Ggg 3

the king himselse, for his great honestie, his continencie, his courtesse, and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the countrey with his owne traine onely, he would ever lie in the holiest remples of the gods, because he would the gods themselves should be witnesses of his private doings; whereas commonly we are loth that men should see what we do. Furthermore, among st fo many thousand fouldiers as were in his camp, there could hardly be found a worse mattresse then that himselfe did lie vpon euery night. And as for heate and cold, he could as easily away with either of both, as if by constitution of bodie he had been borne to abide any weather and feason. But about all, it was a pleasant fight to the Greetans that dwelt in Asia, when they faw the great Lords, the kings Lieutenants of Persia (which before were proud, cruell, rich, and given to all lust and pleasure) to honour and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, being afraid of enery short word that he spake like a LACONIAN: insomuch as many of them called to mind the Poets verses, who said:

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As Mars hath no mercie, fo Greece Scorneth rold. Now all Asia being vp and in garboile, they willingly yeelded to him in energy place, after he had taken order with the cities, and had established the libertic of their commonweale, without any bloudshed, or banishment of any person; hee determined to go further into the land, and transporting the wars from the sea coasts of GRECE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in proper person, and with the wealth and happinesse of the Ecbatanians and the Svsianians, and by that means to take his leifure from him, who fitting still before, made the GRECTANS make war one with another, by force of money corrupting the governours of every citie. In the meane time came Epycidas LACONIAN vnto him, and brought him newes how Sparta was grieuoufly troubled with wars, enforced on them by the other GRECIANS: and that therefore the Ephoric did fend for him home, and commanded him to returne to defend his countrey.

Ab wretched Greece, how cruell staughters hast Thoubrought upon thee, for to lay thee wast?

For how should a man otherwise call this enuie, treason, and civill conspiracie among the GR E-CIANS, who ouerthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their wars against the barbarous people out of GRECE, and now to bring it against themselves. I am not of Demaratus opinion the CORINTHIAN, that faid the GRECIANS delight was taken from them, which faw not Alexander the Great fitting in Darius royall throne; but rather I would think they should have wept to have left this honor vnto Alexander and the MACEDONIANS, fondly lofing fo many famous Captaines of GRECE, at y battels of Levetres, of Coronea, of Corinth and of ARCADIA. Neuerthelesse, Agestlaus neuer did better act in his life, nor euer shewed betobedience to ter example of obedience and inflice due to his countrey, then he did in his returne home. For fith Hannibal that began to have ill fuccesse in his warres, being in manner driven out of Ira-LIEsthought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his countrey, to obey his countreymen, which called him home to defend the warresthe Romaines had madeat their owne doores: and that Alexander the Great also being sent for home vpon the like occasion, did not onely refuse to returne into Macedon, but made a lest at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenant Antipater had fought with king Agis, faying: Me thinkes when I heare these newes, whilest we are our coming of king Darius here, there hath beene a battell of Rattes fought in ARCADIA. Sith then (Ifay) these two famous Captaines haue made so litle account of their countrie, may we not thinke the citie of Sparta bleffed to haue had fuch a king, that fo much reuerenced his countrey and obeyed the law, as receiving onely a litle scrole of parchment commaunding him to returne, he for sooke a world of goods and wealth that he quietly enjoyed, (with affured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked forthwith, leaving all the allies and confederates of his country very forrowfull, for that he had giuen ouer so noble an enterprise, which he had so happily begunne. Yes sure. Nay furthermore he passed notion the saying of Demostratus PH AACIAN, who said, that the LACED AMONIANS, in publicke matters were the worthiest men, and the Athenians in private causes. For as he had shewed himselfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the Common wealth, fo was he alwaies courteous privately to his familiar friends. And because the Persian coine was stamped on the one side, with the print of an Archer; Agesilaus being ready to depart, faid, that ten thousand Archers draue him out of As IA. For so much was brought vnto THEBE & and ATHENS, and distributed among the Orators and Gouernours there, who through their

Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the Spartans. In his returne Agesilaus having passed the straight of HELLESPONT, tookehis way through the country of Thracia, and neuer intreated barbarous king nor people to suffer him to passe, but onely fent ynto them to know whether they would he should passe through their country as a friend, or an enemy. All countries and nations else received him very honourably to their power, saue the people called the THROCHALIANS, vnto whomking Xernes himselfe gaue presents that he Acellaus might passe friendly through their countrey: who sent vnto Agesilaus to demand a hundred silner talents, and a hundred women, to suffer him to passe through their countrey. But Agesilans deceining the barbalaughing them to fcorne, answered again; Why, how chanceth it that they came not themselves rous people, to receive them. So therewithall he marched forward against these barbarous people who were returned ranged in battel ray to stop his passage: howbeit he overthrew them, and slue a great number of through them in the field. The like demand he made vnto the king of Macedon, whether he should their country passe through his countrey as a friend, or an enemie. The king made him answer, he would "". confider of it. Well, lethim thinke of it, quoth Agefilaus: we will go on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldnesse, and fearing lest he would do him some hurt as he went, fent to pray him that he would passe through his countrey as a friend. Now it chanced fo that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACE-DEMONIANS: therefore as he passed through their countrey, he did spoile and forrage it as his enemies countrey, and sent Xenocles and Seythato the citie of LARISSE, hoping to perswade them to take part with the LACED AMONIANS. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The Spartans were maruellously offended withall: and thought good that Agesilans should be siege LARISSE with his armie. But he answered them, he would not lose one of thosemen, to winneall Thessalle and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peraduenture this is not to be maruelled at in Agestlans, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the citie of CORINTH, where were many worthy and valiant Captaines slaine of the enemies, & but few of the Spar-TANS, he seemed not to reioyce at it, but rather to fetch a grieuous sigh, saying: O poore GRECE, how vn fortunate art thou, to have flaine with thine owne hands fo many valiant Cap- Acellaw taines of thine owne people, asioyning together, might at one field have overcome all the overcame barbarous people. The Pharsalians harrying and troubling the rereward of Agestlans army, the Pharsalians, he put forth flue hundred horsemen which gaue them so lustic a charge, that he ouer threw them Marthaela by force. For this victorie, he set vp tokens of triumph vpon the mountaine called Narthacium, um mons. and this victorie pleased him aboue all the rest, because with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of himfelfe, he had ouerthrowne the glorie and pride of the encmies horlemen in battell, whereof they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came Diphridas one of the Ephores vnto him, fent of purpose from Sparta, to command him immediatly to inuade Boeotia, with his armie. Now though Agefilaus intended fome other time with a greater power to enter Boeotia, yet because he would not disobey the counsels commandement of Sparta, he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of Asia was at hand, and therefore he fent for two companies of them which lay in campe by Corinth. The Laced Emonians that were at Sparta, to honour Agefilaus for that he had obeyed their commandement for eadily, proclaimed in the city, that as many young men as were desirous to goe aide the king, should come to enter their names. Notwithstanding, they onely chosebut fifty of the valiantest among them, and sent them vnto him. In the meane time, Agesilaus passed through the countrey of THERMOPYLES, and coasting over the land of PHOCIDE, confederates to the Laced EMONIANS, he entred into Bosoria, and camped by The scibile the citie of CHERONIA: where immediatly after his arrivall, he fuddenly faw the Sunne eclip- of the Sun. fed, and darkned in the fashion of a new Moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of Pifander, Pisander vnto him, who was flaine in a battell which he had lost by sea, fighting against Pharna- the name bazus and Conon, hard by the Ile of GNIDOs. These newes were very heavie vnto him, both for flaine in respect of the person his kinsman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the battell.

The tland commonwealth. Neuerthelesse, fearing his souldiers would be discouraged with the newes, of Gnides. and become faint-hearted, being ready to ioynebattell, he commanded them that came from the sea, to brute abroade a contrary tale to that they told him: and he himselfe to make good

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their speech, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to Ggg 4

with the

the gods, as thanking them for the good newes, fending to every one of his friends a peece of flesh facrificed, as he commonly vsed to do, in any publike cause of ioy. The marching forward, he straight discovered his enemies farre off, and they likewise him : and thereupon put his men in battell ray, and gaue the left wing vnto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading himself the right wing. The THEBANS on the other fide, placed themselves in the right wing of their army, & gave the left vnto the AR GIVES. Xenophon being at that battell on Agefilaus fide, writeth that he neuer knew of the like field fought. At the first onset, the conflict was not great between e both, neither heldlong, because the THEBANS brake y ORCHOMENIANS straight, and Agesilaus the AR-GIVES. But whe either fide understood that the left wings of their battels were in great distresse and that they turned their backes, they returned suddenly againe. And where Agesilaus might cafily have had the victory without any danger, if he had fuffered the fquadron of the enemies to paffe by him, and afterwards to have charged the in the rereward: of a noble courage to fliew his valiant neffe, he gaue charge upon the yoward, to have honour in ouercoming them. The THEBANS on the other fide no leffe valiantly received him, & fought luftily on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about Agesslaus person, with the fiftie young menthat were sent to guard him, who showed themselves very valiant. Agestlaus was fore hurr, notwithstanding their valiant resiflance, his armour being paifed through with their pikes and fwords in fundry places: Whereupon they enuironed him round amongst them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of them, and many of themselves also being killed. In fine, finding the THEBANS too firing in the yourd, they were forced to do that which they refused at the first and opening themselues, gauethem passage through them. So when they were passed them, the Spartans perceiuing how loofely & diforderly they marched, as thinking the felues out of all danger, followed them, and gaue charge youn their flanke. But all this could not make the THEBANS flic. for they rejoycing for their victorie atthis battell, retired faire and foftly vnto the mountaine Helicon. But Agefilans, notwithflanding he was verie fore hurr, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dreffed, before he had been first at the place where the bat-The simple tell was fought, and had feen his men that were flaine brought away in their armours. As many of Minerua of his enemies as were fled into the temple of Minerua Itonian, which was not farre from thence (where also were set up tokens of triumph offered unto her long time before by the Theedans. when they had ouercome the armie of the Athenians, under the conduct of Sparton their Captaine, and had flaine also Tolmides their Captaine in the field) he commanded his menthey should let them go where they would. The next morning by breake of day, Agesilaus desirous to see if the Thebans had any courage to come downe to fight againe commaunded his souldiers to put garlands vpon their heads, and his musitions to found their shalmes or pipes, whilest he did set up a token of triumph as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies sending to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he granted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the city of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were played, he made a folemne procession and common facrifice vnto Apollo, and offered him the tenth part of all his spoiles which he had brought out of Asia, which amounted to the summe of an hundred talents. This thing done, he returned into his countrey, where he was greatly honoured and effected of all his citizens and countrimen, for his orderly life and noble behaujors for he was no changeling, but the felfe fame man in state and condition that he was before he tooke his journey. He transformed not himself into strangers maners, as commonly other Captaines do, that returne out of a farre countrey where they have made wars : neither did he scorne his countrey fashons, or shewed himselfe disobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwaies kept and observed them, without any manner of alteration in his meate and drinke, in washing or bathing, in his wives apparell, in his armorie or any way else in his houshold stuffe, as if he had neuer passed ouer the river of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his old gates standing, that were of so great continuance, that they were thought to be those which Aristodemus had set up. Xenophon alfo faid, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more fumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACED EMON, is a kind of coach or chariot after the likeneffe of Griffins. Harts, or Goats: vponthe which they caried young wenches in folemne procession in the citic. Xenophon wrote not what was the name of this daughter of Agefilaus: and Dicearchus al-

fo was much offended, that they neither knew Agefilaus daughters name, nor yet the mother

of Epaminondas. Yet we find in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that Agesilans wives name was

Clcora,

The mor

Helicon

The conflancy of Agefilaus

Clairazone of his daughters called Apolia, and the other Prolyta. Moreover, Agefilans speare is cleraste feene to this day in the citic of Sparta, even like vnto others, and no manner of difference. wfeefking Now Agaillaw perceiting certainecitizens of Sparta to fland upon their reputation, and effect. Again, and ming themselves above others, because they kept horse in their stable, perswaded his sister Frotzia Cynifcato fend her coach and coach-horses to the Olympian games to runne for the best prize, carghers. onely to let the GRECIANS fee, that it was no act of any vertue, but fimply of riches and coft. Furthermore having Xenophon the Philosopher about him, whom he loued, and made great Xenophon, account of he perswaded him to send for his somes to Laced mon, that they might be Justian brought vp there, where they flould learne the noblest science that men could possibly learne, to wit, to obey, and to command. When Lyfander was dead, Agefilaus at his returne out Thepratife of Asia, found a great faction and configuracie raifed by his meanes against him in Sparta: of Lifander of Lifande and because, it might appeare what manner of citizen Lylander was when he liued, he was ration of co likely to have openly shewed and declared an Oration which he found among his writings werkness. (the which the Orator Cleon Halicarnaffeus had written for him, and Lysinder should have cunned without booke, to have spoken in open assembly) that was to stirre innovation, and in manner have made a change of the whole government of the common wealth of Lace-DAMON. Howbeitthere was a grave Counfellour that having read the Oration, and doubting Themife the apparant reasons and pertivations alleadged, told him, that he would wish him not to plack Senater at vp the dead againe out of his grane, but rather to bury this Oration together with his bodie. Sparta. Agefilaus liked the counfell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had been his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make fome of them to be fent as Lieutenant of armie, or otherwife to have charge in the warres. In fine, he made it o win his penly knowne, what couetous and wicked men they had been in their charges: fo that when enemies. they were accused of it before the councell, he would then helpe and intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his friends, where they had been his enemies: infomuch as in the end end end end end, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king Agefipolis his colleague, whose father had pain line been banished, he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with of Laceda government of the common wealth. Neuertheleffe, he so behaved himselfe vnto Agesilaus that he made him his verie good friend: for both the kings when they were in the citie, did cate together in one hall. Then Agestlaus knowing that Agestpolis (as himselfe) was ginen to loue, would euer minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the cirie, enticing him to loue fome one of them, which he himselfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these LACONIAN loues there was no manner of dishonestie offered, but a true affection and honest regard to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honest conditions: as we have more amply declared in the life of Lycurgus. Agestlaus by this meanes, having the whole authoritic (about all men in the citie) in his hands, made his halfe brother Teleutias Generall by sea, and himselfe with the army by land went to bessege the citie of Co-RINTH, where with his brothers helpe by fea he took the long wals of the fame. The ARGIVES she made which kept Corint atthattime, at Agefilaus arrivall there, were folemnizing the feast of the the amount Ifthmian games who made them flie, even as they came from facrificing vnto the god Neptune, Jea. driving them to leave all their preparation and folemnitic. Then divers banished men of Co-RINTH that were in his army, befought him that he would keepe these Isthmian games; but he denied them, yet was contented they should themselves solemnize them; and so himselfe remained there, during the time of the feaft, for their fafety. Afterwards when Agefilaus was gone thence, the Angives returned, and did celebrate the Isthmiangames, and there were some of them which having wonnethe game at the first, did also winne it at the second time; and others that were victors before, were this fecond time ouercome. Whereupon Agefilans faid, that the Argives shewed themselves ranke cowards, that esteeming so much (as they did) these playes and facrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For himselfe, touching such like sports and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour such solemne assemblies and common feasts with his presence, as were commonly vsed in Sparta, and tooke great pleafure to fee the sports betweene the young boyes and girles of Sparta: howbeittouching the games, he feemed not to be acquainted with fome of them, wherein others had great delight. As we reade, that Callipides an excellent stage player (wonderfully esteemed of among the

act, in open peace to take the castle of the city of THEBES, called Cadmea, offending thereby all

Indging very wifely therein, that they should esteeme a king (whether he were of great or small

power) by his iuftice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the king

of Pensia having fent him a private letter defiring his friendship, Agestlans refused it, saying:

that common friendship was inough betwixt them, and that they should need none other, to

long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the point of performance, he

went from his first good opinion, and gaue place to his will and ambition, specially against the

THEBANS, at that time when he did not onely faue Phabidas, but also procured the city of Spar-

TA to take the fault vpon them which he had committed, and to inflifie it, by keeping the castle

of Cadmea still, and making Archias and Leontidas Gouernors of the citie of THEBES, by

whom Phabidas came by the castle of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon enery man

thought ftraight, that Phabidas was he that had put the matter in execution, but that Agefilans

gaue the counsell to do it: as things falling out afterwards, did manifestly proue the suspition

true. For, after that the Therans haddriuen the garrifon of the LACED EMONIANS out of the

castle of Cadmea, and restored their city againeto libertie, burthening them that they had tray-

teroufly flaine Archias and Leontidas (who indeed were tyrants; though in name Gouernours)

he made warre with them and Cleombrotus, reigning then king with him after Agespolis death,

was sent before into Bo EOTIA with an army: Agestlans was dispensed with by law for going any

more to the wars, by reason of his age, for that he was fourty yeares old from the first growth of

haire on his face, & therfore went not that iourney being ashamed that the THEBANS shold now

fee him fight to reuenge the tyrants deaths, who had but a litle before taken armes for the bani-

thed men, against the Phliasians. At that time there was a Laconian called Sphodrias, of the

the hauen of Pirma, fuddenly stealing vpon the Athenians by land, cutting them off by that

meanes from all trade by sea. It was thought commonly that this was a practise deuised by Pela-

pidas and Gelon, Gouernours of BOEOTIA, who had allured certaine mento faine themselues

very denoutand friendly to the Laced Emonians. These men praising and extolling spho-

drias to his face, put him in the head that they knew none fo worthy as himselfe alone, to take in

hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him onto this attept, which

for vilenesse was nothing inferiour vnto that treacherous winning of the castle of Cadmea at

Thebesialthough it was attempted with lesse hardines and diligence. For day was broken whe

he was yet in the plaine of Thriasivm, where he made account to have bin at the wals of Pi-

ræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him, seeing certaine fires

from the temples of the city of ELEVSIN, were all afraid and amazed: yea he himself also fainted

perceiving he was discovered, and so returned backe with shame and dishonour to the citie of

THESPIES, without any exploit done, fauing only a litle spoile taken. Therupon accusers were

vnto them to condemne him of high treason. But he durst not returne to Sparta, fearing the furic of his countrimen, thinking indeed that they would feeme as though the wrong had

been done to them, because it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This

Costains Apothe-ત્રવુ∙ુકો ત**લ્લ**.

Agefilan

the scare

GRECIANS for a fingular man in that art) meeting Agefilaus on a time, at the first did his duty to him, and then arrogantly thrust himselfe among them that walked with him, thinking the king would have made much of him : but perceiving he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him: O king Agestlaus, do you not know me: Agestlaus looking voon him, anfwered: What, art not thou Callipides the stage player; and so made no further account of him. Another time being defired to heare a man that naturally counterfeited the nightingales voice. he would not heare him, faying, I have oftentimes heard the nightingale it selfe. Another time also when Menecrates the Physitian (having by good fortune cured adesperate disease) called himfelfe Inpiter, and arrogantly vsurped that name, prefuming in a letter he wrote vnto Agest-* Meaning laus, to subscribe it in this manner, Menecrates Iupiter, vnto king Agesilaus, greeting: Agesilaus wrote againe vnto him, Agesilaus vnto Menecrates * health. So, whilest Agesilaus was in the territorie of Corinth (where he had taken the temple of Iune) beholding his fouldiers for raging and spoyling the countrey round about, Ambassadours came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwaies hated the THEBANS, and besides that thought it then verie requifite for the good fucceffe of his doings, to make light of it, seemed as he neither heard nor faw them that spake vnto him. But even at that very instant, as by divine reuenge to cry quittance, there fell a great mishap vpon him: for before the Ambassadours were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bands called the Mothers, were slaine enery man by Iphicrates: which was the greatest losse that they in long time before had sustained. For they loft a great number of valiant fouldiers, all naturall LACED EMONTANS: who being well armed cuery man, were flaine by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon Ageflaus went straight into the field with hope to saue them, or at the least to be reuenged; but receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all flaine, he returned against to the temple of Iuno from whence he came, and then fent for the Ambassadours of the BOBOTIANS, to give them audience. But they, to requite his former distaine vnto them, made no manner of speech of peace, but onely requested him to suffer them to enter into Coninth. Agestlaus being offended, answered them: If it be to see your friends triumph of their victorie, ye may safely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambassadours with him, he destroyed the Corinthians country, eventothe wals of their citie. And when he had made the Ambaffadours fee, that the citizens of Corinth durft not come out into the field to defend their countrey, he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowne, which by flight had escaped, be brought them into LACED AMON againe, alwaies remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, because the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) should not rejoyce at their losse. After this voyage, to gratisfie the A-CHAIANS, he entred with them into the countrey of ACARNANIA, and brought great spoyles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battell Moreouer, when the Achaian's belought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from fowing of their ground, he made them answer, he would not For, faid he, they will be afraid of warre the next yeare, when all their fields shall be fowen with corne; and so indeed it came to passe. For the army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANS. About that time, Pharnabaxus and Conon, with the king of PERSIAE'S armie, being Lords of the fea, without let of any destroiced and spoiled at the coast of Laconia. Moreover, the city of Athens did reare up her wals againe by the helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereupon the LAGED EMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that end fent Antalcidas Ambassador vnto Tiribazus, most shamefully and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRECIANS inhabiting in Asia, for whofelibertie Agefilans had made warres with him before. So, it was Agelilaus hap not to be foiled with any part of this shame; for Antalcidas that was his enemie, fought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he faw warre did dayly increase the authoritic, honour, and fame of Agesilaus. Notwithstanding, he answered one of them, that reproued him for that the LACED EMONIANS did fauor the MEDES: NO, faid he, they do not fo, but the MEDES do play the LACED EMONIANS. Neuertheleffe, threatning warre to all the GRECIANS, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace, he compelled them to yeeld vnto that y king of P B R S I A liked. But furely he did this chiefely for respect of the THEBANS, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to let the countrey of Bo a o T 1 a at libertie againe, should be so much the weaker. This plainly

the other GRECIANS (and the SPARTANS themselves also not being very well pleased withall, Phebidas and those specially which were Agestlaus enemics) Phabidas being asked in great anger, at whose the castle of commandement he had done that fudden enterprife, to lay all the suspition of the fact vpon Cadman. him, Agesslaus for Phabidas discharge, letted not openly to say, that the qualitie of the fact was to be confidered of, whether it were profitable for the commonwealth, or not,: and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his country, to do it of his owne head withoutcommandement. All this not with standing he was wont to say in private talke, that instice was the chiefest of all vertues, and therefore that valiantnesse without instice was of no validitie. Agestian and that if all men were inft, valiant nesses were of no estimation. And to them that told him, the

greatking will have it fo: Why, faid he, and wherein is he better then my felfe, if he be no inftere-

contrary faction vnto Agefilaus: and was then governor in the city of Thespies, a valiant and sphodries front man of his hands, but ever fuller of vaine hope, then of good indgement. He defiring fame, take the and supposing that Phabidas came to dignitic and greatestimation through his valiant enterprise havenes at THERES: perswaded himselfe that he should win much more honour, if of himselfe he took Pinea at

ftraight sent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who vpon their arrivall found that they needed not sphedrian to accuse him, for that the Councel and Gouernors of the city had already fent for him to come

fased from

Sphodrias had a sonne called Cleonymus, a very faire boy, with whom Archidamus (Agestlans fonne) was farre in loue; who then was maruellous forrie to fee this boy he loued, in fo great danger to lose his father, and yet durst not be seene to helpe him, because Sphodrias was one of Agefilans adverfaries. Notwithstanding, Cleonymus making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father Agefilaus, (whom they feared about all men elfe) Archidamus followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durft not breake the matter to him in fine, the day of the next fession being at hand, when judgement should be given of Sphodrias, he boldly ventured to tell him, how that Cleonymus had prayed him to be an humble futer to him touching his fathers fact. Agefilaus vnderstanding that his sonne loued Cleonymus, would not withdraw him from louing him, because the boy even from his childhood gave alwayes good hope that one day he would fure make as honeft a man as any other who foeuer: neither made he any countenance to his fonne, as though he would do any thing at his fuite, but onely answered him, for that, he would doe as became him in such a case. Whereupon Archidamus being bashfull, left comming any more to Cleonymus, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made sphodrias friends despaire of his life more then before, vntill Etymocles, one of Agesslaus familiars talking with them, told them that for the fact it selfe. Agesilans thought it a shamefull deed, and as much misliked it as might be: but for Sphodrias selfe, that he tooke him for a valiant man, and faw that the common wealth had neede of men of fuch feruice. This was Agefilaus commontalke to please his sonne, when any man came to speak to him of Sphodrias accusation. Insomuch that Cleonymus found straight how Archidamus had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be; and then Sphodrias friends also tooke heart againe vnto them, to folicite his cause, and to be earnest suters for him. A gestians among other had this endered bis speciall propertie, that he loued his children dearly: and a tale gooth of him, that he would play with them in his house when they were little ones, and ride vpon a little cock-horse, or a reed, as on horsebacke: insomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children, he prayed him to fay nothing, till he had litle children himfelfe. In fine, Sphodrias was quit by his ludges. The ATHENIANS vnderstanding it, sent to proclaime warrewith the LACED EMONIANS. Wherupon Agestaus was much reproued, because that to please the fond affection of his fonne, he had hindered inflice, and brought his citie to be accused among the GRECIANS for fuch grieuous crimes. Agefilaus perceiuing that king Cleombrotus his companion Went with no verie good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order fet downe for leading of the armie, which was kept before, went to the warres himfelfe in person, and fo inuading Borotia, he both received and did great hurt. Whereupon Antalcidas feeing him hurt one day, Nowtruly (faid he) the THEBANS have payd you your deferued hire, for teaching them against their will to be souldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For indeed they fay the THEBANS became better foldiers and warriors than they were before, being dayly trained and exercised in arms through the continual inuations of the LACED EMONIANS. Alfothis was the reason, why the old father Lycurgus his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make warre too oft with one selfe people, because that by compulsion they should not be made expert fouldiers. Forthis cause did the confederates of LACED EMON hate Agestlans, saying, that it was not for any knowne offence to the state, but for very spice and private malice of his owne, that he fought to vindo the Thebans in this manner: and that to follow his humor, they confumed themselues going yearely to the warres one while this way, another while that way, without any necessity at all, following a few LACED EMONIANS, themselves being alwaies the greater number. Then it was, that Agefilans defiring to make them see what number of men of warre they were vied this deuice. On a time he commanded at the allies to fit down together one with another by themselves, and the LACED EMONIANS also by themselves. The he made a Herauld proclaime that all pot-makers should stand up on their secte. When they were up, he neffect the made them cry to the Brafiers to rife also. After them in like manner, the Carpenters: then the Masons, and so consequently all occupations one after another. So that at the length the consederates obeying the proclamation, were all in manner on their feete. The LACED EMONIANS, not one of them role; because all base mechanicall crafts were forbidden them to occupie. Then Agefilans laughing at them: Lo, my friends (faid he) do you not fee now that we bring moe fouldiers to the field than ye do. At his returne from this journey of THEBES, paffing by the city of MEGARA, as he went vp into the councell-house within the castle, there suddenly tooke

to Baratia. Antalcidas

Rhetva, of Lycurgus

wice to Siew

him a great crampe in his left leg, that fwelled extremely, and put him to great paine, menthinking that it was but bloud which had filled the veine: a Physitia of Syracvsa in Sicile being there, straight opened a veine under the ankle of his foot, which made the paine to cease; notwithfrading there came fuch abundace of bloud, that they could not franchir, for that he fwounded off, and was in great danger of prefent death. In fine, a way was found to frop it, and they caried him to LACED EMON, where he lay ficke a long time, for hat he was past going to the warresany more. The Spartans in the meane time received great overthrowes both by fea and land, and among other, their greatest ouerthrow was at the battell of Levetrees, where the THEBANS outcrame and flue them in plaine battell. Then the GRECIANS were all of one mind Examinor. to make agenerall peace, and thereupon came Ambassadours and Deputies from all the cities Thebassem of GRECE, and met at LACED AMON to that end. One of these Deputies was Epaminondas, a The hange notable learned man, and a famous Philosopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He seeing how dernited the other Ambaffadors curried fauor with Agefileus, only he of the reft kept his gravity to fpeak estenon. freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRECE in generall, declaring to them all, how warrs did only increase the greatnesse and power of the citie of Sparta. and contrarily did minish and decay all other cities and townes of GRECE; and for this cause, that he did counsel them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all to the end it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. Ageflaus perceiving then that all the GRECIANS prefent at the affembly gaue him good care, and were glad to heare him speake thus boldly ofpeace, asked him openly, if he thought is meete and reasonable, that all BOEOTIA should be set cleare at libertie againe ? Epaminordus presently and boldly againe asked him, if he batters de batters de thought it inst and requisite to set al LACONIA cleare againe at libertie? Agesilans being offended which and therewith, stood up on his feer, and commanded him to answer plainly whether they would fet all Boforia at liberty or not Epaminondas replied vnto him with the felfe speech againe, and liberties asked him whether they would fer all Laconia at liberty or not? That netled Ageflians fo, that Booms, (being also glad of such a cloake, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS) he prefently put the name of the Thebans out of the bill of those which should have been comprised within the league, and cried open warres upon them in the market place. For the rest he licensed the other Deputies and Ambassadors of the people of Grece to depart, with this conclusion, that they should louingly take order among themselues for the controversie betwist them, if they could peaceably agree together, & they that could not fall to fuch agreement, that then they should try it by warrs, for it was a hard thing to take vp all quarrels among them. King Cleombrotus by chance was at that time in the country of Phocida with his army, vnto whom the Ephori wrote, that he should forthwith spoile the Theban's country; and therwith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fancy to the journey, and were loth to make war with them, but yet durft not refuse to go, nor disobey the Lace be Emo-NIANS. And notwithstanding that there were many signes presigning ill lucke, as we have written in the life of Epaminondas, and that Prothous LACONIAN was against the enterprise of this warre allthat he could, Agefilaus would needs forward, hoping he had now found oportunity to be reuenged of the THEBANS, fith all GRECE befides was in peace & at liberty, themselves only exempted from treatic of peace. If there had been no other thing in it but the very shortnesse of time, that made it manifest enough that this warre was begun in a geere, without any manner of reason. For the generall peace amongst the GRECIANS was concluded at SPARTA the foure- The Laceteenth of May, and the LACED EMONIANS were ouercome at the battell of LEVETRES the flaine at the fifth of Iune: foas there was but twentie dayes betweene them. There were flaine a thou-bastellef fand LACED EMONIANS with their king Cleombrotus, and the choicest and the valiantest SPAR - Combro TAN'S about him. Among them was also flaine that goodly young man Cleonymus, Sphodrias tus King of fonne, of whom we spake before: who having been beaten downe thrife at the kings foote, the Lacede. three times got vp againe, but at the length was flaine, valiantly fighting against the THEBANS. Monian This great ouerthrow chancing to the LACED EMONIANS vnlooked for, and withall so glori- Cleanymes Ous a victoric vnto the THEBANS, as GRECIANS fighting with GRECIANS had neuer the like: the forme of the vanquished citie of Sparta notwithstanding deserved no lesse honour and commendation flatteet for her fortitude and worthinesse, then did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as Xenophon cleombrowriteth, that as among good men euen in table talke, and in their sports and mirth, there fal-tus foot.

leth out ever fomething of wit worth the noting and bearing away; even fo in like cafe, no leffe faint

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butrather more, ought noblemens words to be weyed, and their countenances marked, as well in aduersitie as in prosperitie. At that time by chance there was a common feast day in the citie of Sparta, which was full of strangers that came to see the daunces and sports of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arrived that brought the newes of the battell loft at Lever Res. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor flraight ran all about, that they were all vindone, and how they had loft the figniorie and commaundement ouer all GRECE. would not suffer them for all this to breake off their daunce in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to change the forme of their feast; but sent vnto the parents (to every mans house) to let them understand the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they themselues remaining still in the Theater to see the daunces and sports continued, to judge who caried the best games away. The next morning when every man knew the number of them that were flaine, and of those also that were escaped, the parents and friends of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking chearefully of the matter, and one of them embraced another. On the other fide, the parents of them that escaped, kept their houses with their wines, as folke that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses for any matter of necessitie, ye should see him looke so heavily and fad, that he durst not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Befides all this, even amongst the women there was greater difference: for the mothers of them that were to returne from the battell, were fad and forrowfull, and spake not a word: contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went friendly to visite one another, to rejoyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates b. gan to for sake them, and did daily looke that Epaminondas glorying in his victorie, would inuade Peroponness, then they began to be pricked in conscience about the Oracles of the gods, thinking that this misfortune came to their city for that they had thrust out of the kingdomea man perfect of limmes, to place an impotent perfon, being specially warned by the gods to beware of that about all things. This not with standing, they had him in such veneration for his valiantnesse, and his authoritie was such thereby, that they did not onely vse him in warre as their king and soueraigne Captaine, but in civill causes also, wherein there rose any question, they euer vsed his counsell and aduice: as they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at Sparta Tresantas(being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses, and of greatest power within the citie less they should moue some stir or commotion among them. (For by law, they can beare no office in the common wealth: it is shame and reproch to give them any wives, and alforo marry any of theirs:whofocuer meeteth them, may lawfully strike them, and they must abide it, and not give them a word againe: they are compelled to weare poore tottered cloth gownes, patched with cloth of divers colours; and worst of all, to shave one side of their beards. and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the danger great to deale with them, to execute the law according to the infamie they deserved, specially then standing in need of a great num. ber of men of warre, they referredthemselues altogether unto Agesilaus, to take such order in it as he thought good: but Agesilans then, without changing or altering any thing of the law, faid in open affembly at LACED EMON, that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policie he kept the law inuiolate, and faued also the honor of those pooremen; and withall, to put these youths againe in heart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armie into the countrey of ARCADIA, and would give no battell, but only tooke a small citie of the Mantineans, and for aged the country. This againe did a litle reviue the city of Sparta with some hope, to make that it should not veterly despaire. But shortly after, Epaminondas inuaded the country of LACONIA with fourty thousand footmen wel armed, besides an infinite number of other light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoile; so that in all, there were about threescore and ten thousand fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was wel neare fixe hundred yeares fith the Doria ANS possessed LACED EMON, and in all that time till then they never saw enemies in their country that durst inuade them: but then they facked and burnt all that came in their way, euen vnto the river of Euroras, and hard adioyning vnto Sparta, & no man durst come out to refist them. For Agefilans (as Theopompus writeth) would not fuffer the LACED EMONIANS to goe out to his inagainst such a tempest and furie of warre; but having fortified the middest of the citie, and goarded enery end of the streetes with souldiers, he patiently bare all the bragges and threats

AGESILAVS.

of the THEEANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bade him come into the field to defend his countrey, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, having himselfe procured this warre. If this went to Agefilans heart, no leffe gricuous were those troubles to him that rose within the city: as the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which were mad to fee that they did before their eyes: and of filly women also, which no ground nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe as straught of their wits, to heare the noise the enemics made, and to fee the fire which they raifed all the fields ouer. Much more forowfull also did this make him, when as he bethought himselfe, that entring into his kingdome at such time as the citie of Sparta was in greatest prosperitie that cuerit was, he now saw his honour eclipsed, and the glory of his kingdome overthrowne: and the rather, for that himselfe had often vaunted, that LACONIAN women had neuer feen the smoake of any enemies camp. And as they say of Antalcidas one day, that he answered an Athenian that contended with him about the valiantnesse Certains of one anothers nation, alleadging for himselfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driventhe La- will an CED EMONIANS from the river of Cephifus: It is true, faid the LACONIAN; but we did neuer fivers. drive you from the river of Eurotas. The like answer made a meane man of Sparta, to one of the Argives that cast him in the teeth, There are divers of your LACONIANS buried in the countrey of Argolide: So are there none of yours, said he, buried in Laconia. It is reporred, that Antalcidas being one of the Ephori at that time, did secretly send his children into the Ile of CITHERA, fearing left the city of SPARTA should be taken, Agestians perceining that the enemies forced to passe ouer the river to enter the citie, he stood to defend the middle part of the citie, being the highest place of the same, and there had his menset in order of battell. Now at that time, by chance the river of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinarie, by reason of the fnow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the Therans with the coldnesse, then roughnesse of the same in passing it ouer. Some shewing Agestlans how Epainmendas marched formost before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer off him, saying neuera word but this onely: Oh, what a noble fellow is that ? Epaminondas having done all that he could possible to give the LACED EMONIANS battell, even within the citie selfe of Sparta, that he might there have fet vp some tokens of triumph, he could never entice Agesilaus to come out of his fort: wherefore he was driuen in the end to depart thence, and fo went to destroy all the rest of the countrey. There fell out a conspiracie of two hundred men in Sparta, who of mon under long time had had an ill meaning with them, and took that quarter of the citie where the temple of Dianastood, called Issorium, a place of strong situation, and ill to distresse. Hereupon the LACED EMONIANS in fury would straight hanciet vpon them. But Agestlaus fearing great mu- of Diana. tinie and stirre vpon it, commanded that no man should stirre; and himselfe vnarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye have not obeyed prehend the my commandement, this is not the place I appointed you to affemble in, neither all of you trailors. in one place; for I willed you to disperse your selves, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the citie. The traitors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied: and so leaving that strength, went into those parts of the citie that he had shewed them. Agesilaus then bringing others thither, possessed the fort of Islorium, and tooke fifteene of those conspirators, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out another conspiracie farre greater then the first, of the Spar-TANS themselves, which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sudden stirre and garboile; and to punish them in so great atrouble, it was hard: on the other side to neglect it, the confpiracie was ouer-dangerous. Agefilans having confulted with the Ephori, did put them allto death, without any judgement of law: where neuer Spartan before them suffered death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas diuerse of their neighbours, and of the I-LOTES themselues (whom they had billed in their bands of souldiers) stole away and ranne to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they ture of the should every day go to their couches where they lay, and that they should take aw my their ar- Thebanous mour that were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the number of them that were of Laconia. fled in this fort. Now for the departure of the Thebans, fome fay that they went out of La-CONIA by reason of the winter that came on, whereupon the ARCADIANS discharged their bands, and euery one departed his way in disorder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three moneths together, during which time they destroyed the most part of the Hhh 2

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Ag:filaus

countrey. Theopompus writeth notwith standing, that the Captaines of the THEBANS having determined to depart, there came one Phrixus a Spartan vnto them, fent from Agefilaus, who brought them tentalents that they should depart out of their countrey. Thus had they money given them to defray their charges homewards, to do that, which they themselves had long before determined to have done. And yet do I wonder, how it is possible that all other historiographers knew nothing of this, and that Theopompus onely could tell of it. All do acknowledge truly, that Arefilaus onely was the caufe that the city of Sparta was faued: who leauing his ambition and felfe will, being paffions borne with him, did wifely forefee their fafety. Neuerthelesse, after this great ouerthrow, he could neuer raise Sparta againe to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole bodie, which having acquainted it felse continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfeit presently, and so putteth all in danger: even so Lyourgus having framed a perfect state of government in the common wealth of Sparta, to make her citizens liue in peace and amitie together; when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good law-maker thought vnmeete to continue happie life, they were straight ouerthrowne, and all went to wracke. By this time Agesilaus was growne old, and could no more go to the warres for very age : but his fonne Archidamus, with the aide Ane reare-left battell which Dionyfius thetyrant of Syracvs a fent vnto them, wanne a battell against the Arcaof Arthida- DIANS, called the Tearlesse battell; for there died not one of his men, and they slue agreat number of their enemies. This victoric plainely shewed the great weaknesse and decay of the city of Spanta. For in former times it was fo common athing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did facrifice nothing elfe to the gods in token of thankes, within the citie, but a poore cocke : and they that had fought the battell, made no boast of it, neither did they that heard the newes greatly reloyce atit. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of MANTINEA, which Thurydides describeth, the Ephori onely sent the messenger that brought the newes, for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they understood Archidamus came home victorious, neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father himselfe went first of all to meete him, with theteares in his eyes for ioy, and after him all the other magistrates and officers of the citie; and a fwarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the rivers fide, holding up their hands to heaven, and thanking the gods, as if their citie had redeemed and recourred her shame and lost honour, and began now to rise againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, some say, that the husbands durst not boldly looke their wives in the faces they were so assamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the citie of Messana being by Epaminondes recdified and replenished with people, he called home againe out of all parts, the naturall inhabitants of the fame. The Spartans durft not fight with him (nor to himder his purpose) though it spited them to the hearts, and were angry with Agestian for that in his reigne they had loft althat territory, which was as great as all LACONIA felfe, and for goodnesseand fertilitie to be compared with the best parts of all GR B c E, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why Agesilaus would not agree to the peace which the Theban's fent to offer him: and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the enemies kept in deeds. Therfore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not onely without recouring the thing he looked for, but had in manner also lost the city of Spartaby a warlike stratageme, in the which he was deceived. For the Mantine ANS being newly revolted againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and having sent for the LA-CED EMONIANS, Epaminondas receiving intelligence that Agefilans was departed from Sparta with all his power to aide the MANTINEANS, marched away fecretly by night from TEGEA, without the privite of the MANTINBANS, and went straight to Sparta, the which he had almost surprised on the sudden going another way then Agesslaus came (being in maner without men to defend it.) Howbeita THESPIAN called Euthynus, as Callifthenes faith, (or as Xenophon writeth, a Cretan) brought Azefilaw newes of it; who dispatched a horseman straight to aduertife them of the citie of Sparra, and marching forward himselfe to returne, stayed not long afterbefore he arrived. He was no fooner come, but incontinently also came the THEBANS, who puffing over the river of Eurotas, gave affault to the citie. Then Agefilaus perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of fecuritie as before, but rather of desperation and courage, hee valiantly defended it, more then an olde mans yeares could beare.

Thus, through courage and desperate mind, whereto he was never brought before, neither did ener vieit, he put by the danger and faued the city of Sparta from Epaminondas hands, fetting vp markes of triumph for repulfing of the enemics, and making the women and children of Sparta to fee the LACED AMONIANS how honourably they rewarded their nurse and coun- The fortitrey for their good education, but Archidamus chiefly of all other, fought wonderfully that tade of Arday, running into cuery part of the city, with a few about him, to repulle the enemies wherefocuer the danger was greatest. It is faid also, that at that time there was one Isadas the some of Phabidas, that did maruellous strange things to behold, both in the face of his enemics, as alfo in the fight of his friends. He was of goodly personage, and at that time in the prime of his The validity. youth; and being starke naked, and vnarmed, his bodic nointed with oyle, having in one hand nessess aborestaffe, and in the other a fword, in this manner he went out of his house, and ranne a- Ilaia a mongst them that fought, killing and ouerthrowing his enemies that withstood him, and was sparan. not once hurt, either for that the gods preserved him for his manhoods sake, or else because men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honour and Isadas rereward of his valiantnesse: but withall they set a sine on his head to pay a thousand silver Drachmaes for his rash attempt, to hazard himselfe in battell, vnarmed for defence. Shortly after they fought another great battell before the citie of MANTINEA. There Epaminondas having overthrownethe first rankes of the LACED EMONIANS, and couragiously diffreshing the rest, valiantly following the chase, there was one Anticrates a LACONIAN, who receining him (as Thedeath Dioscorides writeth) flue him with his borespeare. The LACED EMONIANS to this day not with uf Examistanding, do call the ofipring of this Anticrates, Machariones, as much to fay, as sword-men, as mada. though he had flaine him with a fword. The LACED EMONIANS did effective this Anticrates for much, for that deadly stroke he gaue (because they were afraid of Epaminondas while he lived) focalled. that they gave him that flue him, great honours and dignities, and discharged all his offpring and kindred from paiment of fubfidy and common contributions, which priviledge one Callierates, a kinfman of this Anticrates enjoyed even in our time. After this battell and death of Epaminondas, the GRECIANS having taken peace generally amongst them, Agesilaus would need exclude the MESSENIANS from being fworne to this peace, faying: that they need not sweare, because they had no city. Now, for a fmuch as all the GRECIANS else did receive them as amongst the number, and tooke their oath vnto this peace, the LACED EMONIANS brake off from this generall peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the MBSSENIANS country; and all through the allurement of Agesilans, who for this cause was thought of the GRECIANS a cruell and unfatiable man for warres, to deale fo craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, he brought himselfe in discredite with all men, being compelled to make his city bare of read of money, borrowing of them still, and raising sundry contributions amongst them: whereas indeed it had been his best way to have ended all these miseries, having so happy an occasion offered at that time, and not to have lost fo great an Empire of so many townes and cities both by fea and land, and all to plague his countrey, to winne the land and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this most shame vnto him of all other, when he gaue himself vnto one Tachos, a Captaine of the ÆGYPTIANS, cuery man thinking it a shameful part of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of al the GRECIANS, & the which had filled the world with report of his fame and glory) should for money let out his person to hire, and the glorie of his name, vnto a barbarous person, a traytour and rebell to his king and master, to become a mercenary Captaine and fouldier to do him feruice. And moreouer, he being now fourescore yeares of age and vpwards, his bodie all mangled with wounds, though he had vndertaken this honorable charge for the recouerie of the libertie of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition deserved fome blame: for noble acts have their time, yearather the good and ill do nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But Agesilaus had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in service, specially for benefit of the commonwealth, but perswaded himfelfe that it was a dishonour to him to liue idlie in a city and do nothing, till death should come and make his fummons: thereupon therefore he leaused men of warre through all GRECE with the money Tachos sent vnto him, and with them tooke sea, having thirtie SPARTANS counfellors and affiftants to him, as he had in his first journey. Now Agestlans being arrived in Æ-GYPT, all the chiefe Captaines and gouernours of king Taches came to the lea shore, and honourably received him: and not they onely, but infinit numbers of AGYPTIANS of all forts Hhh 3

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(that were maruellous defirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of Agefilians) came thither from all parts to fee what manner of man he was. But when they faw no stately traine about him, but an old graybeard layed on the graffe by the fea fide, a litle man that looked fimply of the matter, & but meanely apparelled in an ill fauored threed-bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merry tale, that a mountaine should bring foorth, and was delivered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they saw men bring him presents to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geefe, and fuch groffe things: and refused all confections, perfumes, and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to give them to the ILOTES his flaves. Theophrastus writeth, that he delighted marvellously in the rush Papyrus, and liked the garlands they made of them, for their fitnesse & the handsomenesse. the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Having spoken at that time with Tachus, who was affembling his army to go on his journey, he was not made Captaine generall, as he looked he should have beene, but was appointed onely Colonell of all the strangers. Chabrias Generall of all the army by sea, and the chiefe of all the rest was Tachos himselfe in perfon. This at the first grieued Agesilaus to the heart, being driven whether he wold or not, to beare with the vanity and pride of this Egyptian. So he failed with them into Phenice, against the PHENICIANS, imbasing himselfe against his noble disposition and mind, and gaue him place. vntill he faw time of revenge. It chanced that one Neotanebos a nephew of this Taches, having the leading of part of this army, rebelled against him, and being chose king by the Egyptians, he fent vnto Agefilam, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also vnto Chabrias, & prayed him to joyne with him, promifing great rewards vnto them both. Tachus understanding that, befought them both that they would not for sake him. Chabrias for his partallo did likewise intreate Agestlans, & perswaded him what he could, to continue friendship with Tachos. Agefilaus answered him: For thee, Chabrias, thou cameft of thine owne goodwill, and therefore mayest do what thou thinkest good, but so is it not with me: for I am sent hither a Captaine by my country, to ferue the ACYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honestie for me to make warre with them, whom I am fent to ferue and aide : were it not that they themselves which fent me do now commaund me the contrarie. This answer being made, he fent certaine of his men to Sparta to accuse Tachos, and to commend Nectanebos. Both they also for their parts fent to intreate the councell of LACED EMON: the one as being alwaies their friend and confederate, and the other promifing to be their faithfull friend thenceforth. The LACED & MO-NIANS, having heard the requests of both, answered them openly, that Agesilans should consider of this matter; and wrote fecretly to him, that he should doe what he thought best for the common wealth of Sparta. So Agefilaus taking with him the mercenarie fouldiers which he had brought out of GRECE, went vnto Nectanebos, cloaking his departure, that it was for the benefite of his country, to bewray a wicked thing; but indeed taking away the vizard to benefitchis country, they might by a better name rightly have termed it treason, Howbeit & LACE-DAMONIANS placing the chiefest point of honor, to confist in the benefite of their country, did acknowledge nothing to be inflice, but that which they thought might ferue for the advancement of the glory of Sparta. Tachos seeing himselfe forsaken thus by his mercenarie strangers, fled. But now on the other fide, there arose another king in the citic of MENDES against this Nettanebos who having leavied to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, came to fight with Netlanebos. But he thinking to encourage Agefilam, told him, that indeed they were a great number of men of all forts together, and specially men of handie craft, and thereforethat they were not to be feared, because they knew not what warre meant. But Agesilaus answered him againe: It is not their number that I feare, but their rudenesse and viskilfulnesse, which is hardest of alto deceive. For warlike stratagems do most prevaile against menthat have greatest feare and experience; and therefore they foresee one thing rather then another. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither feare danger, nor have forecast, and therefore do giue him no more aduantage that seeketh to deceive them, then the wrastler by slight is able to ouerthrow him whom he cannot stirre nor remove. Afterwards the MENDESSIAN king himfelfe fent vnto Agesilaus, to winne him if he could. Nettanebos then began to be afraid. For when Agefilans counfelled him to try it by battell as foone as he could, and not to prolong this warre against ignorant men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouer-multitude might intrench him round about, and preuent him in diuers things: then he began to feare

and suspect him more, and thereupon retired into a great cirle, well walled about, and of great strength. Agesilaus being offended that he mistrusted him thus, tooke it inwardly; but being ashamed to turneagaine vnto the third, and also to depart without any exploit done, he followed him, and enclosed himselfe within those walles. The enemies pursuing him hard; came vitto the city, and began to intrench it round, to keepe him in. Then the ÆGYPTIAN Nectanchos fearing a long fiege, determined to give them battell. Thereto the hired GRECIAN'S gave consent, as defiring no better match, & the rather also for that there was but small store of corne within the city. But Agestlaus perswading the contrary, would in no wise consent to it: whereupon the Egyp-TIAN'S thought worse of him then before, and plainly called him traitor to their king. Howbeit he did patiently beare all these accusations, expecting time to performe an exploit he intended, which was this. The enemies had cast a deepe trench without to compasse them in. When this trench drew neare to end, and that both ends lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night came on, he commanded the GRECIANS to arme and to put themselues in readincise: then he came vntothe Egyptian, and faid vnto him: Lo here is an excellent occasion presented to saue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I saw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing lest otherwise we should have lost it. Now sith the enemies themselves have with their owne hands given vs the way to faue our felues by this trench they have cast, the which as much as is finished therof doth hinder their great multitude to helpe theselues, & that which is yet lese vnfinisheddoth giue vs. oportunitie to fight with them of euen hand: determine to shew thy va- 7he fratalour, and following vs, fauethy felfe and thy people. For the enemies which we shall affaile be- gemof-agefore vs, shall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trench which defendeth files vs on enery side, can no way hurt vs. Nectanebos hearing his words, wondered at his great wisedome, and fo thrusting in among the GRECIANS, did affaile the enemies: the which were soone ouerthrowne and put to flight, as many as durst refist and make head against them. Agesidans hauing won Neclanebos againe to trust him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like subtiltie wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knew not how to avoide. For one while he made as though he fled, and inticed them to follow him: fodainely againe he would turne this way & that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight fluce, walled about on either fide, with great broade ditches full of running water: fo that when they were euen in the midst of it, he sudainely stopped their passage with the front of his battell, which he cast to the breadth of the sluce, and thus made his number of fighting menequall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neuer compasse him in behind, nor flanke him on the sides. They having in this fort made some small refistance, in the end turned their backes and fled, and left a great number flaine in the field; the refidue after that last ouerthrow for sooke their Captains, and fled straggling here and there. Thus the affaires of this Egyptian king after that time had good fucceffe, and he was quietly stablished in his kingdome, making much of Agesilaus and doing him all honor possible, prayed him to tarrie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needs haften home to his countrey, which was in warre with others, knowing that his city of Sparta was without money, because they were driven to give pay to strangers. Thereupon The liberal Nectanebos in the end tooke his leave of him very honourably, prefenting him a gift besides all o. Rectanebos ther honours he didhim) of two hundred and thirty filuer talents in ready money, to defray the charges of the war in his country. Howbeit the fea being rough in the winter quarter; he died by Agefland the way, having notwithstanding recovered land with his ships in a desert place of the coast of of Agestians Lybia, which was called the haven of Menelaus, after he was four cfcore & four eyeares old: of the which he had reigned one and forty yeares king of Sparta, and 30 yeares therof and more Thereigna he was alwaies taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in maner Chieftaine generall of all land. GRECE, Untill the battell of Levetres. Now the Laced Emonians having acustome to bury the dead bodies of their citizes that died out of their country, in the same place where they body noints departed, (the bodies of their kings excepted) the Spartans which were at that time about ed with Agefilaus, annointed his body with wax efor lacke of honey, and caried him home to Sparta in waxe for Aggiraus, annointed his body with waxer in factor hone, sand chief file fucceffinely reige larke of this maner. His sonne Archidamus succeeded him in the kingdome, whose iffue succeeding hims. ned continually after him, vnto the time of Agis (who was the fifth king in fuccession after Agefilass) whom indeed Leonidas put to death, because he sought to restore the

LACED EMONIAN'S ancient discipline and forme of life.

The end of the life of Agesilaus.

loue fle bareto Pompey . Geminius thereupon brake the matter to Pompey himfelte. Pompey defi-

with the wife of Demetrius, his franchited bondman (who while he lived was in great credite

To proughis fober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common meats, a word (they fay) he spake when he was very ficke, and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For to

yp all the yeare through. Why, what then, said he; if Lucullus riot were not, should not Pompey liue: Therewithall, letting his Physitians counsell alone, he made them dreffe such meate as was euery where common. But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the field with his father that was in armes against Cinna, there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called Lucius Terenius; who being bribed with money, had promifed Cinnato kill him, and other confederators also had promised to set their Captaines tent on fire.

bed where he was wont to lie, and gaue many a thrust into the matresse. After he had done that,

all the campe was fraightinan vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the sol-

diers in all hast would needs have gone and yeelded to their enemic, beginning already to ouer-

throw their tents, and to truffe away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult,

durst notcome out of his tent; notwithstanding Pompey his sonne ranne amongst the mutinous

fouldiers, and humbly befought them with teares in his eyes, not to do their Captaine this

villanie, and in fine threw himselfe flatling to the ground ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bid-

ding them march ouer him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The souldiers being ashamed of

theirfolly, returned againe to their lodging, and changing mind, reconciled themselues with

their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that sira-

be, Pompeys father, was departed out of the world, Pompey being his heire, was accused for the fa-

ther, to robbe the common treasure. Howbeit he contessed and anowed, that it was Alexan-

lost them since, when Cinna returned vnto Rome with his souldiers, who breaking into his

house by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitive sentence, in which time Pompey shewed himselfe of good spirit and vnderstanding,

more then was looked for in one of his yeares; infomuch he wanne fuch fame and fauour by it, that Antifius being Prator at that time, and Iudge of his matter, fell into fuch a liking with

him, that fecretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by friends

broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, and the parties were fecretly affured. This was not fo

closely conueyed, but the people perceived it, by the care and paines Antistius tooke to sauor his

matter Insomuch, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, & cleared him, all the people together, as if

THE LIFE OF Pompey.



He Romaines seeme to have loved Pompey from his childhood, with the selfe affection that Prometheus in the tragedy of Aschylus appeareth to have borne vnto Hercules, after that he was delivered by him: when he faid:

> So great a hate I bare not to the father, But that I love the sonne of him much rather.

For the ROMAINES neuer shewed more bitter hate against any other Captaine, then they did vnto Strabe Pompeys father. Truly fo long as he lined, they feared his greatnesse obtained by armes, for indeed he was a

carneft

noble Captaine: but being stricken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare wheron his body lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villanie. Contrariwife, neuer any other ROMAINE (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest good wils so soone, nor that in prosperitie and aduersities antinued longer constant, then vnto *Pompey*. One onely cause procured the fathers hate, and was, an vnsatiable and greedy desire of money. But *Pompey* his son, was for many occasions beloued: as for temperance of life, aprinesse to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnesse of word, and courtesse in conucrsation so that there was neuer man that requested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gaue without disdaine, and took with great honor. Furthermore, being but a child he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good wils before he spake: for his countenance was sweet, mixed with granitie, and being come to mans state, there appeared in his gesture and behauior a graue and princely maiesty. His haire also stood a litle vpright, & the cast and fost mouing of his eyes, had a certaine resemblance (as they faid) of the statues & images of king Alexander. And because enery man gaue him that name, he did not refuse it himselse: insomuch as there were some which sporting wise did openly call him Alexander. Wherupon Lucius Philippus a Consull, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in Pompeys fauor, that it was no maruell if he being Philip did loue Alexander. It is reported also, that when Flora the curtifan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which she had with Pompey being a young man: telling that after she had lien with him, she could not possibly rise from him, but she must needs give him some sweet quip or pleasant taunt. She would tell also how one of Pompeys familiars and companions called Geminius, fell in love with her, and was a maruellous

The father of Pompey hated in Strabo, the

The loue of cheRo manes voto Pompey.

father of

Pompey.

Pompey.

Flora the curtifan loued Pompey.

rous to pleasure him, granted the request: howbeit Geminius after that, would not come neare Plora, nor speake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But Flora tooke this not curtifan-like, for she was sicke a long time for very griefe of mind and the thought she tooke vponit. All this notwithstanding, it is said that this Flora had then such fame for her passing grace and beautic, that Cecilius Metellus setting forth and beautifying the temple of Cassor and Pollux, with Flora the goodly tables and pictures, among the rest, he caused her picture to be liuely drawne for her excellent beauty. Furthermore, Pompey against his nature, dealt very hardly and vncourteously faire. with him, and dying, left her worth foure thousand talents) fearing to be taken with her beautie which wasvery fingularly faire, left he should be thought in love with her. Now though herein he feemed to be very circumfpect, and to cast the worst, yet could he not thus scape the detraching tongues of his ill-willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his wines, he would let paffe and winke at many things that were against the profit of the common-wealth.

bring his flomacke to him againe, his Physition willed him to eate a thrush. So lecking all about The tempe. to get himone, there was no Thrush to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at Lucullus house, for he kept them indies.

This conspiracie was reucaled vnto Pompey as he sate at supper, which nothing amated him avall, The treason but he drank freely, and was merier with Terentius then of custome. So when it was bed time, he of Lucius

ftole out of his ownetent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his fafety. Terentius thinking Terentius the houre come to attempt his enterprife, rose with his sword in his hands, and went to Pompeys Pempey.

der one of his fathers infranchifed bondmen that had stolen the most part of it, and brought him in before the Judges. Notwithstanding, he was accused himselfe, for taking away the toy les and robbine the arming cords of hunters nets, and bookes that were taken at AscvivM. He confessed the haning of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken : howbeit that he had treasure.

The death

they had been agreed, cryed out with one voice, Talassio, Talassio, being the vsuall and common Theraule of crie they vsed of old time at mariages in Rome. This custome by report of ancient folke came the crite of Vp in this maner. At what time the chiefest Peeres and Lords of Rome did rauish the SAEINES Talaffo at daughters, which came to Rome to fee common sports played, there chanced a few rascals (as hog-heards or neat-heards) to carrie away a goodly faire woman. They fearing the should be taken from them, cryed out in the streets as they went, Talassio, as if they would have said. she is for Talassius. This Talassius was a young gentleman well knowne, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named onely, did clappe their hands for ioy, and crycdour with them, Talassio, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that ever fince they have cryed this word Talassio vnto them that are newly maried, because the mariage of that faire yong maide proued fortunate, and happy vnto Talassius. And this methinkes foundeth nearest to the troth of that they report of this wedding crie of Talassio. Shortly after this indgement given Pomper maried Amistia. After that, going vnto Cinnaes campe, they wrongfully accused him of somewhat, whereupon he being afraid, secret, ly stole away. Now when they could not find him in Cinnaes campe, there ranne straight arumour abroade, that Cinna had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced Cinna, did fet vpon him for this occasion. But he thinking to faue himselfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a private Captaine that followed him with his fword drawne in his hand. Ginna feeing him, felldowne on his knees before him, and tooke his feale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tush, said the Captaine, I come not to seale any couenant, but to chastise a villaine and cruell tyrant: and therewith all thrust his fword through him, and flue him prefently. Cinna being flaine in this fort, Carbo fucceeded him, and tooke the gouernment in hand, being a more cruell tyrant then the first. Shortly after came in Sylla, being wished for, and desired of the most part of the Romaines, for the gricuous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought the mselues happie to change Gouernour: for their city was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see Rome recouer her last libertie, they desired yet a more tolerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of ITALY called PICENYM (now the marches of Ancona) where he had certaine inheritance. but much more great loue and goodwill of the citie for his fathers fake. He feeing that the noblest men of Rome forsooke their houses and goods, to flie from al parts vnto Syllaes campe, as vnto a place of fafety, would not go to him as a fugitive and castaway to save himselfe, without bringing him some power to increase his armie, but would honourably go thither with an army, as he that meant first to do himselfe pleasure. So he felt the good will of the Picentines, who willingly took his part, and rejected them that were fent by Carbo. Among them there was one Vindius, that stepping forth, faid: that Pompey which came from the schoole the last day, must now in hastebe a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time Pompey being but three and twentie yeares old tarying to receive no authoritie from any man, tooke it vpon him of himfelfe; and caufing a tri-Pompeyman bunall to be set vp in the middest of the market place of AvxIMVM, a great populous citie, he of an army commaunded the two brethren called the VBNTIDIANS (being the chiefest men of the citie, at 23 years and they that for Carboes sake withstood his doings) without delay forthwith to avoide the city:and so began to leavie men, and to appoint Captaines, Sergeants of bands, Centeniers, and fuch other officers as appertaine to martiall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the fame marches, and did the like. They that tooke part with Carbo, fled every man, and all the rest willingly yeelded vnto him: wherby in short space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, carts, and all manner of beafts for cariage. In this fort he tooke his iourney towards Sylla, not in haste, as a man afraid to be met with by the way, but by small iourneys staying still where hemight hurt his enemie, causing the cities every where as he came to reuolt from Carbo. Neuerthelesse, three Captaines of the contrarie part, Carinna, Calsus, and Brutus, all three did set vpon Pompey together, not all in a front, nor of one side, but in three feueral places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to have made him fure at the first Pompeys of onset. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting forth his force together in one place, he first marched against Brutus, having placed his horsemen (among the which he was himselfe in perfon) before the battell of his footmen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, coming to give charge vpon him, he ran one of the chiefest among them through with

his lance and flue him. The other GAVLES feeing him flaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footmen: fo that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among themselucs, and some sted one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were difperfed for feare, came all in to Pompey, and yeelded themselues. Afterwards scipio the Consull coming against Pompey to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to joyne, before they came to throwing of their darts, Scipioes fouldiers faluted Pompeys men, and went on their fide: fo was Scipio driuen to flie. And in fine, Carbo himselfe having sent after him diverstroopes of horsemenby the river of Arsis, Pompey made towards them, and did so fiercely affaile them, that he draue them into such places as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon they seeing no way to scape, yeelded themselues horse and armours, all to his mercie. Sylla all this while heard no newes of these ouerthrowes: wherefore, as soone hevnderstood of it, fearing lest Pompey should miscarrie, being enuironned with so many Captaines of his enemies, he made hasteto march towards him forto aide him. Pompey vnderstanding of his approach, commanded his Captaines to arme somed with their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might fee them brauely appointed sylla. when he should present them vnto him: for he looked that Sylla would do him great honour, and indeed he did him more honour then Pompey looked for. For when Sylla faw him afarre off comming towards him, and his army marshalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly menthat fo brauely advanced themselves, being couragious for the victoric they had obtain ned of their enemies, he lighted on foot. When Pompey also came to do his dutie to him, and Pompey ned of their enemies, ne lighted on root. When Pompey also came to do his dutie to him, and rombey allo called him Imperator, (as much as Emperour, or fouer aigne Prince) Sylla refalleted him with the felfe name, beyond all mens expectation present, litle thinking that he would have given sylla. honourable a name vnto fo young a man as Pompey, who had not yet been Senator: confidering that he himself did contend for that title and dignitie, with the faction of Marius and Scipto. Furthermore, the entertainment that Sylla gaue him euery way, was answerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when Pompey came before him, he would rife and put off his cap to him, which Thehonor he did not vnto any other noble men about him. All this notwith standing, Pompey gloried no- sylladid thing the more in himselfe. Wherfore when Sylla would straight haue sent him into Gavi E, because Merellus that was there, was thought to have done no exploit worthy of so great an armie as he had with him: Pompey answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than himselfe: yet if Metellus of himself were contented, and would intreate him, that he would willingly go and helpe him to end this pompey war. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entring Gavle, did went to aid war. Metellus was very glad or it, and wrote for milito conic. The it supply child to fight, Metellus in of himselfe wonderful exploits, and did so reuiue Metellus old courage and valiant nesset to fight, Gaule, which now beganto faint, like boyling copper that being powred vpon the cold and hard copper, doth melt and dissolue it as fast or faster then fire it selfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath been counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, hauing euer borne, the prize away where he had wreftled, they neuer record among them his childish victories and wreftlings, as things of no account: cuenfo I am afraid to speake of the wonderfull deeds that Pompey did in his childhood, because they are obscured in respect of the infinite great warres and battels which he had pamps. wonne afterwards. For I am affraide that whileft I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe ouer his chiefest acts and most notable enterprises, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when Sylla had oouercome all ITALY, and was proclaimed Dictator, he did reward all his Lieutenants and Cap- promper pas taines that had taken his part, and did aduance them to honourable place and dignity in the com- away his taines that nad taken his part, and did aduance them to honourable place and digitily in the continuous monwealth, frankly granting them all that they requested him. But for Pompey, reuerencing him flia, and for his valiantnesse, and thinking that he would be a great stay to him in al his wars, he sought by maried. fome meanes to allie him to him, Metellahis wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded the daught Pompeyto put away his first wise Antistia, and to mary Amylia the daughter of Metella, & of her ter of Mefirst husband, the which also was another mans wife, and with child by her husband. These 121/4 Syl. mrit nusband, the which also was another mans whie, and with clinic by her husband. There has wife, mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for Syllaes time, rather then agreeable to Pompeys na-The death f ture and condition: to see Amylia, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husband, to Antifine. mary her great with child; and shamefully to forsake Antistia, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husband that did put her away. For Antistius was murthered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take part with sylla for his sonne in law Pompeys sakes

the CARTHAGINIANS had hiddenthere long before in time of their calamitic. Pempey here-

upon, for many dayes after, could have no rule of his fouldiers; neither could be choose but

thought good, for they had payed well for their folly. Domitius came to Pompey, with his ar-

fwift running streame, very ill to get ouer; be sides that, from the very breake of day it had pow-

red downeand rained fo fast, and was so great a wind withall, that Domitius thinking all that

day they should not fight, commanded his people to trusse away, and remous. Pompey on the other side, finding this an excellent sit occasion for him, sodainly made his men to march, and passed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order, were

maruelloufly amazed, and inthat hurly burly would have made refiftance. But they were nei-

ther all together, nor yet evenly fet in battell ray, and had befides the wind beating the raine full

intheir faces. So did the storme much hurt vnto the Romaines also, for they could not one

fee another: infomuch as Pompey himselfe was in great danger of being killed by one of his

ter, (for they fay, that of twenty thousand of them, there were but three thousand faued) Pom-

peys fouldiers faluted him by the name of Imperator : but he answered them, that he would not

accept the honor of that name, to long as he faw his enemies campe yet flanding ; and the refore,

if it were fo they thought him worthy of that name, that first they should oberchrow the treach

and fort of their enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The fouldiers when they

his realme was give to Hiemp(al. But Pempey being defirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his army, went many daies journey into the maine land, and still conquered all

where he came, making the power of the ROMAINES dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of

that countrey, the which made but fmall account of them at that time. He layd moreour, that the wild beafts of Africk E also should feele the force and good successe of the Romains; and

thereupon hebestowed a few dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephants. For it is reported, that

at all: but his fouldiers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when Pomper prayed them

to depart, they began to give our broad speeches against sylla, and told directly that they were

not determined (what socuer became of them) to for sake him, and they would not that he

should trust vnto a tyrant. Pompey seeing that he could not perswade them by any reason to be

quiet, rose out of his chaire and retired into his tent weeping. But the souldiers fellowed him,

and brought him againe to his chaire of state, where he spent a great part of the day, they intrea-

ting him to remaine there and command them, and he defiring them to obey Sylla, and leave

their mutinics. But in fine, feeing them importunate to prefle him to it, he sware he would kill himselse, rather then they should compell him; yet they scant lest him thus. Hercupon it was re-

ported vnto Sylla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Sylla when he heard that, sayd to his friends: Well, then I fee it is my destinie in mine old dayes to fight with children. He meant fo,

cause he would go beyond them all in shew of good will, he went out of his housero meete him,

and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to fay

laugh to fee fo many thousand men digging the ground, and turning up the field: untill in Demitius the end they wearied themselves, and came and prayed him then to leade them where he camped by mieset in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quagmire before him, that ranne with a army,

heard him fay fo, went prefently to affault it. There Pompey fought bare headed, to aucide the like danger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the camp by force, and in it flue Donsitins. After that overthrow, the cities in that countrey came and yeelded themselves, some will lingly, and others taken by force as also they tooke king Iarbas that had fought for Domitius, and

infortie dayes space at the vttermost, he had ouercome his enemies, subdued Africke, and had established the affaires of the kings and kingdomes of that countrey, being then but foure conquests at and twenty yeares old. So when he returned vnto the citie of VTICA, letters were brought 24 years from sylla, willing him to discharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion onely, The best tarying the coming of another Captaine that should be sent to succeed him in the government the soular of that countrey. This commandement gricued him not a litle, though he made no flew of the graph of the country of the country

because of Marius the yonger, who had done him much mischiefe, and had besides put him in Pompercal. great danger. But afterwards vnderstanding the troth, and hearing that all gengrally in Rome led Magnite were determined to go and meete Pompey, and to receive him with all the honor they could; be- by sul.

and her mother voluntarily put her felf to death, feeing her daughter received fuch open wrong, By these apparant causes, those vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miserable tragedie, by means of the death of Emylia, who shortly after miserably died with child in Pompeys house. Then came newes to Sylla, that Perpenna was gotten into Sicile and that he had made all that Iland at his denotion, as a fafe place to receive all Syllaes enemies: that Carbo alfo kept the fea therea. pomenfort bouts with a certainenumber of ships: that Domitius also was gone into Africk E: and diverse from sella other noblemen that were banished that had scaped his proscriptions and outlawries, were all in those parts. Against them was Pompey sent with a greaturmy. Howbeit he no sooner arrived in Sicile, but Perpenna left him the whole Iland, and went his way. There he fanourably dealt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miferie, and fetthem againe at libertie, the Mamertines onely excepted, which dwelt in the citie of Messina. They defpifing his tribunall and jurifdiction, alledged the ancient order and priviledge of the ROMAINS fet downe in times pastamongs them. But Pompey answered them in choler: What do ye prattletovs of your law, that have our fwords by our fides? It seemeth also that Pempey dealt too cruelly with Carbo in his miserie. For fith he must needs die, as there was no remedie but he should, then it had been better they had killed him when he was taken: for then they would have imputed it to his malice that so had commanded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him, that had been thrife Confull at Rome, to be openly examined. and he fitting in his chaire of frate or tribunall, condemned him to die in presence of them all: to the great offence and milliking of euery one that was present. So Pompey bade them take him away and carie him to execution. When Carbo came to the feaffold where he should be executed, and feeing the fword drawne that should cut off his head, he prayed the executioners to The death of gine him a little respire & place to vntrusse a point, for he had a paine in his belly. Caens Oppius al-2 Facility to (one of Inlins Cafars friends) writerh, that he dealt very cruelly in like maner with Quintus Falerius. For Pumper, faid he knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, & few like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him afide, and walked a few turns about then when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commanded his guard to cary him away, and to dispatch him. Howbeit we may not give too light credit to all that Oppius writeth, speaking of Iulius Cafars friends or foes, For Pompey indeed was copelled to make away the greatest personages of Syllaes enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken; but for the rest, althose that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was cotented to winke at it, and would not understand it:and morcouer did helpe some besides to saue themselues. Now Pompey was determined to hauetaken sharpe renenge of the civic of the HI-MERIANS, which had floutly takentheenemies part. But Sthenis one of the Gouernours of the city, craning audience of Pompey, told him he should do them wrong and ininstice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durst take upon him to father the offence of them all, sthem's answered straight, that it was himselfe, that had perswaded his friends, & compelled his enemics to do that which they did. Pompey being pleafed to heare the franke speech and boldnesse of this man, first forgaue him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other HIMERIANS. Pompey vnderstanding that his foldiers did kill divers men in the high waies, he sealed vp altheir fwords, and whose seale soener was broken, he was well fauouredly punished. Pomper being bufie about these matters in Sicile, received letters and commission from Sylla and the Senate, to depart thence immediatly into Africke, to make war vpon Domitius with all his power, who had leauted already more men of war, then Marius had, not long before, when he came out of A FRICK E into ITALY: and had there ouerthrowne all the Romaine's doings, being become of a figitive outlaw, a cruell tyrant. Pompey thereupon having speedily put himselfe in readinesse to take the seas, lest Memmius his sisters husband governor of Sicile and so himself imbarked, &c hoifled faile with fixefeore gallies, and eight hundred other ships or bottomes, to transport their to africe victuals, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage what society. After he was againgt Dr. Landed with all his fleet, part at VTICA, and part at CARTHAGE, there straight came to him seuen thousead soldiers from the enemies, and yeelded themselues, besides sene whole legions that he brought withhim. They fay moreouer, that at his arrivall, he had a present chance happened virto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his fouldiers stumbled on a treafure by chance, and got thereby a great maffe of money. The refidue of the army hearing that

owne fouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and was somewhat pempeys long before he answered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowne his enemies with great flaugh.

The bold

Domber lea

The wifedome of the Romaines ing forrain and have feruice.

Valerius &

vnto Sylla.

Marcus Le. ted Confulla

Sylla falle lone of Pompey.

Lepidus .ciuill war

great and commanded all them that were present to give him that name also. This not with standing some say, that it was in Africk E this name was first given him by a common cry of all his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sylla. Indeed it is true, that Pompey himself being sent Proconsul into Spain E, long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his letters and commissions with the name of Pompey the great: for this name then was so comonly knowne and accepted, as no mandid enuicit. And therefore rightly is the wifedome of the ancient Ro-MAINES to be both commended and had in admiration, which did not onely reward feruice in for remard the field with fuch honourable names and titles, but civill feruice and good government alfoin peace at home. For there were two, who the people of Rome called Maximi, to fay, very greats. of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwixt the people and Senate: the other was Fabius Rallus, for that he put from the Senate certain bondmen infranchised, who through their riches and fauour had obtained that place. After that, Pempey required led Maximi the honor of triumph, but Sylla denied it, alleadging that none could enter in triuph into Rome but Confuls or Prators. For fith Scipiothe first, who in Spaine had ouercomethe Cartha-GINIANS, neuer desired this honour of triumph, being neither Consull nor Prætor, much lesse should he stand vpon demaund of triumph into Rome, when that through his yong yeares he was not yet a Senator; and befides, it would purchase him enuic of his honor and greatnes. These reasons did Sylla alleadge against Pompey and told him plainly that if he were bent to stad in it, he wold refift him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly againe, how men did honor the rifing, not the fetting of the Summeaning therby, how his owne honor increased, & Syllaes diminished. Sylla heard him not very perfectly what he faid; but perceiuing by their countenaces that flood by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he faid, When it was told him, he maruelled at the boldnesse of so youg a man, and then cried out twife together, Let him then triumph a gods name. Many being offended therwith, Pompey (as it is reported) to anger the more, would needs be brought in in triumphant chariot drawne with foure Elephants : for he had taken many of them from those Kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gate of the citie being too narrow, he was driven to leave the Elephants, and was contented to be drawn in with horses. Now his soldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised the, going about to trouble and hinder his triumph; he said, he passed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of riomph, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Wherupo, there was a famous man arthartime walled Servilius who at the first was one of the chiefest against Pompeys triumph, who said openly, Now I know that Pompey indeed is great, and deferueth triumphibeing cuident enough, that if he would, he might then have eafily beene made Senator:he sued not for that, but as they say, sought honor by a stranger meane lesse honourable. For if he had been made Senator fo yong, it had not been fo great a matter; but to have such honor before he was Senator, that was maruelloufly to be noted. But this wan him the more fauor and goodwill still amongst the common people: for they were glad when after his triumph they faw him in company amongst the Romaine knights. On the other side, it spited Sylla to fee him come so fast forward, and to rise to so great credite: notwithstanding being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keepe it to himfelfe vntill that Pompey by force, and against Syllaes wil, had brought Lepidu to be Confull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furthered his desire. Therupon Sylla seeing Pompey returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honour him, he fayd vnto him: O yong man, I fee thou art glad of this victorie, and so hast thou cause; for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such fauour of the people, as for thy fake to have made Lepidus Confull (the vilest person of all men) before Catulus the honestest man of the citie: but I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleepe not, and looke well to thy businesse, for thou hast advanced a dangerous enemie to thy selfe. Now the chiefest thing wherein Sylla discoucred most his ill will vnto Pompey, was in his last wil and testament: for he gaue Legacies vnto euery one of his friends, and some of them he made tutors and overfeers of his fonne, but he made no mention of Pompey at all. This notwithstanding Pompey tooke it well enough. And where Lepidus and fome other would have kept Syllzes bodie from buriall in the field of Mars, and that his funerall should not be openly solemnized. he contrary wife brought him very honourably and fafely to the ground. Shortly after Syllais death, his words of prophecie vnto Pompey concerning Lepidus, proued true. For Lepidus vfurping the authority which sylla had before, not colourably, but openly entred straight in armes, firring stirring up againe those of Marius faction, whom Sylla could not be auenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise againe. True it is, that his colleague and fellow Confull Carulus (whom the best and soundest part of the people followed) was thought a maruellous honest man, both iust and modest: howbeit, a better gouernor in peace, then a good man of warre, infomuch as time required Pompeys skill and experience. So Pompey stood not doubtfull which way he would dispose himselfe, but tooke part straight with the Nobilitie and honesteft men, and was presently chosen Captaine of their army against Lepidus, who had alreadie wonne the greatest part of ITALY, and with an army vnder the conduct of Brutus, kept GAVLE on this fide the mountaines called GALLIA CISALPINA. And for the rest, Pompey, casily ouercame it : howbeit he lay along time before Mo Dona, befieging of Brutus. In the meane feafon Lepidus came to Rome, and being hard at the walles demaunding the fecond Confulship, made them afraid in the citie with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all forts. Howbeit this feare was cooled straight, by a letter which Pompey lent to Rome, aduertifing how he had ended this warre without any bloud shed: for Brutus either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelding himselfe vnto Pompey, who gaue him a certaine number of horsmen that conducted him vnto a litle towne vpon the river of Po; where the next day after, Geminins being fent by Pompey, flue him. But hereof Pompey was greatly blamed, for that he had written letters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how Brutus had put himselfe into his Brutus the ten letters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how Brutus had put himfelre into his hands, and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting him to by Pompey. death. Thus Brutus was father of that Brutus, which afterwards by the helpe of Cassins flue inlins C.e/ar: howbeit he shewed not himselfe so like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did as we have declared more at large in his life; Furthermore Lepidus being driven to forfake Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died (as it is reported) of a ficknes that he had, not for any forrow or griefe of his owne affaires, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his Thedeath of heart, knowing thereby that his wife had plaied the harlot. There remained at that time Sertorin's Lepidus. in Spaine, who was another maner of warrier then Lepidus, and that kept the Romaines in great awe: for that all the fugitiues of the late civill wars were fled to him, as from the last disease of the warres. He had alreadie overthrowne many inferiour Captaines, and was now wreftling with Metellus Pius, that in his youth had bene a noble fouldier, but now being old, made warres but flowly, and would not couragiously take present occasions offered him, which Sertorius by The valihis nimbleneffe and dexterity took out of his hands. For he would ever houer about him, when sertorius in he thought least of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of soldiers, and would still ay am- Spaine. bushes in every corner, and round about him: where the good old man Metellus had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heavie armed. Hercupon Pompey keeping his army alway together, practifed at Rome that he might be sent into Spaine to aide Metellus, But notwithstanding that Catulus commanded him to disperse his army, Pompey still kept them together by colour of new deuices, and was continually about Rome in armes, until that by Lucius Philippus means he had obtained the gouernment of that country. They fay, that one of the Senators maruelling to heare Philip propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: How now Philip, doeff thou then thinke it meete to fend Pompey Proconfull(to fay, for a Conful) into Spain E? No truly, faid Philip, not Proconfull onely, but pro Confulibus, (to fay, for both Confuls) meaning that both the rompeys Confuls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when Pompey was arrived in Spaine, men Spained. began straight to be caried away (as the maner is commonly where no governours be) with the gampf ser, hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon Sertorius gaue out proud and bitter words torius. against Pompey, saying in mockery, he would have no other weapon but rods to whip this yong boy, if he were not afraid of this old woman, meaning Metellus the old man. But not with standing these gallant brags, he stood better vpon his guard, and went stronger to fight then he did before, being afraid of Pompey. For Metellus was very diffolute of life (which no man would have Metellus judged in him) and was given ouer too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a simentories maruellous sodaine change, both of his honour and glorie which he vsed before, as also the cutting off of his superstuous expence. That thing, besides that he did honour Pompey greatly by it, wan him also much more the goodwil of the people, whe they saw that he drew himself downe to a straighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne disposition he was a graue man and temperatly giue for his defires. In this war fortune changed diverfly, as it is commonly scene in wars: but nothing grieued Pompey more then Sertorius winning of the citie of LAVRON. Iii 2

Sertoriu wan the ciof Pompey. Ponstey Rue Heren-Battelbetwist Pan new and Sertoring Sucron fl.

flie of Pom.

Mesellus.

Mey carrie

For he thinking to have that him in, and had given out fome glorious words of the matter, wondred when he faw himselfe straight compassed in, that he could not stirre out of the camp where ty of Lauro he lay, and was driven besides to see the citie burnt before his face. This notwithstanding, afin the fight terwards at a fet battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he flue Herennius and Perpenna, both notable fouldiers, and Sertorius Lieutenants, and with them ten thousand men. This victorie so encouraged Pompey, that he made haste to fight with Sertorius alone, because Metellus should have no part of the honour of the victory. So they both met by the river of Sucron, about sunne set, both fearing Metellus comming: the one, that he might fight alone; and the other, with one alone, In fine, the victorie fel out doubtfull in the end of the battell: for either of their wings had the vpper hand. Betweene the two Captaines, Sertorius had the greater honour: for he alone ouercame all them that stood before him. And as for Pompey, there was a great man of armes that being on foot, came and fet vpon him; and having both their fwords in their hands, they both lighted vpo their hands, but not both in one fort: for Pompeys hand was but a little hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut off. Then Pompeys men fell vpon him, all his owne fellowes on that fide being fled from him notwithstanding, beyond all hope, he faued himselfe after a strange fort, by calting up his horse among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnesse, having a caparison of great value; and in the meane time while they were busie deuiding this bootie among them, and fighting for it he escaped their hands. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bands into the field, to confirme the victorie, which either of them supposed they had gotten. But Metellus came to Pompey at that present time; wherupon Sertorius went his way, and dispersed his armies for his campe was easily broken, and sodainly gathered againe together. For Sertorius would sometime wander the fields alone, and at another time again he would have a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men together in the field, like a vehement ftreame, that fometime is dried vp, and that fodainly againe is all of a floud. Pompey after this battel going to welcome Metellus, when they came neare one another, he commanded his fergeants and officers to put downetheir bundle of rods and axes which they caried before him, to honor Metellus withall, who was a better man then himselfe. But Metellus would not suffer them, but shewed himselfe equall with him in that, and in all things else, not respecting his senioritie, nor that he had been Confull, and Pompey not, fauing when they camped together, Metellus gaue the watchword to all the campe. Notwithstanding, commonly they camped a funder, for their enemy that was fo flitting fro place to place, and was scene in so sundry places in so short time, compelled them to be a funder to forefee the worst, drawing them sodainly from one purpose to another: fo that in fine, cutting them off from victuals enery way, spoyling their country, and keeping the sea side, he draue them both out of the provinces of their charge which they had in Spain, & did compel them to go some other where for lacke of victuals. Pompey in the meanetime having fpent y most part of his goods in this war, sent to Rome for mony to pay his soldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they fent him no mony, he would return e with his army into IT ALY. Lucullus then being Confull, though Pompeys enemie, procured they should send him money: for he practised to be sent Captaine against king Mithridates, and therefore was afraid to give Pompey any occasion to returne, who defired nothing more then to leave Sertorius to bend his force against Mithridates, whose ouerthrow shold be more honorable to him, and also lesse dangerous. In the meane space Sertorius died, being betrayed by those whom he thought his friends, among the which Perpenna was the chiefe man, that after Sertorius death would needs counterfeit his doings, having the same meanes, the same furniture, and the same power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit and skill to employ them. Pompey therefore marching directly towards him. and finding how ignorant Perpenna was in his affaires, he layed a bait for him of ten cohorts which he fent to prey in the fields, commanding them to disperse themselves abroade as farre as they could, one from another. Perpenna straight tooke the occasion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chase. But Pompey tarying him at the foord, was readie for him with al his armie set in order: he gauehim battell, obtained the victorie, and ended all this warre, because the most of the captaines were flaine in the field, and Perpennathe chiefe of all taken prisoner, whom he presently put to death. But herein Pompey was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor oblinion (as some do burthen him) of Perpennaes friendship shewed him in Sicilia, but rather deserued praise to have determined so wisely for the benefite of the common wealth. For Perpenna having in his custodie all Sertorius writings, he shewed letters of the greatest Noblemen of Rome,

(which were defirous of change of gouernment) willing him to returne into ITALIE. Pompey vpon fight of these letters, fearing lest they would breed greater sedition and stirre in Rome then that which was already pacified, put Perpenna to death as soone as he could, and burnt all his pathers and writings, not reading any letter of them. Then Pompey remaining in Spaine a certaine the death as soone as he could, and burnt all his pathers and writings, not reading any letter of them. Then Pompey remaining in Spaine a certaine to the soon as he could, and burnt all his pathers are the soon as he could, and the soon are the soon as he could, and the soon are the soon are the soon as he could, and the soon are the soon are the soon are the soon are the soon as he could, and the soon are t time, till he had pacified all commotions and tumults maruellously out of order, he brought his territhe like armie backe againe into ITALY, and arrived there when the warre of the bondmen and tencers and different arrived the same armie backe against and tencers are different arrived the same armie backe against and tencers are different arrived the same armie backe against a same armie backers are same armie backers and a same armie backers are same armine backers and a same armie backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are same armine backers are same armine backers and a same armine backers are s led by Spartacus, was in greatest furic. Vpon his comming therefore Crassins being sent Captaine (after when against these bondmen, made haste to give them battel, which he wan, and sluetwelue thousand, because three hundred of these fugitiue slaues. Notwithstanding, fortune meaning to give Fompey some Pompey. part of his honour, five thousand of these bondmen escaping from the battel, sell into his hands. Whereupon he having ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate, that Graffus had ouercome the recease it fencers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this warre by the rootes. The Romain Bs receiving Pompers letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of Spaine, and the ouerthrow of Sectorius, there was no man, although it were in sport. that euer gaue any man elfe the honour but vnto Pompey onely. For all this great honor and loue they bare vnto Pompey, yet they did suspect him, and were afraid of him, because he did not disperse hisarmy, that he wold follow syllaes steps, to rule alone by plaine force. Hercupon as many went to meet him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after he had put this suspition quite out of their heads, telling them that he would discharge his army after he had triumphed, then his ill willers could blame him for nothing elfe, but that he was more inclined vnto the people then to the nobility, and that he had a defire to reftore the Tribuneship of the people which Sylla had put downe, onely to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which indeed was true. For the common people at Rom n neuer longed for thing more, then they did to fee the office of the Tribune fet vp againe. Yea Pompey him felfe thought it the happiest turne that euer came to him, to light in such a time to do such an act. For had any other man presented him of that he could never have found the like occasion possibly to have requited the peoples good wils vnto him fo much as in that. Now therefore this fecond trium ph and first Confulship being decreed by the Senate, that made him nothing the greater nor better man. And yet was it a flew and fignification of his greatnesse, the which *Crassus* (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of all them that at that time dealt in matters of state, and made more estimation of himselfe then of Pompey and all the rest) never durst once demaund, before he had craued Pompeys good will. Pompey was very glad of his requeft, and had fought occasion of long time to pleasure him: and thereupon made earnest suite vnto the people for him, assuring them he would as much thanke them for making Graffus his colleague and fellow Confull, Forting as he would for making himselfe Consult. All this notwithstanding, when they were creatingly for some consulting that the consulting is a consultant to the consultant that the consultant is a consultant to the consultant that the consultant is a consultant to the consultant that the co ted Confuls, they were in all things contrary one vnto another, and nener agreed in any one thing while they were Confuls together. Crassis had more authority with the Senate, but Pompey had more credit with the people. For he restored them the office of the Tribune, and The customer passed by edict, that the Knights of Rome should have full power agains to judge causes ci-of the uillandcriminall. It was a pleasant sight also vnto the people, when he came vnto the Cen- hights of fors in person, to pray that he might be dispensed with for going to the warres. For it was an auncient custome in Rome, that the Knights of Rome having served a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, should bring their horse into the midst of the market place before the two Cenfors, declaring every Captaine under whom they had ferued, in what iourneys and countries they had been: and having also delivered account of their good behaviour and service, they then prayed to be dismissed from the warres. Now if it appeared that they had done good feruice, there were they honorably rewarded; or otherwise, openly shamed and pitnished. At that time, Gellius and Lentulus the two Cenfors, being honorably fet in their tribu- to be defnall or judgement feate, taking view of all the Ronaine Knights that must cred before them, from the to be seen and examined, they maruelled when they faw Pompey comming at the forther end warres, of the market place, having all the markes of a Confull borne before him, and himselfe lea- Proposition ding his horse in his hand by the bridle. When Pompey came nearer, and that they saw himselfato it was he, he commanded his fergeants that carried his axes before him, to make roome for the conforhim to passe by the barres with his horse, where the Cenfors sate. Then the people slocked about him, wondering and reioveing, being very filent. The Cenfors themselves also were

CANIA. They had also many strange sacrifices and certaine ceremonies of religion among them.

felues, in the mount Olympus, and among other, the mysterie of Mithres, which is the Sunne:

and remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these inso-

lent parts and injuries they did the Romaine's vpon the sea, they went aland, and where they

found any houses of pleasure vponthe sea coast; they spoyled and destroyed them: and on a time

they took two Romaine Prætors, Sextilius and Bellinus, being in their purple robes, with their

fergeants and officers attending on them, and carryed them quite away. Another time also they

though they seemed fearcfull. For some of them came vnto him, and put shoes on his feet: others

clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the Romaine fashion, for feare (faid they) lest he should

be mistraken another time. When they had plaide all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies

ful:at the last they cast out one of their ship ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way.

he should have no hurt and if he would not go of himselfe, then they cast him over the boord

by force, and fent him packing. These rouers and sea-pirats had all the sea Mediterraneum at

commandement insomuch there durst not a merchant looke out, nor once traffick that sea, And

this was the only cause that moued the Romaines (fearing scarcitie of victuals, and agreat

dearth) to fend Pompey to recouer the figniory againe of the sea from these pirates. The first man

that moned it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be only Admirall or Generall by sea-

but should have absolute power to command all maner of persons as he thought good, without

any account to be made of his doings in his charge, was Gabinius, Pompeys friend. The fumme of

ding to his discretion: and also to take money out of the treasure, of the generall Receivers of the

state, to defray the charges of a sleet of two hundred faile, with full power besides to leavie what

men of warre hethought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he lifted. This law when it

had been read once ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the no-

ble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceed all enuie, but

also that it gaue them apparant cause of feare, to give such absolute power vnto a private person.

Whereupon they were all against it but Casar, who favoured the decree, not so much to pleasure

Pompey as the people, whose fauour he sought. The noblemen fel maruellously out with Pompey:

and at the length one of the Confuls was very hote with him, and told him he looked to follow

Romulus steps, but peraduenture he would come short of that end he made. Thereupon the peo-

ple thought to haue killed him. After that, Catulus stood vp to speake against this edict. The peo-

ple at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any

shew of enuie, to speake many goodly things in the praise of Pompey, and in fine, aduised the peo-

ple to spare him, and not to venture in such dangerous warres (one after another) a man of so

great account, as they ought to make of him. If ye chance to lose him, faid he, whom haue you

then to put in his place. The people then cried out: Your selfe. Then perceiuing that he lost his

labour, secking to turne the people from their determination, he left it there, and said no more.

Roscius rose next after him to speake, but he could have no audience. When he saw that he could

not beheard, he made a figne with his fingers, that they should not give Pompey alone this au-

Crassus made

friends.

Pompeys

prideand

manie,a

Dips.

POMPEIVS. maruellous glad to fee him so obedient to the law, and did him great reuerence. In fine, the elder of the Censors did examine him in this sort. Pompey the Great, I pray thee tel me if thou hast serued fo long time in the warres as the law did appoint. Then answered Pompey aloud: Yes verily that I have, and vnder no other Captaine then my selfe. The people hearing this answer, made an open shout for ioy, they were so glad to heare it and the Censors themselves came from their iudgement seate, and went to accompanie Pompey home to his house, to please the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their hands with great fignes of ioy. At the end of their Confulship, when misliking increased further betweene Pompey and Crassus, there was one Gaius Aurelius, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time nener spake in open assembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and told the people openly, how Iupiter had appeared to him in the night, and had commanded him to tell both the Confuls from him, that they should not leaue their charge and office before they were reconciled together. For all these words Pompey stirred not. But Crassus first tooke him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the people: My Lords, Ithinke not my selfe dishonoured to giue place to Pompey, sith you your selucs haue thought him worthy to be called the Great, before he had any haire on his face, and vnto whom you granted the honour of two triumphs before he came to be Senator. When he had faid his mind, they were made friendstogether and so surrendred up their office. Now for Crasfus, he held on his former manner of life which he had begun. Pompey as neare as he could, gaue ouer to pleade mens causes any more, and began by litle and litle to withdraw himself from frequenting the market place, and matters of judgement, coming seldom abroade, and when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rarething also to see him any more come out of his house, or talke with a man, but he was cuer accopanied with a great number, and he reioyced to himselse to see that he had alwaics such a traine after him: for that made him to be honoured the more, and gaue him greater countenance to fee him thus courted, thinking it dishonour to him to be familiar with meane persons. For men that rise by armes, are easily despised, when they come to liue like private citizens, because they cannot fashion themselves to be companions with the common people, (who citizen-like vie a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the citie, as they are in the field. Yea and contrarily, they that do acknowledge themselues to be their inferiors in warres, will thinke foule scorne if they be not their superiours in peace. And by this meanes when they have a noble warrier among them that followed publike causes 5 (which hath triumphed for many victories and battels he hath obtained) they obscure his glory, and make him an underling unto them whereas they do not other wise enuie any fouldiers that are contented equally to give them place and authoritie, as plainly appeared shortly after by Pompey himselfe. By such an occasion, the power of pirates on the sea, took beginning in the country of CILICIA, which was not reckned of at the first, because it was not perceiued vntill they grew bold and venturous in king Mithridates wars, being hired to do pirats war. him service. And afterwards the Romaines being troubled with civill wars, one fighting with another, euen at Rome gates, the sea not being looked to all this while, it set them a gogge, and made them go farther then euer they did before. For they did not onely rob and spoyle all merchant-venturers by fea, but rifled also the Ilands and townes vpon the fea coast: infomuch as then there ioyned with them men of great wealth and nobilitie, and of great wisedome also, and entred into their fellowship, as into a commendable facultie. Now they had set up arsenals or ftore-houses in fundry places, they had fundry hauens and beacons on the land, to give warning by fire all along the sea coast, and those well kept and watched: moreouer, they had great sleets of ships ready furnished with excellent good galliots of ores, skilful pilots and mariners, their ships of lwift faile, & pinnaces for discouery, but withal so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all gilt, the couerings of the fame all of purple filke, delighting only to make a glorious shew of their pillage. All the sea coast ouer, there was no fight of any thing but musicke, singing, banquetting, and rioting, prifes of captaines and men of great qualitic, and ransomes of a thousand prisoners; and all this was to the Thepirates shame and dishonour of the Romaines. Their ships were about a thousand in number, and they ehousand had taken about 400 townes. They had spoyled and destroyed many holy temples that had neuer been touched before: as the temple of the Twins in the Ile of CLAROS, the temple of Samos thracia, the temple of Earth in the citie of HERMION, and the temple of Æfculapins in Eridav-RYM : the temples of Neptune in Isthmos, TENARIA, and CALABRIA: and the temples of

stole away the daughter of Antonius (aman that had received honour of triumph) as she went a walking abroade in the fields, and she was redeemed for a great summe of money. But yet the The pirates greatest spite and mockery they vsed to the Romaines, was this, that when they had taken any stages of of them, and that he cryed he was a citizen of Rome, and named his name: then they made as maines, while though they had been amazed, and afraid of that they had done. For they clapped their hands they were on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgiue them. The taken. poore prisoners thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled themselues as

this decree gaue him full power and absolute authority of all the sea from Hercules pillars, and of Gabining

the maine land, the space of foure hundred furlongs from the sea, (for the Romaine admini. law for ons at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding, within that compasse were many great nations and mighty kings. (Furthermore, it gaue him power to choose of the against the Senate fifteene Lieutenants, to give vnto every one of them severall provinces in charge, accor-

thoritic, but ioyne another with him. The people being offended with all made such an outcrie of the peovponit, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that instant, was stricken blind and fel downe amongst the people. Whereby it appeareth that fowle falling out of the aire to the ground, do downe.

not fall for that the aire is broken or pierced with any force or furie: but because the very breath Iij 4

Pompeys preparatio against the

Thecourtes

vuto t ife.

of the voice (when it cometh with such a violence, as it maketh a very tempest in the aire) doth ffrike & ouercome them. Thus for that day the affembly brake vp, & nothing past and at the day appointed when this decree should passe by voices of the people, Pompey went abroade into the country. There being aduertifed that the decree was past for the confirmation of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie because he would avoid the enviethey would have borne him to have feene them run out of all parts of the citie vnto him, to have waited on him home. The next morning he came abroade, and facrificed to the gods; and audience being given him at an open affembly, he handled the matter so, that they gaue him many things be fides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation fet downe and appointed at the first decree. For he ordained that the common wealth should arme him five hundred ships, and they leavied for him fixe score thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, and chose besides four and twentie Senators, which had every one of them been Generals of armies, and two general Treafurers also. While things were thus a preparing, the price of victuals fell by chance, which rejoy. ced the people so much, that they stucke not to say, that the name of Pompey onely had already ended this warre. This notwithstanding, he deuided all the sea betweene the lands into thirteene regions, and in energy of them he appointed a certaine number of his ships, and moreouer one of his Lieutenants ouer them. Thus having dispersed his power all abroade, he brought all the pirates ships that were in a fleetetogether, within his danger; and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that had disperfed themselues betimes, or that o. therwise could scape his generall chase, they fled all into CILICIA, as Bees into the beehine, a. gainft whom he would needs go himselfe in person with threescore of his best ships. Howbeir he cared not though he went not before he had scoured all the Thys cane sea, the coasts of Ly-BIA, SARDINIA, ŠICILE, and of CORSICA, of althose theenes which were wont to keep therabouts, and this he did within fortie dayes space, taking infinite paines, both himselfe and his Lieurenants. Now when one of the Confuls called Pilo, did all the best he could to hinder Pompers preparation, and had discharged his ore-men, for that he enuied Pompers prosperitie: Pomper fent his ships before to make towards ITALY to arrive at the citie of BRYNDVSIVM. He in the meanetime went through THYSCANE to ROME, where, fo foone as his coming was knowne, all the people ranne out to meete him, as if he had been absent a long time; and that which made the people more joyfull to fee him, was the fodgine change of victuals vnlooked for, that daily came to the towne out of all parts. But Pife went neare to be depriued of his Confulfhip: for Gabinius had the decree written, and ready to present to the people. But Pompey would not suffer it. So. having gently brought allto passe as he defired, he went vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and there tooke sea, and hoised saile. Now though his hastie voyage, and shortnesse of time made him passe by many good cities without coming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so patie by the citie of Athens, but landed there, and after he had facrificed to the gods, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the citie, he read two writings that were made in his praise, the one within the gate which said thus:

The humblier that thou doest thy selfe as man behaue, The more thou doest deserve the name of god to have:

And the other writing was without the gate, which faid,

We wisht for thee we waite for thee, We wor ship thee, we waite on thee.

Now because Pompey having taken certaine of these rouers by sea that kept together, did yse them gently when they required pardon, and having their shippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercie, fled from his other Captaines and Lieutenants, and went and yeelded themselves, their wives and children into his hands. Pompey pardoned all them that came in of themselues, and by that meanes he came to have knowledge of the reft, and to follow them where they went, whom he tooke in the end; but knowing that they deferued no pardon, they hid themselues. Yet the most part and the richest of them, had conucied their wines, children and goods, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into ftrong caftles and litle townes vpon mount Taurus; and fuch men as were able to carrie weapon, imbarked, and lay before a citie of Corne B sivm, where they taried Pompey, and gaue him battell first by sea, and there were ouercome, and afterwards they were befreged by land. Howbeit shortly after, they prayed they might be received to mercie,

and thereupon yeelded their bodies, townes, and Ilands, which they had fortified, and were hard to hauetaken and worfe to haue approched. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirats in lefte The ridor then three moneths driven from the sea wheresoever they were. He wan also a great number of of Pompey. other ships, besides fourescore and ten gallies armed with copper spurres. And touching the men whom they had taken (who were in number aboue twenty thousand persons) he did not only confider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise part on the other fide to let them go at libertie, to gather force againe, being fo great a number of them as indeed they were, and all poore men and fouldiers. Therfore weying with himselfe that man by nature is not borne a wild or fauage beaft, but contrarily become tha brute beaft changing nature, when he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and civill in time, changing place and maner of life: (as the brute beafts that being wild by nature do also become gentle and tractable, with gentler viage by continuance) he determined to draw these pirates from the sea into the vpland, and to make them feelethetrue and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. are tamed. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine small townes of the CILICIANS, that were scant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giving them land to keepe them with. The city of the So-LIANS also, that not long before had been destroyed by Tigranes the king of Anmenia, being defirous to replenish that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed divers also in the city of Dyma in the country of Achara, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great ftore of very good land. Now therfore his enemics reproued him greatly and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest friends misliked him. For Metellus that gentle perso Ca coufin to that e Metellus which was his colleague, and made wars in Spaine with him against Sertorius) was fent Prætor into CR ETA before Pompey was chosen Generall against the pirates. This CRETA next vnto CILICIA, was even a fecond den of pirats. Metellus finding there a great number of these theeues, tooke many of them and put them to death, euen all that came to his hands. Then, such as had scaped fro him, being straightly besieged, sent vnto Pompey to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercy: declaring vnto him, that the Ile of CR BTA was within the precinct of his charge, because al parts of that region from the sea came inst within the compasse limited him on the land. Pempey pardoning them vpon their submission, wrote vnto Metellus, and commanded him to leaue off his war, and therwithall charged all the cities, that they should not obey Metellus commandements. After that he fent Lucius Octavius one of his Lieutenants, who entred into the townes Metellus befieged, and fought for the pirats. This made Pempey not only hated and enuied, but derided also: for that under his name he had protected such vile theenes, that had neither god nor law, and given them his authoritie to faue their lives, for a little envie & different emulation he bare vnto Metellus. And therefore they rightly reproue Achilles, and fay that he shewed northe part of a wise man, but of a yong foole besides himselfe, for desire of glory making a figne to the GRECIANS, forbidding them to strike at Hetter, to the end that as Homer said: Lest be too late should to the battell runne,

When others had the honour of it wonne.

But Pompeys fact was worse then this: for hee fought for the common enemies of the world, and onely to depriue a ROMAINE Prætor of triumph, who had done great good feruice to have destroyed them. This notwithstanding, Merellus left not off his warre for Pompeys letters, but having taken the pirates by affault, he put them to death: and afterwards having done Octavius open shame through his campe, he let himgo. When newes came to Rome, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, and that Pompey having no other feruice in hand, went visiting the cities vp and downe, one Manlius a Tribune of the people, put forth another decree vnto them of this effect: That Pompey taking all the armic Pompey api Lucullus had, and the prouinces vnder his gouernment, with all BITHYNIA, which Glabrio pointed kept, should go make warre vpon the kings Tigranes and Mithridates, keeping in his hands Lucullus norwithstanding all his iurisdiction and armie by sea, in as royall manner as he had it before. In fine, this was even to make one man Monarch and absolute Prince of all the ROMAINE Empire. For by this fecond decree, he had all these countries, not named in his former commisfion, added to amplifie his authoritie, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all the armies and forces with the which he had ouercome those two mighty kings. Then the Senate stucke not so much at the iniurie that was offered vnto Lucullus, deprining him of the honour of his doings, to gine it to another,

ding Mania lise law.

that should rather succeed him in honour of triumph, then in danger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifest iniury, and shewed themselves too vnthankfull: but that which most grieued them, was to see Pompey: power established in a plaine tyranny. Hereupon therefore one of them perswaded and encouraged another, stoutly to withstand this edict, and not to suffer their liberty to be lost in this fort, Notwithstanding, when the day came that this decree should passe, they were so afraid to anger the people, that their hearts failed them, and none durst speake against it but Catulus only, that earnestly inucyed against the passing of it a long time together. & greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they should looke to seeke out some mountaine or high rocketo retirefafely vnto, to defend their liberty, as their ancestors had done in old time beforethem. All this preuailed not, for the decree passed by the voyces of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his absence made Lord almost of al that, which Sylla by force of armes, and with great effusion of bloud (hauing made himselfe Lord of Rome) had before in his power. When Pompey had received letters from Rome, advertifing him what the people had past in that behalfe, some say that at the receit of them (in the presence of his familiar friends that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him maruelloufly to haue such great offices and charge laid vpon him, one in the necke of another, and burst forth in these words: O gods, shall Ineuer see an end of such a world of troubles as I haue! Had it not been better for me to haue beene a meane man borne and vnknowne, then thus continually to be in warre with armour on my backe? What, shall I neuer see the time, that breaking the neckes of spite and enuic against me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my countrey with my wife and children? When Pompey spake those words, his familiar friends could not abide to see his deepe dissimulation, knowing that besides his natural ambition, and couctous desire to rule, he was glad in his heart that he pey and Lua had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and Lucullus: which his deeds for the with bewrayed. For he presently sent out precepts into every quarter, commanding all forts of fouldiers to come to him immediatly, and made all the Princes and kings within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the countries, altered and changed all that Lucullus had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enioyned them, and took from them also the gifts that Lucullus bestowed on them. In fine, this was all his purpose and desire to make them that honoured Lucullus know, that he had no further power and authority to do any thing, Lucullus finding himselfe hardly handled by Pompey, the friends of either side thought good they should meet and talke together: which came to to passe, for they met in the countrey of GALATIA. And because they both were Captaines of the Romain armies, & had done many famous acts, they had their fergeants & officers that caried the budels of rods before them, wreathed all about with Lawrell boughes. When they met, Lucullus came out of a close and woodie countrey, all couered with greene trees; and Pompey on the other fide had passed through a great fandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Therupon Lucullus fergeants seeing the laurell boughs drie and withered away, which Pompeys sergeants caried, they gaue them of their green & fresh boughs to beautifie the rods and axes. This was a plaine token that Pompey came to take Lucullus honor from him. In truth Lucullus had been Conful before Pompey, and fo was healfo older man then he: yet the dignity of Pompey was greater, because he had triuphed twise. At their first meeting, their entertainment and discourse was with great ceremonie and courtesse as might be, one highly praifing the others deeds, reioycing at each others good fuccesses but at parting they felto hot words together, Pompey vpbraiding Lucullus avarice, and Lucullus Pompeys ambition, fo that their friends had much ado to part them. Lucullus departing thence, deuided the lands in GALA-TIA, which he had conquered, & bestowed the & other gifts on such as he thought good. Pompey on the other fide camping hard by him, specially commanded the people in enery part to obey him in nothing that he did:and besides he took all his souldiers from him, leaving him onely fixteene hundred; which he supposed were such, as for disdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but smal service. Furthermore, to blemish the glory of his doings, he told every body Lucullus had fought with the pompe and shadow onely of these two kings, and that he had left hins to fight with al their whole force and power, Mithridates being then prepared for warres, with shields, swords, and horses. Lucullus for reuenge on the other side said, that Pompey went to fight but with a shadow of war, like a cowardly buzzard that preieth vpon dead bodies, which others

attributing the honor of the overthrow of Seriorius, Lepidus and Spartacus, to himself, where indeed Merellus Crassus, and Catulus did ouercome them. And therefore it was no maruell, that he fought the glory and honor to triumph for the kingdoms of Pontys & Armenia: fith that thorough his subtile practises he had obtained triumph for a few slaues and sugitines. Lucullus being now gone his way, Pompey fent good garrifons vnto all the coasts vpon the sea, from the province of Phoenicia, vnto the Realme of Bosphorys. That done, he tooke his journey by land toof Phoenicia, vnto the Realme of Bosphorys. That done, he tooke histouritely by fand to againft Mis wards Mithridates, who had in his camp thirty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen, thridates, and yet durst not offer battell, but camped first vpon a mountaine of great strength, and hard to get vp on notwithstanding shortly after, he for fooke it for lack of water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith Pompey tooke it: who, coniecturing by the nature of the plants and trees in that place which were very greene, and also by divers holes he found, that by reasontherabouts should be some springs, he commanded them to digge Wels in enery corner; so that in a very short time all his camp had water enough, and he wondred at Mithridates, that he could not find that out in all the time he lay there. In the end, he went and camped round about Mithridates, & intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abiddenthe fiege fine and fortie daies, fled away with all the choise of his army, vnknowing vnto Pompey, having first flaine all the sicke and impotent persons within his campe. After that, Pompey found him another time by the river of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that Mithridates would passe ouer the river before he could prevent him in time, he raised his campe againe, and marchedaway at midnight. About that time, they fay, that Mithridates faw that in a dreame which did prognosticate what would happen. He thought, that having the wind in the poope of the ship, he was under faile in the middest of the sea of Mare Bosphorum, and that he was maruellous glad of it, and reioyced with them that failed with him, thinking himselfe certainly past tesdreame. all danger: yet fodainly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted up and downe the wanes of the fea, vpon a litle peece of the ship that was broken, trusting to the mercie of the winds. As he was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him & told him, that Pompey was come fo neare, that there was no shift, but they must needs fight to defend their campe. Thereupon his Captaines straight began to put his men in battell ray ready to fight. Pompey vnderstanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venture his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compasse them in to keepe them from flying, and then in the morning to set vpon them more easily, his men being the better fouldiers. But Pompeys old captains were fo carneftly in hand with him to perswade him they might fight, that in the end he was contented they should give charge. Now it was not so darke but they could somewhat see, for the Moone that was very low and vpon her fetting, gaue light inough to discerne the body of a man; yet because the Moone was very low, the shadow which gaue out further farrethen their bodies, came almost euen to their very enemies, which did let them that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was between them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their darts at the Romaines, but they hurt neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The Romaines perceining that, ran vpon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durst not abide their charge they were so afraid, but turned their backs, & ran away for life, fo that they were flaine downe right. Thus were there ten thousand of the barbarous people flain and more, and their campe also taken. As for Mithridates himselfe, at the beginning of the onset, he made a lane through the Romaine's with eight hundred horsemen, and in. passed cleanethrough them. But incontinently his men dispersed vpon it, some one way, some another way, so that he was left alone but with three persons only, whereof Hypsicratea was one of the number, which had euer been valiant and had a mans heart: whereupon, for that cause hibrida-

them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poil on besides to enery one of his friends to

cary about them, because they should not (vnlessethey would themselues) fal into their enemics

hands alive. From thence he thought to take his journey into Armenia vnto king Tigranes

Mithridates called her Hypsicrates. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of Persia, testorubine and mounted also on a horse after the Persian maner, was never weary with any long journey called Hipa the king made, nor neuer left to waite vpon his person, and to look to his horse, vntil such time as serates for theking came to aftrong castle called Inora, where was great store of gold & filuer, and the kings ber valiant the king came to attrong cattle caned mora, where was great note of gold & muer, and the kings nesselike chiefest treasure. Then Mithridates took of his richest apparel he had there, and gaue it amongst aman.

to Pompey.

Tigranes laide his diademe at Pompeys

Tigranes formed prifoner.

Amballa dors fent king of Parthia vnto Pompey. Caucaliu mons.

Albani, and Iberes, what people.

Cyrnus fl.

Pompey ouerthrew she Albani-

Pompey the Iberias.

Phases ft.

Howbeit Tigranes sent to let him, & further proclaimed by trumpet, that he would give a hundred talents to him that could kill him. Thereupon, passing by the head of the river of Euphrates, he fled through the countrey of Colchide. In the meanetime, Pompey inuaded the countrey of ARMENIA, at the request of Tigranes the yonger, who was revolted against his father, and went to meet with Pompey at the river of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the east, and falleth into Mare Caspium. So they both together marched on further into the country, receiving fuch townes as yeelded vnto them. But king Tigranes (that not long before had been consumed and destroyed by Lucullus) vnderstanding that Pompey was of a mild & gentle nature, he received his garrifons into his strongest forts and royall houses, and went himselfe with his friends and kinsmen to meet Pompey, and to yeeld himselfe vnto him. When he came hard to his camp, being a horse-back, there came out two sergeants of Pompeys & commanded him to light and go in a foot, for there was never man feene a horse-back within the Romain's campe. Tigranes did not onely obey them, but further plucked off his fword and gaue it them; and in fine, when he came almost to rompey, taking off his royall hat from his head, he would have laid it at Pompeys feete, and falling downe most shamefully on the ground, imbased himselfe to embrace Pompeys knees. But Pompey himself prevented him, and taking him by the hand, made him to fit downe by him on the one fide of him, and his fonne on the other. Then he faid vnto them both: as for the other lotles you have suffained hertosore, you must thank Lucullus forthem, who hathtaken froyou Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Gala-TIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you have left you till my coming, I will let you enjoy it, paying to the Romains a fine of fixe thousand talents for the injurie you had done them, provided alfo, that your fon haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his part. Tigranes accepted the conditions of peace. The Romaine sthen faluted him king. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to give euery souldier halfea Mina, euery Centener ten Minas, & to euery Colonellof a thousand men a talent. His sonne was very angry withall:insomuch as Pompey sending for him to come to supper to him, he answered againe, that was northefriendship he looked for at Pompeys hands, for he should find many other ROMAINES that would offer him that curtesic. Pompey for his answer. clapped him vp as a prisoner, and kept him to be led in triumph at Rom E. Shortly after, Phraates king of PARTHIA fent Ambassadors to Pompey to demand this yong Prince, that was his sonne in law, and to tell him that the river of Euphrates must be the vttermost confines of his conquests. Pompey answered againe, that Tigranes had more right to his sonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would do it with inflice. So, leaving Afranius in Ar-MENIA, to keepe the country, Pompey passed by other nations which inhabite about mount Cau. casus, having Mithridates in chase: of which nations, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the Albanians and Iberians. The Iberians do stretch out vnto mount Moschium, and to the realme of Pontys. The Albanians lie towards the East, and Mare Caspium. These men first suffered Pompey to passethrough their countrey, vpon his sending to them. But winter hauing stolen vponthe Romaines while they were there, and they busily occupied about Saturnes feasts: the barbarous people having leavied above fortie thousand fighting men in one cam ptogether, came and passed ouer the river of Cyrnus. (This river cometh from the mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiving the river of Araxes into it, which paffeth through ARME-NIA, dispersed it selse into twelve severall mouths, and so falleth into Mare Caspium. Some notwithstanding hold opinion, that Cyrnus received not the river of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it felfe, and falleth into the fame fea, neare vnto the mouths of the other.) Pompey might if he would, have kept them from comming over the river, yet did he fuffer them quietly to passe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went against them, ouercame them in battell, and slue a great number of them in the field. Afterwards he pardoned their king, submitting himself vnto Pompey by his Ambassadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went against the I-BERIANS, who were no leffe in number then the Albanians were at the first, and also better foldiers, and were refolutely bent to do good service vnto Mithridates, and to drive out Pompey. These IBERIANS were neuer subject to the Empire of the Persians, nor of the MEDES, and fcaped also fro being subject to the MACEDONIANS, for that Alexander neuer staid in the courty of Hyrcania: whom also Pompey ouercame in a great and bloudy battell, having slaine 9. thoufand in the field, and taken tenthousand prisoners. Fro hence he went into the country of Con-CHIDE. There Servilius met him by the river of Phasis, with the sleete of ships with the which

he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to follow Mithridates further, who had hid himfelfe amongst a people that were neighbours vnto the straights of Bosphorys, and the marishes Meotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore also, he had newesthat the Albanians were 'The Albanians' rebelled againe, which drew him backeto be reuenged of them. Therupon he paffed againe ouer the river of Cyrnus, with great paine and danger, because the barbarous people had made

gains generated. a ftrong defence a great way along the river fide, with a maruellous number of greattrees, feld in and layed acrosse one ouer another. Furthermore, when he had with great difficultie passed through them, he fell into an ill fauoured countrey, where he should trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereupon he caused ten thousand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and fo went forward to meete with his enemies whom he found by the river of Abas, abash. being fixe fcore thousand footmen, and twelue thousand horsemen, but all (or the most of them ill armed with wilde beafts skinnes. Their Chieftaine was Cost the kings owne brother. He, when the battell was begun, flew vpon Pompey, and threw a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. Pompey on the other fide, ranne him through with his lance on both fides, and flue him flarke dead. Some fay also, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battell, which fought on the barbarous peoples fide, coming from the mountaines that runne along the river of Ther- king bromodon. For, after the ouerthrow given, the Romains s spoyling the dead, found targets and ther of the buskins of the AMAZONES, but not a bodie of a woman among them. They also do inhabite on the fide of the mountaine Caucasus that looketh towards Mare Hyrcanium, and doe not border vponthe Albanians: but the Gelb and the Leleges are betweene them, with whom der vpon the Albanians: but the Gele and the Leieges are betweene them, with whom Leieges, they companie two moneths onely energy yeare, meeting together by the riner of Thermodon; people that all the reft of the yeare they live apart by themselves. After this battell, Pompey going to inuade the countrey of HYRCANIA, as farreas Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinitenumber of deadly venimous serpents which he met with being come within three dayes iourney of it. So he returned backeagaine into Armenia the leffe, and there receiued presents which were sent unto him from the kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES,& wrote very curteoufly vnto them againc: howbeit he fent Afranius with part of his army against the king of the PARTHIANS, who had inuaded the countrey of GORDINEA, and harried and spoyled the king Tigranes subjects. Notwithstanding he draue him out, and followed him wnto Arbelltide. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of King Mithridates being brought vnto Pompey, he would touch none of them, but fent them all home agains to their parents and friends, because the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, of Noblemen, Stratonice, or of Captaines. Notwithstanding, Stratonice that of all the rest of his lemmans had most credit Attistical about Mithridates, vnto whom he had left the charge of his castle, where the greatest part of his testings treasure of gold and silver lay, was a singers daughter, who (as they said) was not rich, but an old man. She hauing fung one night before Mithridates, being at fupper, he fell in fuch fancy with her, that he would needs have her lie with him the fame night, and the old man her father went home offended, because the king would not so much as give him one gentle word. But the next morning when he arose, he maruelled to see the tables in his house ful of plate of gold and silver, and a great companie of feruingmen, groomes of chamber and pages, and that they had brought him maruellous rich apparel, & a horfe ready at the gates brauely furpished, as the kings familiars did vse when they went abroad into the city the thought it was done in mockery, to have made fport with him, and therfore would have run his way, had not the foruingmen kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mas goods that died of late, which the king had bestowed on him and that all this he faw, was but a litle portion in respect of the other goods & landshe gaue him. So the old man beleeuing them, at the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and gotvp on horsbacke, & riding through the streets, cried, Althis is mine, althis is mine. Certaine laughing him to feorne for it, he told them : Mafters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather, that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so mad for ioy. Such was Stratonices birth and parentage, as we have told you. She did then deliver this castle into Pompeys hands, and offered him many goodly rich presents, but he would take none of them, other then abolimence fuch as ferued to adorne the temples of the gods, and to beautifie his triumph, and left all the formating rest with Stratonice her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the King of of stiffs. the I B E R I A N S, having fent him a bed-steed, a table, & a chaire of cleane gold, praying him to take it as a remembrance from him: he delinered it oner vnto the Treasurers custodie, to be

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accountable for it vnto the Senate. In another castle called Cœnon, he found certaine secret letters sent from Mithridates, which pleased him maruellously to reade, because thereby he plainly vnderstood the kings nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poisoned (besides many other) Ariarathes his owne sonne, and Alcaus the SARDINIAN, because he had wonne the bell, at the horf-race before him. There was also interpreting of dreames, that either himselfe or his wives had dreamed, and also loue-letters betwixt Monime and him Theophanes writeth also, that there was found an oration of Rutilius, in the which he inticed and perswaded Muhridates to put all the Romaines to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reason men thinke that this was a shamefull lie, maliciously deuised by Theophanes, who hated Rutilius, because he was but a counterfet to him:or paraduenture to gratiste Pompey, whose father Rutslius in his histories describeth to be as wicked a man as ever lived. Thence Pompey departed towards the citie of Amisvs. There his ambition brought him to commit such facts, as he himselfedid condemne before in Lucullus: for that his enemie being yet aliue, he tooke vpon him to establish lawes, to give gifts, and distribute such honors, as Captaines that had obtained victory were wont to do, when they had ended all warreand trouble. For he himselfe (Mithridates being yet the ftronger in the realme of Bosp HoRvs, and having a great puissant armie about him) did all that which he reproued another for appointing prouinces, and giuing out gifts to euery man according as he deserved to gratifie twelve barbarous kings, with divers other Princes, Lords and Captaines that came to him thither. Writing also to the king of PARTHIA, he disdained to give him that title, which others were wont to do in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great defire to winne Syria, and to go through the countrey of Anania, even vnto the red sea, because he might enlarge his conquests and victories euery way, euen vnto the great sea Oceanum, that compasseth all the whole earth, For in Ly-BIA, he was the first ROMAINE that conquered all to the great sea. On the other side, in Spaine he calarged the Empire of Rome, and brought the confines thereof vnto Marc Atlanticum. And thirdly, having lately the ALBANIAN's in chase, he came almost vnto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put himselse in journey, intending his circuit vnto the red sea, specially because he saw Mithridates so ill to follow, and worse to ouercome by force when he fled, then when he fought any battell: and that made him say, that he would leave a sharper enemie behind him then himselfe; and that he meant famine. For he appointed fouldiers with sufficient number of ships, to lie in waite for the merchants that failed to the countrey of Bosphorvs, to cary them any victuals or other merchandizes, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best part of his armie, and in his way, found the bodies of the dead Ro-MAINES Which Mithridates had ouerthrowne vnder the leading of Triarius their Captaine, and were yet vnburied. So he caused them all to be taken vp, and honorably buried. Lucullus hauing. forgotien, or otherwise neglected to do it, in my conscience that was the chiefest cause why his men did hate him. Pompey now having by Afranius subdued the Arabians dwelling about mount Amanus, went himselse in person into Syraa, and made a gouernment & province of it, being wonne to the ROMAINE Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king; and conquered all Ive IE alfo, where he tooke king Arishabulus, and builded certaine cities there, and delivered others alfo from bondage, which by tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chastised well inough. Howbeit he spent the most part of his time there, deciding of controuersies, pacifying of contentions and quarels by arbiterment, which fell out betwixt the free cities, princes and kings, and fent of his friends into those places where he could not come himselfe. For on a time when he was chosen arbitrator betwixt the Parthians and the Armenians, touching the title of a country which both parties claimed, he sent three Commissioners thither to judge definitively betwixt them both. If Pompeys fame and renowne were great, no leffe was his vertue, inflice and liberality, which indeed did hide many faults, his freinds and familiars about him did commit. For truly he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did vse them so well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter, that he made them contented patiently to beare their couctousnesseand straight dealing. One of his chiefest familiars about him whom he loued best, was called Demetrius, a bondma infranchised, who otherwise was very discreet in his doings, but being somewhat too bold of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. Cato the Philosopher being at that time a yong man, yet of good judgement and of a noble mind, in Pompeys

Pompeys absence went to see the city of Antioch. Now for himselfe, his maner was alwaics to go on foot, and all his friends besides that did accompany him to honor him, were on horsback. He perceiuing afarre off, a great fort of people comming towards him all in white, and of one fide of the freet litle children; and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his fake to honour him, that they made this procession, which he in no wife would have had done. Thereupon he commanded his friends to light from their horses, and go on foot with him. But when they came neare to the gate of the citie, the maister of the ceremonies that led this procession, having a garland on his head, and a rod in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them, where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come ? Catoes friends laughed to heare this question : then said Cato, Alas poore citie: and fo passed by it. Notwithstanding, Pompey himselfe was cause that Demetrius had the lesse ill will Demetrius, borne him, then other wife he should have had because they saw how boldly he would vse Pom- franchiled pey, and how well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when Pompey often-bondman. times had bidden fome to dinner or supper, while he was entertaining and welcoming of them, and would tarie till they were all come; Demetrius would be set at the boord, and presumptuoufly hauehis head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of his journey, he had already purchased the goodliest houses of pleasure, and fairest walkes that were about Rome, and had sumptuous gardens also, the which the people commonly called, Demetrius gardens: though his maister Pompey was but meanely housed till his third Confulship. Howbeit afterwards, he built that famous stately Theater, called Pompeys Theater, and joyned vnto that also another house, as a penthouse to his Theater, far more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. Infomuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he maruelled, and asked whereabouts it was that Pompey dined and supped. These things are reported thus. Now the king of the Arabians, that dwelt about the castle cassed Petra, having neuer vntill that time made any account of the Komaines armie, was then greatly afraid of them, and wrote vnto Pompey, that he was at his denotion, to do what he would command him. Pompey thereupon to proue him, whether he meant as he spake, Petrea, Sub. brought his army before this castle of Petra. Howbeit this voyage was not liked of many men, mitten him because they judged it was an occasion found out to leaue following of Mithridates, against pompey. whom they would have had him rather have bent his force, being an ancient enemie to Kome and that began to gather strength againe, and prepared (as they hard say) to leade a great armie through Scythia and Pannonia into Italie. But Pompey thinking he should sooner minish his power by suffering him to go on with warres, then that he should otherwise beable to take him flying :would not toile to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needs make warres in other places, and linger time fo long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the castle of Petra, and had lodged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing hishorse vp and downe the campe, posts came slinging to him from the realme of Pontys, and brought him good newes, as was eafily to be difcerned a farre off by the heads of their iauelings, which were wreathed about with lawrell boughs. The fouldiers perceiuing that, flocked straight about him: but Fompey would make an end of his riding first, before he read these letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horse, and returned into his campe, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand vpon to speake vnto them; and againe, the fouldiers would not tarie the making of one after the maner of their camp, which men of war do make themselues, with great turues of earth, laying one of them upon another: but for haste and earnest desire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they laid together a heape of faddles one vponanother, and Pompey getting vp on them, told how Mithridates was dead, and had killed himselfe with his owne hands, because Minimida. his sonne Pharnaces didrebell against him, and had wonne all that which his father possessed: writing vnto him, that he kept it for himfelfe and the Romaines. Vpon these newes, all the campe, ye may imagine, made wonderfull ioy, and did facrifice to the gods, giving them thankes and were as meric, as if in Mithridates person alone, there had died an infinite number of their enemies. Pompey by this occasion, having brought this warre more easily to passe then he hoped for, departed presently out of ARABIA; and having speedily in few dayes passed through the countries lying by the way, he came at length to the citie of Am is vs. There he found great prefents that were brought vnto him from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the kings bloud,

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and amongst the rest, Mithridates corse, which could not well be discerned by his face, because they that had the carying of his bodie had forgotten to drie up the braine, neuertheleffe, fuch as defired to fee him, knew him by certaine scarres he had in his face. For Pompey would in no wife fee him but to avoide envie fent him away vnto the citie of Sinore. He wondered much at the maruellous fumptuous rich apparell and weapons that he wore. The scabbard of his sword (which cost four chundred valents) was stolen by Public, and sold to Ariarathes. Also a hat of Mithridates, of wonderfull workemanship, being begged of Caius his foster brother was secretly giuen to Faustus the son of Sylla, without Pompeys prinity. But afterwards when Pharnaces vnderstood of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. Pompey having ordered all things. and established that province, went on his journey homewards with greater pomp & glorie. So comming vnto MITYLENE, he released the citie of all taxes and payments for Theophanes sake, Pompeyere, and was present at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their works contending one with another, having at that time no other matter in hand, but Pompeys acts & gefts. Pomper liked exceeding wel of the Theater where these plaies were made and drew a modell or platforme of it, to make a statelier then that in Rome. As he passed by the citie of RHODES, he would need sheare althe Rhetoritians dispute, & gaue every one of them a talent. Polidonius had written the disputation he made before Pompey, against Hermagoras the Rhetoritian, vpon the theame and proposition Pompey selfe did give them, touching the generall question. Pompey did the like at ATHENS vnto the Philosophers there. For he ganetowards the redifying of the city againe, fiftie talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALY, to have bin very honorably received, and longed to be at home to fee his wife & children, thinking also that they long looked for him:but the god that hath the charge given him to mingle fortunes profperity with some bitter sop of aduersity, laid a block in his way at home in his own house, to make his returne more forowful. For Mutia his wife had in his absence played false at tables. But Pomper being then farre off, made no account of the reports nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew neare vnto ITALIE, and that he was more attentiue to give eare to the ill reports he heard, then he fent vnto her to tell her, that he refused her for his wife, writing nothing to her at that time, neither euer after told the cause why he had for saken her. Notwithstanding, in Ciceroes Epifeles, the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroad in Rome. which troubled them fore, being given out that he would bring his army straight to Rome, and make himselfe absolute Lord of althe Romaine Empire, Crassus therupon, either for that he be. lecued it indeed to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accufation true, and the enuie towards Pompey the greater, conveyed himself, his family & goods sodainly out of Rome. So Pomper when he came into ITALIE, called all his fouldiers together, and after he had made an oratio vnto them, as time and occasion required, he commanded them to seuer themselves, and every man to repaire home to apply his businesse, remembring to meet at Roma together at the day of his triumph, His army being thus dispersed, and straight reported abroad for newes, a maruellous thing hapened vnto him. The cities feeing Pompey the Great without foldiers, having but a small traine about him of his familiar friends only, went al of them to meet him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquests, but from some journey taken for his pleasure. Such was the love of the people to him, that they accompanied him to Rome, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALIE: fothat if he had beene disposed to haue made any innovation in the common wealth, he had not needed his army. In those dayes there was a law, that no man shold enter into Rom B before his triumph, wher upon Pompey sent to the Senate, to pray them to defer the chusing of Consuls for a few daies, because he might be present to further Pife, who sued for the Consulfhip that yeare. They denied him his request, by Caloes means that hindred it Pompey maruelling to heare of his boldnesand plaine speech, which he only vsed of all other to defend his just causes, had a maruellous defire to win him, & to make him his friend. So Cato having 2. neeces, Pompey defired to mary the one himself, & the other for cate refift his fon. But Cate mistrusting this desire of Pompey, that it was a colour onely to win and corrupt him, denied him flatly. His wife & fifter on the other fide, they were angry with him for refuling to make alliance with Pompey the great. About that time it chanced, that Pompey being very defirous to prefer Afranius to be Conful, he caused certain mony to be given among the tribes of the eaple. & the fame was delinered out to fome, euen in his owne gardens. This thing being reporand in the city, euery man spake ill of Pompey; that he put the Consulship to sale for mony

vnto those that could not deserue it by vertue, sith himselfe onely had obtained it by purchase of many a noble and worthy deed. Then faid Cato to his wife and fifter Loe now, we had been partakers of this fault too, had we matched with Pompey. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to resuse the match, for equitie and his honour. But now to his triumph. For the Forsteys ftatelinesse and magnificence therof, although he had two dayes space to shew it, yet he lacked time for there were many things prepared for the shew, that were not seene, which would have ferued to have fet out another triumph. First there were tables caried, whereon were written the names and titles of all the people and nations for the which he triumphed, as these that follow: The kingdome of Pontys, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, The coun-IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, and MESOPOTAMIA: and furthermore, the people eries conthat dwellabout Phoenicia and Palæstine, Ivdæa, and Arabia: and all the pyrates queed by which he had ouercome both by fea and by land, in all parts of the world. In all these countries he tooke about a thousand castles, few lesse then nine hundred townes and cities: of pyrates ships eight hundred; and nine and thirty desolate townes left without inhabitants, replenished againe with people by him. Moreouer, these tables declared, that the reuenue of the commonwealth of Rome before these conquests he made, amounted yearely but to fine thousand Miriades: and that from thenceforth with the fummes he had added vnto the former reuenue, they should now receive eight thousand and fine hundred Miriades: and that he brought presently in readie gold and filuer, and in plate and iewels, to put into the common treasurie, the value of twenty thousand talents, besides that which had been distributed alreadie among the souldiers: of the which, he that had least for his share, had 15 hundred Drachmacs. The prisoners that were led in the shew of this triumph, besides the Captains of the pyrats, were these that follow: The fonne of Tigranes king of ARMENIA, with his wife and daughter: the wife of king Tigranes himfelfe, called Zosime: Aristobulus king of Ivry: Mithridates fifter, with fine sonnes of hers, and led in Pom fome Ladies of Scythia. The hostages also of the IEERIANS and the Albanians and also triumbh. of the kings of the Commagenians : ouer and besides a great number of other markes of triumphs which himselfe or his Lieutenant had wonne at fundry battels in diuers places. But the greatest honor that ever he wan, and which never other Conful of the Romaines but himselfe Fompey obtained, was this, that he made his third triumph of the three parts of the world. Diuers other conquered Romaines had triumphed thrife before him: how beit he first triumphed of Africk Ethe se- three parts cond time of Evrope: the third time of Asia. So that it appeared by these three triumphs, that he hadtriumphed in maner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time (as it is reported frick, Enforcement). by them which compare his doings vnto Alexander the Great) vnder 34 yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neare forty. O happy had it bin for him, if he had died when he had Alexanders fortune: for all his life afterwards, made his prosperity hatefull, or his aduersity miferable:imploying the honor and authority he had gotten by his valiantnesse, fauoring mens vn. fire the iust causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his honor, & vnawares brought his age offenty greatnessette more ne ratthered them, the more ne rettered and notice, which receiving their enemies into them, do give them the benefite of their owne strength: even so through Pompeys pow- of Pompeys er, Cafar growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the felfe fame meanes he imploi- fortune and ed to the ouerthrow of others. And thus it fortuned: Lucullus at his returne out of As IA (where Pompey had vncurteoufly vsed him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more beleased of when Pompey was also come to Rome. For the Senate did counsell and encourage him to deale the Senate in the affaires of the state, seeing him waxe very slow, and given to much to his ease & pleasure, turne out of by reason of his great wealth he had gotte. So when Pompey was come, he began to speak against Luculus in. him; and through the friendship and affistance of Cato, confirmed all his doings in As 1A, which useda. Pompey had broken and rejected. Pompey finding he had fuch a repulse of the Senate, was driven gainst to have recourse vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in friendship with light yong men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent and vilest person was Clodius, who received him, and made flance him a prey vntothe people. For he had Pompey euer at his elbow, and against his honour caried him vp and down the market place after him, to speake as occasion ferued, to confirme any matter or deuice which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for reco- Tribune of pence of his goodwill, he craued of Pompey (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficial for him) that he would for sake Cicero, who was his friend, and had done much for him in matters of com- for saketh monwealth. Pompey granted his request. Thereupon Cicero being brought in danger of law, and his friend

Kkk 2

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for deviding

Pomtey gafte his confent with Cafar, for paffing Agraria.

Pempey daughter of

Bibulas tl.e ket place by The law A. graria confirmed by the people.

Gaule and to Calar. Pife and Gabin us Confulls.

Cato forcfheweth the of Pompey.

requiring Pompeys friendship to helpe him, he shut his doore against them that came to speake in his behalfe, and went out himselfe at another backe doore. Cicero therupon fearing the extremity of law, willingly forfooke Rome. At that time, Inline Cafar returning home from his Pratorship out of Spains, began to lay such a plot, that presently brought him into great fauour. and afterwards much increased his power, but otherwise vtterly vndid Pempey and the common wealth. Now he was to fue for his first Consulfhip, and considering the emnitic betwixt Pompey and Crassus, if he joyned with the one, he made the other his enemie: he denised to make them friends, a thing feeming of great honesty at the first fight, but yet a pestilent device, and as lubtill a practife as could be. For the power of the citie being before deuided into two parts (as a ship eucnly ballast of each side) maintained the commonwealth vpright; and being now brought into one mans power, there was no possibilitie to withstand it, so that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereupon Cato wifely told them afterwards, that faid, the civill warres betwixt Pompey and Cafar was cause of the destruction of the commonwealth: that their emnitie and discord was not the chiefe original cause of this miserie, but rather their friendship and agreement. For by their friendship Casar was chosen Consul, who straight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for the restoring of the colonies belonging to Rome and for distributing of lands to them that had none, imbasing the maiestic and dignity of the chiefe Magistrates, and making the Consulship in maner no better then the Tribuneship of the people. Bibulus his colleague and fellow Confull, did what he could to refift him, and Case also did aide him to his power, until Cofar openly brought Pompey into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if he did give his confent to the decrees which he did fer forth. Pompey answered him, he did. Why then, faid Cafar, if any man will by force let the paffing of this law by voices of the people, wilt thou then come to helpe them ? Yes that I will indeed, faid Pompey: against them that threaten with the sword, I will bring both sword and target. Pompey in all his life neuer did nor spakething that men more misliked, then that which he faid at that time. His friends excused him, and said it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deeds afterwards shewed, that he was altogether at Casars commandement. For not many dayes after, he maried Iulia the daughter of Cafar, which was affianced or made fure before vnto Seruilius Capio, when no man thought of it and to pacific Capioes anger, he gave him his owne daughter in mariage, whom he had also promifed before vnto Faustus the sonne of Sylla : and Cafar also maried Calphurnia the daughter of Pifo. After this, Pompey filling all Rome with foldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Conful Bibulus came into the market place accompanied with Lucullus and Cato, they fodginly fet upon him, and brake the bundles of rods which his officers caried before him and some one, what soeuer he was, cast a basket of horsedung vpon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very fore hurt. By this meanes having cleared the market place of all their enemies, they passed the law for diuision of lands, as they wold themselues. The people being steshed with this bait, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and wold never flick at any matter that they would have passed. So were all Pompeys matters confirmed, which Lucullus was against and they appointed vnto Cafaralfo, the gouernmet of the GAVLES on this fide and beyond the Alpesiand ILLYRIA for flue yeares space, with four whole legions. The next day following were appointed Confuls, Pilo Cafars father in law, and Gabinius the greatest flatterer Pompey had about him. But now while things flood in these termes, Bibulus though he were Confull, kept himselfe close in his house for 8. moneths space, and only sent out bils, and set them up on cuery post in open places, accusing Pompey and C. efar. Cato on the other side, as if he had been inspired with the spirit of prophefic told openly in the Senate house, what would become of the commonwealth and Pompey. Lucullus growing old, lay still and tooke his pleasure, & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that Pompey faid, it was more vnseafonable for an old man to follow his pleafure, then to attend matters of the comonwealth. Yet himselfe shortly after was so doted of his yong wife, that he would follow her vp and downe in the country, and in his gardens, and clodius the leave all affaires of weight afide. Wherupon Clodius being then Tribune of the people, despised Pompey, and began to enter into feditious attempts. For when he had driven Cicero out of Rome and had fent away Cato to make warres in Cyprvs, and that Cafar also was occupied in GAVLE, and finding that the people in like case were at his commandement, because to flatter them he did what they would have him: he attempted incontinently to vido fome thing that Pompey

had established. Amongst other things, he tooke yong Tigranes out of prison, & euer carled him vp & down with him wherefocuer he went, and continually pickt quarels vnto Pompeys friends, to trie what credit he had. In the end Pompey coming abroad one day into the comon affembly, to heare how a matter of his was handled, this Clodius having a company of vagabonds and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be feene from the reft, began to aske these questions out aloud: Who is the licentiousest Captaine in all this city? What man is he that feekes for a man? What is he that feratcheth his head with one finger: They, like a company of dancers and fingers, when he spake and clapped his hands on his gowne, answered him straight aloud to enery question, that it was Pompey. This went pompey was to Pompeys heart, that was not wont to heare himselfe so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any fuch kind of fight: but yet it made him bite the lippe more, when he faw the cloding Senate glad to fee him thus ashamed and reproued, as a just revenge and punishment for his vile betraying and for faking of cicero. So great stirre and vprore being made vpon this in the market place, and many men fore hurt, and one of clodins bondmen being taken also in the preasse of the people with a fword in his hand, very neare vnto Pompey: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing Cledius insolencie and proud words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as Clodino was Tribune, but kept at home still, consulting with his friends what way he should take to appease the anger of the Senate against him. Thereupon, one of his friends called Culeo, perswaded him to put away his wife Iulia, and vtterly to refuse Casars friend. ship, and to sticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken vnto them that gaue him counfell to call Gicere home againe, who was Clodius mortall enemie, and in great fauour with the Senate. Thereupon, he brought Ciceroes brother into the market place, to mouethe matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuerse were staine of either side: notwithstanding, he ouercame Clodius. Thus Cicero being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought Pompey againe in fauour with the Senate, and standing with the law propounded to give Pompey authoritie to cause corne to be brought to Rome, he once againe made him have power both by land and sea over all the teritories of the ROMAINES. For all the hauens, marts, and faires, and all flore houses of corne, yea moreouer all the trade of merchan- commission dize and tillage, came vnder Pompeys hands. Then Clodius accusing him, said: that the Senate had from peys for not made this law for the dearth of victuals, but that they made a dearth of victuals, because bringing of the law should passe, to review Pompeys power and authority againe, that was almost vider foot. Other say, that this was a deuice of Lentulus Spinther the Consull, who gave Pompey the greater authoritie, because he might be sentto putking Prolomy againe into his kingdome. This not withstanding, Canidius the Tribune preferred another law to fend Pompey without an army, with ing against two Sergeants onely to cary the axes before him, to bring Ptolomie in fauour againe with the of Ptolomie king of E-ALEXANDRIANS. This law seemed not to mislike Pompey: but the Senate with honest colour appropriate put by this law, as being affraid lest Pompeys person should miscarrie in so doing. Neuerthelesse, "sealme. litle papers were found throwne about the market place, and the Senate-house, declaring that Ptolomie desired Pompey might come to aide him in Spinthers stead. Timagenes writeth notwithstanding, that Ptolomic went to Rome, and left Aoyer, without any occasion given him. at the persuasion of Theophanes, who persuaded him to do so, because he would give Pompey occasion to make new warres. But Theophanes craft and subtilty made northis matter so credible, as Pompeys wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambition was nothing fo vile or ill, as that was So Pompey having now full authoritie to cause corne to be brought to ROME, he sent then his Lieutenants and friends abroade, and himselfe in person went into SI-CILE. Now being ready to return again, there arose such a storme of wind in the sea, that the mariners were in doubt to wey their ankers. But himfelfe first imbarked, and commanded them straightto hoise faile, crying out aloud, It is of necessity I must go, but not to line. So, through his boldnesse and good spirit, vsing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of mart, and markets with corne, and all the fea befides with ships: in so much, the plenty he brought did not only furnish the city of Rome, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a lively fpring that dispersed it selfe through all ITALIE. About that time, the great conquests that Casar made in Gavre, did set him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres far from Rome, with the Belgians, Svvisses, and Englishmen, he by secret practise,

Kkk 4

Great re. paire vnto Cafar win tering at Luca.

was in the middest among the people at Rome, and most against Pompey in the weightiest affaires of the common wealth. For he had the power of an army about his person, which he did harden with paines and continuall practife, not with intentto fight only against the barbarous people: for the battels he had with them, were in manner but as a hunting sport, by the which he made himfelfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the world. But furthermore, by the infinite gold and filter, and the incredible spoils and treasure which he wan vpon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by fending great prefents also to Rome, to the Ædiles, Prætors, Confuls, and their wives, he purchased him many friends. Therfore, after he had passed over the Alpesagaine, and was come to winter in the city of Lv ca, a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate themselues almost two hundred persons (and amongst them, Crassius & Pompey by name) went out of Rome vnto him. Furthermore, there were seene at Casars gate, fixescore Sergeants carying axes before Prætors, or Proconsuls. So Casar sent cuery one backe againe, either full of money, or good words: but with Pompey and Crassus, he made a match, that they two together should suctobe Consuls, and that he himselfe would send them good aide to Rome, at the day of election, to give their voyces. And if they were chosen, that they should then practise by decree of the people, to haue the gouernments of some new provinces and armies affigned them: and withall, that they should adiorne the government of those provinces he had, for five yeares more. This packe being bewrayed and spread abroad through Rome, the honestest fort misliked much thereof. Whereupon Marcellinus at an open affembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would fue for the Consulship at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make answer, Pompey spake first, and said: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. Crassus answered more gently, that he would doe that which should be best for the commonwealth. Then Marcellinus sharply inueying against Pompey, he angerly againe cast him in the teeth, and said, that Marcellinus was the rankest churle, and the vnthankfullest beast in the world: for that of a dumb man he had madehim eloquent, and being in maner starued & famished, many a time he had filled his belly. This notwithstanding, divers that before were determined to fue for the Consulship, went no further in it, sauing Lucius Domitius, whom Cato counselled and incouraged not to give it ouer: for, faid he, thou doest not contend for the Consulship, but to defend the common libertie of thy country against two tyrants. Pompey therefore fearing Catoes faction, lest that having all the Senates goodwils, he should draw also the best part of the people after him, thought it not good to suffer Domitius to come into the market place. To this end therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onset, sluethetorch-bearer that caried the torch beforehim, and made all the rest to slie: amongst whom also Cato was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of Domitius. Pompey & Craffus being become Cofuls after this fort, they ordered themselues nothing the more temperatly, nor honestly. For first of all, the people being about to chuse Cato Prætor, Pompey being at the affembly of the election, perceiuing that they would chuse him, brakevp the assembly, falsly alledging that he had noted certaine ill fignes; and afterwards, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they chose Antias and Vatinius Prætors. Afterthat, by Trebonius Tribunc of the people, they published Edicts, authorifing Cafars charge for fine yeares longer, according to the appointment they had made with Cefar. Voto Crassus also they had appointed Syria, and the warreagainst the Parthians. Vnto Pompey in like case, all Africk E, and both Spaines, with foure legions besides : of the which, at Casars desire, he lent him two Legions to helpe him in his warre in GAVLE. These things done, Crassus departed to his prouince, at the going out of his Confulship; and Pompey remained at ROMB about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for learning and muficke, and caused wild beasts also to be baited and hunted, and killed fiue hundred Lions. But of all things, there was no such fearfull fight and terrible fight, as was betweene the Elephants. This great charge and bountifull expence, defrayed by Pompey, to shew the people pastime and pleasure, made him againe to be very much esteemed of, and beloued amongst the people. But on the other side, he wan himselfe as much ill will and enuie, in committing the gonernment of his Prouinces and Legions into the hands of his Lieutenants, whileft he himselfe romed up and downe the pleasant places of ITALY, with his wife at his pleasure : either because he was farre in loue with her, or elfe for that she loued him so dearly, that he could not find in his hart to leave her company. It was reported of her (being knowne of many) that this young Lady Iulia loued

The violense of Tompey obtaining the fecond Confulfhip. Pompey and Crassus lecond Con. Sulfisip.

Proninces devided vn-Craffus.

her husband more dearly, not for Pompeys flourishing age, but for his affured continence, knowing no other woman but her:besides also, he was no solemne man, but pleasant of conversation, which made women loue him maruelloufly, vnleffe we will reproue the curtifan Floraestestimony. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, men rising suddenly in hurly burly, drew their fwords, and many were flaine about Pompey: infomuch as his clothes being bloudied, he fent his men home in haste to fetch him other to change him. His young wife that was great with child, seeing his clothes bloudie, took such a flight vpon it, that she fell down in a swound before them, that they had much ado to recour her; and yet she fell straight in labout ypon it, and was delinered. So that they themselves, which blamed him most for his good wil he bare vnto Casar, could not reproue the loue he bare vnto his wife. Another time after that, she was great with child againe, whereof she died, and the child lived not many dayes after the mother. As Pompey was about to carie her into the countrey to be buried, to a house he had there neare vnto the city of Alba, the people by force took her corfe, and caried it into the field of Mars, more for the daughter of pitie they tooke of the young Ladie, then to pleasure either Casar or Pompey: and yet what the Casar. people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for Cafars fake being absent, then for Pompey that was present. But straight when his alliance was broken, which rather concredithen bridled their ambitious defire to rule, there arose a new stirrein Rome immediatly, and every mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and seditious words. Not long after that also came newes that Crassus was overthrowne, and flaine in PARTHIA; who was a manifest stay and let to keepe diffention them two from civill warres, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept themselves in a between reasonable sort together. But when fortune had taken away this third champion, who could have Pompey & withstood the better of them both that had our come the other, then might have beene said of these two which remained, as the comicall Poet said:

See how thefe champions purposing each others force to trie. With pointed skin, and dustic hands, stand vaunting valiantly.

So litle can fortune prenaile against nature, having no power to stop couctousnesse: sith so large and great an Empire, and fuch a wide countrey besides, could not containe the couctous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read:

Among the gods themselves all things by lot divided are. And none of them intrudes himselfe within his neighbours share.

Yet they thought that the Empire of Rome was not inough for them, which were but two But Pompey spake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office beforche looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would have done: and that he witneffed by discharging his army so soone. Then thinking that Casar would not discharge his army, he fought to make himself strong against him, by procuring offices of the city, without any other alteration. Neither would he seeme to mistrust him, but he plainly shewed, that he did defpise and contemne him. But when he saw that he could not obtaine the offices of the city as he would, because the citizens that made the elections were bribed with mony, he then left it without a magisfrate, so that there was none either to command, or that the people should obey. Hereuponthere ran a bruite straight, that there must needs be a Distator made, and the first man that propounded it, was Lucilius Tribune of the people, who perswaded them to chose Pompey. But Cato stucke so stoutly against it, that the Tribune had like to have lost his office, even in the market place. But then many of Pompeys friends stepped vp, and excused him, faying : that he neither fought, nor would have the Dictatorship. Then Cato commended him much, and prayed him to fee good order kept in the common wealth. Pompey being ashamed to deny so reasonable a request, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, Domitius, and Messalas but afterwards when the state began to change againe by the death of one of the Consuls, and that diuers were more earnestly bent to haue a Dictator then before, Caso searing it would breake out with fury, determined to giue Pompey some office of reasonable authoritie, to keep him from the mong these. other moretyrannicall. Infomuch, as Bibulus himselfe beingchiefe of the Senate, & Pompeys encmy, was the first that moved Pompey might be chosen Confull alone: for, said he, by this means, perhoner. cither the common weelsh shall be rid of the present trouble or elle it shall be in bondagers on Cato spake either the common wealth shall be rid of the present trouble or else it shall be in bondage to an in Pompeys honcst man. This opinion was maruelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, Cato favour. standing up, it was thought straight he would have spoken against him: but silence being made him, he plainely told them, that for his owne part he would not have beene the first man

Pompey maried Cor. The vertues of Cornelia,

Pompeys fenerity a-

proninces. Beares far

to have propounded that was spoken: but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meete to be sollowed. And therefore, said he, it is better to have an Officer to command, what soeuer he be, rather then none; and that he saw no man fitter to command, then Pompey, info trouble fome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that Pompey should be chosen fole Consull: and that if he saw in his discretion he should need the affistance of another companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were past. Thus was Pompey made Consull alone by Sulpitius, regent for that day. Then Pompey made verie friendly countenance vnto Cato, and thanked him for the honour he had done him. praying him privately to affift him with his counfell in the Confulfhip. Cato answered him, than there was no cause why he should thanke him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake but for respect of the common wealth only and for his counsel, if he wold aske it, he should privatly have it, if not, yet that he would openly fay that which he thought. Such a man was Cato in all his doings. Now Pompey returning into the citie, maried Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, not a maiden, but late the widow of Publius Crassus the sonne, that was slaine in PARTHIA, to whom shee was maried a maiden. This Ladie had excellent gifts to be beloued besides her daughter of beautie: for the was properly learned, could play well on the harpe, was skilfull in muficke and Geometrie, and took e great pleasure also in Philosophy, and not vainly without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behauior, without brawling and foolish curiosity, which commonly young women haue that are indued with fuch fingular gifts. Her father also, was a noble man, both in bloud and life. Not with standing, these will ke mariages did nothing please some for Cornelia was young inough to have beene his fonnes wife. Now the best citizens thought, that therein heregarded not the care of the commonwealth, being in fuch a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedy to redresse the same; and that he in the meane timegaue himselfe ouerto marying & feasting, where rather he should have bin careful of his Consulfhip, which was disposed vpon him against the law for comon calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had been quiet. Furthermore, he sharply proceeded against them which by bribery and vnlawfull meanes came to office: and having made lawes and ordinances for the administration of iustice, otherwise he dealt iustly and vprightly in all things, giving safety, order, filence and granitie, to matters of judgement, with force of armes, himselfe being present saving that when his father in law was also accused among other, he sent for three hundred and threefcore Iudges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuser saw Scipio accompanied by the Iudges them felues, returning into the market place, he let fall his fuit. This made Pompey againe be condemned, and blamed also morethen before, for that he having made a law, that no man should praise the offenders, whilest their matter was a hearing, came himselfe and openly praised Planeus being accused. Thereupon Cato being one of the Judges, atopped his eares with both his hands, faying: that he might not heare an offender praised, seeing it was forbidden by law. But therefore he was refused for a Judge, before they gaue sentence. Notwithstanding, Plancus was condemned by all the rest of the Judges, to Pompeys great shame and reproach. Shortly after, Hypfeus, one that had bin Confull, being likewise accused, watching Pompey on a time as he came out of his bath to go to supper, vpon his knees he befought Pompeys fauour and helpe: but he flatly passed by him, and gaue him no other answer, but told him, he marred his supper and said nothing else to him. This inconstancie was much reproued in Pompey. Howbeit otherwise he set all things in good order, and chose his father in law Scipio, for his colleague and fellow in the Confulship, for the fine last moneths. After that, he caused the gouernment of his Prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeare more, with commission to take yearely out of the treasure a thousand talents to defray the charges of his warre. Casars friends seeing that, stepped vp for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideration of him, that had likewise great wars for the Empire of Rome: saying, that his good service deserved, either that they should make him Confull againe, or else that they should prolong his charge and gouernment, fo as he may yet peaceably enjoy the honor to command that which he had conquered, to the end that no other fucceffour might reape the fruit of his labour. Much (tirre and contention being about this matter at Rome, Pompey as though for good will he meant to excuse the enuie they might have borne Casar, said: that he had received letters from him, by the which he requested asuccessour, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should grant him priviledge to demaund the second Confulfhip,

Confulfhip, although he were absent. Which Cato stoutly withstood, saying, that he must returne home as a private man, and leaving his army, should come in person to crave recompense of his countrey. But because Pompey made no reply nor answer to the contrary, men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of Cafar, and the rather, because he had sent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, under colour of his warre against the Parthians. But Cafar though he smelt him wherefore he sent for his fouldiers, returned them home with liberall reward. About that time, Pompey fell ficke at NAFLE's of a dangerous disease, whereof not- pempey fell withstanding he recoucred againe. The NEAPOLITANS therupon, by perswasion of Praxagoras, one of the chiefest men of their citie, did sacrifice to the gods for his recourse. The like did Great also their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ran so generally through all ITALY, that there the recogning for the recognition for the recogn was no city or towne (great or small) but made open feasts and reioycing for many daies together. Besides, the infinite number of people was such, that went to meet him out of all parts, that bealth. there was not place inough for them all, but the high waies, cities, townes, and ports of the fea, were all full of people, feafting and facrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recourry. Diners also went to meet him, crowned with garlands, and so did attend on him, casting no segayes and flowers vpon him. Thus was his journey the nobleft fight that ener was, all the way as he came: howbeit menthought also, that this was the chiefest cause of the beginning of the civill warres. For he fell into fuch a pride, and glorious conceit of himfelfe, with the exceeding toy he tooketo see himselfethus honoured:that for getting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to prosper, he grew too bold in despising of Casars power, as though he stood in no need of other power to care or withftand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, fooleonteil farre more easily, then he could have done before. Furthermore, Appius thereupon returned made Pomfrom Gavie, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent vitto Cafar, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and giving out many foule words against Cafar. For he faid, that Pompey knew not his owne strength and authoritie, that would feeke to Appin 1300 make himselfe strong, by other power against him: considering that he might ouercome him with his own legions he should bring with him, so soone as they saw but Pompey in the face, such habanot. ill will did Cafars own fouldiers beare him, and were maruellous defirous besides to see himself. These flattering tales so puffed vp Pompey, and brought him into such a securitie and trust of himselfe, that he mocked them to scorne which were afraid of warres. And to those also which saids that if Cafar came to Rome, they faw not how they could refift his power, he smileingly answer red them again, and bad them take no thought for that: for as oft, said he, as I do but stampe with my foote vponthe ground of ITALY, I shall bring men inough out of every corner, both footemen and horsemen. In the meane, ime, Casar gathered force stil vpon him, and thencesorth drew nearer vnto ITALY, & sent of his foldiers daily to Rome to be present at the election of the magistrates, and many of them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongst whom, was Paule, one of the Consuls, whom he wanne of his side, by meanes of a thousand fine hundred talents. And Curiothe Tribune of the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought: and Marke Antoniealfo, who for Curioes, fake, was discharged likewise for part of the debt Paule the which Curio ought, being also bound as himselfe. Furthermore, it was found that a Captaine or bribed by Centurion sent from C. Jar, being neare vnto the Senate, vnderstanding that the counsell would cofar. not prolong Cafars gouernment which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pommell of his fword: Well faid he, this shall giue it him. So, to be short, all that was done and said, ten- Tribunes of ded to this end. Not with standing, the petitions and requests that Curio made in Casurs behalfe, briedly briedly feemed fomwhat more reasonable for the people: for he requested one of the two, either to cafar. make Pompey to put downe his armie, or elle to licence Cafar to have his army as well as he. For, either being both made private men, they would fall to agreement of themselves : or else being both of like strength, neither of both would seeke any alteration, fearing one another, but would content themselves either of them with their owne. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other, should double his power whom he feared. Therto very hotly replied the Confull Marcellus, calling Cafar theefe, and faid that he should be proclaimed an open enemie to Rome, if he did not difperfe his army. This not with standing, in fine, Curio, Antony, and Piso procured that the Senate should decide the matter. For, said he, all those that . would have Cafar leave his army, and Pompey to keepe his, let them stand on the one side. Thereupon the most part of them stood at one hand. Then he bad them againe come away from them

Rubicon fl.

river of Rubicon.

Cafars jay.

that would have them both leave their armies. Then there remained onely but two and twenty that stood for Pompey: and all the rest went on Curioes side. Then Curio looking aloft for joy of the victorie, went into the market place, and there was received of his Tribune faction, with shouts of ioy and clapping of hands, and infinite no fegaves and garlands of flowers throwne vpon him. Pempey was not then present to see the Senators goodwill towards him: because by the law, such as haue commandement ouer fouldiers, cannot enter into Rome. Notwithstan. ding Marcellus standing vp, said: that he would not stand trisling, hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew thatten legions were already passed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes against them; and that he would senda man vinto them, that should defend their countrey well inough. Straight they changed apparell at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamitic. Marcellus then comming through the market place vnto Pompey, being followed of all the Senate, went vnto him, and told him openly: Pompey I command thee helpe thy countrey with that army thou hast already, and also to leavie more to aide thee. The like speech did Lentulus vie vnto him who was appointed one of the Confuls the yeare following. Now, when Pompey thought to leavie fouldiers in Rome to bill them, fome would not obey him, a few others went vnwillingly to him with heavie hearts, and the most part of them cried, Peace, peace. Antony also, against the Senates mind, read a letter vnto the people sent from Casar containing certaine offers and reasonable requests, to draw the common peoples affection towards him. For his request was, that Pompey and he should both of them refigne their gouernments, and should dismisse their armies to make all well, referring themselves wholly to the judgement of the people, and to deliuer vp account vnto them of their doings. Lentulus being now entred into his Consulship; did not affemble the Senate. But Cicero lately returned out of CILICIA, practifed to bring them to agreement, propounding that Cafar should leave GAVLE, and all the rest of emixteefar his armie, referuing onely two legions and the gouernement of ILLYRIA, attending his fecond Consulship. Pompey liked not this motion. Then Casars friends were contented to grant that he should have but one of his legions. But Lentulus spake against it, and Cato cried out on the other fide also, that Pompey was deceived, and they both. So all treaty of peace was cut off. In the meanetime, newes came to Rome that Cafar had wonne ARIMINVM, a faire great city of ITALY, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power. But that was not true: for he came but with three thousand horse, and fine thousand sootemen, and would not tarrie for the rest of his army that was yet on the other side of the mountaines in GAVLE, but made haste rather to surprise his enemies vpon the sudden, being afraid and in garboile, not looking for him fo foone: rather then to give them time to be provided, and to fight with them when they were ready. For when he was come to the river fide of Rubicon (which was the vtmost confine of the province he had in charge towards Iral x) he stayed suddenly, weying with himselfe the great enterprise he tooke in hand. At the last, as men that being of a maruellous height from the ground, do headlong throw themselues downe, closing vp their eyes, and withdrawing their minds from the thought of the danger: crying out these words onely vnto them that wereby, in the Greeke tongue, anifietu no en English, let the die be cast (meaning hereby to put all in hazard, and according to our prouerbe, to fet all on fixe and feuen) he passed ouer with his army. Now, the newes of his coming being caried to Rome, they were in fuch a maruellous feare, as the like was neuer feene. For all the Senate ran immediatly vnto Pompey, and all the other Magistrates of the city fled vnto him also. Tullus asking Pompey what power he had to resist them, he answered him, faltring somewhat in his speech: that he had the two legions readie which Casar sent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leauied in haste, he should make vp the number of thirty thousand fighting men. Then Tullus cried out openly: Ah, thou hast mocked vs Pompey: and thereupon gaue order they should send Ambassadours vnto Casar. There was one Phaonius in the companie, who otherwise was no ill man, saving that he was somwhat too bold, thinking to counterfeit Catoes plain maner of speech: he bad Pompey then stampe his foot vpon the ground, & make those soldiers come which he had promised them. Pompey gently bare with Phaonius mocke. But when Cato told him also, what he had prophecied before hand of Cafar, he answered him againe: Indeed thou hast prophecied more truly then I, but I have dealt more friendly then he. Then Case thought good that they should make him Lieutenant generall of Roms with full and absolute power to commaund all, faying: that the felfe fame men which do the greatest mischiefe, know best also how to remedy

the same. So he immediatly departed into Sicile, having the charge and government of that countrey: and also every one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in armes, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of Rome came flying thither from all parts: and those on the other side that were within Rome went out as fast, and for fook the citie in this trouble and disorder. That which might serue being willing to obey, was found very weake; and that on the other fide which by difobedience did hurr, was too strong and ill to be gouerned by the magistrates, having law to comand. For there Tumule at was no possibility to pacific their feare, neither would they suffer Pompey to order things as he would but every man followed his owne fancy, even as he found himselfe grieved, a fraid, or in comming. doubt, and in one day they were in divers minds. Pompey could heare nothing of certainty of his enemies. For fome, one while would bring him newes one way, & then again e another way; and thế if he wold not credit thế, they were angry with him. At the length, when he faw the tumult and confusion so great at Rome, as there was no meane to pacificit, he commanded all the Senators to follow him, telling all the that remained behind, that he wold take the for Cafars friends; and so at night departed out of the citie. Then the two Consuls fled also, without doing any sacrifice to the gods, as they were wont to do before they went to make any wars. So Pompey, eto in his greatest trouble and most danger, might thinks him following the house to the following for the following the first following the follow uen in his greatest trouble and most danger, might thinke himselfe happie to have every mans goodwill as he had. For, though diverse misliked the cause of this warre, yet no man hated the Captaine: but there were moe found that could not for fake Pompey for the love they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their liberty. Shortly after Pompey was gone out of Rome, C. efar was come to Rome, who polleffing the citie, spake very gently vnto all them he cafar enfound there, & pacified their feare fauing that he threatned Metellus, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, because he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the common wealth. Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter speech also, saying: that it was not so hard a thing for him to do it, as to speake it. Thus having put downe Metellus, and taken that he needed to ferue his turne, he tooke vpon him to follow Pompey, thinking to driue him cofar folout of ITALY, before that his army he had in Spain & flould come to him. Pompey in the meane lower time, having rakenthe citie of Brandy and gotten fome flins to zether, he made the time. time, having takenthe citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and gotten some shipstogether, he made the two Confols presently imbarke with thirty ensignes of footmen, which he sent bey od the sea before VINTO DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that, he fent his father in law Scipio, and Cneus Pompeys pey his fonne, into Syria, to prouide him ships. Himselfe on the other side, fortified the rampiers fratagene of the city, and placed the lightest fouldiers he had upon the wals, and commanded the BRUN- at Brundu-DVSIANS not to stirre our of their houses; and further, he cast trenches within the city, at the end style there of the streetes in diverse places, and filled those trenches with sharpe pointed stakes faving two from cofar. ffreets onely, which went vnto the hauen. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the rest of his fouldiers at his pleasure, he suddenly lifting up a signe into the aire, to give them warning which he had left to guard the rampiers, they straight ran to him with speed, and quickly receiuing the into his ships, he weyed anker, and hoised faile. Cofar perceiuing the wals naked without ward, he straight mistrusted that Pompey was fled: who hasting after him, had almost runne forsaketh vpon the sharpe stakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRVNDVSIANS given him war. Italie. ning of them. So he stayed, and ranne not ouerthwart the citie, but fetched a compasse aboutto go to the hauen: where he found that all the ships were vnder faile, two ships onely excepted, vpon the which were left a few fouldiers. Somethinke that this departure of Pompey, was one of the best stratagemes of warre that ever he vsed. Notwithstanding, Cafar marvelled much, that he being in a strong citie, and looking for his army to come out of Spaine, and being maister of the sea, besides, that he would ever for sake ITALIE. Cicero also reproved him, for that he rather followed Themistocles counsell, then Pericles: considering that the troublesome time was Cicero repro rather to be likened vnto Pericles then Themistocles time. Yea Cafar himselfe shewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken Numerius one of Pompeys friends, he fent him voto Pompey at BRVN DVSIVM, to offer him reasonable conditions of peace: But Numerius followed Pompey, and failed away with him. By this meanes, Cafar in threefcore daies being Lord of all I-TALY without any bloud shed, he was very desirous to follow with speed after Pompey. But be- cestarleaucause he had no ships ready, he lethim go, and hasted towards Spaine, to joyne Pompeys armie ell Pompey there vnto his. Now Pompey in the meane space, had gotten a maruellous great power together intespaine. both by fea and by land. His army by fea was wonderful. For he had fine hundred good ships of

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Labienus forlaketh Cafar, and goeth to Pumpey.

sic of Cajar.

warre, and of galliots, foifts, and pinnaces, an infinit number. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemen of Rome, & of al Italy, to the number of seven thousand horse, all rich men of great houses, and valiant minds. But his footmen, they were men of all forts, and raw fouldiers yntrained, whom Pompey cotinually exercifed; lying at the city of BERROEA, not fitting idly, but taking pains, as if he had bin in the prime of his youth. Which wasto great purpose to incourage others feeing Pompey, being eight and fifty yeares old, fight on foot, armed at all peeces; & then on horfbacke, quickly to draw out his fword while his horse was in his ful carier, and cafily to put it vp againe; & to throw his dart from him, not only with fuch agility to hit point blank, but also with streigth to cast it such a way from him, that few yong men could do the like. Thither came divers kings, princes, & great Lords of countries, and yeelded themselues vnto him, and of ROMAINE Captaines that had borne office, he had of the about him the nuber of a whole Senate. Among fr them came vnto him Labienus alfo, who before was Cafars friend, & had alwaies been with him in his warres in GAVLE. There came vnto him also Brutus, the sonne of that Brutus which was flaine in GAV LE, a valiant man, and which had neuer spoken vnto Pompey vntill that day, because he tooke him for a murtherer of his father; but then willingly followed him as defender of the liberty of Rome. Cicero himselfe also, though he had both written and given counsell to the contrary, thought it a shame to him not to be amongst the number of them that would hazard their lines for defence of their countrey. There came vnto him also Tidius Sextius even into Mace-DON, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to fcorne to fee him come, when Pompey faw him, he rose and went to meete him, indging it a good token of their good wils vnto him whe fuch old men as he, chose rather to be with him in danger, then at home with fafety. Hereupon they fate in councell, and following Catres opinion, decreed that they should put no citizen of Rome to death but in battell, and should facke no citic that was fubicetto the Empire of Rome; the which made Pompeys part the better liked. For they that had nothing to do with the warres, either because they dwelt farre off, or else for that they were so poore, as o herwise they were not regarded, did yet both in deed and word fauour Pompeys part, thinking him an enemie both to the gods and men, that wished not Pompey victorie. Cafar also shewed himselfe very mercifull and courteous, where he ouercame. For when he had wonne all Pompeys army that was in Spaines, he suffered the Captaines that were taken to go at liberty, and onely referued the fouldiers. Then coming ouer the Alpes agazine, he passed through all ITALIE, and came to the citie of BRVN DVSIVM in the winter quarter: and there passing over the sea, he went vnto the citie of ORICVM, and landed there. Now Cafar having Vibrus, one of Pompeys familiar friends with him, whom he had taken prifoner, he sent him vato Pompey, to pray against that they might meete, and both of them differse their armes within three dayes, and being reconciled (gining their faith one to another) fo to returneinto ITALY like good friends together. Pompey thought againe, that these were new denicesto entrap him. Thereupon he suddenly went downe to the sea, and tooke all the places of strength by the sea side, safely to lodge his campe in, and all the ports, creekes, and harbors for ships to lie in rode: so that what wind socuer blew on the sky, it served his turne, to bring him cither men, victuals, or money. Cafar on the other fide was fo diftreffed both by fea and by land, that he was driven to procure battell, and to affaile Pempey even in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom most times he ever had the better in all skirmishes, saving once, when he was in danger to have loft al his army. For Pompey had valiantly repulfed his men, and made them flic, and had flaine two thousand of them in the field: but he durst notenter pell mell with them into their campe, as they fled. Wherupon Cafar fayd to his friends, that his enemie had won the victorie that day, if he had knowne how to ouercome. This victorie put Pompeys men in such courage, that they wold needs hazard battell. And Pompey himselfe also though he wrote letters vnto strage kings, captaines, & cities of his confederacy as if he had already won all, was yet afraid to fight another battell, thinking it better by tract of time, and distresse of victuals, to ouercome him. For Cafars men being old and expert fouldiers, and wont ever to have the victorie when they fought to gether, he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kind of way, to be driven to often removing of their campe from place to place, and still to fortifie and intrench themselues; and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hand, and fight it out. But not with standing that Pompey had before perswaded his men to be quiet, and not to stirre, perceining that after this last bickering, Cafar being scanted with

victuals, raifed his campe, and departed thence to go into Thessall, through the country of the Атнамантань : then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cried, Сыраг is fled, let vs follow him. And others, Lee vs return should again into Iral v. And others allo fent thier friends and servants before to Rome, robite them bodies neere the market place : intending when they came thither to fue for omessing the anamon wealth. Somethere were also that in a follity would needs take ship, and faile into the He of Lessos, vnto Cornelia (whom Pompey had fent thither) to carie her that good news, shat the warre was ended. Thereupon affembling the councell, Africanus thought it best to winnel TALY, for that was the chiefest marke to be shotatin this warre: for whosoener obtained that, had straight all Stelle, Sardi-NIA, CORSICA, SPAINE, and GAVLE at commandement. Furthermore, that it was a :lishonour to Pompey (which in reason should touch him about all things) to suffer their countrey to be in fuch cruell bondage and fubication vnto flaces and flatterers of tyrants, offering it selfe as it were into their hands. But Pompey neither thought it honourable for him, once agains to file from C.efar, and to make him follow him, fith fortune had given him oportunitie to have Cefar in chase nor lawfull also before the gods, to forsake his father in law scipio, and many other also that had been Confuls, dispersed abroad in GRECE and THESSALIE which shold immediatly fall into Cafars hands, with altheir riches & armies they had. Furthermore, he faid, that they hadcare enough for the citie of Rome, which drew the warres farthest off from them: so as, they remaining fafe and quiet at home (neither hearing nor feeling the miferie of warres) might in the end peaceably receive and welcome him home, that remained conquerour. With this determination, he marched forward to follow Cafar, being determined not to give him battell, but to befiege him, and onely to compaffe him in fill being neare vinto him, and fo to cut him off from loweth Cevictuals. There was also another reason that made him to follow that determination. For it was far into reported to him, that there was a speech give out among the Romaine knights, that so soone as Thegaly. cuer they had ouercome Cafar, they must also bring Pompey to be a private man againe. Some fav therefore, that Pompey would never afterwards imploy Cato in any great matters of weight in all this war: for when he followed Cafar, he left him to keepe his carriage by the fea fide, fearing that fo foone as Cufar were once ouercome, he would make him ftraight alfo refigne his authority. Pompey following Cafar in this maner faire and foftly, they cried out vponhim, that he made no warre with Cafar, but against his countrey and the Senate, because he might be still in authoritie: and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his feruants and guard about him, which should rule & command the world. Furthermore, Domitius Anobarbus, calling him continually Agamemnon, and king of kings, made him much to be enuied. Phaonius also mocked him as much as the other that spake most boldly: for he went crying vp and downe, My maifters, I giucyou warning, you are like to eate no Thysevlan figges this yeare. And Lucius mocked of Afranius also, he that had lost the army which he had in Spaine, and was also suspected for foulders. a traytor, seeing Pompey then refused to come to battell: I maruell, said he, that they which accuse me, do not lustily go to find him out, whom they call the merchant and common buyer of provinces, to fight with him prefently? With these and many such other lewd speeches, they compelled Pompey in the end (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not denie his friends any thing) to follow their vaine hope and defires, and to for fake his owne wife determination: the which thing, no good ship-master, and much lesse a chiefe and soueraigne Captaine, ouer so many nations and so great armies, should have suffered and consented vnto. Now, he that did alwaies commend the Physitians, that would not follow the fond defire of the ficke patients, was himself contented to obey the worst part of his armie, searing their displeasure, where their life or health stood in hazard. For who would thinke or judge them to be wife men, and in their wits, who walking vp and downetheir campe, did already fue to be Confuls and Prætors ? confidering that Spinther, Domitius and Scipio, were at strife together, making friends to be high Bishop which office Cafar had,) as if they should have fought with Tigrazes king of ARMENIA, or with the king of the NABATHEIANS, which had camped by them, and not with Cafar and his army; who had taken a thousand townes by allault, had fubdued aboue three hundred feuerall nations, and had wonne infinite battels of the Gestathes and Gavles, and wasneuer onercome: had also taken a million of men priforers, and had likewise slaine so many at diverse battels. All this notwithstanding, they of Propositide fill being importunate on him, and troubling him in this fort, in fine, when they

Labienus Generall of Pompeys horfemen. Petapeys fore the bat sel of Phace

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were come into the fields of P H A R S A L I A, they compelled Pompey to call a councell. There Labienus, Generall of the horsemen, standing vp., sware before them all, that he would not returne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flie. The like oath all the rest did take. Thenext night following, Pompey thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honour him, made a maruellous great clapping of their hands: and that he himselfe did set foorth the temple of Venus the conquerour with many spoiles. This vision partly put him in good courage, and partly againe made him doubt: for that he was afraid, because Cefars family was descended from this goddesse Venus, that his dreame did signifie, that he should have the honour of the victorie, with the spoiles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there were fudden and fearefull noises heard in his campe, without any apparant cause, that waked all the campe you it. At the fourth watch, when the watch is renewed in the morning, wonderfull; there was feene a maruellous great light ouer Cafars campe, and they were all at reft, which flamoise heard med like a burning torch, and fell into Pompeys campe. The which Cafar himselfe sayd he faw, when he went to visit the watch. At the breake of the day, Casar being determined to raise his campe, and to go to the citie of Scotysa, as his souldiers were busie about ouerthrowing of their tents, and fending away their bagge and baggage before, there came feouts vnto him, that brought him word; they faw a great deale of armour and weapon caried too and fro in their enemies campe, and heard a noise and bustling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After these came in other scouts, that brought word also that their voward was already fet in battell ray. Then Cafar fayd, that the day was now come they had longed for fo fore, and that they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of victuals: and thereupon gaue order prefently that they should put out the red coate of armes upon his tent, which was the figne all the Romaine's vied to shew that they would fight. The fouldiers feeing that out, left their cariage and tents, and with great shouts of ioy ranne to arme themsclues. The Captaines of cuerie band also, bestowed every man in such place as he should fight, and so they conveyed themselves into battell ray, without any tumult or disorder, as quietly, as if they should have entred into a dance. Pompey himselfe led the right wing of his army against Antony. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto Scipio his father in law, being right against Domitius Caluinus. The left wing also was led by Lucius Domitius Anobarbus, the which was garded with men of armes, for all the horimen were placed on that fide, to diffresse Cesar if they could, that was directly against them: and to ouerthrow the tenth legion that was so much accounted of being the valiantest fouldiers the enemie, had in all his armie, amongst the which Cafar did ener vie to fight in person. Cafar then seeing the left wing of his enemies so strong with the gard of the horsemen, and being afraid of the brightnesse of their armour, brought forward fixe enfignes for fupply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legion, commanding them that no man should stirre, lest their enemies should discouer them. And surthermore, when the horsemen of the enemics should come to give charge vpon them, that then they should runne with speed on the one side of the formost ranks, and not to throw their darts farre from them, as the valiantest souldiers are wont to do, to come to the sword the sooner: but to throw them vpw ards into their enemies eyes and faces. For faid he, these braue fellowes and fine dancers, will neuer abide to have their faces marred. And this was Cafars device at that time. Pompey being on horsebacke, rode vp and downe to consider the ordinance of both battels: and perceiuing that his enemies stood still in their rankes, looking for the signall of battell, & that his owne battell on the other fide waved vp and downe diforderly, as men vnskilfull in warres : he was afraid they would flie before they were charged. Thereupon he straightly commanded them in the voward, that they should steadily keepe their rankes, and standing closetogether shold so defend themselues, receining the charge of the enemie. But Casar disliked or that deuice, for thereby, said he, the force of their blowes was lessened; and in withholding them from giving the charge, he not onely tooke away that courage, which the affailant carieth with him coming with fury : but made them moreover faint hearted, in receiving the charge of the enemics. In Cafars army, there were about two and twentie thousand fighting men: and in Pompeys army, fomewhat about twife as many. Now, when the word of battell was given on either fide, and that the trumpets did found the allarme, enery man began to looke to him. felfe. But a few of the chiefest of the ROMAINES, and certaine GRECIANS that were there also out of the set battell, perceiuing the imminent danger, began to bethinke them, to what passe

the ambition and wilfull contention betweene these two men, had brought the state of Rome. For the weapons of kinfmen, the bands of brethren, the enfignes all alike, the flower of fo many valiant men of one citie, did serve for a notable example, to shew how mans nature prickt forward with conetousnesses, is quite blind and without reason. For if they could have been contented quietly to have gouerned that which they had conquered, the greatest and best part of the world, both by fea and by land was subject vino them. Or otherwise if they could not have queched their vusatiable desire of victorie and triumph, they had occasion of warre inough offered them against the Parthians and Germains. Furthermore they had inough to do besides to conquer Scythia, and the Indians and withal, they had had an honest colour to have cloaked their ambitious desires, if it had beene but to have brought the barbarous people to a civill life. For what horimen of Scythia, or arrowes of Parthia, or riches of Indias, could have abidden the power of threescore and ten thousand Romaine souldiers, and specially being led by two fo famouus Captaines, as Pompey, and Cafar: whose names, these strange & far nations vnderstood long before the name of the Romain stogreat were their victories, having conquered fo many wild and barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one against the other, not regarding their honour which made them fo ambitious, did not spare their owne countrey, who had vntil thattime remained vnuincible, both in fame & proweffe. For, the alliace that was made between them, the loue of Iulia, and marying with her, was suspected from the beginning to be but a deceit, and a pledge as it were of a conspiracy made between them, for a privat benefit, more then for any true friendship. Now when the fields of Pharsalia were covered over with men, with horse and armor, and that the fignall of battell was given on either side, the first man of Cafars army that advaced forward to give charge, was Caius Crassinius, Captaine of fixfcore and fine men, to performe a great promife which he had made vnto C.efar. For C.efar, when multibean for feet and he came out of his tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, & asked him fde. what he thought of the successe of this battell ? Crassinius holding out his right hand vnto him, couragiously cried. Oh Cofar, thine is the victorie, and this day thou shalt commend me either aliue or dead. Then remembring these words, he brake out of the ranks, and many following after him, ran amongst the middest of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword, & made great flaughter. But he preffing forward still, one with a thrust ran him through the mouth, that the fwords point camethrough at his necke. Therupon Crassinius being flaine, the battel was equal. Pompey did not make his left wing march ouer suddenly, but stayed, & cast his eyes abroad to see what his horsemen would do, the which had already deuided their companies, meaning to compasse in Casar, and to make the small number of horsmen which he had before him, to give back vpon the squadron of his sootmen. On the other side, as soone as Cesar had given the signall of battell, his horsemen retired backea litle, and the fixe ensignes which he had placed secretly behind them (being three thousand fighting men) ran suddenly to assaile the enemie vpon the flancke; and when they came neare vnto the horsemen, they threw the points of their darts vpwards, according to Casars commandement, and hit the yong gentlemen full in their faces. They being veterly vnskilfull to fight, and least of all looking for such manner of fight, had not the hearts to defend themselues, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, and clapping their hands on their faces, snamefully sled. They being ouerthrowne, Casars men made no account to follow them, but went and gaue charge vpon the battel of footmen, in that place specially where they had no gard of horimen, wherby they might the cosilier be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the yoward also by the tenth legion, perceiuing themselues (contrary to their expectation) compassed about by to slight by their enemies, where they thought to have environed them: they could make no longer refiflance. They also being likewise driven to flie, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, and con-franging in the iectured the flying of his horsemen, what mind he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his field of countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was Pompey the great: for that he went straight into his campe, and spake neuera word to any man, rightly verifying Homers verses to this effect:

But mighty Iou e who sits aloft in youorie chariot hie, Strake Aiax with fo great a feare, that Aiax by andby Let fall his leatherne target: made of tough oxe hide seuen fold, And ranne away, not looking backe, for all hewas fo bold.

In this effate Pompey entred into his tent, and fate him downe there a great while, and spake neuer

a word: vntill fuch time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his

Peticisa

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campe. And then, he faid no more, but, What, guen into our campe? and fo rifing vp, he put a gowne on his backe euen fit for his misfortune, and fecretly stole out of the campe: The other legions also fled: and great flaughter was made of the tent keepers, and their servants that garded the campe. For Asimus Pollio writeth (who was at that battell on Casars side) that there were flaine onely but fixe thousand fouldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, Casars fouldiers then found plainely the madnesse and vanitie of Pompeys men. For, all their tents and pauilions were full of no legayes and garlands of mirde, and their couches all couered with flowers, their tables full of bolles of wine, and men prepared ready to do facrifice for joy, rather then to arme themselues to fight. Thus went they to battell, caried away with this vaine and foolish hope. When Pompey was gone a litle way from his campe, he forfooke his horfe, having a very few with him: and perceining that no man purfued him, he went on foot faire and fortly, his headful of fuch thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might have. who for foure and thirty yeares space together, was wont continually to cary victory away, and began then even in his last cast, to prove what it was to flie, & to be overcome and who thought then with himfelfe, how in one houres space he had loft the honor and riches which he had gotten in fo many foughten fields and battels, whereby he was not long before followed and obeyed of so many thousand men of warre, of so many horizon, and of such a great sleete of ships on the fea, and then to go as he did in such poore estate, and with so small a traine, that his very enemies who fought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the citic of Larissa, and coming to the vallic of Tempé, there being athirst, he fell downe on his belly, and dranke of the river. Then rifing vp againe, he went his way thence, and came to the sea side, and tooke a fishers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the day, he went into a litle boat upon the river, and tooke the free men with him that were about him; and as for the flaues. he sent them backe againe, and did counsell them boldly to go to Cafar, and not to be afraid. Thus rowing vp and downe the shore side, in this litle boat, he spied a great ship of burden in the maine fea, riding at anker, which was ready to weigh anker, and to faile away. The mafter of the thip was a ROMAINE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him by fight very well. He was called Peticins, who had dreamed the night before, that he faw Pomper speake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in pouerty and in misery. So, he had told this dreame vnto the mariners which failed with him (as men commonly vseto doe, specially when they dreame of such weighty matters, and being at leifure withall) and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he saw a litle boat on the river rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shoke their cloakes at them, and held out their hands. Thereupon Peticius standing vp knew Pompey straight, euen in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before and clapping his head for anger, commanded his mariners to let downe his boate, and gaue him his hand, calling him Fompey by his name, mistrusting (feeing him in that effate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he received him into his ship, and all those he would have with him, and then hoiffed faile. With Pompey there were both the Lentuli and Faopius. Shortly after also, they perceived king Deiotarus coming from the river to them, that beckened and made fignes to receive him: which they did. At fupper time, the mafter of the thip made readic such meate as he had aboord. Faonius seeing Pomper for lacke of mento waite on him, washing of himselfe, ran vnto him, washed him, and annointed him, and afterwards continued still to waite vpon him, and to do such service about him, as servants doe to their maisters, even to the washing of his feete, and making ready of his supper. When a simpleman faw him, that could no skill of feruice, he fayd:

Good gods, how every thing becommeth noble men? Pompey paffing then by the citie of Amphipolis, coafted from thence into the Ile of Lessos, to go fetch his wife Cornelia and his sonne being then in the citie of MITYLENE. There, hauing cast out his anker, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shore, and sent him into the citie to his wife;not according to her expectation, who was still put in good hope by continuall letters and newesbrought vnto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the cities Dyrrachium. This meffenger now finding her in this hope, had not the heart fo

much as to falute her, but letting her understand rather by his teares then words, the great mis. fortune Pompey had, told her, the must dispatch quickly, if she would see Pompey with one shippe onely, and none of his, but borrowed. The young Ladie hearing the senewes, fell downe in a The serious fwound before him, & neither spake nor stirred of long time; but after she was come to her selfe, of cornella remembring that it was not time to weepe and lament the want with sound through the circumstance of the self-through through through the self-through through the self-through through the self-through through through the self-through through through through through the self-through through the self-through through the self-through through through through through through through through the self-through through the self-through through through the self-through through the self-through through throu remembring that it was notime to weepe and lament, the went with speed through the city vn- outsthess. to the sea side. There Pompey meeting her, tooke her in his armes, and embraced her. But she sinking vnder him, fell downe, and said: Out alas, wo worth my hard fortune, not thine (good hufband) that I fee thee now brought to one poore ship, who before thou mariedst thy vnfortunate cornelia. Cornelia, wast wontto faile these seas with fine hundred shippes. Alas, why artthou come to see The words me, and why diddeft thou not leaue me to curfed fate and my wicked destinie: sith my selfe is of cornelia and why diddeft thou not leaue me to curfed fate and my wicked destinie: sith my selfe is and property of the proper cause of all this thy euill? Alas, how happie a woman had I been, if I had been dead before I pg. heard of the death of my first husband Publius Crassus, whom the wretched PARTHIANS flue ? >> And how wife a woman had I been, if (according to my determination) I had killed my felfe >> immediatly after him: where now I line to bring yet this misfortune vnto Pompey the Great ? It >> is reported that Cornelia spake these words, and that Pompey also answered her in this maner. Peraduenture, Cornelis mine, thou hast knowne a better fortune, which hath also deceiued thee, because she hath continued longer with me the her maner is. But since we are borne men, we must patiently beare these troubles, & proue fortue, againe. For it is no impossible matter for vs again to come into prosperty out of this preset misery, as to fal out of late prosperity into present calamity. Whe Cornelia heard him fay lo, she sent back into the city for her stuffe & family. The MI-TYLENIANS alfocame openly to falute Pompey, & prayed him to come into the city, & to refresh himselfe:but Pempey would not, & gaue them counsel to obey the conqueror, & not to scare any thing, for Cafar was a suft man, & of a courtous nature. Then Pompey turning vnto Cratippus the Philosopher, who came among the citizens also to see him, made his complaint vnto him, & reafoned a litle with him about divine providence. Cratippus courteoufly yeelded vnto him, putting Pompey him still in betterhope, fearing lest he would have growne too hote & troublesome, if he should haue holden him hard to it. For Pompey at the length might haue asked him, what providence of upput the the gods there had been in his doings? And Cratippus might have answered him, that for the ill Philosopher, gouernment of the commonwealth at Rome, it was of necessity that it should fall into the hands une prouj. of a foueraigne Prince. Peraduenture Cratippus might the haue asked him: how & wherby Pompey wouldest thou make vs beleeue, if thou hadst ouercome Cafar, that thou wouldest have vsed thy good fortune better then her But for divine matters, refer them to the gods as it pleaseth the. Pompey taking his wife and friends with him, hoiffed faile, and landed no where, but compelled to take fresh acates and water. The first citie he came vnto, was ATTALIA in the courty of PAM - Fempey ar-PHYLIA. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of CILICIA, and many fouldiers also, infomuch as he had threefcore Senators of Rome againe in his company. Then understanding that the country his army by fea was yet whole, and that Cato had gathered together a great number of his foul- of Pamphy. diers after the ouerthrow, whom he had transported with him into Africke he lamented, & complained vnto his friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, and not fuffer him to helpe himselfe with his other force wherin he was the stronger; and that he kept not still neare vnto his army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently have repaired to his power ready by fea to have refifted his enemy. To confesse atruth, Pompey committed not greaterre fo great a fault in all this war, neither did Cafar put forth a better deuice, then to make his enemy & cafars fight farre from his army by fea. Thus Pompey being driven to attempt fomewhat according to oraffy dehis smal abilitie, he sent Ambassadors vnto the cities. To others, he went himselse in person also to require money, wherewith he manned and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, searing the fodaine approach of his enemie, lest he should preuent him before he could put any reasonable force in readines for to refift him, he bethought himself what place he might best retire vnto for his most safety. When he had considered of it, he thought that there was never a province of the ROMAINEs that could faue and defend them. And for other strange realmes, he thought PARTHIA about all other, was the best place to receive them into at that present (hauing so small power as they had,) and that it was best able to helpe and aide them. Other of Theophanes his counsel were of mind to go into Africk E, vnto king Iuba. But Theophanes LESBIAN said, he Lesbian per thought it a greatfolly, to leave A GYPT which was but three dayes failing from thence, and smaded 50king Ptolomie, (being but lately come to mans state, & bound vnto Pompey for the late friendship into Egypt.

gypt and go-Pelulium Pothinu ar grosme of the chara. ber to king Ptol.mie. ruleth all

The deli. bergion of the E. Zaptians for the receiumg of Pom

Egypt.

Theodotus perswaded biteth no. Achillas appointed to kill pöpey.

ceined into

and fauour his father found of him) and to go put himselfe into the hands of the PART HIANS the vilest and vnfaithfullest nation in the world; and notto proue the modestic of a Romaine. that had been his father in law, whose prosperitie if he could have endured, he might have beene the chiefest man: and now to put himselse to Arsaces good will, who could not away with Cras-(us when he liued. Further, he thought it an ill part alfo, for him to go carie his young wife of the noble house of Scipio, amongst the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for them to vie what villany and infolencie they lift to any. For, admit the haue no villany offered her by them, yet is it an vindecent thing, to thinke she might have beene dishonoured, they having her in their power to do it. There was no perswasion (as they say) but this onely that turned Pompey vnto Euphrates:for it seemeth that Pompeys counsell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therforeto flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVS in agally of SELEVEIA with his wife Cornelia. The refidue of his traine imbarked alfo, fome into gallies, and others into merchants ships of great burden, and so safely passed the sea without danger. When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolemie was in the citie of PELVSIVM with his army, making warre against his fister, he went thither, and sent a messenger before vnto the king, to aduertise him of his arrivall, and to intreate him to receive him. King Ptolomie was then but a young man, infomuch as one Pothinus gouerned all the whole realme under him. He affembled a councell of the chiefest and wifest men of the court, who had such credit and authority as it pleased him to give them. They being affembled, he comanded enery man in the kings name to fay his mind touching the receiuing of Pompey, whether the king should receive him or not. It was a miserable thing to see Pothinus an Eurnich of the kings, and Theodorus of CH10, an hired schoolemaster to teach the young king Rhetoricke, and Achillas Agyatian, to confult among themselues what they should doe with Pompey the Great. These were the chiefest counsellers of all his Eunuchs, and of those that had brought him vp. Now did Pompey ride at anker vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this councell in the which the opinions of other were divers, for some would not have receiued him: other would that he should be received. But the Rhetoritian Theodotus to shew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one northeother was to be accepted. For, said he, if we receive him, we shall have Cafar our enemie, and Pompey our Lord : and if we doe deny him on the other fide, Pompey will blame vs for refuling of him, and Cefar for not keeping of him. Therefore this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him: for thereby we should win the goodwill of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other, and some say moreouer, that he added this mocke withall: A dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themselues, gaue Achillas commission to do it. He taking with him Septimius (who had charge aforetime vnder Pompey) and Saluius another Centurion alfo, with three or foure fouldiers befides, they made towards Pompeys gallie, about whom were at that time the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in princely shew and maner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in seeing so few men come to them in a fisher boate: they began then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, and counselled Pompey to returne backe, & to launch againe into the sea, being out of the danger of the hurling of a dart. In the meane time, the fifther boate drew neare, and Septimus arole and faluted Pompey in the Romain Etógue, by the name of Imperator, as much as foueraigne Captaine; and Achillas also spake to him in the Greeke tong, and bade him come into his boate, because that by the shore side, there was a great deale of mud and fand banckes, fo that his gallie should have no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a farre off diuers of the kings gallies, which were arming with all speed possible, and all the shore besides full of soldiers. Thus, though Pompey and his company would haue altered their minds, they could not hauetold how to haue escaped; and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had given the murtherer occasion to have executed his cruelty. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end, he commanded two Centurions to go downe before him into the ALGYPTIANS boate, and Philip one of his flaues infranchifed, with another flaue called Segnes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receive him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and fonne, and faid thefe verses of Sophocles vnto them: The manthat into Court comes free,

Must there in state of bondage be.

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, whe he had left his owne gallie, & went into the ÆGYPTIANS boat. The land being a great way offfrom his gallie, and when he faw neuer a man in the boate spake friendly vnto him, beholding septimius, he said vnto him: Me thinks my friend I should know thee, for that thou hast served me with hertofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any courtesie. Pompey seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he meant to make vnto king Ptolomie, and began to read it. When they came neare the shore, Cornelia with her scruants and friends about her, stood up in her ship in great feare, to see what should become of Pompey. So she hoped well, when she saw many of the kings people on the shore, coming towards Fompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honour him. But euen as Pompeytooke Philip his hand to arise more easily, Septimius came first behind him, and thrust him through with his fword. Next vnto him also, Saluius and Achillas drew out their Pompey the fwords in like manner. Pompey then did no more buttookevp his gowne with his hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely fighing a litle. Thus being nine & fif- be landed ty yeares old, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at anker in nefic and their ships, when they saw him murthered, gaue such a fearful cry, that it was heard to the shore: patience of then weying vp their ankers with speed, they hoissed saile, and departed their way, having wind at wil that blew a lustic gale, as soone as they had gotten the maine sea. The Egyptians which prepared to row after them, when they faw they were past their reach, & vnpeffible to be ouertaken, they let them go. Then having stricke off Pompeys head, they threw his body over boord; for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. Philip his infranchised bondman remained ever by it, votil fuch time as the ÆGYPTIAN's had feene it their bellies full. Then The funehaving washed his bodie with falt water, and wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had ratiospens. no other shift to lay it in: he sought vpon the sands, and sound at the length a peece of an old Fo. fisher boate, enough to serue to burne his naked body with, but not all fully out. As he was bufie gathering the broken peeces of this boate together, thither came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had ferued vnder Pompey, and faid vnto him: O friend, what art thou that preparest the funerals of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bondman of his infranchifed. Wel, faid he, thou shalt not have all this honour alone, I pray thee let me accompany thee in so denout a deed, that I may not altogether repent me to have dwelt so long in a strange countric, where I have abidden such miserie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with mine hands to touch Pompeys bodie, and to helpe to bury the only and most famous Captaine of the Romaines. The next day after, Lucius Lentulus not knowing what had passed, coming out of Cyprvs, sailed by the shore side, and perceived a fire made for funerals, and Philip standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he askedhim, what is he that is dead and buried there. But fir aight fetching a great figh, Alas faid, he, perhaps it is Pompey Lucius Lenthe Great. Then he landed a litle, and was straight taken and flaine. This was the end of Pompey sulm stains, the Great. Not long after, Cafar alfo came into A GYPT that was in great warres, where Pompeys Cafar artihead was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it; and abhorred Egypt. him that brought it, as a detestable murtherer. Then taking his ring wherewith he sealed his letters, whereupon was grauen a Lion holding a fword, he burft out a weeping. Achilles and Pothinus he put to death. King Ptolomie himselfe also, being ouerthrowne in battell by the river of Pompes put Nilus, vanished away, and was neuer heard of after. Theodotus the Rhetoritian escaped Casars to death. hands, and wandred up and downe AGYPT in great miserie, despised of euery man. Afterwards Marcus Brntus (who flue Cafar) conquering As 1A, met with himby chance, and

putting him to all the torments he could possibly deuise, at the length flue him. The ashes of Pompeys bodic were afterwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia, who buried them in a towne ofhers by the citie of ALEA.

THE COMPARISON OF

Pompey with Agestlaus.





Ow that we have declared vnto you the lives of Agefilans and Pompey, let vs compare their manners and conditions together, which are thefe. First, Pompey came to his honour and greatnesse by his integritic, and so aduanced himselfe, and was a great side vnto Sylla, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid the feryrants out of ITALY, who held it in bondage. But Agesilans vsurped the kingdome of LACED EMON, against the law of gods and men, condemning Leosychides for a baffard, whom his brother anowed to be his lawfull sonne: and contemned besides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame king. Furthermore,

Pempey did honour Sylla while he lived, and when he was dead, gaue his bodie honourable buriall in despite of Lepidus: and maried his daughter vnto Faustus the sonne of Sylla. Agestlaus contrarily did dishonour Lysander v pon light occasion : but Pompey had done no lesse for Sylla, then Sylla had done for him. Lyfander on the other fide, had made Agefilaus king of LACED A. MON, and Lieutenant generall of al GRECE. Thirdly, the iniuries that Pompey did vnto the common weale, were done of necessitieto please Casar and Scipio, both of them his fathers in law. Agestlans also, to satisfie his sonnes love, saved sphodrias life, that had deserved death, for the mischiefe he had done the ATHENIANS: and he willingly also tooke part with Phabidas, not secretly, but openly, because he had broken the peace made with the Thebans. To conclude, what hurt Pompey did vnto the Romaines, either through ignorance, or to pleasure his friends: the same did Agesilam vnto the LACEDEMONIANS, through anger and selfe-will, in renewing warre with the Bobotians, vpon a full peace concluded. If we shall recken of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed, Pompeys fortune vnto the Romains was vnlooked for: but Agefilaus would not fuffer the LACED AMONTANS to anoide the lamekingclome, though they knew it before. For though Leotychides had been proued a bastard ten thoufund times, yet had not the race of the Eurityontides failed, but they could have found another Lawfull king among them, that should have gone vpright had not Lyfander, favouring Agefilans kepethetrue meaning of the oracle from the Lace DEMONIANS. On the other fide againe for metters of gouernement, there was neuer fuch an excellent deuice found out, as was done by Agefrians, to helpe the feare and danger the LACED ÆMONIANS were in, for those that fled at the Mittell of Levernes, when he counselled them to let the law sleepe for that day. Neither can any men match Pompeys with the like: who, to show his friends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which himself had made. For Agesslans being driven of necessitie to abolish the law, to save the life of his citizens, found such a device that the law was not hartfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it should do hurt. I must need commend this for a great vertue and civilitie in Agestlaus, who so soone as he received the Scytala, (or scrole of parchment from the Ephori) returned into his countrey; and left the warre of As ta. He did not

The faults

as Pompey, who made himselfe great to the benefite of the common wealth, and for the commonwealths sake did for sake such honour and so great authoritie as neuer Captaine before him but Alexander the Great, had the like in those parts. But now to other matter. Touching their battels and exploits in warres, the multitudes of victories and triumphs that Pompey obtained, and the greate armies that heled, Xenophon himselfe, if he were aliue, could not compare Agesi- Things done Ins victories vnto his; although for the fingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had libertie granted him; to write and speake of Agesslaus what he thought in warres. good. Me thinkes also, there was great difference betwixt Pompey and Agefilam, in their equity and elemencie towards their enemies. For, whilest Agesilans went about to conquer Thebes, and otterly to race and destroy the citie of Messin, the one being an ancient citie of his countrey, and the other the capitall city of Bo EOTIA, he had almost lost his owne citie of Sparta: Agestians for at the least he lost the commandement and rule he had ouer the rest of GRECE. The other listing for contrarily gaue cities vnto pirats to dwell in, which were willing to change their trade and mannor of life and when it was in his chaife to lead of the land of ner of life; and when it was in his choise to leade Tigranes king of ARMENIA in triumphat mans. Rome, he chose rather to make him a confederate of the Romaines, saying, that he preferred perpetuall honour before one daies gloric. But fince it is reason we should give the first place and honour of the discipline of wars, vnto a Captaine of the greatest skill and experience in wars, the Laced Emonian then leaueth the Romaine farre behind. For first of all Agesilaus neuer forfooke his citie, though it was befieged with threefcore and ten thousand men, and that there were verie few within the same to defend it, the which also a litle before had bene onerthrowne at the battell of Levetres And Pompey on the other fide, hearing that Cafar with five thousand footmenonly had taken a towne in ITALTE, fled from Rome in very great feare. And Fompers therein he cannot be excused of one of these two: either that he sled cowardly from so few men, sale to foror else that he had a falls imaging a falls to forlate that he had a falls imaging a falls in the sale of the s or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conucied his wife and children away, but he left all the rest without defence, and sled; where indeed he should either have ouercome, valiantly fighting for defence, of his country, or else haue received the condition of peace which the conquerors should have offered him. For he was a citizen, and allied vnto him. And he that thought it an vntollerable thing, to prolong the terme of his gouernment, or to grant him a feond Confulship, did now gine him oportunitie, suffering him to take the citic of Rome, to say the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to sight when he sinder him-salight the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to sight when he sinder him-salight the control of the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to sight when he sinder him-salight the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine. felfe the stronger, and also to keepe himselfe from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker:

Agestlans excelling in that, did euer keepe himselfe innincible. Cosar also had great skill therein, to keepe himselfe from danger being the weaker, and againe could tell how to compell Pompey to hazard battell, to his viter destruction, by land, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made himselfe Lord of the treasure, victuals, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their hands, without fighting. That which they alledge in his excuse, is that which most doth condemne him, specially for sogreat and skilfull a Captaine. For, as it is likely enough, that a yong Generall of an armie may eafily be brought from his wife and fafe counfell, with rumor and turnult of a few fearefull men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonour for him if he did otherwise: yet were this no strange matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompeythe Great, whose campe the ROMAINE's called their countrey, and his tent their Senate, and called all the Prætors and Confuls that gouerned at Rome, rebels and traitours to the commonwealth of Rome: who could excuse him (who was never seene commaunded by other then himselse, but had bene alwaics chiese Captaine and Generall in any war he made, and euer had the upper hand) but that he was drawne on by the scosses of Faorius and Demitius, to hazard bartell, to endanger the whole Empire and libertic of Rome, only for feare they should call him king Agamemnon? Who, if he had so much regarded present infamie, he shold have fought from the beginning for the defence of the ciric of Rom E. & not to have taken example of Themisleoles policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a shame as he did, to lie in Thessal yatime without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fields of Pharfalia for a Theater, or close camp

of necessitie to fight which of them should have the Empire of Rome. Further, there was no Herauld to summon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must answer to his

name, and come and fight, or elfe to lose the honour of the crowne vnto another. But there

were infinite other fields and townes (and as a man would fay, the whole earth) which the com-

moditie of his army by fea gaue him choice to conquer, if he would rather haue followed the steppes of Fabius Maximus, of Marins, of Lucullus, or of Agestiaus himselfe: who did patiently abide no lesse tumults within the citie selfe of Sparta, when the THEBANS Went to summon him to come out to fight for all the rest of his countrey. And in AGYPT also he didabide many false accusations against him, where with the king himselfe did burthen him, praying him alwaies to hauea litle patience. In fine, having followed the best counsel which he had determined with himselfe from the beginning, he saued the ÆGYPTIANS against their wils: and furthermore, he did not onely keepethe citie of Sparta, from fo great a danger, but did also set vp tokens of triumph in the same against the Thebans, whereby he was not compelled at that time to leade them out to the flaughter, and besides that, gaue his citizens occasion to obtain victorie afterwards. Hereupon Agefilans was highly praifed of them, whose liues he had saued against their wils. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by themselues through whom he had of fended:yet some say, that he was deceived by his father in law Scipio. For he meaning to keepe the most part of the money to himselfe which he had brought out of As 1A, did hasten and perfwade Pompey to give battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had benetrue, a worthy Captaine should not so lightly haue bene brought into errour, vpona salse account, to hazard himselfe to loose all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore, for their journey into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force, the other willingly went thither with small honour, for moneys sake to serve the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the GRECIANS. Lastly, in that which

we accuse the Agyptians for Pompeys sake, for the like matter doe they againe accuse Agesilans. For the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he trusted; and Agesilaus for sooke them which trusted him, and went to the enemies, having brought aide to fight against them.

The end of Pompeys life.

THE



THE LIFE OF Alexander the Great.





Aning determined in this volume to write the life of king Alexander; and of Inlins Cafar, that ouercame Pompey; and being to speake of many things, I will vie none other preface, but onely defire the readers not to blamemethough I doe not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers, chiefly in those, their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intet is not to write histories, but only liues. For the noblest deeds do not alwaies shew mens vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes mens naturall dispositions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous

battels won, wherein are flaine tenthousand men; or the great armies, or cities won by siege, or affault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, dotake the refemblances of the face and fauor of the countenance, in the which confifteth free the the judgement of their maners and disposition : even so they must give vs leave to seeke out the mens manis fignes and tokens of the mind onely, and thereby shew the life of either of them, referring you ners and conditions, vnto others to write the wars, battels, and other great things they did. It is certainethat Alexander was descended from Hercules by Caranus, and that by his mothers side, he came of the bloud The parent of the Aacides by Neoptolemus. They say also, that king Philip his father when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his mother olympias, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orpha without father or mother, in the Isle of Samothracia, where they were both received into the mistery and fraternity of the house of the religious and that afterwards, he did aske her Philip king in mariage of her brother Arymbas, with whose consentthey were maried together. The night of Macedon. before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, & that withall, there was a great light firethat dispersed it selfe all about in divers flames. King Philip her desame. husband alfo, shortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did feale his wives belly, and that the lip dreamed that he did feale his wives belly, and that the feale wherewith he sealed, left behind the print of a Lion. Certaine wisards and soothsayers told Philip, that this dreame gaue him warning to looke straightly to his wife. But Aristander Telemestan answered againe, that it signified his wife was conceiued with child, for that they do not scale a vessell that hothing in it and that she was with child with a boy, which should stream. hane a Lions heart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay asseepe in her bed, there was feene a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew Philips loue & kindnes from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he

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was wont to do: either for that he feared some charme or enchantimet, or else for that he thought himselse ynmeete for her companie, supposing her to be beloued of some god. Some do alsore. port this after another fort as in this maner. That the women in those parts of long time, have been comonly possest with the spirit of Orpheus, and the divine fury of Bacchus, whereupon they are called Cleodones, & Mimallones (as much as warlike and fierce) & do many things like vnto the women of EDONIA & THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Treskeuin (fignifying in the Greek tong, too superstitiously given to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For Olympias aboue other women, louing to be inspired with fuch divine madnes & fury, did celebrate her folemne facrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous maner. For in these dances to Bacchus, she caried a great number of tame snakes about her, the which gliding vpon the Iuie wherewith the women were dreffed in those ceremonies. & winding themselves about the litle iauclins they had in their hands, and the garlands about their heads, thereby they made men the more afraid of them. Wherupon Philip after this dreame. Sent Chero MEGALIPOLITAN vnto the oracle of Apollo at DELPHES, to enquire what it fignified, Anfwer was given him, that he should doe facrifice vnto Inpiter Hammo, & honor him about al gods: & that he had lost one of his eyes with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber doore, faw the god in forme of a snake lye by his wife. Furthermore, Olympias (as Eratosthenes writeth) bidding her son farwel when he went to conquer As 11, after she had secretly told him alone, by whom he was begotten, the prayed him to be valiant, and to thew himselfe worthy his sonne that begate him. Otherstell alfo, that she was angry with this report, saying: Will Alexander ne-The bit bif uer leave to make me suspected of June? So it is that Alexander was borne on the fixth day of the moneth of Hecatombecon, (in English, June) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the ve-The temple ary fame day, the temple of Diana in the citie of Eph Esvs was burnt, as Hegefias Magnesian doth wirnes, whose crie and exclamatio was so terrible and cold, that it was enough to have queched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that Diana suffered her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, bufic about Alexanders birth. But this is true, that all the Priests, Magitians and soothfayers, which were at that time in Ephasys, judging that this did prognofticate some manuelof silvalier lous great misfortune to come, like men bestraught of their wits, they ran vp and downer the city finiting of their faces, and crying, that fome great plague and mischiefe was borne that day vnto As TA. Shortly after that king Philip had won y city of Potto AA, three medlengers came to him the fame day that brought him great newes. The first that Parmenio had won a notable battelof the LLLYRIANS: the second, that his horse onely wan the bel and prize at the Olympian games: and the third, that his wife had brought him a fonne called Alexander. Philip being maruellous glad to heare these newes, the soothsayers did make his joy yet greater: assuring him, that his fonne which was borne with three victories altogether, should be inuincible. Now for his sta-Alexanders ture and personage the statues and images made of him by Lysippus do best declare it, for that he would be drawne of no man but him onely. Diverse of his successours and friends didasterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workeman Lysppus onely, of all other thechiefuft, hath perfectly drawne and refembled Alexanders manner of holding his necke, fomewhat hanging downe towards the left fide, and also the sweet looke and cast of his eyes. But when Apelles painted Alexander, holding lightning in his hand, he did not show his fresh colour, but made him fomewhat blacke, and fwarter then his face indeede was ; for naturally he had a very faire white colour mingled allo with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his breaft. I remember I read also in the commentaries of Aristoxenus, that his skin had a maruellous good fauour, and that his breath was very fweet: insomuch that his bodie had so sweet a smell, of it selfe, that all the apparell he wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a passing delightfull sauour, as if it had been perfumed. And the cause hereof paraducuture might be the very temperature & constitution of his body, which was hote and burning like fire. For Theophrastus is of opinion, that the fweet fauor cometh by meanes of the heatthat drieth vp the moisture of the body. By which reason also it appeareth, that the dry and hote countries parched with heat of the Sun, are those that deliuer vnto vs the best spices: because that the Sunne drieth vp the moisture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This naturall heate that Alexander had, made him) as it appeareth) to be given to drinke, and to be hasty. Even from his childhood they saw that he was guento be chaft, For though other wische was very hot & hasty, yet was he hatdly moved with lust or pleasure of the body, & wold moderatly vse it. But on the other side, the ambirio & desire

he had of honor, shewed a certaine greatnesse of mind and noble courage, passing his yeares. For he was not (as his father Philip) defirous of al kind of glorie: who like a Rhetoritian had a delight to viter his eloquence, and stamped in his coines, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian games, by the fwift running of his horse and coaches. For when he was asked one day (because he was swift of foot) whether he would assay to run for victorie at the Olympian games; I could be content, faid he, fo I might run with kings. And yet to speak generally, he misliked all such cotention for games. For it seemeth that he viterly misliked all wrestling & other exercise for prise where men did vse all their strength: but otherwise he himselse made certaine sestionall daies and games of prise for common stageplayers, mustians and fingers, and for the very Poets also. He delighted also in hunting of divers kinds of beasts, & playing at the staffe. Ambassadors being set on a time from the king of PERSIA; whilest his father was in some journey out of his realme; Alexander familiarly entertaining of them, fo wan them with his courteous entertainment (for that he vsed no childish questions vnto them, nor asked the trisling matters, but what distance it was from one place to another, and which way they went into the high countries of Asia, & of the king of Persia himselfe, how he was towards his enemies, and what power he had) that he did rauish them with delight to heare him, insomuch that they made no more account of Philips eloquence and sharpe wit, in respect of his sons courage and noble mind, to attempt great enterprifes. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken some famous citie, or had won fome great battel, he was nothing glad to heare it, but wold fay to his play-fellowes: Sirs, my fa- The noble ther will haue al, I shall haue nothing left me to conquer with you, that shall be ought worth. For mind of he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valiantnes and honour, thought that the greater conquests and realmes his father should leave him, the lesse he shold have to do for himfelfe. And therfore, seeing that his fathers dominions and Empire increased daily more & more, perceiuing all occasion taken from him to doc any great attempt, he desired no riches nor pleafure, but wars & battels, and afpired to a figniorie where he might win honor. He had divers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him vp:as schoolemasters, gouernors, & grooms of his chamber to attend vpon him: and among those, Leonidas was the chiefest manthat had the gouernment and charge of him, a man of a seucre disposition, & a kinsuman also vnto the queene the gouer-Olympias. He misliked to be called a master or tutor, though it be an office of good charge; wherupon others called him Alexarders gouernour, because he was a noble man, and allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his schoolmaster, was Lysimachus an Acarnanian borne, who had no other maner of civility in him, fauing that he called himf. Ife Phanix, Alexander A. chilles, and Philip Peleus: and therefore he was well thought of, and was the second person next vnto Leonidas. At what time Philonicus Thessalian had brought Bucephall the horse to sel vnto king Philip, asking thirteene talents, they went into the field to ride him. The horse was found horse. fo rough and churliff, that the riders faid he would never do feruice; for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voices about king Philip, but would yerke out at them. Thereupon Philip being afraid commanded them to cary him away as a wild beaft, and altogether unprofitable the which they had done, had not Alexander that flood by faid. O gode. what a horse do they turne away, for lacke of skill and heart to handle him? Philip heard what he faid, but held his peace. Alexander oft repeating his words, seeming to be forry that they should send the horse backe againe why, said Philip, dost thou controle them that have more experience then thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horse? Alexander answered. and yet me thinkes I should handle him better then all they have done. But if thou canst not, no morethen they, replied Philip, what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly! I am content (quoth Alexander) to icopard the price of the horse. Eucry man laughed to heare his answer and the wager was laid between them. Then ran Alexander to the horse, & took him by the bridle; and turned him towards the Sun. It feemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how mad the horse was to see his The against owne shadow, which was euer before him in his eye, as he stirred too and fro. Then Alexander of speaking gently to the horse, and chapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his fu-ming the ric and inorting, fofily let fall his cloake from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any danger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without firiking or ftirring the horse, the horse, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he faw that the fury of the horse was past, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and laid on spurs and voice a good. Philip at the first with seare beholding his sons agilitie, lest he should take some hurt, said neuer a word: but

Mmm 2

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

when he faw him readily turne the horfeat the end of his career, in a brauery for that he had done, all the lookers on gaue a shout for ioy. The father on the other side(as they say) fell a weeping for iov. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he said vnto him kissing his head: O some, thou must needs have a realine that is meet for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, confidering that of nature he was not to be won by extreamitie, and that by gentle meanes and perfyafion he could make him doe what he would he euer fought rather to perfwade then command him in any thing he had to doe. Now Philip putting no great affiance in his schoolemasters of musicke and humanitie, for the instruction and education of his sonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning then their capacities would reach vnto: and that as Sophocles faith,

Aristorle anders feloolema. Acr. Ariftotle barne in the citte of

Alexander the Great practifed Phificks. Some thinke that this place sheld of the rich soffer, that was found among king Darius iewels in Alexander

The city of

He needed many reines, and many bits at once: He sent for Aristotle (the greatest Philosopher in his time and best learned) to teach his son vnto whom he gaue honorable stipend. For Philip having wonne & taken before, the city of STA-GIRA, where Ariffule was borne, for his fake he built it again, and replenished it with inhabitants which fled away, or otherwife were in bondage. He appointed the for a schoolchouse and dwelling place, the pleafat house that is by the citie of MIEZA. In that place are yet seene seats of stone which Ariffele caufed to be made, & close walks to walke in the shadow. It is thought also, that Alexander did not only learne of Ariftotle moral! Philosophy and humanity, but also he heard of hum, other more secret, hard, and grave doctrine, which Artifolles scholers do properly cal Acroamata or Epoptica, meaning things speculative, which requireth the masters teaching to viderfland them, or else are kept fro comon knowledge; which sciences, they did not comonly teach. Alexander being passed into As 1 A, and hearing that Aristotle had put out certaine books of that matter, for the honors fake of Philosophy:he wrote a letter vnto him, somewhat too plaine, and of this effect. Atexander vnto Artflotte greeting, Thou haft not done wel to put forth the Acroamaticall sciences. For wherein shall we excell other, if those things which thou hast secretly * taught vs. be made common to all: I do thee to understand, that I had rather excell others in excellencie of knowledge then in greatnes of power. Farwell. Whereunto Artflotle to pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that these bookes were published, and not publiflied. For to fay truly, in al his treatifes which he colled usited 7d out to there is no plain inftruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himself, nor yet to be taught by any other then Aristotole himself, or his scholers. So that it is written as a memorial for the that have bin entred & brought vp in the Peripateticke feet & doctrine. It feemeth also, that it was Aristotle about al other, that made Alexander take delight to fludy Phyficke. For Alexander did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but wold exercise practise also, and helpe his friends when they were ficke: & made befides certaine remedies, & rules to line by as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his ownenature he was much given to his booke & defired to reade much. Helearned alfo the Iliades of Homer of Ariflotules correctio, which they cal Tip the Tu paegung the corrected, as hauing passed under the rule: & laid it enery night under his beds head with his dagger calling it (as Onesferates writeth) the institution of martial discipline, And when he was in the high countries of Asia, where he could not readily come by other books, he wrote vnto Harpalus to fendthe to him. Harpalus fent him the histories of Philiftus, with divers tragedies of Europides, Sophocles, and Alchylus: & certaine hymnes of Telestus & Philoxenus. Alexander did renerence Aristotle atthe first, as his father, & so he tearmed him; because from his natural father he had life, but fro him, the knowledge to line. But afterwards he suspected him somewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he fo friendly to him as he had been; whereby men perceived that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to do. This not with standing, he left not that zeale and defire he works kept. had to the studie of Philosophie, which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he shewed diverse testimonies thereof. As the honour he did vnto Mnaxarchus the fire fistier. Philosopher. The fiftie talents which he sent vnto Xenocrates, Damdamis, and Calanus of whom he made great account. When king Philip made warre with the BIZANTINES, Alexander being but fixteene yearesold, was left his Lieutenant in MACEDON, with the custodic and charge of his great feale: at what time he also subdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled against him, and having won their city by assault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it, of fundry nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to fay, the citie of Alexander. He was with his fatheratthe battell of CHERONEA against the GRECIANS, where it was

reported, that it was he that gaue charge first of all vpon the holy band of the Thebanes. Furthermore, there was an old oke feene in my time, which the countrimen commonly call Alexanders oke, because his tent or paullion was fastned to it; and not farre from thence is the charnell house, where those MACEDONIANS were buried that were flaine at the battel. For these causes, his father Philip loued him very dearely, and was glad to heare the Mac EDONIANS call Alexander king, and himself their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that felout in his court afterwards by reason of Philips new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and strife amongst the women: for the milchiefe of diffention & icalousse of women, doth separate the harts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpenesse of Olympias, who being a icalous woman, The quarels fretting, and of a reuenging mind, did incense Alexander against his father. But the chiefe cause of Philip that prouoked Alexander, was Attalns, at the mariage of Cleopatra, whom Philip maried a maiden, pies and falling in fancy with her when himselfe was past mariage. This was the matter: Attalus being vn- alexander, cle vnto this Cleopatra, fell drunke at the mariage, and having in his cups, he perswaded the Ma-CEDONIANS that were at the feast, to pray to the gods, that they might have a lawfull heire of Philip and Cleopatra, to succeed him in the kingdome of MACHDON. Alexander being in a rage therewith, threw a cup at his head, and faid vnto him; Why, traitor, what am I: doft thou take me for a baffard: Philip seeing that, rose from the boord, and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and wine, he fell downe on the ground. Then Alexander mocking him, Lo, faid he to the Macedonians, here is the manthat prepared to go out of Evropeinto Asia, and stepping onely from one bedto another, ye see him laidalong on the ground. After this great infolencie, he tooke his mother olympias away with him, mac eth and carying her into his country of Epirvs, he left her there, and himself afterwards went into ILLYRIA In the meane time, Dema atus Corinthian, a friend of king Philips, and very familiar with him, came to fee him. Philip when he had courteoufly welcomed him, asked him how the GRECIANS did agree together. Truly, O king, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the Grecians, when your owne court is fo full of quarell and contention. These words nipped Philip in such fort, and caused him to know his fault, that through Demaratus meanes, whom he sent to perswade Alexander to returne, Alexander was made to come back againe. Now when Percodorus, a Prince of Caria (defiring for necessities fake, to enter in league and friendship with Philip) offered his eldest daughter in mariage vnto Arideus king Philips son, and had sent Aristocritus ambassador into Mac E Don for that purposethe friends of A- Aristocri lexander and his mother, began againe to inucigle him with new reports & suspitions, how Philip by this great mariage would advance Arideus, to his vtter vindoing, and leave him his heire gotten of a in the kingdome. Alexander being netled therewith, fent one Theffalus a player of tragedies into Caria to Pexodorus, to persuade him to leaue Aridaus, that was abastard and a foole, and rather to make alliance with Alexander. This offer pleafed Pexodorus far better, to have Alexander his son in law, then Aridaus. Philip understanding this, went himselfe into Alexanders chamber, taking Philotas with him (the fon of Parmenio) one of his familiars, and bitterly tooke vp Alexander, telling him that he had a base mind, & was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would cast himselfeaway, marying the daughter of a Cartan, that was assauc and subject of a barbarous king. Thereupon he wrote letters vnto Corinth, that they should fend Thessalus bound vnto him. And furthermore, he banished out of MACEDON, Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygus and Ptolomie, his sonnes companions: whom Alexander afterwards called home againe, and placed the in great authoritie about him. Shortly after, Paufanias sustaining villanie by the counfel and commandement of Attalus and Cleopatra, craning inflice of Philip, & finding no amends, Philip king he converted all his anger against him, and for spite slue him himself. Of this murther, most men of Matedon accused Queene olympias, who (as it is reported) alluring this yong man, having just cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not cleare from suspition of this murther. For some say that Paulanias after this villany was done him, complained vnto Alexander, and told him how he had been abused: who recited these verses of Euripides to him, inthe tragedie of Medea, where she said in anger, that she would be reuenged:

Both of the bridegroome, and the bride, And of the father in law.

Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent search to be made, and all them to be seuerely punished that were of the conspiracie: and was angry also that his mother olympias had cruelly

Alexander

cuercame

& razed by

The begin- flaine Cleopatra. So he came to be king of MACEDON attwenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuied and hated of dangerous enemies, and eucry way full of danger. For the barbarous nations that were neare neighbours vnto MACEDON, could not abide the bondage of strangers, but defired to hauetheir naturall kings. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacifie GRECE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but having a litle altered \$ governments, had through his infolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long been acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexanders councell of MACEDON, being afraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexander should vtterly for sake the affaires of GRECE, and not to follow them with extremity, but that he shold seeke to win the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, & wifely to remedy these new stirs. But hefar otherwise determined to stablish his fasety by courage and magnanimity: per swading himselfe, that if they saw him stoope and yeeld at the beginning, how little so energy energy one would be vpon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them fodainely with his army, by the river of DANVEY, where in a great battell he onerthrew Syrmus, king of the TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, having intelligence that § THE. BANS were revolted, and that the ATHENIANS also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his army towards the straight of Thermopiles, saying that he wold make Demosthenesthe Orator see (who in his orations, whilest he was in ILLYRIA, and in the country of the Triballians, called him child) that he was growne a fripling paffing through THESSALIE and should find him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his army vnto the gates of THEBES, he was willing to give them of the city occasion to repent them; and therefore onely demanded Phanix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion; Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and fafety vnto all them that would yeeld vnto him. The THEDAN'S on the other fide, demanded of him Philotas and Antipater, two of his chiefest scruants, & made the crier proclaime in the city, that all such as would defend the liberty of GRECE flould joyne with them. Then did Alexander leave the MACEDONIANS at liberty to make war with all cruelty. The THEBANS also fought with greater courage and desire then they were able, confidering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other side also. when the garrifon of the MACEBONIANS which were within the castle of CADM ALA, made a fallie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironed of all fides, were flaine in maner euery one of them, their city taken, destroyed, and razed euen to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of GRECE afraid by example of this great calamity & milerie of the THEBANS, to the end none of the should dare from thence foorth once to rife against him. He would cloke this cruelty of his vinder the complaints of his confederates, the Phocians & Plateians: who complaining to him of the iniuries the The EANS had offered, could not deny them inflice. Notwithflanding, excepting the priefts, and the religious, and all fuch as were friends vnto any of the Lords of MACEDON, all the friends and kinfimen of the poet Pindarus, & all those that had disswaded them which were the rebels, he fold all the rest of the citie of THEBES for slaves, which amounted to the number of thirty thousand perfons befides the that were flaineat the battel, which were fixe thou fand moc. Now among t the other miferies & calamities of the poore city of THEBES, there were certain THERE IN TOL diers, who having spoiled and defaced the house of Timoclea, a vertuous lady, & of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them : and their Captaine having rauifhed her by force, af-A ked her, whether she had any where hidden any gold or filuer. The lady told him she had. Then leading him into her garden, the brought him vnto a wel: where the faid the hadcaft al her iewels and precious things, when she heard the city was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN stooped to looke into the well the standing behind him, thrust him in, & then threw stones enough on him, and fo killed him. The fouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and fo carried her vnto Alexander, When Alexander faw her countenance, & marked her gate, he supposed her at the first to be some great lady she followed the souldiers with such a maiestie and boldnesse. Alexander then asking her what she was : she answered, that she was the fifter of Theagenes, who fought a battell with king Philip beforethe citie of CHERONEA, where being general he was flaine, valiantly fighting for the defence of the liberty of GRECE. Alexander wondering at her noble anfwer and couragious deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely let her go whither she wold. He made league also with the ATHENIANS, though they were very

fory for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemne feasts of their mysteries being come they left it off, mourning for the THEBANS: courteoufly entertaining all those, that flying from THEBES came to the for fuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of Lyons: or because that after so great an example of cruelty, he would shew a fingular clemency againe: he did not onely pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed, but did also counsell them to looke wisely to their doings, for their citie one day should command all GRECE, if he chanced to dye. Men report, that certainely he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt fo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke vpon it was cause that he afterwards shewed himselfe more mercifull vnto diuerse others. Afterwards also he did blame the fury of Bacchue, who to be reuenged of him, madehim kill Clitus at the table being drunke, and the Macedonians also to refuse him to go any further to conquerthe Indians, which was an imperfection of his enterprise, and a minishing also of his honour. Besides, there was neuer The BAN afterwards, that had escaped the fury of his victory, and did make any petition to him, but he had his suite. Thus was the estate of THEBES as you have heard. Then the GRE-CIANS having assembled a generall councell of all the states of GREECE within the straights of PELOPONNESSS, there it was determined that they would make warre with the Persians. Alexander Whereupon they chose Alexander Generall of all GREECE. Then diverse men coming to chosen Generall of all GREECE. visite Alexander, as well philosophers, as gouernours of states, to congratulate with him for his closed that Discourse Single with divides Congratulate with him for his Gree. election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Corinth) wold likewise come as the rest had done: but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbes of Conintu, at a place called Cranium, he went himselfe unto him, and found him laid all along in the Sunne. When Diogenes saw so many coming towards him, he sate vp a little, alexanders and looked full vpon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake vnto him, and asked him, if he talks with lacked any thing. Yea faidhe, that I do: that thou stand out of my Sunne a litle. Alexander Dingents. was so well pleased with this answer, and maruelled so much at that great boldnesse of this man, to see how small account he made of him; that when he went his way from him, Alexanders familiars laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them: Mafters fay what you lift, truly if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. Alexander being destrous to heare what the Oracle of Apollo DELPHIAN Would fay vnto him touching the successe of his journey into Asia, he went vnto the citie of KELPHES. It chanced fo that he came thither in the daies which they call vnfortunate, on which daies no man vsed to aske Apollo any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first vnto the Nunne which pronounced the Oracles to pray her to come vnto him. But she refused to come, alleadging the custome which forbad her to go. Thereupon, Alexander, went thither himselfe in person, and brought her out by sorceinto the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs haue his will, told him: My sonne, for that I see thou art inuincible. Alexander hearing that, fayd, he defired no other Oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was euen ready to goe on with his voyage, he had diuerfe fignes and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an image of the Poet orpheus made of cyprus, in the city of Lebeth & Es, in those daies did sweate maruellously. Many men fearing that pearing me figne, Aristander the soothsayer bad Alexander be of good cheare, and hope well; for he should obtaine noble victories that should neuer be forgotten, the which should make the poets and before hu iourney musitians sweate to write and sing them. Then, for his army which he led with him, they that do into Asa. fet downe the least number, say, that they were thirty thousand footmen, and fine thousand horsmen: & they that say more, do write, four eand thirty thousand footmen, and source thousand army in horsemen. Arisobalus writeth, that Alexander had no more butthreescore and tentalents to Asia. pay his fouldiers with: and Duris writeth, that he had no more prouision of victuals, then for thirty daies only. And Oneficritus fayeth moreouer, that hedid owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he began this warre with so small ability to maintaine it, he would neuer take ship before he vnderstood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with little state of his friends. him, and before he had given vnto fome, lands; and vnto others, atowne; and to others againe, lexander. the custome of some hauen, Thus by his bounty, hauing in maner spent almost the revenues of the crowne of Macedon, Perdiccas asked him: My Lord, what will you keepe for your selfe: · Hope, faydhe. Then, quoth Perdiccas againe, we will also have some part, since we go with you. and so refused the reuenew which the king had given him for his pension. Many others did also the like. But fuch as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him anything, he

gauethem very frankly, and in such liberalitie spent all the reuenew he had. With this desire and determination he went on to the straight of HELLESPONT, and going to the citie of ILIVM he did facrifice vnto Deana, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy gods (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whose bodies were buried there) and specially vnto Achilles, whose graue he anointed with oile, and ranne naked round about it with his familiars. according to the ancient custome of funerals. Then he couered it with no legaies and flowers, faying, that Achilles was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull friend, and after his death an excellent herauld to fing his praise. When he had done, and went vp and downe the citic to see all the monuments and notable things there, one asked him, if he would fee Paris harpe. He answered againe, he would very faine see Achilles harpe, who played and sung vpon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meane time, Darius king of P B R S IA, har uing leanied a great army, fent his Captaines and Lieutenanes to tary Alexander at the riner of GRANICVS. There was Alexander to fight of necessity, being the onely barre to stop his entry into Asia. Moreover, the Captaines of the councell about him, were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the banke on the other fide, which was very high and steepe, and could not be won withour fighting. And some fayd also that he should have speciall care of the ancient regard of the moneth; because the kings of MACEDON did never vie to put the army into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is Iune. For that, sayd Alexander, we will remedy soone: let them call it the second moneth, Artemisium, which is May. Furthermore Parmenio was of opinion, that he shold not meddle the first day, because it was very late. Alexander made answeragaine, that HELLESPONT wold blush for shame, if he were now afraid to passe ouer the river, fince he had already come over an arme of the fea. Thereupon he himfelfe first entred the river with thirteene guidons of horsemen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of arrowes which the enemies shot at him, as he was coming up the other banke, which was very high and steepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which staied to receive him in battell ray, thrufting his men downe into the river, which was very deepe, and ranne so swift, that it almost caried them downe the streame: insomuch that men thought him more rash then wise, to leade his men with such danger. This not with standing, he was so wilfully bent that he would needs ouer, and in the end with great ado reconered the other fide, specially because the earth slidde away, by reason of the mudde. So when he was over, he was drinen to fight pell mell man to man, because his enemies did set vpon the first that were passed ouer, before they could put themselues into battell ray, with great cries, keeping their horfes very close together; and fought first with their darts, and afterwards came to the sword when their daers were broken. Then many of them fet vpon him alone, for he was cafilieto be knowne about the rest by his shield, and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung from the one fide to the other, a maruellous faire white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon Roefaces and Spithridates, both two chiefe Captaines of the Persians, setting vpon Alex inder at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Roefaces, who was excellently armed, he gave him such a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword, But so soone as they two had closed together, Spithridates comming at the one fide of him, raifed himfelfe vpon his stirrops, and gaue Alexander with all his might fuch a blow on his head with a battellaxe, that he cut the creast off his climfaned helmet, and one of the fides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battellaxe dlexander againe, great Clitus preuenting him, thrust him through with a partisan; and at the very fame instant, Roefaces fell dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gaue him with his fword. Now whileft the horsemen fought with such furie, the squadron of the battel! of the Macedonians footmen had passed the river, and both the battels began to march one against the other. The Persians stucke not manfully to it any long time, but straight villarie of turned their backes and fled, fauing the GRECIANS which tooke pay of king Darius: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of Alexander. But Alexander fetting vpon them, more of will then discretion, had his horse killed vnder him, being thrust through the slanke with a fword. This was not Bucephall, but another horse he had. All his menthat were slaine or hurt at this battell, were hurt amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were flaine at this first battell, twenty thousand footmen of these barbarous people,

twixt Alex

and two thousand fine hundred horsemen. Of Alexanders side, Aristobulus writeth, that there were flaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footmen. Alexander to honour their valiantnesse, caused enery one of their images to be made in brasse by Lysippus. And because he would make the GRECIANS partakers of this victorie, he sent unto the ATHE-NIANS three hundred of their targets, which he had won at the battell; and generally vpon all the other spoiles he put this honorable inscription: Alexander the some of Philip, & the Grecians, excepting the Lacedamonians, have wonne this fivile upon the barbarous Asians. As for plate of goldor filier, also purple silkes, or other such precious things which he got among y Persians, he sent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This first victorie of Alexander, brought such a sudden change amongst the barbarous people in Alexanders behalfe, that the city selfe of SARDIS, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the left through all the low countries and coasts vponthe sea, yeelded straight unto him; and the restalso, saving HALICARNASSUS and MILETVM, which did ftill refift him; howbeit at length, he tooke them by force. When he had so conquered all there about, he stood in doubt afterwards what Jewere best to determine. Sometime he had a maruellous desire, horly to follow Darins wherefocuer he were, and to venture all at a battell. Another time againe, he thought it better first to occupie himselfe in conquering these low countries, and to make himselfe strong with the money and riches he should find among them, that he might afterwards be the betterable to follow him. In the country of Lydia neare vnro the city XANTHVM, they fay, there is a spring that brake of it felf, & ouerflowing the banks about it, cast out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vponthe which were graued certaine caracters in old letters, which faid that the kingdome of the Persians should be destroyed by the GRECIANS. This did further so encourage Alexander, that he made hast to cleare all the sea coast, euen as far as CILICIA & PHOENICIA. But the wonderful good fucceffe he had, running along all the coaft of PAMPHILIA, gaue diverse historiographers occafion to set forth his doings with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the world, that the fury of the fea, which viro all other was extreme rough, and many times would swell onerthe tops of the high rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that Menander hunselfe in a comedy of his, doth wirnesse this wonderfull happinesse of Alexander, when merily he fayth:

> O great Alexander, how great is thy state? For thou with thy selfe maye ft thus infly debate: If any man living I list for to call, He cometh, and humbly before me doth fall. And if through the surges my journey doly, The waves give me way, and the fea becomes dry.

Yet Alexander himselse simply writeth in his epittles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passeda place called the ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke ship in the citie of Phaseli-DES. There heremained many daies: and when he faw the image of Theodectes PHASELITAN. standing in the market place, he went in adaunce thither one euening after supper, and cast The memoflowers and garlands vpon his image, honoring the memory of the dead, though it feemed but in 170 of the fport; for that he was his companion when he lined, by meanes of Aristotle and his philosophy. After that he ouercameal to the Pisidians, who thought to have refifted him; and conquered Alwander. all Phrygia besides. There in the city of Gordivs, which is said to be the anciet seat of king Mides, he faw the charret that is fo much spoken of, which is bound with the barke of a cornell with the same of t tree, and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous people, that they beleeued it as a prophecy: Gordina in tree, and it was told him for a troth, or the Darbarous people, that they be clearly as a property that who soeuer could, vndoe the band of that barke, was certainly ordained to be king of all the phrygis, world. It is commonly reported, that Alexander proving to vndoe the band, and finding where king Midsa kept Midsa no ends to vndoe it by, they were so many fold wreathed one within the other, he drew out his fword, and cut the knot in the middest: so that then many ends appeared. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had quickly vidone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret, and so seuered them a sunder. Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians; and understood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius Generall of his army by sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination, to leade

Darius army and dreame.

Alexanders fickneffe in Cydnus ft.

phisitian,

his army into the high countries of Asia. Then did king Darius himselfe come against Alexander, having leavied a great power at Sysa, of fixe hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his wi sards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. Darius dreamed that he faw all the army of the MACEDONIANS on afire, and Alexander feruing of him in the selfe same attire that he himselfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predeceffor: and that when he came into the temple of Belus, he fuddenly vanished from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods didfignifie vnto him, that the MACEDONIANS should have noble successe in their doings, and that Alexander should conquer all As IA, even as king Darius had done, when he was but Afgandes ynto the king; and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in CILICIA, fuppoling it had been for that he was affraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sicknesse he had, the which some say he got by extreme paines and trauell, & others also, because he washed himself in the river Cydnus, which was cold as Ice. Howsoeuer it came, there was none of the other physicians that digit vindertake to cure him, thinking his disease vincurable, and no medicins to premaile that they could give him, and fearing also that the MACEDONIANS would lay it to their charge, if cilenander miscaried. But Philip ACARNANIAN, considering his master was very ill, and bearing himselfe of his love and good will towards him, thought he should not do that became him if he did not proue (feeing him in extremity & danger of life) the vtmost remedies of philicke, what danger soener he put himselfe into: and therefore tooke vpon him to minister vnto Alexander, and perfunded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the warres. In the meane time, Parmenio wrot him a letter from the campe, aductifing him, that he should beware of Philip his physitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promiles of great riches that he would give him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his mafter Alexander when he had read this letter, laid it under his beds head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted there with. When the houre came that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other of the kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he should drinke. Alexander then gave him the letter, and withall, chearfully tooke the x cup of him, shewing no manner of feare or mistrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the fight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one inftant, they looked one ypon another, howbeit not both with like chearefull countenance. For Alexander looked merily upon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his physician Phil p, and how much he loued him: and the physician also beheld Alexander like a man perplexed and amazed, to be fo falfly accused; and straight lift vp his hands to heaven, calling the godsto witnesse, that he was innocent; and then came to Alexanders bed side, and prayed him to be of good cheare, and boldly to do as he would aduife him. The medicine beginning to worke ouercame the difease, and draue for the time, all his naturall strength and powers to the lowest parts of his bodie: in so much as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weakenesse, and almost fwounding, that his pulse did scant beate, and his sences were wel-neare taken from him. But that being past. Philip in few daies recoursed him againe. Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he shewed himselfe openly vnto the Machdonians for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health virtill they had seene him. In king Darins campe, there was one Amyntas a Macedonian, and banish out of his countrey, who knew Alexanders disposition very well. He finding that Darius meant to meete with Alexander within the straights and vallies of the mountaines, befought him to tary rather where he was, being a plaine open countrey round about him; confidering that he had a great hoast of mento fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meete with him in the open field. Darius answered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. Amyntas replyed: For that O king, I pray you feare not: for I warrant you vpon my life he wilcome to Darliss con you, yea and is now onwards on his way coming towards you. All these perswasions of Amyntas could not turne Darius from making his camp to march towards Cilicia. At the felfe fame time alfo, Alexander went towards Syrt a to meet with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them miffed the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe: Alexander being glad of this hap, and making hast to meet with his enemie within the straights. Darius also seeking to winne Alexanders lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army

out of the straights, began then to find the fault and error committed: for that he had shut himfelfe vp in the fraights (holden in on the one fide with the mountaine, and on the other with the sea, and the river of Pindarus that ranne betweene both) and that he was driven to disperse his army into diuerfe companies, in a stony and ill fauored country, ill for horsemento traucl; being on the contrary side a great advantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footmen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gaue Alexander the field as he would wish it to fight for his aduantage, so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in battell ray to winne the victorie. For albeit that Alexander had the leffe number by many then his enemie, yet he had fuch policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be enuironed. For he did put out the right wing of his battell a great deale further then he did his left wing, and fighting himfelf in the left wing in the formost rankes, he made al the barbarous people flie that stood before Darito and him howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a fword. Chares writeth, that Darius Alexander felse did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding Alexander selse writing of this battell vnto Antipater, fayth, that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a fword. howbeir it put him to no danger: but he writeth northat Darius did hurt him. Thus having wona famous victory, and flaine aboue a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he could not yettake Darius, because he fled, having still foure or flue furlongs vantage before him: howbeit Darius in he tooke his charret of battell wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he returned from the cities. chase, and found the Macedonian's sacking and spoiling all the rest of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches, (although they had left the most part of their cariage behind them in the citie of DAMAs, to come lighter to the battel) but yet referred for himfeife all king Darius tent, which was full of great number of officers, of rich moneables, and of gold and filter. So, when he was come to the campe, putting off his armour, he entred into the bath and fayd: Come on, let vs go and and wash off the sweate of the battel in Darius owne bath. Nay, replyed one of his familiars againe, in Alexanders bath: for the goods of the vanquified are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bath, and saw the basons and cures, the boxes, and violles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chambers perfumed paffing sweetly, that it was like a paradife: then going out of his bath, and coming into his tent, feeing it fo ftately and large, his bed, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous fort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familiars and fayd: This was a king indeed, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to go to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongst other Ladiestaken prisoners, king Darius mother and his then, wile wife; and two of his daughters vnmaried: who having feene his charretand bow, burft out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselves, thinking Darius had been slaine, Alex-daughters, ander pawfed a good while and gaue no answer, pitying more their missfortune, then reioy-valexander. Cingathis ownegood hap. Then he presently sent one Leonarus vnto them, to let them understand, that Danus was alive, and that they should not neede to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not fight with Darius, but for his kingdome onely: and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of Darius before, when he had his whole kingdome in his hands. As these words pleased the captine Ladies, so the deeds that followed, made them finde his clemency to be no leffe. For first, he suffered them to bury as many of the PERSIAN Lords as they ander onto would, even of them that had been flaine in the battell, and to take as much filkes of the fpoiles, the capture Ladies, iewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with: and also did leffen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their officers and servants, nor of any iot of their estate which they had before, but did alow them also greater pensions then they had before. But about all, the princelieft grace, and most noble fauour that Alexander shewed vnto these captine Princesses, which had alwaies lined in honourable fame and chastitie, was this: That of Alexader they neuer heard word, or so much as any suspition that should make them as raid to be dishonoured or defloured but were privately amongst themselves, vnuisted or repaired vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had been in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had been kept in some close monastery: although Darius wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as Darius also was a goodly Prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander thinking it more princely for a king, as I suppose, to conquer himselfe, then to ouercome his enemics, didneither touch them, nor any other maide or wife, before he maried them, Barfine onely excepted; who being left Memnons widow (Generall of king

leifure.

Darius by sea) was taken by the citie of DAMAS. She being excellently well learned in the Grecketongue, and of good entertainement (being the daughter of Artabazus, who came of a kings daughter) Alexander was bold with her by Parmenioes procurement (as Aristobulus writeth) who intifed him to imbrace the company of fo excellent a woman, and paffing faire befides. Furthermore beholding the other PERSIAN Ladies befide which were prisoners, what goodly faire women they were, he spake it pleasantly, that the Ladies of Persia made mens eyes foreto behold them. Norwithstanding, preferring the beautie of his continency before their fweete faire faces, he passed by without any sparke of affection towards them, more then if they had been images of stone without life. To confirme this; Philoxenus whom he had left his Licutenant in the low countries you the sea coast, wrote vnto him on a time, that one Theodorus a merchant of TARENTYM, had to fell two goodly yong boyes, maruellous faire: and therefore that he fent vnto him to know his pleasure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O my friends, what villany hath ever Philoxenus feene in me, that he should deuise (having nothing to do there) to purchase me such infamy? whereupon he wrote vnto him from the campe, with reprochfull words, that he should send that vile TARENTINE merchant Theodorus and his merchandife to the Deuill. He sharply punished also one Agnon, that wrote vnto him he would buy a young boy called Crobylus (who for beautie bare the onely name in Corint H) and bring him to him. Another time also, when he heard that Damon and Timotheus MACEDONIANS, Under Parmenioes charge, had deflowed two of the fouldiers wines that were strangers, and waged of him, he wrote vnto Parmenio to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter; and if he found them guiltie of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as bruit beasts borneto destroy mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of himfelfe: For my felfe, faid he, I have neither feene, nor defired to fee Darius wife: neither have I suffered any speech of her beautie beforeme. Moreouer he said, that he did winderstand that he was mortall by these two things: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weaknesse of our nature proceedeth sleepe, and sensuallity, He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he showed by many proofes: but chiefly in that he fayd vinto the princesse Ada, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queenc of CARIA. For when (fortheloue the bare him fine daily fent him fundry delicate diffics of meate, tarts, and marchpaines, and befides the meate it felic, the paftlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: How Lead. he answered that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better cookes then those, appointed him by his governour Leonydas, to wit; for his dinner, to rife before day, and to march *by night; and for his supper, to eate litle at dinner. And my gouernour, sayd he, would oftentimes open the chefts where my bedding and apparrell lay, to feeif my mother had put any fine knackes or conceipts among them. Furthermore, he was leffe given to wine, then men would haue judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber then he was, because he sate long at the boord, rather to talke then drinke. For ever when he dranke, he would propound fometedious matter, and yet but when he was at leifure. For having matters to do, there was < neither feast, banker, play, marriage, nor any pastime that could stay him: as they had done other Captaines, The which appeareth plainely by the shortnesse of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deeds he did, in that litle time he lined. When he had leyfure, after he was vp in the morning, first of all he would do sucrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, s paffing away all the rest of the day, in hunting, writing something, taking vp some quarrell betweene fouldiers, or elfe in fludying. If he went any journey of no haftie bufineffe, he would exercise himselfe by the way as he went, shooting in his bow, or learning to get up or out of his charret fuddenly as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt the foxe, or catch birds, as appeareth in his booke of remembrances of euery day. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and annoint himselfe: and would aske his Mexander pantelers and carners, if his supper were ready. He would ever suppe late, and was very curious to sec, that cuerie man at his boord were alike serued; and would sit long at the table, prince 22. because he euer loued to talke, as we have told you before, Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite vpon, and as pleasant, as any kingthat ener was. For he lacked no grace nor comelinesse to adorne a prince, saving that he would be some thing ouer busie in glorying of his owne deeds, much like vnto a bragging fouldier: neither was he contented himfelfe to please his owne humour that way, but would also suffer his familiars to sooth him even

to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would never praife him in his prefence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durft fay leffe of the praifes which they gaue him. For of the first they were assumed, and by the second they fell in danger. After supper, he would wash himselfe againe, and sleepe vntill noone the next day following: and oftentimes allday long. For himfelfe, he was nothing curious of daintie dishes: for when any did fend him rare fruites, or fish, from the countries neare the sea side, he would fend them. abroad vnto his friends, & feldome keepe any thing for himfelf. His table not with standing was alwaies very honourably ferued, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquests, till it came to the summe of ten thousand drachmaes a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceede that fumme: and moreover, commanded all menthat would feaft him, that they should not spend about that summe. After this battel of Is svs, he sent vnto the city of Damas, to take all the gold and filter, the cariage, & all the women and children of the PERSIANS which were left there, where the men of armes of the Thessalians sped them full well: for therefore did he fend them thither, because he saw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battell: and so were the rest of his army also well stored with money. There the MACEDONIANS hauing tafted first of the gold, filuer, women, and barbarous life; as dogges by fent do follow the tracke of beafts, even fo were they greedie to follow after the goods of the Persians. First Alexander thought it best to winne all the sea coast. Thither came the Kings of CYPRVs and PHOENICIA, and deliuered up to him the whole Iland and all PHOENICIA, fauing onely the citie of TYRE. That citie he befieged seuen monethes together by land, with great bulwarkes & Alexander divers engines of batterie, and by sea, with two hundred gallies. During this siege, Alexander besieges dreamed one night, that Hereules held out his hand vnto him over the walles of the citie, and the citie, called him by his name: and there were divers Tyrians also that dreamed in like fort, that A- Alexanders pollotold them that he would go vnto Alexander, because he was not pleased with their doings dreame at in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image (which was of a wonderfull bignesse) with great the city of chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base, as if he had bene a traitor that would have yeelded himselfe vnto their enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much as fauouring Alexander. Alexander had there also another dreame; for he dreamed he saw a Satyre a farre off sporting Alexanders with him, and when he thought to have come neare to have taken him, he ftill escaped from found him: vntil at the length, after he had runne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into dreame a. his hands. The Soothfayers being asked what this dreame should fignific, answered probably, since by deniding Satyros into two, and then it is 32 Topos which fignifieth, the city of TYRE shall be thine. And they do yet shew vnto this day, the fountaine where Alexander thought he saw the Satyre. Continuing this fiege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell vpon describes the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being cast away onely because he isomers as heard his tutor Lysmachus that followed him, say boastingly, that he was not inferiour, nor gainst the older then the Phoenix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horfes, and went up on foote: and Alexander was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leaue mons. his tutor Lysimachus behindhim, (who was so wearie that he could go no further) but because it was darke night, and for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encourage his tutor, and in manner to carie him. By this meanes vnawares, he was farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreouer, it was verie cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiving divers fires which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in another, trusting to his valiantnesse, having alwayes provided remedie in extremitie, when the MAGEDONIANS were diffrested, himselfe ever put- Thecouting too his owne hand, he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two rage and of the barbarous people that lay by the fire fide, he fnatched away a fire-brand, and ranne agility of alexander, with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so affraid, that they ranne their way as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and set vpon him, he flue them enery man, and fo lay there that night, himfelfe and his men without danger. Thus Chares reporteth this matter. Now for the fiege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caufed the most part of his armic to take rest, being ouerharried and wearied with so many battels as they had fought; and fent a few of his men onely to give affault vnto the citie, to keepe the Tyrian's occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the Soothsayer Ariflander facrificing vnto the gods, having confidered of the fignes of the intrailes of the beafts,

Eucry body laughed to heare him: for that day was the very last day of the moneth. Alexander

feeing him amated, as one that could not tel what to fay to it, feeking euer to bring those tokens

to effect, which the Soothsayers did prognosticate, commanded them that they should not

reekon that day the thirtieth day, but the feuen and twentieth: and immediatly vpon it made the

trumpet found the allarme, & gaue a hotter affault to the wal, then he had thought to have done

before. They fought valiantly on both fides, infomuch as they that were left in the campe.

the chiefe city of Syria, therefell a clod of earth upon his shouldier, out of the which there

flew a bird into the aire. The bird lighting vpon one of the engines of his batterie was caught

with the nets made of finewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines, Aristander did

prognosticate, that it fignified he should be hurt in his shoulder, not with standing, that he should

yet taketherowne. And indeed it came so to passe. When he sent great presents of spoyles

which he wanne at the facke of this citie, vnto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers

others of his friends: among other things, he fent vnto Leonidas his Gouernour, fine hundred

talents weight of frankensence, and a hundred talents weight of myrrhe: remembring the hope

he put him into when he was a child. For, as Alexander was vpon a day facrificing vnto the

gods, he tooke both his hands full of frankensence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume there-

of. When his Gouernour Leonidas faw him, he faid thus vnto him . When thou hast conque-

red the countrey where their fweetethings grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now,

The citie of could not keepe in, but must needes runne to the affault to helpe their companions. The Tyri-Ans feeing the affault fo hote on every fide, their hearts began to faile them, and by this meanes kenby A.

was the city taken the felfe fame day. Another time also, when Alexander was before GAZA,

spare that litle thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to mind at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this fort: We do fend thee plentie of frankensence and myrrhe, because thou shouldest no more be a niggard vnto the gods. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer also, which was thought to be the preciousest thing and the richest that was gotten of all the spoyles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of Darius. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some said one thing, xfome faid another thing : but he faid, he would put the Iliads of Homer into it, as the worthiest

Ægypt.

The Ile of

thing. This is confirmed by the best Historiographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS report vpon Heraclides words, betrue, then it appeareth that he did profite himselfe much by Homer in this iourney. For it is reported that when he had conquered AGYPT, he determined to build a great citie, and to replenish it with a great number of GRECIANS, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certaine ground, which he had chosen by the aduice of his enginers and worke-mafters, the night before he had a maruellous dreame, that he faw an Alexanders old man standing before him, full of white haires, with an honourable presence, and coming towards him faid these verses: Within the forming fea there lies a certaine Iland, right Against the shore of Agapt, which of ancient Pharos hight. As soone as he arose y next morning, he went to see this Ile of PHAROs, the which at that time was a litle about the mouth of the riuer of Nilus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joyned vnto firme land, being forced by mans hand. This he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broad inough, that separateth a great lake on the one side, & the sea on the other, the which doth loyne hard to a great hauen. Then he faid that Homer was wonderful in all his things, but that among ft others, he was an excellent Architector: and commanded that straight they should east the platforme of the citie, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to mark withal, wherfore they were driue to take meale, & with that did mark out vpon the earth being blacke the compaffe of the town that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall parts, either of them resembled the skirts and fashion of the MACE-DONIAN cloake. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there arose vpon the sodaine out of the river or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowle of all sorts, that they covered the element as it had bene a cloud, and lighting within this circuit, did eat vp all the meale, and left not acrumme. Alexander liked not these signes. Notwithstanding, his Soothsayer bad him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should build a citie there,

fo plentifull of all things, that he should maintaine all forts of people. Then he commanded them, vnto whom he had given the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their worke, and he himselfe in the meane time, tooke his journey to go visite the temple of Itpiter Hammon. The journey was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two journey pue dangers about all the rest most speciall; the first was lacke of water, because they had to trauell to theoremany dayes journey through a great defert; the fecond was, the danger of the rifing of the South wind by the way, to blow the fand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there arose such a tempest in that desert, that blew vp whole hils of sand, which flue fif. ie thousand men of Cambyfes armie. Euery man in Alexanders traine did know Cambyfes these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to dissivade Alexander from any thing which he armystaine had a defire vnto. For, fortune fauouring him in all his attempts, made him constant and re- by fandbuls. folute in his determinations: and his noble courage besides, made him intincible in all things he tooke in hand, infomuch as he did not onely compell his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certaine fort they have beleeved the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the element did keepe him from feare of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moistened the drinesse of the fand, in such fort that there came a sweete fresh ayre from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the way, and that they wandred vp and downethey could not tell where, there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they faw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Challisthenes, writeth a greater ded slexit wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them database againe into the right way which had loft their way. Thus Alexander in the end, having passed ionray. through this wildernesse, he came vnto the temple he sought for: where the prophet or chiefe priest faluted him from the god Hammon, as from his father. Then Alexander asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were leftaline. The priest answered him, & bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then Alexander againe rehearfing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murtherers that had conspired the death of Philip' his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would grant him to be King ouer all the world. The god answered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of Phelip was fully reuenged. Then did Alexander offer great presents vnto the god, and gaue money largely to the priests and ministers of the temple. This is that the most part of writers do declare, touching Alexanders demand, and the oracles given him. Yet did Alexander himselse write vnto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart vnto her, at his returne into Maczdon. Others fay also, that the prophet meaning to falute him in the Greeketongue, to welcome him the better, would have faid vnto him, O Paidion, as much as deare sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, because, the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an, s, for an, n, in the latter end, faying, o Paidies, to wit, O sonne of Iupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ranne a rumour straight among his men, that Inpiter had called him his son. It is faid also, that he heard Pfammon the Philosopher in ÆGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, when The faying. he said that God was King of all mortall men. For (quothhe) he that commandeth all things, of planman must needs be God. But Alexander selfe spake better, and like a Philosopher, when he said: the Philosopher that God generally was father to al mortalmen, but that particularly he did elect the best fort for providence himselfe. To conclude, he shewed himselfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made of God. as though he certainly beleeued that he had bin begotten of some god; but vnto the GRECIANS he spake more modestly, of divine generation. For in a letter he wrote vnto the ATHENIANS afteribeth touching the city of Samos, he faid: I gaue you not that noble free city, but it was given you at that time by him, whom they called my Lord and father: meaning Philip. Afterwards also being ftriken with an arrow, &feeling great paine of it: My friends, said he, This bloud which is spilt, is mans bloud, and not as Homer faid,

No fuch as from th' immortall gods doth flow.

And one day also in a maruellous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rhetoritian being present, said vnto him: O thou some of Iupiter, wilt thou do as much: No, said Nnn 2

he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my friends, as thou wouldst have merdisdaining the service of fish to my boord, because thou sees not princes heads served in And y report goeth alfo, that Alexander vpon a time, fending a litle fish vnto Hephastion, Anaxarchus should fav as it were in mockerie, that they which aboue others feeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either small pleasure in the world, or else as little as others haue. By these proofes & reasons alleaged, we may thinke that Alexander had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of him-· felfe, to think that he was otherwife begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to keep other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceined of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA Alexander into AGYPT, he made many facrifices, feafts, and processions in honour of the gods, fundric madefeafts dances, tragedies, and fuch like pastimes, goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which stringed cuery one to exceed the other. For the kings of the Cyprians were the setters of them forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lot a citizen of every tribe of the people, to defray the charges of these pastimes. These kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially Nicocreon, king of Sa-LAMINA, in Cyprys: and Pasicrates, Lord of the city of Sol Bs. For it fel out to their lot to furnishtwo of the excellentest players; Pasicrates furnished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessalus, whom Alexander loued fingularly well, though he made no shew of it, vntill that Athenodoras was declared victour, by the Judges deputed to give fentence. For when he went from the playes, he told them he did like the Judges opinion well, notwithftanding, he would have bene contented to have given the one halfe of his Realme, not to have seene Thessaus overcome. thenodorus being condemned vponatime by the ATHENIANS, because he was not in ATHENS at the feaft of Bacchus, when the Comedies & Tragedies were plaied, and a fine fet on his head for his absence:he besought Alexander to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would release his penaltic. Alexander would not so do, but sent thither his money, whereof he was condemned, and payed it for him of his owne purse. Also when Lycon Scarphian, an excellent stageplayer had pleafed Alexander well, and did foift in a verse in his comedie, containing a petition of tentalents: Alexander laughing at it, gaue it him. Darius at that time wrote vnto Alexander. and vnto certaine of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thousand talents for the ransome of all those prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the countries, lands and figniories on this side the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in mariage, that from thenceforth he might be his kinseman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his councell. Among them Parmenio faid vnto him: If I were Alexander, quoth he, furely I would accept his offer. So would I indeed quoth Alexander again, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote againe vnto Darius, that if he would fubmit himself, he would vie him curteously: if not, that then he wold presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards, when king Darins wife was dead with child: for without x diffimulation it grieued him much, that he had lost fo noblean occasion to shew his curtosic and clemencie. This not with franding, he gaue her body honourable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongst the Eunuches of the Queenes chamber, there was one Tireus taken prisoner, among the women:who stealing out of Alexanders camp, taking his horse-backe, rode vnto Darius to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then Darius beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: O gods, what wretched hap have the Persians! that have not only had the wife and fister of their king taken prisoners cuen in his life time, but now that she is dead intrauel of child, she hath bene depriued of princely burial. Then spake the cunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious king, and for all due honor that might be wished her, Persia hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For neither did Queene Statira your wife whilst she lived prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or iot of their honor they were wont to haue before, fauing onely to fee the light of your honour, the which, god oromafdes grant to restore again(if it be his will)vnto your Maiestie:neither was there any honor wanting at her death (to fer forth her flately funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares Kof your enemies. For Alexander is as merciful in victory as he is valiant in battell. Darius hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in mind for very griefe, tooke the Eunuchafide into the fe-Dariostalle Cretest place of his tent, and faid vnto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the Persian, with Tirest become a Macedonian, but does in thy heart acknowledge Darius for thy fourraigne Lord and master: I pray thee, and do also consure thee, by the reuerence thou bearest vnto this bright light of the Sunne, and to the right hand of the King, that thou do tell me truly.

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Are the fe the least eails which I lament in Statira, her imprisonment and death. And did she not in her life makevs more miferable by her dishonor, then if we had dishonorably fallen into the hands of acruell enemy? For, what honest communication, I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemics wife a prifoner hauing done her to much honour as he had done? Darius going on with these speeches, Tireus the cunuch fell downe on his knees, and belought him not to fay for neither to blemish the vertue of Alexander in that fort, nor yet so to dishonour his fifter and wife deceased, & thereby also to deprive himself of the greatest comfort he could wish to haue in his calamitie, which was, to be our come by an enemy that had greater vertues then a man could possibly haue; but rather that he should wonder at Alexanders vertue, who had x shewed himself chaster to the Ladies, then valiant against the Persians, And therewith all the eunuch confirmed the great honestie, chastitie and noble mind of Alexander, by many great and The condeepe oathes. Then Darius coming out among his friends againe, holding vp his hands vnto mendation the heavens, made this prayer vnto the gods: O heavenly gods, creators of men, and protectors deribuftion of Kings and Realmes: first, I befeech you grant me, that restoring the Persians against otheir tie. former good estate, I may leaue the Realme vnto my successors, with that glorie & fame I receined it of my predecessors that obtaining victorie, I may vie Alexander with that great honor and courtefie, which he hath in my mifery shewed vnto those I loued best in the world. Or otherwise if the time appointed be come, that the kingdome of Persia must needes have end, either thorough diaine reuenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: then good gods yet grant, that none but Alexander after me, may fit in Cyrus throne. Divers writers do agree, that these things came even thus to passe. Now Alexander having conquered all Asia on this side of the river daring. Euphrates, he went to meet with Darius, that came downe with ten hundred thousand fighting proper me men. It was told him by fome of his friends to make him laugh, that the flaues of his armie had in his deuided themselues in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall of either part, naming the one Darinsar-Alexander, and the other Darius and that at the first, they began to skirmish only with clods of miest un earth, and afterwards with fifts; but at the last, they grew so hor, that they came to plaine stones thousand and staues, so that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needes have the two figuring Generals fight hand to hand one with the other; and Alexander self did arme him that was called Alexander and Philotas the other which was called Darius. All the armie thereupon was ga-at the timer thered together to fee this combat betweene them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lecke Emphrates. to come. The fight was sharpe betweene them, but in the end, he that was called Alexander onercame the other: and Alexander to reward him, gaue him twelve villages, with priviledge to goafter the Peas I AN manner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes. The great battell that Alexander fought with Darius, was not (as many writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gaufameles, which fignifieth in the Persian tongue, the house of the Cammell. For some one of the ancient kings of Persia that had escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying vpon a dromedaric cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the renenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammel there. There fel out at that time an eclipse of the Moone, in the moneth called Beedromion(now August) about the time that the feasts of the mysteries were celebrated at A-THENS. The eleuenth night after that, both the armies being in fight each of other, Darius kept his men in battell ray, and went himselfe by torch-light viewing his bands & companies. Alexander on the other fide whilest his MACEDONIAN fouldiers slep, was before his tent with Arifrander the Soothfayer, and made tertaine fecret ceremonies and facrifices vnto Apollo. The ancient captaines of the MACEDONIANS, specially Parmenio, seeing all the valley betwirt the river of Niphates, and the mountaines of the Gordierans, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the found thereof: they were amazed, and confulted, that in one day it was in maner vnpossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto Alexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counfell him to give barrell by night, because the darkenesse thereof should helpe to keepe all seare from his men, which the fight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable answer: I will not stealevictorie, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that The maghe was so pleasant, being neare so great danger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a present nanimitie noble courage, and a deepe confideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby of Alexanto give Darius no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart againe, and to prove

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another battell, accusing the darknesse of the night as cause of his overthrow; as he had done as the first conslict, imputing his ouerthrow to the mountaines, the straights, and the sea. For faid he, Darius wil neuer leave to make wars with vs for lacke of men, nor municion, having fo large a realme as he hath, & fuch a world of people belides: but then he would no more hazard battel. when his heart is done, and all hope tiken from him, and that he feeth his armie at noone dayes ouerthrowne by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and laid him downe to fleepe, and flept all that night more foundly then he was wont to do beforeinformach as the Lords and Princes of his campe coming to waite vpon him at his vprifing; maruelled when they found him fo found affecpe, & therefore of themselues they commanded the fouldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiuing that time came fast vpon them, Parmenio went into Alexanders chamber, and coming to his beds fide, called him twife or thrife by name, till at the last he awaked him, & asked him how he chanced that he slept so long, like one that had already ouercome, and that did not thinke he should fight as great and dangerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, faid Alexander, laughing on him : doeft thou not thinke we have alreadic overcome, being troubled no more with running after Darens vp and downe a countrey vtterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have bene compelled to have done, if he would not have come to battel, and destroyed the country beforevs? Now Alexander did not only show himself before the battell, but euen at the very instant of the battell, a noble man of courage, and of great indgement. For Parmento leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the Back Re-ANS gaue such a fierce onlet vpon the MACEBONIANS, thit they made them give backe: and Mazensalfo, king Darens lieutenant, fent certaine troupes of horfemen out of their battel, to give cl a gevponthem that were left in the campeto guard the carriage, Parmenio being amazed with either of both attem ts, sent immediatly to aductife Alexander, that all their campe and cariage would be loft, if ne did not fend prefently to aid the rereward. When these newes came to Alexander from Farmeno, he had already given the fignall of battell vnto his men for to give charges Whereupon he answered the messenger that brought him these newes, that he should tell Parmento he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wan the battell, they should not only faue their owne cariage, but also win the cariage of their enemies; and if it were their chance to lose it, then that they should not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their flaues, but only to thinke to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Having fent this meffage vnto Parmento, he put on his helinet. The rest of his armour for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a Sicilian cattocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many folds of canuas with oyler-holes, which was gotten among the spoiles at the battel of Is svs. His head-peece was as bright as filter, made by Theophilus the armourer: his coller fute-like to the fame, all fet full of precious ftones, and he had a fword by his fide maruellous light, and of excellent temper, which the King of the CITIEIANS had given him, ving commonly to fight with his fword at any fet battel. His coate-armour was maruellous rich, and of fumptuous workmanthip, farre about all the reft he wore. It was of the workmanship of Hellicon, the which the RHO-DIANS gaue him for a prefent, & this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did fet his men in battell ray, or made any oration vnto them, or did ride along ft the bands to take view of them, he alwaies vied to ride vpon another horse to spare Bucephal, because he was then somewhat old: notwithstanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then Bucephal was brought vnto him, & as foone as he was gotten vp on his back, the trumpet founded, and he gaue charge, Then, after he had made long exhortations to encourage y men of armes of the Thessalians and the other GRECIANS allo, & when they had all promifed him they would flick to him like men, and prayed him to leade them, and giue charge vpon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hand, and holding vp his right hand vnto headen, befought the gods (as Callifhenes writeth) that if it were true he was begotten of Iupiter, that it would please them that day to helpe him, and to encourage the GRECIANS. The Southfayer Ariftander was then on horse backe hard by Alexander, apparelled all in white, and a crowne of gold on his head, who shewed Alexander when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing direcitly towards his enemies. This maruelloufly encouraged all the army that faw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of Alexanders fide, encouraging one another, did fet spurres to their horse to charge vpon the enemies. This battel of the footmen of the Persians, began a litle to giue way, and before the foremost could come to giue them charge, the barbarous people surned

their backes, and fled. The chase was great: Alexander driving them that fled vpon the middest of their owne battell, where Darius selfe was in person, he spied him a farre off, oner the foremost rankes in the middest of his battell, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a chariot of warre, compassed in round with great troupes of horsemen, allset in goodly ordinance to receive the enemie. But when they faw Alexander at hand with fo grimme alooke, chafing them that fled, through those that yet keepe their rankes, there fel such a feare among them, that the most part dispersed themselves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiant men fought it to the death before their King, and falling dead one vpon another, they did let them that the enemics could not fo well follow Darius. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and horses by the legges to hinder them. Darius then feeing nothing butterror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bands which he had set before him for safegard, came backe vpon him, so as he could not deuise how to turne his chariot forward nor backward, the wheeles were so hindred and stayed with the heapes of dead bodies; and that the horse also being set you and hid in maner in this conslict tell to leaping and plunging for feare, so that the charrettiers could no longer guide nor drive them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had a fole, and so saucd himselfe slying vpon her. And The string yet had he not thus escaped, had not Parmenio once againe fent vnto Alexander to pray him of Darius, to come and aidehim: because there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenance to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to have dealt but flackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he enuied Alexanders greatnesse and prosperitie, who against his will became over great. as Callisthenes faid. In fine, Alexander was angry with the fecond meffage, and yet told not his mentruly the cause why, but seigning that he would have them leave killing, and because also night came on , he caused the trumper sound retraite, and so went towards his armie, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, newes came, to him by the way, that in that place also, they had given the enemies the overthrow, and that they fled every way for life. The battell having this fuccesse, every man thought that the kingdome of the Persians was Alexanders vtterly ouerthrowne, and that Alexander likewise was become onely King of all As 1 A: where- third via upon he made sumptuous sacrifices vnto the gods, and gaue great riches, houses, lands, and flor of Day possessions vnto his friends and familiars. Furthermore, to show his liberalitic also vnto the libe alory GRECIANS, he wrote vnto them, that he would have all tyrannics suppressed throughout all to all men. GREECE, and that all the GRECIAN'S should line at libertie under their owne lawes. Particularly also he wrote vnto the Plat Elans, that he would reedifie their city againe, because their predecellors in times past, had given their countrey vnto the GRECIANS, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the comon libertie of all GRECE. He fent also into ITALY vnto the Chotonians, part of the spoile, to honour the memory of the valiant nesse, and good will of Phayllus their citizen, who in the time of their wars with the MEDES (when all the GRE-CIANS that dwelt in ITALY had for faken their naturall countrimen of GRECE it selfe, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a ship of his vnto Salamina, which he armed and fet forth at his owne charges, because he would be at the battell, and partake also of the common danger with the Gree IAN's. Such honour did Alexander beare vnto proweffe, that he loued to reward and remember the worthy deedes of men. Then Alexander marching with his army into the countrey of Babylon, they all yeelded ftraight vnto him. When he came into the countrey of the ECBATANIANS, he maruelled when he faw an opening of the earth. out of the which there came continuall sparkes of fire as out of a well; and that hard by also the earth spued out continually a kinde of * maund or chalkie clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance, as it seemed like a lake. This maund of chalke is like vnto a kind of lime or clay, but it is so front easie to set on fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnesse onely of the light and power that cometh out of the fire, it is fet on fire, and doth also set the aire on fire which is betweene in the country to the large of Napha, both. The barbarous people of that countrey, being defirous to shew Alexander the nature of try of the that Naptha, scattered the street that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut barania, in, they fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops taking fire, in the twinkling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the street to the other was on a slame, and though it was darke and within night, lightened all the place thereabout. Alexander being in a bath at that time, and waited vpon by a page called Stenen, (a hard fauoured boy, but yet that had an excellent sweet voice to sing)

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No inie in of Eabylon. Tre dure found by Alexander meaneth of filke died sn purple, whereo' the sitvef Hermiona in Lacoma.

Alexander found a Perlia.

one Athenophanes an ATHENIAN, that alwayes nointed and bathed the King, & much delighted him with his pleasant conceits, asked him if he would see the trial of this Naptha vpon Steven: for if the fire tooke & went not out, then he would fay it had a wonderfull force, & was vnquenchable. The page was contented to haue it proued vpo him. But so soone as they had laid it on him. and did but touch it onely, it tooke straight such a flame, and so fired his body, that Alexander himselfe was in a maruellous perplexitie withal. And fure had it not bin by good hap, that there were many by, ready with veffels ful of water to put into the bath, it had bin vnpoffible to have faued the boy from being burnt to nothing; and yet so he scaped narrowly, and besides was sicke long after. Now some apply this Naptha vnto the fable of Medea, saying, that therewith she rub. bed the crowne & lawne flie gaue vnto the daughter of Creon at her mariage, fo much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could cast fire of themselves, neither did the fire light by chance: but by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine aptnesse to receive more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride fate. For the beames which the fire cafteth out, have over fome bodies no other force, but to hear and lighten them; but fuch as have an oily dric humour, and thereby a fimpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire it cafily inflameth & fetteth on fire, by the forcible impression of his beames Howbeitthey make a great questió of the cause of this natural force of Naptha, *or whether this liquid fubfrance & moist humor, that taketh fire so easily, doth some of the earth that is fatty & apeto coccine fire. For the country about Baby Lon is very hot, in fomuch as oftetimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp again, as if ŷ earth by vehement inflam. mation had a strong blast to cast it out; and men in the extremest heate in the sommer, do sleepe there vpo great leather budgets filled ful of fresh water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left there his Lieutenant and Gouernor of that country, defiring to fet forth and beautifie the gardens of the Kings pallace and walkes of the same, with all maner plants of GRECE, he brought all the rest to good paffe, fauing juic only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer died; because the heat the country and temper of the earth killed it and the my of it felfeliketh fresh aire & a cold ground. This digression is somewhat fro the matter, but peraduenture the Reader wil not think it trouble some, how hard focuer he find it, so it be not our tedious. Alexander having won the citie of Sv san he found within the castle foure thousand talents in ready coyne, gold & filter, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongst the which (it is faid) he found to the value of fine thou-*ti femeth fand talents weight of *purple Hermiona filk, which they had locked up fafe, & kept the space of two hundred yeares faue ten, & yet the colour kept as fresh as if it had bin newly made. Some fay that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it with hony, in silkes. which before had bindled red, and with white oile in white filkes. For there are filkes feene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. Dino writeth furthermore, that the kings of PERSIA made water to be brought from the rivers of Nilus & Ister (otherwise called Danubie) which they did lock vp with their other treasure for a confirmatio of the greatnes of their Empire, & to shew that they were Lords of the world. The waies to enter into PERs 1 A being very hard of passage, and in maner unpassible, (both for the ilnesse of the waies, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the choisest men of Persia) Darius also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greeke & Persian tongue (whose father was borne in the Alexanders country of Lycia, and his mother a Persian) that guided Alexander into Persia, by some compaffe fetched about not very long, according to the oracles answer of Alexander given by the mouth of the Nun Pythias, when he was a child: that a Lycian should guide and leade him against the Persians. There was then great flaughter made in Persia of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander himselfe writeth, that he commanded the men should be put to the fword, thinking that the best way to serue his turne. It is faid also, that there he found a marnellous treasure of gold and filter in readic money, as he had done before in the city of Sysa: the which he caried away with all the reft of the Kings rich wardrobe, and with it laded ten thoufund moyles, and fine thousand camels. Alexander entring into the castle of the chiefe citie of PERSIA, faw by chance a great image of Xerxes lie on the ground, the which vnawares was throwne downe by the multitude of the fouldiers that came in thronging one vpon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spoke vnto it as if it had bene aline, saying I cannot tell whether I should passe by thee, and let thee lie, for the warre thou made it sometime against the GRE-CIANS: Or whether I should lift thee vp, respecting the noble minde and vertues thou haddest.

In the end, when he had stood mute a long time; confidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refresh his weariearmy, because it was the winter quarter, he remained there 4. moneths together. The report goeth that the first time that Alexader fate under the cloth of state of king Darius, all ofrich gold, Demarathus Corinthian (who first began to love him, even in his father Philips time) burft out in teares for ioy (good old man) faying, that § GRECIAN'S long time dead before, were depriued of this bleffed hap, to fee Alexader fit in king Xerxes princely chaire. After that, preparing again to go against Darius, he would needs make merry one day, and refresh him felfe with fome banquet. It chanced for that he and his companions was bidden to a private feast prigatly, where was attembled fome fine curtifans of his familiars, who with their frieds taried at the banquet, Among ft them was that famous Than, borne in the countrey of ATTICA, and then concubing to Prolony, king of AGYPT after Alexanders death. She finely praifed Alexander, and Theirspartly in sporting wife, began to vtter matter in affection of her countrey, but yet of greater importance then became her mouth saying, that that day she found her selfefully recompended to Than the her great good liking, for al the paines she hadtaken, trauelling through al the coutries of As IA, barlee. following of his army, now that the had this fauor and good hap to be merry and pleafant, in the proud & stately pallace of the great kings of Persia. But yet it would do her more good for a recreation to burne Xerxes houle with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the city of ATHENS: and her felf to give the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as Alexander. Because ever after it might be faid, that the woman following his campe had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wrongs and injuries they had done vnto GR B C B, then all the Captaines of GR B C B that ever were, had done, either by land or fea. When she had faid, Alexanders familiars about him, clapped their hands, and made great noise for joy faying: that it were as good a deed as could be possible. and perswaded Alexander vnto it. Alexander yeelding to their perswasions, rosevp, and putting a garland of flowers vpon his head, went foremost himselse; and all his samiliars sollowed after him, crying and duncing all about the castle. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it also, came thither immediatly with torches light & great ioy, hoping that this was a good figure that Alexander meant to return eagain cinto Mac B Don, and not to dwell in the countrey of the barbarous people, fith he did burne & deftroy the kings caftle. Thus and in this fort it was thought perfectles to be burnt. Some writers thinke other wife; that it was not burnt with fuch sport, but by deter- fer on fire mination of the councell. But how focuer it was, all they grant, that Alexander did prefently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good wil and reading for give, increased with his conquests; and when he did bestow gifts on any, he would befides his gift, ever give them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and savor. And I will recite a few examples thereof. Ariflo being Colonell of the PEONIANS, having flaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and faid; fuch a prefent, O king, by vs, is ever rewarded with a cup of gold. Yea, quoth Alexander finiling vpon him, with an emptie cup. But I drinke to thee this cup full of good wine, and do give thee cup and all. Another time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with gold of the Kings: & when the poore moyle was fo wearie that she could no longer carrie her burden, the moyletter put it vpon his own back, and loded himfelfe withall, carying it fo a good prety way: howbeit in the end being ouerloden, was about to throw it downe on the ground. Alexander perceiuing it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was told him: wel, quoth he to the moyletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I giue it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would aske him somewhat. He wrotealso vnto Phocion, that he would take him no more for his friend, if he would refuse his gifts. It seemed that he had given nothing vnto a yong boy called Serapion (who ever did ferue them the ball that plaid at tennis) because he asked him nothing. Wherefore the King playing on a time, this yong boy threw the ball toothers that played with him, and not to himfelfe. The King maruelling at it, at the length faid vato him: Why my boy, doeft not thou give methe ball! because your Maiestie doth not aske it me, quoth he. Alexander then understanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one Proteas, a pleafant conceited man, and that could least finely, it chanced upon some occasion that Alexander fell out with him: whereupon some of his friends were intercessors vnto the King for him, & befought him to pardon him: & Protess himselfalso being present, craued pardon with teares in his eies. Alexander therupon forgaue him. Then presetly replied Proteas, I defire it may please your grace,

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that I may receive some testimonic to assure me I am in your favor. Therupon the king straight commanded one to give him fluetalents. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familiars and guard about him, were very great, as it appeared plainly by a letter which his mother Olympias wrote vnto him, to this effect: I know thou sparest not to give thy friends large gifts, & that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them kings fellowes, they get many friends, and leaue thee post alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters vnto him the which Alexander kept very fecret, fauing one day when he opened one of them, Hephieftion being present drew neare, & read the letter with him, as he was wont to do. Alexander did let him alone, but when he had read it, he pluckt the scale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did vse to seale his letters, and put it to Hephestions mouth. He gaue also vnto the son of Mazeus (that was the chiefest man about Darius) a second gouernment, besides that which he had before, & greater then the first. This yong nobleman refused it, saying why, and it please your Grace, before there was but one Darius, but you now make many Alexanders. He gaue vnto Parmenio alfo Lagoas house, where (as it is reported) he found a thousand talents worth of the spoiles & goods of the Svstans. He wrote also vnto Antipater, that he should keepe a guard about his person, for he had many enemies that lay in wait for him. He did fend also many goodly presents vnto his mother, but withal he wrote vnto her, that she wold meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vp6 her the office of a captain. She storming at it, he patietly did brook her anger. Antipater another time, writing a long letter vnto him against his mother olympias, when he had read itoquer, lo, faid he, Antipater knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye wil wipe out ten thoufand fuch letters. Furthermore, Alexander perceiving on a time, that his friends became very diffolute and licencious in diet and life, and that Agnon THEIAN had his corked shoots nailed with filuer nailes; that Leonatus also caused divers camels to be lode amongst his cariage with powder of ÆGYPT, to put vpon him when he wrestled or vsed any other exercise of body; and that also they caried after Philotus, toies for chase and hunting, of a hundred furlong long; and that there were also that vsed precious perfumes and fweet fauors when they bathed these lues, more then there were that subbed themselues with plaine oyle; and that they had fine chamber laines to rub the in the bath, & to make their beds foft and delicate the wifely and court coully rebuked them and faid: I maruell, faid he, that you which have fought in fo often and great battels, do not remember that they which trauell, do fleepe more fweet & foundly, then they that take their eafe and do nothing and that you do not marke, that comparing your life, with the maner of life of the PERSIANS, to line at pleasure is a vilething, & to trauel is princely. And how I pray you, can a man take paine to dreffe his own horse, or to make cleane his lance or helmet, that for flothful curiofities fake, disdaineth to rub his own body with his fingers. Are you ignorant, that the tipe ⊀of honour in all our victory confisteth, in scorning to do that which we see them do, whom we haue vanquished and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themselues with hardinesse, he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard himselse more dangeroufly, then euer he had done before. Wherupon an Ambatfador of LACED EMON being prefent to see him fight with a Lion, and to kill him, said vnto him: Truly your Grace hath fought well with this Lion, and tried which of you two should be King. Craterus after that, caufed this hunting to be fet vp in the temple of Apollo in DELPHES; where are the images of the Lion, of the dogges, and of the King fighting with the Lion, and of himselfe also that came to helpe him, all those images being of copper, some made by Lysippus, the rest by Leochares. Thus Alexander did put himselfe vnto all icopardies, as well to exercise his strength and courage, as alfoto allure his men to do the like. This notwithstanding his friends and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needes live delicately and at case, and would take no more paines, misliking vtterly to go vp and downe the countries to make warre here and there, and thereupon began a litle to find fault with Alexander, and to speake euill of him. Which at the first Alexander tooke quietly, faying that it was honour for a King to X suffer himselfe to be slandered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turnes he did vnto his friends, did shew his hearty loue and honour he bare them, as shall appeare vnto you by some examples that follow. Pencestas being bitten by a Beare, did let his friends, and friends vinderstand by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vinto Alexander. Alexander was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus: Send me word at the least yet how thou doest, & whether any of thy fellowes did for sake thee at the hunting, to the end they may be punished.

Hephaltier

Alexander tic of his friends.

Hephastion being absent about certaine businesse he had, Alexander wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beast called Ichnewmon, Craterus vnfortunatly crossing Perdiccas dart, was striken through both his thighes. Pencestas being cured of a great disease, Alexander wrote vnto Alexippus his Phisition that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. Craterus also being ficke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine facrifices for the recourty of his health, and fent vnto him, willing him to do the like. And when the Philizion Paufanias meanttogiue him a drinke of Elleborus, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he received that medicine. He did also put Ephialses and Ciffus in prison, who brought him the first newes of Harpalus stying, because they did wrongfully accuse and slander him. When he had commanded there should be a bill made of all the old mens names, and diseased persons that were in his campe, to send them home againe into their countrey: there was one Eurylochus ÆGEIAN, that made his name be billed among the ficke persons, and it was found afterwards that he was not sicke; and confessed that he did it onely to follow a young woman called Telesippa, with whome he was in lone, who was returning homewards towards the sea side. Alexander asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtizan free borne. Then said Alexander vnto Eurylochus, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I cannot force her to tarie: but feeke to win her by giftes and faire words to be contented to tarie, fishence she is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to fee what paines he would take, to write for his friends, euen in such trisses as he did. As when he wrote into CILICIA for a servant of Seleucus that was fled from his master, sending straight commandement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by another letter he commendeth Peucestas, for that he had stayed and taken one Nicon, a slave of Graterus. And by one other letter also vnto Megabizus, touching another bondman that had taken sanctuarie in a temple, he commanded him also to seeke to entise him out of the san Stuarie, to lay hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is said also, that at the first whe he vsed to sit in indgement to heare criminall causes, whilst the accuser went on with his complaint & accusation, he alwayes vsed to lay his hand ypon one of his eares, to keepe that cleane from the matter of accusation, thereby referuing it to heare the purgation and instification of the person condemned. But afterwards, the number of accusations that were brought before him, did so proude the condensed of the person conden and alter him, that he did beleeue the false accusations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothing put him more in rage, then when he vnderstood they had spoken ill decander of him: and then he was fo fierce, as no pardon would be granted, for that he loued his honour more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went against Darrus, thinking that he meant to fight against bury understanding there are not a had role at the life. meant to fight againe: but vnderstanding that Bessus had taken him, then he gaue the THESSA- kenos hum. LIAN'S leaue to depart home into their countrey, and gaue them two thousand talents ouer and aboue their ordinarie pay. Alexander had then a maruellous long, hard, and painefull iour- Alexanders ney in following of Darius: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thousand and three hundreth paintful furlongs, infomuch as the most part of his men were even weary, and done for lacke of water.

It chanced him one day to meete with certains Mack powers that certains following. It chanced him one day to meete with certaine Macedonians that caried (vpon moyles) of Darius. goate skinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a river. They feeing Alexander in manner dead for thirst, being about noone, ranne quickly to him, and in a head peecebrought him water. Alexander asked them to whom they caried this water. They answered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet would have your Grace to liue: for though we lose them, we may get more children. When they had faid fo, Alexander tooke the helmet with water, and perceiting that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their neckes to looke vpon this water, he gauethe water backe againe vnto them that disconder had given it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it: for faid he, if I drinke alone, all these to bisjoilmenhere will faint. Then they feeing the noble courage & courtefie of Alexander, cried out that dier, and be should lead them, and the course of the state of the he should lead them, and therewithall beganne to spurre their horses, saying, that they were Alexander not wearie nor athirst, nor did thinke themselves mortall, so long as they had such a King. regarded Euery man was alike willing to follow Alexander, yet had he but threefcore onely that entred not the with him into the commission of the with him into the commission of the second of the commission of the second of the commission of the commissio with him into the enemies campe. There, paffing ouer much gold and filuer, which was feat-gold and tered abroad in the place, and going also by many chariots full of women and children, respect of which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture they ranne vpon the spurre, vn-pursuing till they had ouertaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have found Darins amongst them, birfing

The death of Darius,

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But at the length, with much ado, they found him layed along in a coach, having many wounds vpon his bodie, some of darts and some of speares. So he being almost at the last cast, called for fome drinke, and dranke cold water, which Poly fratus gaue him. To whom when he had drunk, he faid: this is my last mishap my friend, that having received this pleasure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit Alexander will recompence thee, & the gods Alexander, for the liberality and courtefie which he hath flewed ynto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my fake. Ar these last words, he tooke Polystratus by the hand, and so gaue vp the ghost. Alexander came immediatly after, and plainely fliewed that he was forie for his death and misfortune: and vndoing his own cloake he cast it you the bodie of Darius. After that, having by good hap gotten Bestine into his hands he tare him in peeces with two high straight trees which he bowed downwards. and tied his leggesto each of them: so that when the trees were let go, they gaue a fod aine cruell ierke vp. and caried either tree a peece of his body with it. Then Alexander having given Darius corpfe princely buriall, and embalmed him, he fent it vnto his mother, and received his brother Exathres for one of his friends. From thence he went into the courry of Hyrcania with all the flower of his army, where he faw the gulfe of the sca Caspium, which he thought of no lesse er Caspium. greatnes, then the sea of Pontys, howbeit calmer then the other seas be. He could not then certainely find out what it was nor from whence it came: but of likelihood he thought it was fome breaking out of y lake or marrish of Meotin. Yet fome ancient natural Phylosophers seemed to know truly what it was. For many yeares before Alexanders voyage and conquest, they wrote. that of the foure chiefest gulfes of the sea, which come from the Ocean, and do enter within maine land, that which is more Northerly, is the fea Caspium, which they call also Hyrcanium. As Alexander went through the country, certaine barbarous people fod ainly fet vpon them that led Bucephal his horse, and tooke him: but with that he was in such a rage, that he sent a Herauld into their countries to proclaime open warres vpon them, and that he would put man, woman, and child to the fword if they brought him not his horse againe. Whereupon, when his horse was returned home, & that they yeelded up their cities and forts into his hands, he did yfethem al very curreoufly, and moreouer did give them money for the ransome of his horse, which they Alexander reftored. Departing thence, he entred into the countrey of PARTHIA. There having lev fureegoth efter nough, he began to apparel himself after the sashion of the barbarous people, because he thought therby the better to win the hearts of the countrimen, framing himfelf vnto their own fashions: or elfeto trie the hearts of the Macedonians, to fee how they would like the manner of the PERSIANS (which he meant to bring them vnto) in reucrencing of him as they did their King. by litle and litle acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This not withstanding, he would not at the first take up the apparell of the MEDES, which was very strange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did we are a long gowne tray. ling on the ground, nor a high coptant hat, but tooke a meane apparell, betwixt the MEDES and the Persians, more modelithen the one, and more costly then the other, and yet at the first he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or else privately amongst his friends and familiars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed himself openly to the people in that apparell, when he gaue them audience. This fight grieued the MACEDONIANS much but they had his vertues in fuch admiration, that they thought it meete in some things he should take his owne pleasure, fithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his legge broken with an arrow; and another time, had fuch a blow with a frone full in his nocke, that it made him purre-blind a great while after, and yet neverthelesse he never eschewed any bodily danger; for he passed ouer the river of Orexarres, which he tooke to be Tanais, and having in battell overthrowne the Scythians, he followed them in chafe about an hundreth furlongs, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loofenesse of bodie. This there came vnto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the Amazons, as many writers do testifie among the which are these, Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Hister. But Chares, Piolomie, Anticlides and Philon THEBAN, Philip the Historiographer, Hecateus ERBERIAN, Philip CHALCIDIAN, and Duris SAMIAN, all these do write, that it was not true; and it seemethalfo that Alexander felfe doth confirme it. For, writing all things particularly vnto Antipater as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the King of Scythia offered him his daughter in mariage:but there he maketh no mention at all of any Amazon. It is also said, that Onesicritus long time after that did reade vnto king Lysimachus, the fourth booke of his historie,

where he did speake of the AMAZON. Lysimachus similing, said vnto him: Why, and where was I then But for that matter, to credit it, or not to credit it, Alexanders estimation therby is neither impaired nor advanced. Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the MACEDONIANS, being weary with this long warre, would go no further, he left all the reft of his army behind, and tooke only twenty thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen of the choisest men of his army. and with them inuaded the countrey of Hyrcania. There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of As 1 A had but seenethem as it were in a dreame; and if they should now returne backe into MACEDON, having but onely stirred them, and not altogether subdued Asia, the people offended with them would set upon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neuertheleffe, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, protesting therewith against them that would go, how they did for sake him, his friends, and those who had so good hearts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a journey, to conquer the whole earth vnto the Macabonians. This felf matter is reported thus in a letter which Alexander wrote vnto Antipater: and there he writeth furthermore, that having made this oration vnto them, they all cryed our, and bade him leade them into what part of the world with one he would. When they had granted their goodwils, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne word of his the rest of the common fort, who followed the example of the chiefest. Thereupon he did brought the frame himselfethe more to live after the fashion of the country there, and enterchangeably al- Macedonifoto bring the men of that countrey vntothe maner of the Macedonians: being persuaded dience. that by this mixture and enterchange of maners one with another, he should by friendship more then force, make them agree louingly together, when that he should be so farre from the countrey of PBR sia. For this purpose therefore, he chose thirtie thousand of their children of that country, and fet them to learne the Greeke tongue, & to be brought vp in the discipline of wars after the Macedonians maner; and gaue them schoolemasters and Captaines to traine them in each faculty. And for the marrying of Roxane, he fancied her, feeing her at a feast where he was: Alexander which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better advice and counsell loued her. For the maried barbarous people were very proud of this match, when as they faw him make alliance with the in this fort, infomuch as they loued him better then they did before, because they saw in those things he was alwaies fo chast and continent, that notwithstanding he was maruellously in loue with her, yet he would not dishonorably touch this yong Lady, before he was maried into her. Furthermore, Alexander confidering that of the two men which he loued best, Hephastica liked well of his match, and went apparelled as himselfe did, and that Craterus contrarily did still yse the Macedonian maner, he dealt in all affaires with the barbarous people, by Hephestion, and with the GRECIANS & MACEDONIANS, by Craterus. To be short he loued the one, and honoredthe other: faying that Hephastion loued Alexander, and Craterus loued the king. Hereupon these two persons bare one another grudge in their harts, & oftentimes brake out in open quarrell:infomuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drew their fwords, and fought together, and diuerse of their friends ran to take part with either side. Thither came Alexander selfe also, who Haphastion openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp Hephastion, and called him foole and bedlem, faying, dost thou not know, that what socuer he bethat should take Alexander from me, he should never line? Privatly also, he sharply rebuked Craterus, & calling them both before him, he made them friends together, swearing by Iupiter Hammon, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men living, neverthelesse if ever he found that they fell out together againe, they should bothdie for it, or he at the least that first began to quarell. So ener after that, they fay, there was neuer foule word nor deed between them, not so much as in sport onely. There was also one Philotas, the sonne of Parmenio, a man of great authority among the Macedonians, who next vnto Alexander was the most valiant man, the patientest to abide paine, the liberallest, and one that loued his men & friendes better then any noble man in the campe what soener. Of him it is reported, that a friend of his came to him on a time to borow money: and he commanded straight one of his me to let him haue it; His purse-bearer answered him, that he had none. Why, faid his master, doest thoutell me so : Hast thou not plate, and apparell to sell or gage to helpe him to some : Howbeit otherwise, he had such pride and glorie to shew his riches, to apparell who Phyhimselfe so sumptuously, and to be more fine and princked then became a private man, that this sufficient made him to be hated because he tooke upon him to be a great man, and to looke bigge on the and emied matter, which became him so ill fauouredly, & therefore every man through his own folly, fell of Alexan-

with wine, did valuekily wreake his anger vpon Clitus. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certaine men of the low countries from the fea fide, that brought apples of andersus GRECE VINO Alexander. Alexander wondering to see them so greene and faire, sent for Clitus to thew him them, and to give him fome of them. Clitus by chance did facrifice at that time vnto the gods, and left his facrifice to go vnto Alexander: howbeit, there were three weathers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprinklings had bene done alreadic to have facrificed them. Alexander understanding that, told it to his Soothfayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis La-CONTAN; both did answer him, that it was an ill figne. Alexander thereupon gaue order flraight, that they should do facrifice for the health of clittus, and specially for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he faw Clitus in a mourning gowne, fitting amongst the sonnes of Par- Alexanders menio, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, Clutus did not make an end of decement his facrifice, but came straight to support to the king, who had that day facrificed vnto Castor and class. Pollux. At this feaft there was old drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses fung and made by a Poet, called Pranichus (or as others fay, of one Picrion) against certaine Captaines of the Macedonians, which had not long before bin ouercome by the barbarous people; and onely to shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these verses, ancient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grew angry with the Poet that made them, and the minftrell that fung them. Alexander on the other fide, and his familiars, liked them very well, and commanded the minstrell to sing still. Clitus therewithall being one taken with wine. and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, fell into greater choler, and said: that it was neither well nor honeftly done in that fort to speake ill of those poore MACE DONIAN CADtaines (and specially amongst the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they that laughed them to fcorne, although their fortune were worse then theirs. Alexander then replied, and faid, that faying fo, he pleaded for himfelfe, calling cowardlineffe, mis fortune. Then Clitus standing vp, said again: But yet this my cowardlinesse saucd thy life, that calleft thy felfe the sonne of the gods, when thou turneds thy backe from Spitbridges sword; and formely if the bloud which these poore Macedonians did shed for thee, and the wounds which they receiued on their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee fo great, that thou disdainest now to finance. have king Philip for thy father, and wilt needs make thy felfe the fonne of Jupiter Hammer. Alexander being moued with these words, straight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape vnpunished for these proud words of thine, which thou viest continually against me, making the Mia-CEDONIANS torebell against me? Clitus answered againe, Too much are we punished, Alexander, for our paines and feruice to receive fuch reward; may, most happy thinks we them that long fince are dead and gone, not now to fee the Macedonians foourged with rods of the MEDES, & compelled to curry fauour with y Persians, to have accesse vnto their king. Thus Clitus boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander agains answering and regiling him, the grauest men fought to pacific this stirre and tumult. Alexander then turning himselfe ynto Xenodochus CARDIN, and Artemius COLOPHONIAN: Doyou notthinke (faidhe) that the GRE-CIANS are amongst the MACEDONIANS, as demy gods that walke among brute beasts? Clitus for all this would not give over his impudency and malapertnesse, but cried out, and bad Alexander speake openly what he had to say, or else not to bid free men to come to sup with him that were wont to speake franckly if not, to keepe with the barbarous flaues that honoured his Per-SIAN girdle, and long white garment. Then could Alexander no longer hold his choler, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, & threw it at Clitus, and looked for his sword, the which Aristophanes, one of his guard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when eucry man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented; he immediatly role from the boord, and called his guard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN tongue (which was a figne of great trouble to follow after it) and commanded a trampeter to found the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not found: whereupon Alexander strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he onely kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet clims, whereupon his friends with much ado thrust him out of the hall but he came in againe at another doore, and arrogantly and virtue rently rehearsed this verse of the Poet Euripides, out of Andromaches tragedy: Alas for forow entil wayes

Areinto Greece crept now adayes;

in misliking with him. Infomuch as his owne father said one day vnto him: Son, I pray thee be more humble and lowly. This Philotas had long before bene complained vpon vnto Alexander because that when the carriage of king Darius army (which was in the city of DAMAS) was taken after the battel of CILICIA, among many prisoners that were taken & brought vnto Alexanders campe, there was one Antigona, a passing faire young curtifan, borne in the city of PIDNA. Philotas found meanes to get her, and like a yong manthat was in loue with her, making merry with her at the table, fondly let fall braue words and boafts of a fouldier, faying, that what notable things were done, they were done by himselfe and his father; and called Alexander at energy word, yong man, and faid, that by their meanes he held his name and kingdome. This curtifan told one of her friends whathe faid, and that friend told another friend, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to Craserus eares. He tooke the curtifan, and brought her vnto Alexander, vnto whom she told as much as she had said before. Alexander bade her still make much of Philotas, and to tell him every word what he said of him. Philotas knowing nothing that he was thus circumuented, did euer frequent her company, and would be bold commonly to fpeake many foolish and undiscreet words against the king, sometime in anger, and fometime againe in a brauery. Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proofe and cause to accuse Philitas, yethe dissembled it for that time, and would not be knowne of it: either for that he knew Parmenioloued him or elfe for that he was affraid of their great power and authority. About that time there was one Limnus Chalastrian a MACEDONIAN. traiteroully that laid great and fecret wait to kill Alexander: and being in loue with a young man called Nicomachus, inticed him to helpe him to do this deed. The yong man wifely denied it, and told the fame to his brother called Balinus. He went vnto Philotas, & prayed him to bring them both before Alexander, for they had a matter of great importance to import vnto him. Philotas would not let him speake with the king (but why no man could tell) telling them, that the king had greater matters in hand, and was not at leifure. Then they went vnto another, and he brought them vnto Alexander, vnto whom they first opened the treason of Limnus conspired against him: & by the way they told also, how they had bin twise before with Philotas, who would not let them come in, nor speake with him. That angred Alexander greatly, and he was the more offended also when Limnus was flaine by him, whom he fent to apprehed him, refifting him for that he would not be taken: & thought that by his death, he had lost a great meanes to come to the light of this treason and conspiracy. Then Alexander frowning vpon Philotas, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they began to speake boldly, that it was time for the king to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this Limnus Chalestrian of himfelfe durst have entred into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, fet on by a greater personage then he; and therefore that it stood Alexander vpon to examine them straightly which had cause to keepe this treason secret. After Alexander once gaue eare vnto such words and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought a thousand accufations against Philotas. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of diuerse Lords and familiars of the King put to the torture, Alexander felfe hanging behind, to heare what he would fay. It is reported, that when he heard how faintly and pitifully he befought Hepheflion to take pity vpon him, he faid vnto himselfe: Alas, poore Philotas, thou that hast so faint a heart, how durft thourake upon thee fo great matters? In fine Philoras was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed. Alexander fent also with speed vnto the Realme of Media to kill Parmento, who was his Lieutenant there, and one that had ferued king Philip his father, in his greatest affaires; and he onely of all other the old servants of his father had procured Alexander to take in hand the conquest of Asia: and who also of three sons which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and afterwards was slaine himselfe with the third. This crueltie of Alexander made his friends affraid of him, and specially Antipater: who secretly sent Ambassadours vnto the ÆTOLIANS to make league with them, bewas affinid cause they themselves also were affraid of Alexander, for that they had put the Oeniades to death. Alexander hearing that faid, that he himselfe, and not the sonnes of the oemades, would be reuenged on the Atolians. Not long after that, followed the murther of Cline, the which to heare it fimply told, would feeme much more cruell then the death of Philotas. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chanced, it will be found that it was not of set purpose, but by chance and vnfortunally, that Alexander being our come with

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Then Alexander taking a partifan from one of his guard, as Clitus was coming towards him, and had lift up the hanging before the doore, he ranne him through the body, to that clitus fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died presently. Alexanders choler had left him straight, and he became maruellous forowfull: and when he faw his friends round about him fay neuer a

Challifthedo comfort Alexander

word, he pluckt the partifan out of his body, and would have thrust it into his owne throte. Howbeit his guard about him caught him by the hands, and caried him perforce into his chamber; and there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, and the next day following, vntil fuch time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, only lay fighing His friends hearing his voice no more, were afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would heare none of them, fauing Aristander the Soothsayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of clisus before, which was a prognoftication of that which had happened:whereby it appeared that it was his destiny, before he was borne. This seemed to comfort Alexander: Afterwards they brought in Callifthenes the Philosopher, a kinfman of Ariffotles. and Anaxarchus borne in ABDERA. Of thefetwo Callifthenes fought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offensiue, to comfort Alexanders forow. But Anaxarchus that from the beginning had taken away by himselfe in the study of Phylosophy, being accounted a braine-sicke man, and one that dispised his companions, he coming into Alexanders chainber also with him, cried out at the dore as he came in: See, yonder is Alexander the Great whom all the world lookes vpon, and is afraid of fee where he lies, weeping like a flaue on the ground, that is afraid of the law, and of the reproch of men: as if he himfelfe should not give them law, and stablish the bounds of iustice or iniustice, sithence he hath ouercome to be Lord and master, and not to be subject and slaue to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the Poets say, that Inpiter hath Themis, to wit, right and inflice placed on either hand of him? what fignifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is holy, right and iust: These words of Anaxarchus did comfort the sorowfull heart of king Alexander at that time, but therewithall, they made Alexanders manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did maruellously grow in fauour with the king, euen so did he make the company of callisthenes (who of himselfe was not very pleasant, because of his grauity and sowernesse) much more hatefull and misliked then before. It is written also that there was certaine talke one night at king Alexanders boord touching the seasons of the yeare, and temperatnesse of the aire, and that Callistbenes was of their opinion which maintained, that the country they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper then in GRECE. Anaxarchus held the contrary opinion, and stifly maintained it, in somuch as Callisthenes said vnto him: And yet must thou grant, that it is colder here then there. For there all the winter time thou couldest go with a single cloake on thy backe onely, and here thou must haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy boord. This galled Anaxarchus to the quicke, & made him more angry then before: and for the other Rhetoritians and flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of yong men for his eloquence, and beloued also of old men for his honest life, the which was very graue, modest, & contented with his owne, desiring no mans else. Wherby men found, that the reason he alledged for following of Alexander in his woyage, was true: for he faid, that he came to bean humble futer to the king to restore his banished citizens into their countrey againe, and to replenish their city with inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiesly to be enuied, yet did he himselse giue his enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being inuited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and fay nothing, shewing by his granity and filence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon Alexander selfe said

on a time vnto him:

I cannot thinke that person wise. That in his owne cause hat h no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, diverse requesting him to make an Oration on the sudden in commendation of the Macedonians, he made such an cloquent Oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him, rose from the boord, and clapping their hands for ioy, cast no segayes and flowers vpon him. But yet Alexander at that time faid vnto him that which the Poet Euripides faid:

It is no maisterie to be eloquent, Inhandling of a plenteous argument.

Nay, but vtter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faults, they may learne to amend. Then Callifthenes changing copy, spake boldly many things against the MACEDONIANS, declaring, that the diffention among st the GRECIANS did increase king Philips power, alledging these verses:

Where discord reignes in realme or towne -Euen wicked folke do winne renowne.

But by this occasion, he purchased himselfegreatill will of the Macedonians; infomuch, as Alexander solfe said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare vnto the Mac & Donians. Hermippus the historiographer writeth, that one Strabus a cleark of Callisthenes, did afterwards tell it vnto Aristotle in this fort; and that Callisthenes seeing king Alexander offended with him, did recite these verses of Homer three or foure times as he went:

> Patroclus who farre passed thee, Was flaine, as thou art like to be.

And therefore very wifely faid Aristotle, that Callistenes was eloquent, but not wife. For like a Philosopher, he stoutly stood against kneeling to the king, and faid that openly, which the no- Aristotle bleft and the ancientest men among the Macedonians durft but whisper one in anothers eare, though they did all vtterly mislike it : wherby he did yet deliuer Greeffo a great shame, and hopen, Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his person. This not-withstanding, he vndid himselfe, because he would seeme rather by presumption to bring him to it, then by reason to perswade him. Chares MITYLENIAN hath written, that Alexander hauing drunke at a certaine feast where he happed to be, reached his cup vnto one of his friends, who after he had taken it of him, rose vp first on his feete, and dranke also, turning him towards the gods; and first making folemne reuerence, he went and kissed Alexander, and then sate him downe againe. All the rest that were at the feast, did the like one after another, and Callisthenes also who tooke the cup when it came to his turne (the king not looking on him, but talking with Hephestion) after he had drunke, came vnto the king to kisse him, as others had done. Howbeit, one Demetrius called Phidon, faid vnto the king: kiffe him not, I pray your Grace, for he of all men hath done you no reverence. Alexander turned his head afide, and would not kiffe him. Then cried Callifthenes out aloud: Well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with leffe then others, by a kiffe. And thus began Alexanders grudge first against Callisthenes, by meanes whereof Hephastion was credited the better, when he said that Callesthenes had promised him to reverence Alexander, although that he had broken promise. After him also Lysimachus, Agnon, and diuerse others began to play their parts against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging vp and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole tyranny; and that all the yong men followed him to honour him, as if among fo many thousand souldiers, neuer a man of them had so noble an heart as he. And therefore, when the treason of Hermolaus against Alexanders person was discoursed, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detractors had informed against Callisthenes: who had answered Hermolaus that asked him, how he could come to be so famous a. suspected of boue all men, thus: In killing the famousest person. And to animate him to go forward with treason a this treason, he had told him further, that he should not be afraid of a golden bed, but remember he had to do with a man, which was fometimes ficke and hurtas other men were. This notwithstanding, there was neuer a one of Hermolaus confederates, that would once name Callifibenes, what torments so ever they abid, to bewray who were their companions. And Alexanderselse also writing of this treason immediatly after, vnto Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, said, that their feruants which had bene racked & put to the torture, did constantly affirme, that they onely had conspired his death, and no man else was prime vnto it. But afterwards, he sent another letter vnto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and said, that his seruants had alreadic bene stoned to death by the MACEDONIANS: howbeit that he himselfe would afterwards also punish the master, and those that had sent vnto him; and that had received the muriherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainely shewed offended the ill will he bare vnto Aristotle, for that Callistenes had bene brought vp with him, being his kinsman, and the sonne of Hero, Aristotles neece. Some say that Alexander trussed Callisteness The death of the dea vp. Others againe report, that he died of ficknesse in prison. Neuerthelesse Chares writeth, that callishenes Callist benes was kept prisoner seuen moneths together, because he should have had his judgemet the rhenori-

The lourney of Demaratus Corin . thian vato Alexander, and his death,

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fresheth:

in open councell even in the prefence of Ariffotle himselfe: howbeit, being very fat, he was eaten in the end by lice, and so died, about the time that Alexander was hurt, fighting against the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the conquest of INDIA, but these things chanced a good while after. Demaratus Corinthian being very old, had a great defire to go fee Alexander: and when he had feene him, he faid that the GRECIANS which were dead long before, were deprined of that bliffe and happinesse, that they could not see Alexander sit in the royall seate of king Darim. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the kings good will vnto him, for he died of a ficknesse soone after he came vnto his campe, and Alexander did honour his funerals; for all the army in their armour did cast vp a mount of earth sashioned like a tombe, which was a great compasse as bout, and foure fcore cubits high. His after safterwards were brought with honourable connoy, vnto the sea side, in a charet with foure horses richly set out. Alexander being ready to take his iourney to go conquer In DIA, perceiuing that his army was very heavy and vinweildfometore. moue, for the wonderfull carriage and spoiles they had with them; the carts one morning being loden, he first burnt his owne cariage & next his friends, and then commanded that they should also set the carriage of the Mace don i and on sire, which counsel seemed more dangerous to be resoluted of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficult. For there were very few of them that were angry therewith, & the most part of them (as if they had bin secretly moued by some god) with loud cries of ioy, one of them gaue vnto another fuch necessary things as they had need of & afterwards of themselves did burneand spoile all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorus the he was before, who befides that he was already become cruel enough, & with. The cruelly out mercy or pardon, did fharply punish enery man that offended. For having commanded Memander one of his friends, to keepe him a firing hold, he put him to death because he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he himself flue Or foldates (a Captaine of the barbarous people) with Amonstrom a dart, for that herebelled against him About that time, there was an eaw that had eaned a lambe which had vpon her head, the forme & purple colour of the kings hat, after the Persian maner called Tiara, having two from hanging on each fide of it. Alexander abhorred this monstrous figne, infomuch as he purged himfelf by certain Babylonian priefts, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpose, and said vnto his friends: that this monster did not so much moue him for respect of himself, as he did for the, fearing that the gods after his death had perdestined the force and power of his kingdome to fall into the hands of some base cowardly perion. This not with standing, another figure and token which chanced in the neck of that, did take Asserting of away his feare and discouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called Proxenus, that had charge of the kings cariage, as he digged in a certaine place by the riner of Oxus, to fet vp the kings tent and his lodging, he found a certaine fat and oily veine, which after they had drawne out the first, there came out also another clearer, which differed nothing, neither, in smell, tast, nor fauour from natural oile, having the glosse & fatnesse so like, as there could be discerned no difference betweene them: the which was fo much more to be wondred at , because that in all that country there were no oliues. They fay also, That the water of the riner self of Oxus is very fort, and maketh their skins fat, which wash or bathe themselues therin. And yet it appeareth by that which Alexander felf wrote vnto Antipater, that he was very glad of it, putting that among it the greatest fignes which the gods had fent vnto him. The soothsayers did interpret this wonder, that it was a figne, that he should have a noble, but yet a painfull voyage: for the gods, faid they, have given oyle vnto men to refresh their wearinesse. And truely so did he sustaine many dangers in those warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest losse he hadof his men, was for lacke of victuals, & by the infection of the aire. For he strining to ouercome fortune by valiantneffe, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withfland a noble heart. It is reported, that when he went to befrege a ftrong hold which Sifimethres kept, being thought vnfaltable, and that his fouldiers were in despaire of it, he asked one Oxyathres, what heart Sissenthres had. Oxyathres answered him, that he was the verift coward in the world. O, that is well quoth Alexander: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou faieft, fithence the Captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it on a fudden by putting Sistimushres in a great searc. After that also he did befrege another peece of as great strength and difficultie to affault as the other, and making the young fouldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to the affault, he called one of them vnto him, whose name also was Alexander, vnto whom he takit thus: Alexander, this day thou must fight like a man rand it be but for thy names sake. The

vong man did not forget his words, for he fought fo valiantly, that he was flaine, for whom Alexander was very fory. Another time when his men were afraid, and durst not come neare vnto the city of Nisa to affault it, because there ran a very deeperiuer hard by the walles, he came to Their of the rivers side, & said: O what a coward am I, that never learned to swim: and so prepared himfelf to swim ouer vpon his shield. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came ambaffadours vnto him, from the cities befieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondred at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonic about him: but much more, when a chaire was brought him to fit downe on, that he commanded the oldest man amongst them called Acuphis, to take it to him, and fit him downe. Acuphis maruelling at Alexanders great courtefie, asked him what they should do for him, thenceforth to be his good friends. I will, faid Alexander, that they from whom thou comest as Ambassadour vnto vs, do make thee their king; and withall, that they do fend mea hundred of their best men for hostages. Acuphis smiling answered him againe: but I shall rule them better, ôking, if I send you the worst and not the best. There was a king called Taxiles a very wise man, who had a great countrey in wie an-IN DIA, no lesse in bignesse and circuit then all AGYPT, and as full of good pasture and fruits as surround any country in the world could be: who came on a time to fainte Alexander, and faid vnto him: What should we need, Alexander, to fight, and make warres one with another, if thou comest not King Taxito take away our water, & our necessary comodities to line by: for which things, men of judge- levalke ment must needs fight. As for our goods, if I be richer then thou, I am readie to give thee of with Alexmine: & if I haue leffe, I will not thinke fcorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me some of thine. Alexander being pleafed to heare him speake thus wisely, imbraced him, & said vnto him: Thin- Alexanders kest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for althese goodly faire words?no, no, thou answer to hast won nothing by that for I will fight & contend with thee in honestic and courtesie, because thou shalt not exceed me in bounty and liberality. So Alexander taking divers gifts of him, but giuing more vnto Taxiles, he dranke to him one night at supper, and said: I drinke to thee a thousand talents in gold. This gift misliked Alexanders friends: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hearts of many of these barbarous Lords and Princes of that countrey. There was a certaine number of fouldiers of the Indians, the warlikest men of all that country, who being mercenarie foldiers, were ener entertained in feruice of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto Alexander in divers places. Alexander having made peace with them in a city where they were kept in, when they came abroad vpon furetic of this peace which they had made he met with them as they want had made he met with them as they want had made he met with them as they want had been as the want which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the fword. the peace ha There was but this onely fault, to blemish the honour of his noble deeds in all his warres: for in bad made. all things else he shewed mercy and equity. Furthermore the grave Philosophers and wise men of India did greatly trouble him also. For they reproued the kings & Princes of the Indians, for that they yeelded vnto Alexander, & procured the free cities to take armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke divers of their cities. For king Porus, Alexander selfe writeth in his Epistles, all his acts at large which he did against him. For he saith, that both their campes lying on either side of the river of Hydaspes, king Porus set his Elephants vponthe banke of the river with their heads towards their enemies, to keepe him from passing ouer: and that he him. assazing felfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his campe to acquaint his men not to be afraid ding pount of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night rulen, there was no Moone lists. of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no Moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, and the choise of his horsemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Hand. When he was come into the Hand, there fell a wonderful shower of raine, great winds, lightnings and thunders upon his campe, infomuch as he faw many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle Iland. This notwithstanding, he did not leaue to getouer to the other fide of the river. The river being fwollen with the great floud of raine that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne; fo that Alexander when he had passed ouer the river, and was come to the other side, found himselse in very ill case, for that he could hardly keep his feete, because the earth was very slippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had caten into it, and broke it downe on enery fide. It is written of him, that then he faid vnto the Athenians: O Athenians, could ye thinke that I could take fuch paines, and put my felfe into fo many dangers, onely to be praifed of you. Thus onesscritus reporteth it. But Alexander selfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of timber pinned together, whereupon they had patted ouer the streame of the maine river; and that

The fature of king Po The quicke care of the to faue the

Alexanders the Indies.

The death of Bucephal, Alex andere horfe.

eity built By slexan. der open the river of H. dalbes and whyfo mamed Peritas A lexanders dagge. Ganges fl. Ganzaride,

they waded through the other arme or gut of the water which had broken the earth, vp to their breasts, with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters. he rode with his horfemen twenty furlongs before the battell of his footemen, thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also advance their footenen forward, that his footenen also should come time cnough. One of the twaine fell out as he had gueffed: for a thousand horsemen and threescore charrets armed with his enemies, gaue him charge before their great company; whom he ouer. threw, and tooke all their charrets, and flue foure hundred of the men at armes in the field. King Porus then knowing by those fignes that Alexander was there in person, and had passed ouer the riuer, he marched towards him with all his army in battel ray, fauing a few which he left behind to refift the Macedonians, if they should force to passe over the river. Alexander being afraid of the great multisude of his enemies, and of the terrour of the Elephants, did not give charge ypearlie middeft of the battell, but being himfelfe in the left wing, gaue charge vpon the corner of the enemies left wing, and also commanded them that were in the right wing to do the like. So both the ends of the enemies armie were broken and put to flight; and they that fled, ran vnto the Elephants, and gathered themselves together about them. Thus the battell being begun, the conflict continued long, infomuch as the enemies were feantly all ouerthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Most writers agree, that Porus was foure cubits and a shaft-length high, and that being upon an Elephants backe, he wanted nothing in height and bigneffe to be proportionable for his mounture, albeit it were a very great Elephant, and befides, that the Elephant did shew great wit and care to sauc the King his master. For whilest he perceived his mafter was ftrong enough, he luftily repulled those which came to affaile him: but when he found that he began to faint, having many wounds vpon his body, and arrowes sticking in it, then being afraid left his mafter should fall downe from his backe, he foftly fell on his knees, and gently taking his darts and arrowes with his trunke, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after another. Porus being taken, Alexander asked him, how he should handle him. Princely, answered Porus. Alexander asked him againe, if he would fay any thing elfe. I comprehend all, faid he, in this word Princely. Thereupon Alexander did not onely leaue him his prouinces and realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Lieutenant, but gaue him many other countries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene feuerall nations, five thousand of no smalcities, besides an infinit number of villages and thrice as many other countries, he made Philip one of his friends, his Lieutenant of all those countries. His horse Bucephal died at this battell, not in the field but afterwards whilest he was in cure for the wounds he had on his body : but as Onesicritus saith he died euen worne for very age. Atexander was as forie for his death, as if he had loft any of his familiar friends: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horse was buried, vpon the riuer of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, Bv c EPHALIA. It is reported also, that having lost a dogge of his called *Peritas*, which he had brought vp of a whelpe, and loued very dearely, he built also a city, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he heard it reported thus of Potamon LESBIAN. This last battell against king Porus killed the MACEDONIANS hearts, and made them that they had no defire to go any further to conquer INDIA. For finding that they had such ado to ouercome them, though they were but twenty thousand footemen, and two thousand horse, they spake ill of Alexander when he went about to compell them to passe ouer the river of Ganges, vnderstanding by the countriment hat it was two and thirtie furlongs over, and a hundred fadome deepe; and how that the banke of the river was full of fouldiers, horfemen and Elephants. For it was reported that y kings of the GANGARIDES, and the PRÆSIANS were on the other fide with four fcore thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footenen, eight thouand Profits fand charrets or carts of warre well armed, and fix thousand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor friuolous tale: for a king called Androcottus (who raigned not long after) gaue vnto Scleuces, five hundred Elephants at one time, and conquered all In DIA with fixe hundred thoufand fighting men. Alexander then offended with his mens refusal, kept close in his tent for cerraine dayes, and lay vpon the ground, faying, that he did not thanke them for all that they had done thitherunto, vuleffe they passed ouer the river of Ganges also, and that to return backe againe, it was as much as to confesse, that he had bin ouercome. At the length, when he saw and considered that there was great reason in his friends perswasions which laboured to comfort

him, and that his fouldiers came to the dore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly befeeching him to leade them backe againe; in the end he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parts, he put foorth many vaine returne out and false devices to make his name immortall among that people. He made armours of greater of India. proportion then his owne, and mangers for horses, higher then the common fort: moreouer, he made bits also farre heavier then the common fort, and made them to be throwne and scattered abroad in enery place. He built great alters also in honour of the gods, the which the kings bimfelse immortally of the PR #STANS haucin great veneration at this day, and passing ouer the river, do make facilfices there, after the manner of the GRECIANS. Androcottus at that time was a very yong man, King Anand faw Alexander himselfe, and faid afterwards, that Alexander had well-nearetaken and won drounter. all the countrey, the king which then reigned, was so hated of all his subjects for his wicked life, and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanum, and made diverse boats with oares, in the which he casily went downe the rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentimes, and didaffaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in affailing the city of the Mal-LIANS, (which they fay are the warlikest men of all the Indians) he was almost slaine there. Alexander For having with darts repulfed the enemies from the wall, he himselfe was the first manthat set in danger foote on a ladder to get vp, the which brake affoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper. at the title Then the barbarous people coming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted vpon him. Alexander having few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped downe from the wall in the middest of his enemies, and by good happe lighted on his feete. His harnesse making a great noise with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had scene some light or spirit go before them: so that at the first they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne feattering here and there. But after that, when they came agains to themselues, and faw that he had but two Gentlemen onely about him, they came and set vpon him of all hands, and fought with him at the sword or push of the pike, and so hurt him very fore through his armour: but one amongst the rest, being somewhat farther off, gaue him such a terrible blow with an arrrow, that he strake him through his curaces. and shot him in at the side vnder his breast. The blow entred so into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his arrow, ranne fodainly to him with a cimiter drawnein his hand; howbeit as Peucestas and Limneus stepped before him, and were both hurt, Limneus was flaine prefently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length Alexander selfe slue the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many grietious wounds vpon his bodie. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke, that so aftonied him, that he leaned against the wall looking vpon his enemies. In the meane time the Ma-CEDONIANS compassing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a fwound, and was past knowledge: whereupon there ranne a rumour straight in the campe, that Alexander was dead. They had much ado to cut the arrow afunder that was of wood: fo his curaces being plucked off with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his bodie, which stucke in one of his bones: the which (as it is reported) was foure fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he fwounded fo oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he ouercame the danger, and escaped. Being very weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer himselfe, and neuer came out of his tent vntill he heard the Ma-CEDONIANS Cry, and make great noise about his tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night-gowne, and came out amongst them all: and after he had done sacrifice vnto the gods for recourry of his health, he went on his journey againe, and in the fame did conquer many great countries, and tooke divers goodly cities. He did also taketen of the wise men of the country, which men do all go naked, & therfore are called GYMNOSOPHIST E, (to wit, Philosophers of The wife INDIA) who had procured Sabbas to rebell against him, and had done great hurt vnto the Ms-CEDONIANS. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of answer, he did put them (as hethought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, Alexanders that answered him worst, and so the rest in order; and made the eldest among them Judge of questions their answers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

I Whether the dead or the living were the greater number? He answered, The living; for the dead faid he are no more men-

2 The fecond man he asked: Whether the earth or the fea brought forth most creatures : He answered. The earth. For the sea, said he, is but a part of the earth.

To the third man: Which of all beafts was the subtilest? That (said he) which man hitherto

To the fourth: Why he did make Sabbas rebell? Because, said he, he should like honourably,

To the fift, Which he thought was first, the day or the night He answered, the day, by a day. The king finding his answer strange, added too this speech: Strange questions must needs haue strange answers.

Coming to the fixth man, he asked him: How a man should come to be belouted? If he be a good man, faid he, not terrible.

To the feuenth, How a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man. To the eight: Which was the stronger, life, or death. Life, said he, that suffereth to many

And vnto the ninth and last man: how long a man should live? Vntill, said he, he thinke if better to die then to liue.

When Alexander had heard these answers, he turned vnto the Judge, and bade him give his iudgement vpon them. The Iudge faid, they had all answered one worse then another. Then shalt thou die first, said Alexander, because thou hast given such sentence: Not so ô king, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lyer-because thou saidest, that thou wouldest kill him first, that had anfwered worlt. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewards. He fent Onesferitus also vnto the other wife men of the Indians, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a solitarie and quiet life, to pray them to come vnto him. This Onesicritus the Philosopher, was Diogenes the Cyniks scholer. It is reported, that Calanus one of these wise men, very sharply & proudly bade him put off his clothes to heare his words naked or otherwise that he would not speake to him, though he came from Inpiter himselfe. Yet Dandamis answered him more gently. For he having learned what manner of men Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes were, faid: that they feemed to have bene wife men, and well borne, notwithstanding that they had reverenced the law too much in their life time. Others write not with standing, that Dandamis said nothing else, but asked why Alexander had taken fo painfull a journey in hand, as to come into India, For Calarus, (whose right name otherwise was Sphines) king Taxiles perswaded him to go vnto Alexander:who because he faluted those he met in the INDIAN tongue, saying, Cale, as much to say, as God fauc ye, the GRECIANS named him Calanus. It is reported, that this Calanus did flow Alexander a figure and fimilitude of his kingdome, which was this. He threw downe before him a dry searc peece of leather, & then put his foot vpon one of the ends of it. The leather being troden downe on that fide, rose vp in all parts else, and going vp and downe withall, still treading vpon the fides of the leather, he made Alexander fee, that the leather being troden downe, on the one fide did rife up of all fides else, untill fuch time as he put his foot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plainealike, his meaning thereby, was to let Alexander understand, that the most part of his time he should keepe in the middest of his country, and not to go farre from it. Alexander continued seven moneths travelling vpon the rivers, to go see the great fea Oceanum. Then he tooke ship and failed into a litle Hand called Seyllvstis, howbeitothers call in Psirvicis. There he landed, made facrifices vnto the gods, & viewed the greatnes and nature of the fea Oceanum, and all the fituation of the coasts upon that fea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers vnto the gods, that no conquerour lining after him should go beyond the bounds of his journey and conqueft, and so returned homeward. He commanded his ships should fetch a compasse about, and leave India on the right hand: and made Nearchus Admirall of all his fleet, and Onesieritus chiefe Pilote. He himselfe in the meane time went for Desarit, by land through the country of the ORITES, and there he found great scarcitie of victuals, and lost many of his men so that he caried not out of In bia the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all fixe fcore thousand footmen, and fifteene thousand horsemen. Some of them died of grienous diseases: others by ill diet: others by extreme heate and drought, & the most part of them by hunger, trauelling through this barren country, where the pooremen lined hardly, and had only a few sheepe which they fed with sea fish, that made their fleth fauour very ill fauouredly. At the length, when in three fore dayes journey he had paine-

Alexander zbe zen wile did les them

a Philofue ther. Calanus, o-Dandamis.

Calanus, a wife man of India. The fimili. peece of lea-

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

vnto the lame, did fend vnto him. After he had refreshed his army there a litle, he went through

fold, longer then broad rifing up of height, & drawne with 8. goodly horse. After that scaffold

followed diuers other charrets concred over fome with goodly rich arras & purple filke others with trim fresh boughs, which they renued at every fields end; and in those were Alexanders o-

ther friends and Captaines with garlands of flowers upon their heads, which dranke and made

merry together. In al this army, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target seene: but gold &

piping on their flutes and shalmes, and women singing and dancing, and fooling by the way as they went. In all this diffolute marching through the country, and in the midst of their drunken-

nesse, they mingled with it sport, that every man did strive to counterfert all the insolencies of

Bacebus, as if god Bacebus himfelfe had bene there in perfon, & had led the mummery. When he

came vnto y kings castle of GEDROSTA, he staid there also certain daies to refresh his army with

feafting & banqueting. It is faid, that one day when he had drunk hard, he went to fee the games

for duncing, and among ft them, the games which a yong man called Bagoas had fet forth, (with

whom Alexander fell in liking) and bare the bell. This Bago is being in his dancing garments,

came through the Theater, & fate him downe by Alexander. The MACEDONIANS were foglad

of it, that they shouted & clapped their hands for ioy, crying out aloud to kisse him: so that in fine

he tookehim in his armes and kiffed him before them all. Thither came Nearchus his Admirall

vnto him, who made report what he had feene and done in his nauigation. Alexader was fo glad

of that, as he was defirous to faile by sea himselfe; and so entring into the sea Oceanum by the

mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleete of ships, to compasse in all the coasts of Arabia and A.

FRICK, & thence into Mare Me-literraneti, by the straights of the pillers of Herenles. To this in-

tent he built a great number of ships in y city of Thapsacvs, & fent for mariners, shipmasters

conquest of India, the danger he was in when he fought with the Mallians and the number

of his men which he loft besides, which was very great: all these things considered together ma-

king men beleeue that he should neuer returne with safetie, they made all the people (which he

had conquered) bold to rife against him, & gaue his Gouernors & Lieutenants of provinces oc-

the. Thereupon he fent Nearobus backe again to the fea, determining to fil all the fea coasts with

war. As he trauelled through the countries far from the sea, he put his captaines & governors to

death which had revolted against him: & of those he slue Oxiathres, one of Abulites sons, by his

owne hand running him through with a pike. And when Abulites selfe also had brought Alexan-

der 3000 talents only, without any other provision made for victuals for his army, he made him

put the mony before his horse, which wold not once touch it. Then said he vnto him, I pray thee

to what purpose serueth this provision & there with a simmediatly committed him to prison. As

he came through the country of PERSIA, he first renued the old custome there, which was that

as oftentimes as the kings did returne home from any far journy, they gaue vnto euery woman a

crowne a peece. It is faid therfore that for this cause, some of their natural kings many times did

not returne again into their country: and that Ochus amongst others did not so much as once re-

turne backe againe, willingly banishing himself out of his country, of niggardlinesse, because he

would not be at this charge. After that, Cyrus tomb (king of Persia) being found & broken vp,

fully transfled through this country, he then entred into the country called GEDROSTA, where The country he found great plentic of all kind of victuals, which the gouernors, kings and princes, neighbours of careful.

the country of CARMANIA, wherehe continued feuen dayes together banqueting, going fill The country through the country. For night & day he was feafting continually with his friends vpon a leaf.

filter bolles, cups, & flagons in the foldiers hands, al the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes & veffels, which they caried with the one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, & others also set at the table. About them were the minstrels playing and fouldiers.

and pilots out of all parts. But now the difficulty of the journy which he took vpon him for the

cation to commit great in folencies, robberies and exactions of people. To be thort, it put all his the prokingdome in broile & fedition. Infomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rifing against Ant. pater, they deuided his gouernment betweene the: Olimpias chusing for her the kingdome of Epirvs: and alexanier, Cleopaira the kingdome of MACEDON. Which when Alexander had heard, he faid, his mother rebelled as was the wifeft: for the real me of MACBDON would never have fuffered a woman to reigne over gainft him.

he pur him to death that did it, although he were a MACE DONIAN of the city of PELLA, (and The death none of the meanest) called Polymachus. When he had read the inscription written upon it in the of Polima-PERSIAN tongue, he wold needs have it also written in the Greek tongue; and this it was: 0 man, the Pelle.

Calanus himfelfe a-

_flexander

The Macezo the Per. flans The mone derfull lexander. Alexander payed the Couldiers debes. Antigenes with one eye, a vali. ant Cap-

Thirtie thousand boyes of the Perfians, commande.

wifhed the

making a

what so thou art, and whence seeuer thou commest, for I know thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia: I pray thee ennie me not for this little earth that concreth my body. These words pierced Alexanders heart, when he confidered the vncertaintie of worldly things. There also Calanus the Indian Philosopher, having had a flux a little while, prayed that they would make him a stacke of wood, such as they vie to burne dead bodies on, and then rode thither on horsebacke; and after he had made his prayer vnto the gods, he cast those sprinklings upon him which were vsed to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead: then cutting off a locke of his haire before he went vpon the woodstacke, he bad all the Macedonians that were there farewell. and shoke them by the hands, praying them that day to be merrie, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would fee shortly after in the city of BABYLON. When he had faid these words. he laid him downe voon the woodstacke, couered his face, nor neuer stirred hand nor foot, nor quitched when the fire tooke him, but did facrifice himself in this forr, as the maner of his countrey was, that the wife men should so facrifice themselves. Another Indian also, who followed Inlins Cafar, did the like many yeares after in the city of ATHENS: and there is his tombe yetto be seene, commonly called the INDIANS tombe. When Alexander came from seeing this facrifice of Calanus, he did bid diverse of his friends and Captaines to support to him, and there did bring forth a crowne for a reward vnto him that dranke best. He that dranke most of all other, was one Promachus, that dranke foure gallons of wine, and won the crowne worth a talent: but he lived not aboue three daies after. And of other alfo that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drinke most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one and fortie persons, of an extreme cold that tooke them in their drunkennesse and wine. When they were in the city of Sysa, he maried cert line of his friends, and himselfe also maried Statiza, one of king Darius daughters dispofing also of the other Persian Ladies (according to their estate and birth) vnto his best friends. He made also a folemne feast of common mariages amongst the MACEDONIANS, of them that had benemaried before. At which feast it is written, that nine thousand persons sitting at the boords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honour of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderfull gifts, he did pay all the debts y MACEDONIANS ought vnto their creditours, the which amounted vnto the fumme of ten thousand talents, sauing a hundred and thirtielesse. Whereupon Antigenes with one eye, falfly putting in his name amongst the number of the debters, and bringing in one that faid he had lent him money, Alexander caufed him to be payed:but afterwards when it was proued to his face, that there was no fuch matter, Alexander then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, and deprived him of his Captaineship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed himselfe a valiant man in the warres. For when he was but a young man he was shot into the eye, before the city of PERIN-TE, which king Philip did befiege; and at that prefent time they would have pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out, before he had first drinen his enemies within the walles of their citie. He took this infamie very inwardly, and he was so sorie for it, that every man might see he was like to die for sorrow. Then Alexander fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bade him besides keepe the money which was given him. Now the 30000, young boyes which Alexander had left to the government of Captaines, to traine and exercise them in the discipline of warre, they being growne strong men, and lusty youths, excellently well trained and readie in armes, Alexander rejoyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the MACEDONIANS & made them greatly afraid, warsby .d. because they thought that from thenceforth the king would make lesse account of them. For when Alexander would have fent the ficke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low country to the sea side, they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to fend these poore men from him in that fort (after they had done him al the seruicethey could)hometo their country & friends, in worse case the he took the from thence. And therefore they faid, if he would fend away some, let him send them all away as men vnserniceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly yong dancers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. Alexander was maruellously offended with their proud words, infomuch that in his anger he reuiled them all, pur away his ordinary guard, and took other PERsians in their place, making some the guard about his own person; others, his vshers, heraulds, and ministers to execute his will and commandement. The poore Machonians seeing Alexander thus waited on, and themselves so shamefully rejected, they let fall their stoutnesse, and

after they had commoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare themselues for spite and malice. In fine, when they had laid their heads together, they confented to go vnto his tent, and without weapons, naked in their shirts, to yeeld themselves vnto him weeping and howling, befeeching him to do with them what pleased him, and to vsethem like wretched vnthankefull creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now fomewhat pacified, did not receive them the first time, neither did they also go their waies, but remained there two daies & nights together in this pitifull state, before the dore of his tent, lamenting vnto him, & calling him their soueraigne, and king; vntill that he came himfelfe out of his tent the third day, & feeing the poore The clemenwretches in this grieuous and pitifull state, he himselffel a weeping a long time. So, after he had wand lia little rebuked them, he called them courteoufly, and gaue y impotent & ficke persons leaue to depart home, rewarding them very honorably. Furthermore he wrote vnto Antipater his lieutenant, that he should give them alwaies the highest place in all common sports & assemblies, and that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreouer, he commanded that the orphants whose parents were flaine in the wars, should receive the pay of their fathers. After Alexander was come vnto the city of ECBATANA, in the kingdome of MEDIA, and that he had difpatched his weightiest causes, he gaue himself again vnto publike sports, seasts and pastimes; for that there were newly come vinto him out of GRECE, 3000. excellent inafters and deutlers of such sports. About that time it chanced, that Hephastion fell sicke of an ague. But he being a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spied oportunitie that his Phisitian Glaucus was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports & pastimes, he went to dinner, and cate a rosted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caufed to befet in water: whereupon his feauer took him fo forely, that he lined not long after. Alexander vnwisely tooke the chance of his death, and commanded all the haires of his horse and of Hophessis. mules to be presently shorne, intoken of mourning; and that all the battlements of the walles of ... cities also should be ouerthrown, and hung vp poore Glaneus his Phisitian vpona crosse, &commanded that no minstrell should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his campe: the death of vntill that there was brought him an oracle from Iupiter Hammon, commanding that Hephastion H. theftion. should be worshipped and sacrificed vnto, as a demy god. In the end, to passe ouer his mourning and forrow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto an hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Coss ÆIANS, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes, and flue man, woman, and child. And this was called the facrifice of Hephoftions funerals. Alexander furthermore being defirous to bestow tenne thousand talents cost vpon his obsequies and funerals, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenesse and excellencie of workmanship, amongst all other excellent workemafters, he defired one Staffcrates: for he had ever passing invention, and his worke was alwayes Staffcrates flarely and fumptuous in any newthing he tooke in hand. For hetalking one day with Alex- anextelleus ander, tould him, that of all the mountaines he knew in the world, he thought there was none ker. more excellent to refemble the statue or image of a man, then was mount Athoin THRACIA; and that if it were his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should be in the world, which in his left hand should hold a city to containe tenthousand perfons, and out of his right hand, there should run a great river into the sea. Yet Alexander would not hearken to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more strange inuentions, and farregreater cost. Now as he was ready to take his journey to go vnto BABYLON, Nearcus his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the river of Euphrates; and told him, how certaine Chaldean Soothfayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he should not go into BABYLON. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the wals of BABYLON, he faw a great number of crowes fighting and killing one of another, and some of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwards being told him that Apollodorus the gouernor of the city of BABYLON, having facrificed vnto the gods, to know what should happen to him, he sent for the foothfayer Pythagoras, to know of him if it were true. The foothfayer denied it not. Then Alexander asked him, what figures he had in the facrifice. He answered that the liner of the beast had no head. O gods, said Alexander then, this is an ill figne: notwithstanding he did Pythagoras no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not belecue Nearchus words. For this respect therefore Alexander lay much abroad in the country fro fignes be BABYLON, and did take his pleasure rowing vp & down the riner of Euphrates. Yet had he ma- fore Alexny other ill fignes and tokens one vpon another, that made him affraid. For there was a tame death,

affe that killed one of the greatest and good lieft Lions in all BABYLON, with one of his feet. An other time when Alexander had put off his clothes, to be annointed to play at tennis, when he should put on his apparell againe, the yong gentlemen that played with him, found a man set in his chaire of estate, having the kings diademe on his head, and his gowne on his backe, & said neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but ar the length coming to himselfe, he said, his name was Dionysius, borne in Messina: and being accused for certaine crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had bin along time prisoner; and also that the god Serapis had appeared vnto him, and vndone his irons, & that he commanded him to take the kings gowne, and his diademe, & to fit him down in his chaire of estate, and say neuer a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counsell of his Soothsayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, Alexander seared Antipater and his fons about all other. For one of them called tolas, was his first cup-bearer; and his brother called Caffander, was newly come out of GRECE vnto him. The first time that Caffander saw some of the barbarous people reuerencing Alexander, he having bene brought vp with the libertie of GRECE, and had neuer seene the like before, sell into a loud laughing very vnreuerently. Therewith king Alexander was so offended, that he tooke him by the haire of his head with both his hands, & knocked his head & the wall together. Another time also when Cassander did answer fome that accused his father Antipater, king Alexander tooke him vp sharply, and said vnto him: What fay est thou, faid he? Doest thou thinke that these men would have gone so long a journey as this, falfly to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? Cassander againe replied vnto Alexader and faid, that that was a manifest proofe of their falseaccusation, for that they did now accuse him being so farre off, because they thought they could not sodainly be disproued. Alexander thereat fell a laughing a good, and faid, lo, thefe are Ariftotles quiddities to argue pro & com tra: but this will not faue you from punishment, if I find that you have done these men wrong. In fine, they report that Caffander tooke fuch an inward feare and conceit vpon it, that long time after when he was king of MACEDON, & had all GRECE at his commandement, going vp and down in the city of DELPHES, & beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of Alexander; which put him into such a sodaine feare, that the haires of his head stood vpright, and his body quaked in such fort, that it was a great time before he could come to himself againe. Now after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and afraid, that no strange thing happened vnto him, (how litle socuer it was) but he tooke it straight for a signe and prediction from the gods: so that his tent was alwayes full of Priests, and Soothsayers, that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tend vpon divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men; and superstition also so dreadful, that it filled the guiltie consciences and searefull hearts, like water distilling from aboue: as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that seare had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had received some answers touching Hephestion from the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon, he left his forrow, and returned againe to his banquets and feastings. For he did sumptuously feast Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his bath according to his manner, being readie to go to bed, Medius one of his Capraines befought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. Alexander went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, fo that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking vp Hercules cup all at a draught; neither for the sodaine paine he felt betweene his shoulders, as if he had bene thrust into the backe with a speare: for all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great tragedy lamentable & pitifull. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had such an extreame feuer and thirst withall; that he dranke wine, and after that fell a rauing; and at the length died the thirtieth day of the moneth of Iune. In his houshould booke of things passed daily, it is written, that his feuer being vpon him, he flept at his hote house on the eighteene day of June. The next morning after he was come out of his hote house, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that day with Medius, playing at dice; and at night very late, after be had bathed himselfe and sacrificed vnto the gods, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himselfe againe, and making his ordinarie facrifice to the gods, he did sit downe to eate within his stone, hearkening vnto Wearchus that told him strange things he had seene in

Alexander fell ficke of an ague,

the great fea Occanum. The one and twentieth day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt himselfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feauer; and on that day he made his bed to be remoued, and to be fet up by the fish ponds, where he communed with his captaines touching certaine roomes that were void in his army, and commanded them not to place any man that were not of good experience. The three and twentieth day having an extreame feauer upon him, he was caried vnto the facrifices, and commanded that his chiefest Captaines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner fort, as Centeniers and Lieutenants of bands, that they should watch and ward withour. The foure and twentieth day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings. which is on the other fide of the lake, where he flept a litle, but the feauer neuer left him; & when his Captaines and Noblemen came to do him humble reuerence, and to fee him, he lay speechleffe. So did he the five and twentieth day also: insomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out vnto his friends and familiars, and threatened them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Therupon the gates were opened, and they coming in their gownes, went vnto his bed fide to fee him. That felfe day Python and Selaucus were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god Serapis, to know if they should bring king Alexander thither. The god answered them, that they shold not remone him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night Alexander died. Thus The death it is written word for word in maner, in the houshold booke of remembrance. At that present of Alexan. time, there was no suspition that he was poysoned. Yet they say, that sixe yeares after, there ap- der the peared some proofe that he was poysoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of solar into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gaue him poyfon in his drinke. They that thinke it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose meane the poyson was brought, they say that Agnothemis reported it, having heard it of superfield king Antigonus owne mouth. The poyson (as some say) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rocke for the poyson the territory of the city of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the lovander. horne of the foot of an affe, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is so extreame cold and piercing. Others maintaine, and fay, that the report of his poyfoning is vntrue; and for proofe thereof they alleadge this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest captaines fell at great variance after his death, so that the corps of Alexander remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a hote drie countrie, and yet there neuer appeared any figne or token vpon his body, that he was poyfoned, but was still a cleane and faire corps as could be. Alexander left Roxane great with child, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honour: but she did malice Statira extreamely, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeit letter she fent. as if it had come from Alexander, willing her to come vnto him. But when she was come, Roxane Statica killed her and her fister, & then threw their bodies into a wel, and filled it vp with earth, by Per-

strumpet and common woman, called Philinna, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chance, but as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes which olympias caused to be given him, and thereby continued franticke.

The end of Alexanders life.

diceas help and confent. Perdiceas came to be king, immediatly after Alexanders death by means Roxane.

of Aridaus, whom he kept about him for his guard and fafety: This Aridaus, being borne of a Aridaus,

THE LIFE OF Fulius Casar.



Cinna and

T what time Sylla was made Lord of all, he would have had Cafar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna Dictator: but whe he faw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he tooke her ioynter away from him. The cause of Casars ill will vnto Sylla, was by meanes of mariage: for Marius the elder, maried his fathers owne fifter, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Cafar and he were cousin germaines. Sylla being troubled in weightic matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conquerour, he made no reckening of C.esar: and he was not contented to be hidden

in safetie, but came and made suite vnto the people for the Priesthoodship that was voide, when he had scant any haire on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Syllaes meanes, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sylla told them againe, that they did not confider that there were many Marians in that yong boy. Cafar vnderstäding that, folcout of Rome, and hid himfelf a long time in the country of the SABINES, wandring still from place to place. But one day being caried fro house to house, he fell into the hands of Syllaes fouldiers, who fearched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. C.esar bribed the captaine, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gaue him. After he had escaped the thus, he went vnto the sea side, & took ship, & sailed into BITHYNIA to go vnto king Wicomedes. When he had bin with him a while, he took sea againe, & was taken by pyrats about the Ile of Рнапмасува: for those pyrats kept all vponthesea coast, with a great fleet of ships and boates. They asking him at the first 20 talents for his ransome, Cafar laughed them to scorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of himself promised them 50. talents. The he fent his men vp & down to get him this mony, so that he was left in maner alone among these theenes of the Cilicians, (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his flaues only: and yet he made fo litle reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleepe, he sent vnto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he 38 daies among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited vpon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himselse in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not vnderstood him, or passed not for them, he called

Cefartooke fea and went vnto Nicomedes. king of By-Cafar ta

them blockheads and brute beafts, and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransome was come from the city of MILETVM, they being paid their mony, and he againe fet at liberry; he then prefently armed and manned certaine shappes out of the hauen of Milry, to follow those thecaes, whom he found yet riding at anker in the fame Iland. So he tooke the most of them, and had the spoile of their goods; but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMYS & there committed them to prison, whilest he himselfe went to speake with Iunius, who had the government of Asia, as vnto whom the execution of these pirats did belong, for that he was Prator of that countrey. Eurthis Prætor having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good flore of it, answered that he would consider of these prisoners at better ley sure. Castar leaving Innius there, returned again vnto Per Gamvs, and there hung vp all thefetheeues openly vpon a croffe, as he had offentimes promifed them in the Ile he would do, when they thought he did but ieast. Afterwards when Syllaes power began to decay, Cafars friends wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home again. But he failed first vnto RHODEs, to study there a time vnder Apollonius the fon of Molon, whose scholer also cicero was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good Rhetoritian. It is reported, that Cafar had an excellent natural gift to speake well cofare do before the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently wel studied, so that doubtlesse he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, & gaue place to the first, because he wold be the first and chiefest man of war & authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak wel, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars, and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all Rome. And therefore in a booke he wrote against that which Cicera made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the stile of a souldier with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned againe vnto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill behauiour in the gouernement of his Provinces, and he had divers cities of GRECE that gaue in cuidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cafar, to require the good will of the GRECIANS which they had shewed him in his accusation of Dolabella, tooke their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of Macedon: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that Antonius was driven to appeale before the Tribunes at Rome, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he could have no inflice in GRECE against the GRECIANS. Now Cafar immediatly wanne many mens good wils at Rome, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes, and the people loued him maruellously also, because of the courte our manner he had? to speake to every man, and to vse them gently, being more ceremonious therein then was looked for in one of his yeares. Furthermore, he ener kept a good boord, and fared well at his ta- celar loued ble, and was very liberall befides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought befitted. him in estimation with the people. His enemies judging that this fauour of the common people would foone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence, fuffered lower of the him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growne to be of great strength and power. But in people. fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though indeede in fight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so litle a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will foone make it ftrong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnesse. Thereupon, Cicero like a wise shipmaster that feareth the calmenesse of the sea, was the first manthat mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked under the habite of outward courtefie and familiarity. And yet, said he, when I consider how finely he combeth his circuit faire bush of haire, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one singer under ment onely, my mind gives me then, that fuch a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in of cafar. his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the commonwealth. But this was long time after that. The The lone of first shew and proofe of the love and goodwil which the people did beare vnto Casar, was when the people he sued to be Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand footmen) standing against and some Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proofe then the first, was at the death of his aunt Iulia, the wife of Marine the older. International in

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Alexander

fell sicke of

affethat killed one of the greatest and good liest Lions in all BAB ELON, with one of his feet. An other time when Alexander had put off his clothes, to be annointed to play at tennis, when he should put on his apparell againe, the yong gentlemen that played with him, found a man set in his chaire of estate, having the kings diademe on his head, and his gowne on his backe, & said neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was: It was long before he made them answer, but at the length coming to himselfe, he said, his name was Dionysius, borne in MESSINA: and being accused for certaine crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had bin a long time prisoner and also that the god Serapis had appeared vnto him, and vndone his irons, & that he commanded him to take the kings gowne, and his diademe, & to fit him down in his chaire of estate, and say neuer a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counsell of his Soothsayers : but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, Alexander feared Antipater and his fons about all other. For one of them called Iolas, was his first cup-bearer; and his brother called Cassander, was newly come out of GRECE vnto him. The first time that Cassander saw some of the barbarous people reverencing Alexander, he having bene brought vp with the libertie of GRECE, and had neuer feene the like before, fell into a loud laughing very vnreuerently. Therewith king Alexander was so offended, that he tooke him by the haire of his head with both his hands, & knocked his head & the wall together. Another time also when Cassander did answer fome that accused his father Antipater, king Alexander tooke him vp sharply, and said vnto him: What fay est thou, faid he. 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But that came not (as fome write) by drinking vp Hercules cup all at a draught; neither for the sodaine paine he felt betweene his shoulders, as if he had bene thrust into the backe with a speare: for all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great tragedy lamentable & pitifull. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had such an extreame feuer and thirst withall; that he dranke wine, and after that fell a rauing; and at the length died the Ariftobulus thirtieth day of the moneth of Iune. In his houshould booke of things passed daily, it is written, that his feuer being vpon him, he flept at his hote house on the eighteene day of June. The next morning after he was come out of his hote house, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that day with Medius, playing at dice; and at night very late, after be had bathed himselfe and sacrificed vnto the gods, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himselfe againe, and making his ordinarie facrifice to the gods, he did fit downe to eate within his stone, hearkening vnto Wearchus that told him strange things he had seene in

the great fea Oceanum. The one and twentieth day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt himselfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feauer; and on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be fet vp by the fish ponds, where he communed with his captaines touching certaine roomes that were void in his army, and commanded them not to place any man that were not of good experience. The three and twentieth day having an extreame feauer vpon him, he was caried vnto the facrifices, and commanded that his chiefest Captaines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner fort, as Centeniers and Lieutenants of bands, that they flould watch and ward without. The foure and twentieth day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings. which is on the other fide of the lake, where he flept a little, but the feauer neuer left him: & when his Captaines and Noblemen came to do him humble reuerence, and to fee him, he lay speechleffe. So did he the five and twentieth day also: insomuch as the Macedonians thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out with his friends and familiars, and threatened them, to that they were compelled to open them the gate. Therupon the gates were opened, and they coming in their gownes, went vnto his bed fide to fee him. That felfe day Python and Seleucus were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god Serapia, to know if they should bring king Alexander thither. The god answered them, that they shold not remove him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night Alexander died. Thus The death it is written word for word in maner, in the houshold booke of remembrance. At that present of alexans. time, there was no suspicion that he was poysoned. Yet they say, that six eyeares after, there appeared some proofe that he was poy soned. Whereupon his mother olympias put many men to death, and call the aftes of Iolas into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was faid he gaue him poy son in his drinke. They that thinke it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose meane the poyson was brought, they say that Agnothemis reported it, having heard it of superfield king Antigonus owne mouth. The poyfon (as fome fay) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rocke for the pay in the territory of the city of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the devander. home of the foot of an affe, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is fo extreame cold and piercing. Others maintaine, and fay, that the report of his poyfoning is vntrue; and for proofe thereof they alleadge this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefell captaines fell at great variance after his death, so that the corps of Alexander remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a hote drie countrie, and yetthere never appeared any figne or token upon his body, that he was poyfoned but was still a cleane and faire corps as could be. Alexander left Roxane great with child, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honour: but fine did malice Statira extreamely, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeit letter fine fent. as if it had come from Alexander, willing her to come vnto him. But when she was come, Roxane killed her and her fister, & then threw their bodies into a wel, and filled it vp with earth, by Perdiscass help and confent. Perdiscas came to be king immediatly after Alexanders death by means Roxane. of Aridaus, whom he kept about him for his guard and fafety: This Aridaus, being borne of a Aridaus,

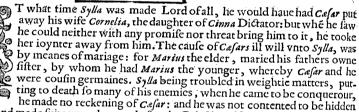
strumpet and common woman, called Philinna, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chance, but as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes which Olympias caused to be given him, and thereby continued franticke.

The end of Alexanders life.

Alexanders bastard

THE LIFE OF fulius Casar.





in safetie, but came and made suite vnto the people for the Priesthoodship that was voide, when he had scant any haire on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Syllaes meanes, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sylla told them againe, that they did not confider that there were many Marians in that yong boy. Cafar understäding that, ftole out of Rome, and hid himselfalong time in the country of the Sabines, wandring still from place to place. But one day being caried fro house to house, he fell into the hands of Syllaes fouldiers, who fearched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Casar bribed the captaine, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gaue him. After he had escaped the thus, he went vnto the sea side, & took ship, & failed into BITHYNIA to go vnto king Nicomedes. When he had bin with him a while, he took sea againe, & was taken by pyrats about the Ile of Phan Macvsa: for those pyrats kept all vpon the sea coast, with a great fleet of ships and boates. They asking him at the first 20. talents for his ransome, Cafar laughed them to scorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of himself promised them 50 talents. The he sent his men vp & down to get him this mony, so that he was left in maner alone among these theeues of the Cilicians, (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his flaues only and yet he made fo litle reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleepe, he sent vnto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he 38 daies among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited vpon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himselfe in any sport or pastimethey would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to fay them before them : and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed not for them, he called

Cefartooke fea and went vnto Nicomedes king of By Cafar tathem blockheads and brute beafts, and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransome was come from the city of MILETVM, they being paid their mony, and he againe fet at liberty; he then prefent ly armed and manned certaine shippes out of the hauen of MILETVM; to follow those theeues, whom he found yet riding at anker in the same Iland. So he tooke the most of them, and had the spoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMYS & there committed them to prison, whilest he himselfe went to speake with Iunius, who had the government of Asia, as vinto whom the execution of these pirats did belong, for that he was Prator of that countrey. Butthis Prator having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good flore of it, answered that he would consider of these prisoners at better leysure: Casar leauing Junius there, returned again vnto Per GAMVs, and there hung vp all these theeues openly vpon a crosse, as he had oftentimes promised them in the He he would do, when they thought he did but icast. Afterwards when Syllaes power began to decay, Casars friends wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home again. But he failed first vnto RHODEs, to study there a time vnder Apollonius the fon of Molon, whose scholer also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good Rhetoritian. It is reported, that Cafar had an excellent natural gift to speake well cafar elobefore the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently wel studied, so that doubtlesse he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, & gaue place to the first because he wold be the first and chiefest man of war & authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak wel, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to sollow wars, and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all Rome. And therefore in a booke he wrote against that which Cieere made in the praise of Cate, he prayeth the readers not to compare the stile of a fouldier with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned againe vnto Roms, he accused Dolabella for his ill behauiour in the gouernement of his Prouinces, and he had divers cities of GRECE that gaue in euidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cefar, to require the good will of the GRECIANS which they had shewed him in his accusation of Dolabella, tooke their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of MACEDON: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that Antonius was driven to appeale before the Tribunes at Rome, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he could have no inflice in GRECE against the GRECIANS. Now Cafar immediatly wanne many mens good wils at Rome, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes, and the people loued him maruellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speake to euery man, and to vse them gently, being more ceremonious therein then was looked for in one of his yeares. Furthermore, he ever kept a good boord, and fared well at his ta- 1 Celar loved ble, and was very liberall besides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought hospitality. him in estimation with the people. His enemies judging that this fauour of the common people would foone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expense, suffered lower of the him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growne to be of great strength and power. But in prople. fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though indeede in fight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rom E: too late they found, that there is not so litle a begin ning of any thing, but continuance of time will foone make it frong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnesse. Thereupon, Cicero like a wise shipmaster that feareththe calmenesse of the sea, was the first manthat mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked under the habite of outward courtefie and familiarity. And yet, faid he, when I confider how finely he combeth his citerosis faire bush of haire, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses in the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger uses the second series and head series are series as the second series and head series are series as the second series are series as the second series are series as the second series and head series are series as the second series are series are series as the second series are series are series as the second series are onely, my mind gives me then, that fuch a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in of casa. his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the commonwealth. But this was long time after that. The The lone of first shew and proofe of the loue and goodwil which the people did beare vnto Cafar, was when the Rome he fued to be Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand footmen) standing against "no ceffer. Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more court has manifest proofe then the first, was at the death of his aunt Iulia, the wife of Marius the elder.

Ppp 3

Calar male the funerall oration, at the death of bu aunt Iulia.

Cefar the firli that praifed his wite in funerall ora-21971. Cafar made Questor. Pompeia Cafars
that wife.

Cafars pro-

Celar accus

For being her nephew, he made a solemne oration in the market place in comendation of her. & at her burial did boldly venture to shew forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were seene after Syllaes victorie, because that Marius and all his confederates had bene proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were fome that cried out vpon Cafar for doing of it, the people on the other fide kept a stirre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their hands, and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius honour againe into Rome, which had so long time bene obscured and buried. And where it had bene an ancient custome of long time, that the Romaines vied to make funerall orations in praise of old Ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young womens Cafar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did encrease the peoples goodwils the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treasurer vnder Antistius Vetus Prætor, whom he honoured euer after: fo that when himselfe came to be Prætor, he made his sonne to be chosen Treasurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he maried his third wife Pompeta, hauing a daughter by his first wife, Cornelia, which was maried vnto Pompey the Great. Now for that he was very liberall in expences, buying (as some thought) but a vaine and short glory of the fauour of the people, (where indeede he bought good cheape the greatest things that could be:) some say, that before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was growne in debt, to the summe of thirteene hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made overseer of the worke, for the high way called Appius way, he disburfed a great fumme of his owner money towards the charges of the fame. And on the other fide, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword players, and did besides exceede all other in sumptuousnesse in the sports and common seasts, which he made to delight them withall, (and did as it were drowne all the stately shewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so pleased the people, and wan their loue therewith, that they denised daily to give him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factios in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very strong and of great power; and the other of Marius, which then was vnder foote, and durst not shew it selfe. But Colar because he would renew it againe, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest russe, he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that caried triumphs; & those he set up one night within the Capitoll. The next morning when every man faw the gliftering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which Marius had won vpon the CIMBRES, curry one maruelled much at the boldnesse of him that durst set them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hercupon it ran straight through all the city, & euery man came thither to see them. Then some cried out vpon Cafar, & faid, it was a tyranny which he meant to fet vp, by renewing of fuch honours as before had bene troden vnder foot & forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation; and that it was no more but a bait to gage the peoples good wils, which he had fet out in the stately shewes of his comon playes, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they wold abide such parts to be played, & a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius faction the other side, incouraging one another, shewed theselues straight a great nuber gathered together, & made the mount of the Capitoll ring again with their cries and Clapping of hands: infomuch as the teares ran down many of their cheeks, for very ioy, when they faw y images of Marius, & they extolled Cafar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of althe kinred of Marius. The Senate being affembled therupon, Catulus Luctatias, one of y greatest authority at that time in Rome, rose, & vehemetly inueighed against Casar, & spake that the which ever since hath bin noted much that Cafar did not now couertly go to worke, but by plain force fought to alter the state of the comonwealth. Neuerthelesse, Cafar at that time answered him so, that the Senat was fatisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope then before, and perswaded him, that hardily he should give place to no man, and that through the goodwill of the people, he should be better then all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city. At that time the chiefe Bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the citie, and of greatest authoritie (Isauricus and Catulus) contended for his roome: Casar not withstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himselfe to the people, and made fuite for it as they did. The fuitebeing equall betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a

man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the vncertainty of the election, fent vnto Cefar a good fumme of money, to make him leave off his fuite. But Cefar fent him word againe, that he would lend a greater fumme then that, to maintaine the fuite against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the doore of his house, Cafar weeping, killed her, and faid: Mother, this day thou shalt fee thy sonne chiefe Bishop of Rome, or banifhed from Rome. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Cafar wannethe victory, and made the Senate and Noble men all affraid of him, Cafar made for that they thought that thencefoorth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Pifo fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray Cafar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had oportunity to have done cafar in it. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not onely to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but vtterly to destroy the Empire of Rome, he escaped out of the hands of instice retwith for lacke of sufficient proofe, before his full treason and determination was knowne. Notwith- Catilinein standing he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, companions of his conspiracy: vnto whom, whether Cafar did give any fecret helpe or comfort, it is not well knowne. Yet this is manifest, that when they were continced in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Confull, asking cuery mans opinion in the Senate, what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Cafar, gaue sentence they should die: Cafar then rising vp to speake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and faid, that it was neither lawfull, nor yet their cu- Cefarwens flome did beare it, to put men of such Nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawfull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison infomecity of confinators ITALY, where Cicero thought best vntill that Catiline were ouerthrowne, the Senate then might at their pleasure quickly take such order therein, as might appeare best vnto their wisedomes. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vitered with fuch a paffing good grace and cloquence, that not onely they which were to speake after him did approuchts but fuch also as had spoken to the contrary before, reuoked their opinion, and stucke to his, vntil it came to Cato and Catulus to speake. They both did sharply inneigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cafar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, infomuch that the offenders were put into the hads of the officers to be put to death. tim against Cafar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men which guarded cicero for the fafety of cafar. his person, did set upon him with their swords drawne. But some say, that Curio couered C.esar with his gowne, and tooke him out of their hands. And Cicero felfe, when the yong men looked vpon him, beckened with his head that they shold not kil him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But if that were true, I maruel why Cicero did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Confulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, forthat he took not the opportunity offered him against Casar, only for ouermuch feare of the people, that loued him very dearely. For shortly after, when Cafar went into the Senate, to cleare himselfe of certaine presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer then they were wont: the people came about the councell-house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then fearing the infurrection of the pooreneedy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cafar, and did also moue the people to stirre, did perswade the Senate to make a franke distribution of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This distribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of fine hundred and fifty Myriades. This counsell quenched a present great feare, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Casars force and power at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be seared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer fought any alteration in the common-wealth, but contrarily he himself had a great misfortune sel on his house, which was this. There was a yong noble man of the order of the PATRICIAN'S, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor cloquence P. Clodius but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was else in Rome. He became in who Powloue with Pompeia Cesars wife, who misliked not withall: not withstanding she was so straightly piaces are looked to, and Aurelia (Casars mother) an ho st Gentlewoman had such an eye of her, The good that these two louers could not meete as they we d, without great perill and difficulty. The goldesto Romaines do vieto honora goddesse which they call the good goddesse, as the Grecians with the have her whom they call Gymeria, to wit, the goddesse of women. Her, the Phrygians do farificia

him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there

were any strife there among st the noble men for honor. Cafar speaking in good earnest, answe-

red: I cannot tell that faid he, but for my part I had rather be the chiefest man here, then the se-

cond person in Rome. Another time also when he was in Spaine, reading the history of A-

levanders acts, when he had read it, he was forowfull a good while after, and then burft out in

weeping. His friends feeing that, maruelled what should be the cause of his sorow. He answe-

being no elder then my selfe is now, had in old time wonne so many nations and countries: and

that I hitherunto haue done nothing worthy of my felfe: Therefore when he was come into

Spaine, he was very carefull of his businesse, and had in few dayes joyned ten new ensignes

the CALLECIANS and Lysitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great fea Oce-

anum, fubduing all the people which before knew not the ROMAINES for their Lords. There

he tooke order for pacifying of the warre, and did as wifely take order for the establishing of

peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but spe-

cially he pacified all fuites of law, and ftrife betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by

of their debtors, untill fuch time as they had payed them felues; and that the debtors should have

ming vnhappily at the very time when the Confuls were chosen, he fent to pray the Senate to

do him that factour, that being absent he might by his friends sue for the Consulfhip. Cato at

the first did vehemently inuey against it, vowching an expresse law to the contrary. But af-

terwards, perceiving that notwith standing the reasons he alledged, many of the Senators (being

wonne by Cafar) fauored his request, yet he cunningly sought all he could to preuent them,

prolonging time, in dilating his oration vntill night. Gafar thereupon determined rather to give

ouer the fuite of his triumph, and to make fuite for the Confulfhip; and so came into the city; and

had fuch a deuice with him, as went beyond them all but Cato only. His deuice was this: Pompey

many menthought, that caused the civill warre but rather it was their agreement together, who

ioyned all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and Nobility, and afterwards

the ouerhardnesse and austerity of the Senate, they draue him against his will to leane vnto the

people: and thereupon having Crassus on the one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he as-

ked them openly in the affembly, if they did give their confent vnto the lawes which he had put

foorth. They both answered they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that

threatened him with force of fword to let him. Craffus gave him his word, he would, Pompey

also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his sword and target both, a-

gainst them that would withstand him with their swords. These words offended much the Se-

nate, being farre vnmeete for his grauity, and vndecent for the maiesty and honor he caried, and

most of all vncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have reverenced and were

red them, Do you not thinke, faid he, that I have good cause to be heavie, when king Alexander

more of footmen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against in spains,

reason of vsury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearely two parts of the revency the third part themselves to live withall. He having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his gouernment very rich; and his fouldiers also full of rich spoiles, who cal- debior.

led him Imperator, to fay fourraigne Captaine. Now the Romaines having a custome, that coloribation fuch as demanded honor of triumph, should remaine a while without the city, and that they on diers salled the other fide which fued for the Consulship, should of necessity be there in person: Casar com-

and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome being at larre together, Casar case remade them friends, & by that meanes got vnto himselfe the power of them both, for by colour concileto of that gentleach & friendship of his, he subtilly (vnwares to the all) did greatly alter & change the strengths commonwealth. For it was norther mineral distributions of the strengths commonwealth. the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey & Cafar as gether.

they fell at jarre one with another. But Cato that then forefaw and prophecied many times what catos fore, would follow, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwards they found him a wifer man then fish and happy in his counsel. Thus C.efar being brought vnto the affembly of the election, in the middest class first of the fetwo noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together, he was there chosen Con- confusibile full with Calphurnius Bibulus, without gaine-faying, or contradiction of any man. Now when with Calhe was entred into his office, he began to put forth lawes meeter for a feditious Tribune of the biblion. people, then for a Confull: because by them he preferred the division of lands, and distributing cofars of corne to enery citizen gratis, to please them withall. But when the Noblemen of the Senate Lex agree were against his deuice, he desiring no better occasion, began to cry out, and to protest; that by rid,

claime to be peculiar vnto them, faying: that she is king Midas mother. How beit the Romain as hold opinion, that it is a nimph of the woods maried vnto the god Faunus. The GRECIANS, they fay also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on her feast day, the women make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, & leaves of vine branches; and also they make as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddeile, and do fee it by her : besides, it is not lawfull for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it selfe where they are made. Furthermore, they say, that the women in these facrifices do many things amongst themselves, much like vnto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Prætor or Confull) and all his men and the boyes in the house, do come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices & ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides passethe night away in songs and musick. Pompeia Casars wife, being that yeare to celebrate this feast, clodius who had yet no haire on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed, difguifed himfelf in a finging wenches apparell, because his face was very like vnto a yong wench. He finding the gates open, being fecretly brought in by her chambermaid that was made priny vnto it, she left him, and ranne to Pompeia her mistresse, to tell her that he was come. The chamber-maid taried long before she came againe, in somuch as Cledius being weary waiting for her where she lest him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still shunning the light; and was by chance met withall by one of Aureliaes maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refufing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he taried for Abra one of Pompeiaes women. So Aureliaes maid knowing him by his voice, ranne straight where the lights and Ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the ceremonies of the facrifice, and to hide their secret things, and having seene the gates fast locked, went immediatly vp and downethe house with torch-light to fecke out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeiaes maid, with whom he hid himselfe. Thus clodius being found out, and knowne of the women, they thrust him out of the doores by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as foone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumour through the city, how Clodius had attempted a great villany, and that he deserved, not onely to be punished of them whom he had flandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the Nobilitie and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incestcommitted with his owne fister, which was maried vnto Lucullus. Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did helpe him much against the ludges, which were amazed, and afraid to stirre the people. This not with standing, Cafar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius accuser to be a witnesseagainst him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being cleane contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Casar, why then he had put away his wife: Because I will not, said he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And fome say, that Casar spake truly as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to saue Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the scarethey stood in one way of the danger of the common people, if they condemned him, and for the ill opinion on the other side of the Nobility, if they did quithim. The government of the protince of Spaine being fallen vnto Cafar, for that he was Prætor, his creditors came & cried out vpon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. cafar being vnable to satisfie them, was compelled to go vnto crassus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of Cafars boldnesse and courage to withstand Pompeys greatnesin the commonwealth. Crassus became his surety vnto his greediest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirty talents? whereupon they suffered C. esar to depart to the government of his province. In this journey it is reported, that passing ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many housholds, and yet poore cottages. There his friends that did accompany

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speeches fitter for a rash light headed youth, then for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other fide, they reioyced. Then Cafar because he would be more assured of Pompeys power and friendship, he gaue him his daughter Iulia in mariage, which was made sure before vnto Seruilius Capio, and promifed him in exchange Pompeys daughter, who was fure also vnto Faustus the sonne of Sylla. And shortly after also, Casar selfe did mary Calphurnia, the daughter of Pifo, whom he caused to be made consull, to succeed him the next yeare following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnesse, that it was a shamefull matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that fort make hanocke of the Empire of Roma, by such horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themselues through those wicked mariages, the gouernements of the provinces, and of great armies. Chalphurnius Bibulus, fellow Confull with Cafar, perceiving that he did contend in vaine, making all the refistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be flaine with Cato, in the market place and affembly, he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had maried Inlia, he filled all the market place with fouldiers, and by open force authorised the lawes which Cafar madein y behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Cafar had GAVLE on this fide and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRIA, with four legions granted him for fine yeares. Then Cato standing up to speake against it, Cafar bad his officers lay hold on him, and carie him to prison, thinking he would have appealed vnto the Tribunes. But Cato said neuer a word, when he went his way. Cafar perceiuing then, that not onely the Senators and Nobilitie were offended, but that the common people also for the reverence they bare vnto Catoes vertues, were ashamed, and went away with silence; he himselfe fecretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be Præsident of the Senate vnder him, but left the city, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called Confidius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to councell, because they were afraid of his souldiers. Cefar answered, him again: and why then, does not thou keepe thee at home, for the same feare? Considius replied, because my age taketh away feare from me for having so short a time to live, I have no careto prolong it further. The shamefullest part that Casar played while he was Confull, seemeth to bethis: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife such dishonor, and prophaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero: and Casar selfe also departed not from Rome to his army before he had fetthem together by the eares, and driven Cicero out of ITALY. All these things they say he did, before the warres with the GAVLES. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made a fterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued all the GAVLES (entring into another course of life farre contrary vnto the first) made him to be knowne for as valiant a souldier and as excellent a captain to leade men, as those that afore him had bene counted the wifeft and most valiant Generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had archieued great honour. For who foeuer would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipioes, of the Metellians, yea those also of his owne time, or long before him, as Sylla, Marius, thetwo Lucullians, and Pompey felfe:

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens: It will appeare that Cafars prowesse, & deeds of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars: another, in enlarging the realmes and countries which he joyned vnto the Empire of Rome : another, in the multitude and power of his enemies who he ouercame: another in the rudenesse and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose maners afterwards he softned and made civill: another, in courteste and elemencie which he vsed vnto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed vnto them that served vnder him in those warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battels he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had flaine in battell. For in leffe then ten yeares warre in GAVLE he tooke by force and affault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred seuerall nations: and having before him in battell thirtie hundred thousand souldiers, at fundry times, he slueten hundred thousand of them, and tooke as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloued of his souldiers, that to do him seruice (where otherwise they were no more then other men in any private quarrell) if Casars honour were touched, they were inuincible, and would so desperately venture themselues, and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius:who in abattel by fea before the city of MARSELLLES, bording one of his enemies ships, one cut off his right hand with a fword; but yet he forfooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies faces, and made them flie, so that he wanne their ship from of acilians them. And Cassus Scena also, in a conflict before the city of Dyrraghivm, having one of his us, and dieves put out with an arrow, his shoulder striken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, wersoibers and having received thirty arrowes vpon his shield, he called to his enemies, & made as though of casars he would yeeld vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turne his backe, and at the length faued himselfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpehim. And in BRITAINE also, when the Captaines of the bands were driven into a marrish or bogge full of mire and dirt, and that the enemies did fiercely affaile them there, Cafar then standing to view the battell, he saw a private souldier of his thrust in among the Captaines; and fought to valiantly in their defence that at the length he drauethe barbarous people to flye, and by his meanes faued the Captaines, which otherwise were in great danger to have bene cast away. Then this fouldier being the hindmost man of all the Captains, marching with great paine though the mire and dirt, halfe swimming, and halfe on foote, in the end got to the other side, but lest his shield behind him. Casar wondering at his noble courage, ranne to him with joy to embrace him. But the poore fouldier hanging downe his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell downe at Cafars feete, and befought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in Arrick & alfo, Scipio having taken one of Cafars ships, and Granius Granius Petronius abord on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer; he put all the rest to Petronius. the fword but him, and faid he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him againe, that Cefars fouldiers did not vse to haue their lines ginen them, but to gine others their lines: x and with these words he drew his sword, and thrust himselfe through. Now Casars selfe did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gaue them bountifully, and old honor them also, shewing therby, that he did not heape up riches in the warres to maintaine his life afterwards in wantonnesse and pleasure, but that he did keepe it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service: and that by so much hethought himselfe rich, by how much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantnesse in putting himselse at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedy defire of honour that fet him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he alwayes continued all labour and hardnesse, more then his body could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For , concerning the constitution of his body, he was leane, white, and foft skinned, and often subject to head-ach, and otherwhile to the falling ficknesse (the which tooke him the first time, as it is reported, in Con- casar had DVBA, a city of SPAINE:) but yettherefore yeelded not to the disease of his body, to make it a shefalling cloake to cherish him withall, but contrarily, tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his ficke body, fighting alwayes with his difeafe, trauelling continually, liming foberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him alwayes able to do something; and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downethe countrey to fee townes, castles, and strong places He had alwayes a secretary with him in the coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a fouldier behind him that caried his fword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office, that in eight dayes he came to the riuer of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse vpon the spurre. In his warres in GAVLE, he did further exercise himselfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and as Oppin writeth, more then two at a time. As it is reported, that Cafar was the first that deuised friends might talke together by writing cyphers in letters, when he had no leasure to speake with them Thetempefor his vegent businesse, & for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account Casar rance of made of his diet', this example doth proue it. Cafar supping one night in MILLANE with his Galarinhis friend Valerius Leo, there was served Sperage to his boord, and oyle of perfume put into it cafarsiniin stead of fallet oyle. He simply eate it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had bene enough for them to have abstained to eate of that they friend.

The Tiguria nians flaine by Labie-Arax fl.

when he fought a

Rheynus ft.

misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manners that found fault with his friend. Another time as he trauelled through the country, he was driven by fowle weather on the sudden to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, & that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lye in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him: Greatest roomes are meetest for greatest men, & the most necessary roomes for the sickest perfons. And thereupon he caused Oppius that was sicke to lye there all night: and he himselfe with the rest of his friends, lay without doores, under the easing of the house. The first warre that Cafar made with the Gavles, was with the Helvetians and Tigorinians, who hauing set fire on all their good cities, to the number of twelue, & foure hundred villages besides, came to inuade that part of GAVLE which was subject to the ROMAINES, as the CIMBRI and TEVT ON'S had done before, vnto whom for valiantnesse they gaue no place: and they were alfo a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand soules in all) whereof there were an hundred, foure score, and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Cafar himfelfe that ouercame the TIGVRINIANS, but Labienus his Lieutenant, that ouerthrew them hy the river of Arax. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set you him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. Cafar perceiuing that, made half to ger him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battell ray. When one brought him his horse to get vp on, which he vsed in battell, he said vnto them: When I have ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to follow the chafe, but now let vs give them charge. Therewith he marched forward on foote, and gaue charge; and there fought it out a long time, beforc he could make them fliethat were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their campe, and to breake their strength which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battell, did not only put themselues in force, and valiantly fought it out; but their wives and children also fighting for their lives to the death, were all slaine, and the battell was feant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, vnto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battell, he gathered together againe aboue an hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to returne home into their countrey which they had for saken, and vnto their townes also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germaines would come ouerthe river of Rheyne, and occupie that countrey lying voide. The fecond warre he made, was in desence of the GAVLES against the GERMAINES: although before, he himselfe had caused Ariouistus their king, to be received for a confederate of the Romains. Notwithstanding, they were growne very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that having any occasion of fered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to inuade and possesse the rest of GAVLE. Casar perceiving that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young Gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the warres with him, as onely for their pleasure and gaine, the called them to councell, and commanded them that were afraid, that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wils, sith they had such womanish faint-harts, to shrink when he had need of them. And for himselse, he said, he would set vpon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, faying that the enemies were no valianter then the Cim-BRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferiour vnto Marius. This oration being made, the fouldiers of the tenth legion fent their Lieutenants vnto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fel out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iourney with good will to ferue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlongs of the campe of the enemies. Ariouistus courage was well cooled, when he faw Cafar was come, and that the Romaines came to feeke out the Germaines; where they thought, and made account, that they durst not have abidden them: and therefore nothing mistrusting it would have come so to passe, he wondered much at Casars courage, and the more when he saw his owne army in a maze withall. But much more did their courage fall, by reason of the soolish womens prophesies they had amongst them, which did foretell things to come: who confidering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible noyse they made running downe the streame, did forwarne them not to fight vntill the new Moone. Casar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set vpon them, being discouraged with the superstitious seare,

rather then losing time, he should tarie their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts and litle hils where they lay, and by this meanes provoked them fo, that with great fury they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chafe, with great flaughter, three hundred furlongs, euen vnto the River of Rheyn: and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoyles. Howbeit Arionistus flying with speed, got ouer King Ario the river of Rheyn, and escaped with a few of his men. It is faid that there were slaine fourcfcore thousand persons at this battell. After this exploite, Casar left his army amongst the Sn- Cesar. QVANES to winter there: and he himfelfe in the meane time, thinking of the affaires at ROME, went ouer the mountaines into GAVLE about the river of Po, being part of his province which he had in charge. Forthere the river called Rubico, devideth the reft of ITALIE from GAVLE on this fide of the Alpes. Cefar lying there, did practife to make friends in Rome, because ma. nv came thither to see him: vnto whom he granted their suites they demanded, and sent them homealfo, partly with liberall rewards, and partly with large promifes and hope. Now during all this conquest of the GAVLES, Pompey did not consider how Cafar enterchangeably did conquer the GAVLES with the weapons of the ROMAINES, and wanne the ROMAINES againe with the money of the GAVLES. Cofar being advertised that the BELGE (which were the warlikest men of all the GAVLES, and that occupied the third part of GAVLE) were all vp in armes, and had raifed a great power of men together; he straight made towards them with all possible speede, and found them spoyling and ouerrunning the countrey of the GAVLBS, their neighbours and confederates of the ROMAINES. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he ouerthrew the most part of them, which were in a troupe together; and slue such the Believe a number of them, that the Romains passed over deepe rivers and lakes on foote, vpon descently their dead hadies, the rivers were so full of them. After this overthrow, they they dead record. their dead bodies, the rivers were fo full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest vnto the feafide, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld themfelues without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the NERVIANS, the stoutch warriers of all the BELGE. They dwelling in the wood countrey, had conueyed their wives, children and goods, into a maruellous great forrest, as farre from their enemies as they could; and warrier of being about the number of fix score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day & set all the Belvpon Cefar, when his armie was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the ROMAINES, and compass fing in the twelfth and feuenth legion, they flue all the Centurions and Captaines of the bands. And had not Cafar felfe taken his shield on his arme, and flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him; and the tenth legion also seeing him in danger, run vnto him from the top of the hill wherethey flood in battell, and broken the rankes of their enemies, there had not a Romain E escaped aliue that day. But taking example of Cafars valiant neffe, they fought desperatly beyond their power, and yet could not make the NER- The Nerve VIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in a maner flaine in the field. It flains by is written that of threefcore thousand fighting men, there escaped onely but five hundred; and cester. of four e hundred Gentlemen and counfellers of the Romain B, but three faued. The Senate vinderstanding it at Rome, ordained that they should do facrifice vinto the gods, and keepe feasts and folemne processions fifteene daies together without intermission, having neuer made the like ordinance at Rome, for any victory that euer was obtained. Because they saw the danger had benemaruellous great, so many nations rising as they did in armes together against him; and further, the love of the people vnto him made his victory much more famous. For whe Cafar had fet his affaires at a ftay in GAVLE, on the other fide of the Alpes, he alwaies vied to lie about the river of Pointhe winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome, at his pleasure. For, not onely they that made suite for offices at Rome were chosen Magistrates, by meanes of Cafars money which he gaue them, with the which bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office, did all that they could to increase Casars power and greatnesse: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the Nobility, went into Lyca vinto him. As Pompey Craffus, Appius Prætor of SARDINIA, and Nepos, Proconfull in SPAINE. Infomuch Lords of that there were at one time, fix score sergeants carving rods and axes before the Magistrates; and aboue two hundred Senators befides. There they fell in confultation, and determined that Pom-Pey & Crassias should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that Cafar should have money againe delivered him to pay his army; and besides, did

mamen of Germany how they

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The Ives and Tenterides staine by Cafar. Sicambri, a people of the Gera maines. Cafar made wer the rister of Rbeyn.

proroge the time of his government flue yeares further. This was thought a very strange and an vnreasonable matter vnto wise men. For they themselues that had taken so much money of Carfar, perswaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speake more plainly, they compelled the Senate vnto it, fighing and lamenting to fee the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into CYPRVS. Howbeit Faonius that followed Catoes steps, when he saw that he couldnot prevaile, nor withftand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, & cried out among it the peop ble, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearke to him; some for the reverence they bare vnto Pompey, and Craffus; and others fauouring Cafars proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him:and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not, Then Cafar returning into GAVIR beyond the Alpes vnto his army, found there a great warre in the countrey. For two great nations of GERMANY had not long before passed over the river of Rheyn, to conquer new lands: & the one of these people were called IPES, & the other TERIDES. Now touching the battel which Cafar fought with them, he himfelfedoth describe it in his Commentaries, in this fort. That the barbarous people having fent Ambassadours vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time, they notwith standing, again st the law of armes, came & set vpon him as he trauelled by the way, infomuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrew fine thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Againe, that they sent him other Ambassadors to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly, & madnesse, to keep faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canntins writeth, that the Senate appointing against o do new facrifice, procef. fions, and feasts, to give thankes to the gods for this victorie, Cato was of contrarie opinion, that Cafar should be delinered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their citie and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turne the curfe vpon him that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thousand persons) they were all in maner staine, saving a very sew of them, that slying from the battell got ouer the river of Rheyn againe, who were received by the SICAMBRIANS. another people of the Germaines. Cafar taking this occasion against them, lacking no good. wil of himself besides, to have the honor to be counted the first Romaine that ever passed over the river of Rheyn with an armie, he built a bridge ouer it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great furie, and in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one fide to the other; and it hath fo ftrong and fwift a ftreame befides, that men casting downe great bodies of trees into the river (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes & forcethercof maruellously shake the posts of the bridge he had fet vp. But to preuent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame, he made a pile of great wood about the bridge a good way, & did forcibly ramme them into the bottome of the river; so that in ten daies space, he had set up and finish his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke, and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possibly thought or deuised. Then passing ouer his army vpon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Swevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselues with their goods into wonderfull great vallies and bogges, full of woods and forrests. Now when he had burnt all the countrey of his enemies, and confirmed a league with the confederates of the Romaines, he returned backe againe into Gavle after he had taried eighteene dayes at the most in Germany, on the other side of the Rheyn. The journey he made also into England was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that failed the West Ocean with an army by sea, & that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army to make warre in that fo great and famous Iland (which many ancient writers would not beleeue that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lie) and was the first that enlarged the Romaine Empire, beyond the earth inabitable. For twice he paffed ouer the narrow sea against the firme land of GAVLE, and fighting many battels there, did hurt his enemies more then inrich his owne men; because, of men hardly brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon the warre had no fuch successe as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges onely of the King, and imposing a yearely tribute vpon him, to be payed vnto the people of Rome, he returned againe into GAVLE. There he was no fooner landed, but he found letters ready to be fent oner the fea vnto him:

in the which he was aduertifed from Rome, of the death of his daughter, that the was dead with child by Pompey. For the which Pompey, and G. efar both, were maruellous for rowfull: and their of mila cafriends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the common-wealth (that fart daughotherwife was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now feuered, and broken afunder, and the rather likely, because the child lived not long after the mother. So the common people at Rome tooke the corps of Iulia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars. Now Cafar being driven to devide his armie (that was very great) in fundry garrifons for the winter time, and returning againe into ITALY as he was wont, all GAVLE rebelled againe, and The rebelhad raised great armies in every quarter to set vpon the Romaines, and to assay if they could lion of the distresse their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of Gaules. thefe GAV LES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix: and first did fer vpon the garrifons of Cotta, and Titurius, whom they flue, and all the fouldiers they had about them. Then they went with threefcore thousand fighting men to befiege the garrifons which Tienties, Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the souldiers with their were enery man of them hurt; but they were so valiant and couragious, that they did more then men (as they fay) in defending of themselves. These newes being come to Cesar, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speed, and leavying seven thousand fouldiers, made hafte to helpe Cicero that was in fuch diffresse. The GAVLES that did besiege Cicero, vnderstanding of Casars coming, raised their siege incontinently, to go and meete him: making account that he was but a handfull in their hands, they were 10 few. Cafar to deceive them still drew backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captainethat had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies; and commanded his men in no wife to stirre out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise vp the rampiers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were afraid, because the enemies should the leffe effeeme of them: vntill at length he tooke oportunity, by their diforderly coming to affaile the trenches of his campe, (they were growne to fuch a prefumptuous boldnesse and celar state brauerie,) and then fallying out vpon them, he put them all to flight with flaughter of a great the Gaules number of them. This did suppresse all the rebellions of the GAVLES in those parts, and furthermore he himselfe in person went in the middest of winter thither, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a new fupply out of ITALY of three wholelegions, in their roome which he had loft: of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion he himselfe had leauied in Gavi a about the river Po. During these stirres, brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous warre that he had in all GAVLE, the which had bene fecretly practifed of long time by the chiefest and most warlike people of that country, who had leauled a wonderfull great power. For every where they leavied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortisse their strong holds. Furthermore, the countrie where they rose, was very ill to come vnto, and specially at that time being winter, when the rivers were frosen, far. the woods and forrests coursed with snow, the medowes drowned with flouds, and the fields fo deepe of fnow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the marrifles nor rivers to be differned, all was fo ouerflowne and drowned with water: all which troubles together were inough (as they thought) to keepe Cafar from fetting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the Gavies were of this conspiracie, but two of the chiefest were the AVERNIANS and CARNVIES: who had chosen Virgingentorix for their Lieutenant Generall, whose father the GAVLES be- Verilingen. fore had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himselfe king. This Vercingen- toris captorix deuiding his armie into divers parts, and appointing divers Captaines over them, had taine of the gotten to take his part, all the people and countries thereabouts, even as farre as they that dwell *Owards the sea*Adriaticke, having further determined (vnderstanding that Rome did con-Jarspire against Casar) to make al GAV LE rise in armes against him. So that if he had but taried a little that in this longer, vntill Cafar had entred into his civill wars, he had put all ITALY in as great feare and dan-Ser, as it was when the CIMBRI did come and invade it. But Cafar, that was valiant in all affaics and dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunitie; so soone as he of the dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunitie; so soone as he of the dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunitie; so soone as he of the dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunitie; so soone as he of the dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunitie; so soone as he of the dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunitie; so soone as he of the dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunities. vndcrstood the newes of this rebellion, he departed with speed, & returned backe the selfsame which; to way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know, that they shold deale with an army inuincible, and which they could not possibly with stand, considering the great speed he had some. made with the same, in so sharpe and hard a winter. 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beleeued, that a post or currer could have come in so short a time from the place where he was vnto them, they wondred when they faw him burning and destroying the countrey, the towns and ftrong forts where he came with his armie, taking all to mercy that yeelded vnto him: you till fuch times as the Henri tooke armes against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the ROMAINES, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Cafars men when they understood that they had joyned with the rebels, they were maruelloully fory, & half dif. couraged. Thereupon, Cafar departing from those parts, went through the country of the LIN-GONES, to enter the countrey of the *Byrgonians, who were confederates of the ROMAINS. and the nearest vnto ITALY on that side, in respect of all the rest of GAVLE. Thither the enemics came to fet vpon him, and to enuiron him on all fides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Cafar on the other fidetaried their coming, and fighting with them a long time. he made them so afraid of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the first. it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow: for the ARVERNIANS she wed a fword hanged vp in one of their temples, which they faid they had won from Cefar. Infomuch as Cafar felfe coming that way by occasion, faw it, and fell alaughing at it. But fome of his friends going about to take it away, he would not fuffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not for it was an holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saued themselves by flying, the most part of them were gotten with their king into the city of ALEXIA, the which Cafar went and befreged although it feemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the wals, as alio for the multitude of fouldiers they had to defend it. But now during this fiege, he fell into a maruellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an armie of three hundred thoufand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the GAVLES, came against him being at the fiege of ALEXIA, besides them that were within the citie, which amounted to the number of three core and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was flut in betwixt two fo great armies, he was driven to fortifie himselfe with two wals, the one against them of the civie, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had ioyned together, Cofar had benevetterly undone. And therefore, this fiege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wan before it, did deferuedly winne him more honour and fame then any other. For there, in that instant and extreme danger, he shewed more valiantnesse and wisdome then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this? that they of the city neuer heard any thing of them that came to nide them, vntill Cefar had ouercome them; and furthermore, that the Romaine's themselves which kept watch vpon the wal that was built against the city, knew also no more of it then they, vntill it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in ALEXIA, when they perceived on the other fide of the citie fuch a number of gliftering shields of gold and filter, such store of bloudy corslets and armors, fuch a deale of place and moueables, and fuch a number of tents and paullions after the fashion of the GAVLES, which the ROMAINES had gotten of their spoiles in their camp. Thus suddenly was this great armie vanished, as a dreame or vision: where the most part of them were slaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the citic of ALEXIA had done great hurt to Cefar and themselves also, in the end, they all yeelded themselves. And Vercingentorix (he that was their king and Captaine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed. and his horse furnished with rich capacifon accordingly, and rode round about Gesar, who sate in his chaire of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he tooke off his caparison and furniture, and vnarmed himselfe, and laid all on the ground, and went and sate downe at Casar feete, and said neuer a word. So Cafar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the warres, to leade him afterwards in the triumph of Rome. Now Cefar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the PARTHIANS, who onely did see, that one of them two must needs fall, nothing kept Cafar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did any thing let Pompey to withstad that it should not come to passe, but because he did not first ouercome Casar, whom onely he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but alwayes before fet light by him, thinking it an easie matter for him to put him downe when he would, fith he had brought him to that greatnesse he was comevnto. But Cafar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for trickes to ouershrow his aduersary, he Went farre from Rome, to exercise himselfe in the warres of GAVEE; where he did traine his . army

army, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his same and honour, by these meanes became Cefar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execurion, but fome occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gaue him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made fute for honour and offices, bought the voyces of the people The peoples with readie money, which they gaue out openly to viury, without shame or feare. Thereupon royees bought at the common people that had fold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voyces, but with their bowes, money. flings, and fwords. So that the affembly feldome times brake vp, but the pulpit for Orations was defiled and sprinckled with the bloud of them that were slaine in the market place, the city remaining all that time without gouernment of Magistrate, like a ship left without a Pilote. Infomuch as men of deepe judgement and discretion, seeing such fury and madnesse of the people, thought themselues happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled then with the abfolute state of a Monarchy and soueraigne Lord to gouernethem. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speake it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man onely, that should command them all: and that this medicine must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the gentlest Phisition, meaning couertly Pompey. Now Pompey vsed many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly vnderhand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bringit to passe, that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the marke he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator, he perswaded the Senate rather to make him fole Conful, that contenting himfelf with that more iust and lawful gouernment, he should not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counsell, did not onely makehim Confull, but further did proroge his gouernment of the prouinces he had. For he had two prouinces, all Spaine and Africke, the which he gourned by his Lieutenants and fur- pompsy, gother, he received yearely of the common treasure to pay his fouldiers a thousand talents. Hereupon Casar took occasion also to fend his men to make suite in his name for the Consulship, and also to hauethe gouernment of his provinces proroged. Pompey at the first held his peace, But Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Casar) withstood them, and to shame and dishonor time to be him, had much needlesse speech in matters of weight. Furthermore they took away the freedom confull, and from the Colonies which Cafar had lately brought vnto the city of Novymcomym in Gavle towards ITALY, where Calar not long before had lodged them. And moreouer, when Marcel-provoged. lus was Confull, he made one of the Senators in that city to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters; and said, he gaue him those markes, that he should know he was no Romaine citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Cafar of it. After Marcellus Confulship, Casar setting open his cofers of the treasure he had gotten among the GAVLES, did frankly give it out amongst the Magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set Curio y Tribune better cleare out of debt: and gaue also vnto Paul the Consull a thousand fine hundred talents, with magistrates which mony he built that notable pallace by the market place, called Paules Bafilick, in the place at Rome. of Fuluius Basilick. Then Pompey being afraid of this practise, began openly to procure, both by himselfe & his friends, that they should send Casara successor; and moreover, he sent vnto Casar for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him., for the conquest of GAVLE. Casar fent him them againe, and gaue every private fouldier, two hundred and fiftie filuer Drachmaes. Now, they that brought these two legions backe from Cesar, gauc out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false perswasions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruellously defired and wished for in Casars campe: and though in buted by Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did beare him, he could hard. Satterers. ly obtaine that he defired, yet in GAVLE he might assure himselfe, that all the army was at his commandement. They added further also, that if the fouldiers there did once returne over the mountaines againe into ITALY, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Cafar, because he wearied them with too much labour and continuall fight: and withall, for that they sufpected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vaine conceit of himselfe, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation of warre, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart Casar in speech, & to crosse the suites hemade. Howbeit Cafar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Casars Captaines

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which was fent to Rome to profecute his fuite, being at the Senate doore, and hearing that they denied to proroge Cafars time of gouernment which he fued for , clapping his hand vpon his fword, he faid: Sith he will not grant it him, this shall give it him. Notwithstanding, the requests that Cafar propounded, caried great femblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay downe armes, so that Pompey did the like: and that both of them as private persons should come and make suite of their citizens to obtain honourable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, and granting them vnto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him ingoing about to make himselfe a tyrant, and in the meane time to grant the other meanes to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people, in the name of Cafar, he was heard with great reioycing and clapping of hands, and there was fome that cast flowers and no fegaves you him when he went his way, as they commonly vieto do vnto any man, when he hath obtained victory, and won the games. Then Antonius one of the Tribunes. brought a letter sent from Casar, & made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio in the Senate, Pompeys father in law, made this motion that if Cofar did not dismisse his armie by a certain day appointed him, the Romains should proclaime him an enemy vnto Rome. Then the Confuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that Pompey. should dismisse his army: but few agreed to that demand. After that againe they asked, if they liked that Cafar should dismisse his armie thereto they all in maner answered, yea, yea. But when Antonius requested agains that both of them should lay downe armes, then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did insolently behave himselfe, and Marcellus alfo, who cried, that they must vie force of armes, and not mens opinion against a theese, the Senate role straight vponit without further determination; & men changed apparel through the city because of this diffention, as they vseto do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Cafar, which feemed much more reasonable; in the which he requested that they would grant him GAVLE, that lieth betweene the mountaines of the Alpes and ITA-LIE and ILLYRIA, with two legions onely, and then that he would request nothing else; vntill he made suite for the second Consulship. Cicero the Orator, that was newly come from the gouernment of CILICIA, trauelled to reconcile them together, and pacified rempey the best he could: who told him he would yeeld to any thing he would have him, fo he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero perswaded Casars friends to be contented, to take those two provinces, and fixe thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yeelded vnto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Confull would not agree to it, but shamefully draue Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they theselues gaue Casar a happy occasion and colour, as could be, stirring vp his fouldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two noble menand Tribunes of the people that were driven to slie, disguised like flaues, in a carriers cart. For, they were driven for feare to steale out of Rome, disguised in that maner. Now at that time, Cafar had not in all about him aboue five thousand footmen, and Tribunes of three thousand horsmen: for the rest of his army, he lest on the other side of y mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. So confidering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men of warre at the first, but rather suddenly stealing vpon them, to make them afraid with valiantneffe, taking benefit of the opportunity of time; because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him coming so suddenly when they looked not for him then he should otherwise distresse them, assayling them with his whole army, in giving them leisure to prouide further for him: he commanded his Captaines and Lieutenants to go before, without any other armor the their fwords, to take the city of ARIMINVM (agreateity of Gavle being the first city men come to, when they come out of GAVLE) with as little bloudshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force & army he had with him, vnto Hortensius one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the fight of euery man, to see the sword players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his bodie a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merrie a while with them, whom be had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no manto stir, for he would straight come to them againe: how beit he had secretly before commanded a few of his truftiest friends to follow him, not altogether, but some one way, and some another way. He himselfe in the meane time tooke a coach he had hired, and

made as though he would have gone fome other way at the first, but sodainly he turned backe againe towards the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle river of Rubicon, colors which deuided GAVLE on this side the Alpes from ITALIE, he stayed upon a sodaine. For, the doubtfell nearer he came to execute his purpose; the more remorse he had in his conscience; to think what an enterprise he tooke in handland his thoughts also fell out more doubtfull, when he entred inro confideration of the desperatnesse of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himfelfe, and spake neuer a word, waiing sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftenrimes changed his determination contrary to himfelf. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling him what mischiefes the beginning of this paffage ouer that river would breed in the world, and how much their posterity and they that lived after them, would speake of it in time to come, but at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perillous thoughts to come, & speaking these words which valiant men commonly fay, that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises; Aman can be but once undone, The Greek come on, he passed over the river; and when he was come over, he ran with his coach and never flaved for that before day light he was within the city of Ariminum, and tooke it. It is faid, that freeh. Call the night before he passed ouer this river, he dreamed a damnable dreame; that he carnally knew the die. his mother. The city of ARIMINVM being taken, & y rumor therof dispersed through al ITALY the city of euen as if it had bin open war both by fea and land, & as if all the lawes of Rome, together with Ariminum. the extreme bounds and confines of the same had bene broken vp: a man would have said, that seems not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities dreame. themselves leaving their habitations, fled from one placeto another throughall ITALIE. And Rome it felfe also was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droues of cattell, that there was nei- profession therofficer nor magistrate that could any more command them by authoritie, neither by any Cafars comipersivation of reason bridle such a confused & disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in manerdestroyed it self for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirres and tumults every where, because they that were glad of this trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and downe the citie, when they met with others in diners places, that feemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. Pompey himfelfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gaue him on the one side, and some on the other. For fome of them reproued him, & faid, that he had done wifely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made Casar sogreat and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other agained id blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace, which Casar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Confull to abuse him too much. On the other fide, Phaonius spake vnto him, and bad him stampe on the ground with his foote: for Pompey being one day in a brauery in the Senate, faid openly: Let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he lifted, with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALY with fouldiers. This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of fouldiers then Cafar: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of feare before him, as if Casar had benealready at their heeles, and had won alkio that in the end he yeelded vnto them, and gaue place to their fury & madnesse, determining (seeing allthings in such tumult and garboile) that there was no way but to forfake the city, & thercupon commanded the Senate to follow him, & not a man pomper flito tary there, ynleffe he loued tyranny more then his own liberty & the comonwealth. Thus the ethiron Colulsthesclues, before they had done their comon facrifices accustomed at their going out of Rome. the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their own things in hast, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of the also that alwaies loued Cafar, whose wits were the so troubled & besides themselves with the fearethey had conceived, that they also fled, and followed the streame of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessitie. But aboue all things, it was a lamentable sight to fee the city it selfe, that in this feare & trouble was left at all aduenture, as a ship tossed in storme of sea, for saken of her Pylors & despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the loue they bare vnto Pompey) to be their naturall

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€afars iourney into Spaine, azainst Pompeys Lieutenäts.

Cafar Di-

Labienus Country, and reckened Rome no better then Cafars campe. At that time also Labienus, who was one of Cafars greatest friends, and had bin alwaies vsed as his Lieutenant in the wars of GAVLE and had valiantly fought in his cause, he likewise for sooke him then, and fled vnto Pompey. But Colar fent his mony and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the city of Con-FINIVM, the which Domitius kept with thirtie cohorts or enfignes. When Domitius faw he was besieged, he straight thought himselfe but vndone; and dispairing of his successe, he bad a Phifitian, a flaue of his, giue him poifon. The Phifitian gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemencie and wonderfull courtefie Cafar vsed vnto them he tooke, repented him then that he had drunke this drinke, and began to lament & bewaile his desperate resolution taken to die. The Phisitian did comfort him againe, and told him that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him fleepe, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius reioyced, and went straight and yeelded himselfe vnto Cafar; who gaue him his life, but he notwithstanding stole away immediatly, and sled vnto Pompey. When these newes were brought to Rome, they did maruelloufly rejoyce and comfort them that ftil remained there: & moreouer there were of them that had for faken Rome, which returned thirher againe. In the meane time Cafar did put all Domitius men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leauled men for Pompey. Now Cafar having affembled a great and dreadfull power together, went straight where he thought to find Pompey himselfe. But Pompey taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of BRYNDYSIVM, from whence he had fent the two Confuls before with that army he had, vnto Dyrrac enivm: and he himselfe also went thither afterwards, when he vnderstood that Casar was come, as you shall heare more amply hereafter in his life. Cafar lacked no goodwill to follow him, but wanting Inips to take the feas, he returned forthwith to Rome: forthat in leffe then threefcore dayes he was Lord of all ITALY, without any bloudfied. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quietter then he looked for & many Senators there also, he curtously intreated them. and prayed them to fend vnto Pompey, to pacifie all matters between them, vpon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either becausethey seared Pompey, for that they had forsaken him, or els for that they thought Cafar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course to colour his purpose withal. And when Metellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturne, but told him that it was against the law: Tufh, faid he, time of war and law are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time; for warrecannot abide this franke and bold speech. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet againe, then thou shalt speake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of fauour, impairing so much my right, for thou art mine. both thou, and all them that have rifen against me, and whom I have in my hands. When he had fpoken thus vnto Metellus, he went to the temple doore where the treasure lay, and finding no keyes there, he caused Smiths to be sent for, and made them breake open the lockes. Metellas thereupon began againe to withstand him, and certain menthat stood by, praised him in his doing:but Cafar at length speaking bigly to him, threatned him, he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more and told him furthermore. Yong man, quoth he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tel it thee, then to do it. That word made Metellus quake for feare, that he got him away roundly; and euer after that, Casar had all at his commandement for the warres. From thence he went into Spain E, to make warre with Petreius and Varro, Pompeys Licutenants: first to get their armies & Prouinces into his hands which they gouerned, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better, leaving neuer an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himselfe in danger through the ambushes that were layed for him in diucrs strange sorts and places, and likely alfo to have loft all his army for lacke of victuals. All this notwith francing he neuer left following of Pompeys Lieutenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in, untill he had gotten their campe and armies into his hands, albeit that the Lieutenants themselues fled vnto Pompey. When Casar returned againe to Rome, Piso his father in law gaue him counsell to send Ambassadours vnto Pompey, to treate for peace. But Isauricus, to statter Cafar was against it. Cafar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had bene slaine in Syllaes time: and did fomewhat cut off the vsuries that did oppresse them; and besides, did make fome fuch other ordinances as those, but very few, For he was Dictator but eleuen dayes onely,

and then did yeeld it vp of himfelfe, and made himfelfe Confull with Servilius Haurieus, and after that determined to follow the warres. Al the rest of his armie he left coming on the way behind him, and went himselfe before with fixe hundred horse, and flue legions only of footmen, confuts. in the winter quarter, about the moneth of Ianuarie, which after the ATHENIANS is called Pafidion. Then having past over the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORI- Getirgo-CVM and APOLLONIA. Then he fent his ships backe again vnto BRVNDV SIVM to transport the chinisthe kindome of rest of his fouldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They as they came by the way, Epirus. (like men whose strength of body, and lustie youth was decayed) being wearied with so many fundry battels as they had fought with their enemies, complained of Cafar in this fort. To what Complaines end and purpose doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vsing vs like slaues fouldiers and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that beare the blowes away; and what, shall arging weneuer be without our harnesse on our backs, and our shields on our armes? should not Cefar Cefar thinke, at the leaft when he feeth our bloud and wounds, that we are all mortall men, and that wefeelethe mifery and paines that other men do feele; and now even in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercie of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods themselves cannot withfland, as if he fled before his enemies, and purfued them not. Thus spending time with this talke, the fouldiers ftil marching on, by fmall journeys came at length vnto the city of Bryndysivm. But when they were come, and found that Calar had already passed ouer the sea, then they ftraight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselues, and tooke on also with their captaines, because they had not made them make more hast in marching: and sitting vpon the rocks and cliffes of the fea, they looked ouer the maine fea, to wards the realme of Ep 12 Rvs, to fee if they could differne the ships returning backe, to transport them ouer. Cafar in the meane time being in the city of Apollonia, having but a finall armie to fight with pomper, it grieued him for that the rest of his army was so long of coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to imbarke vnknowne in a little pinnace of Arms! 12 oares only, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDV SIVM, the which he could not do with- adventure outgreat danger, confidering that all that sea was full of Pompeys ships and armies. So he tooke of cefar. ship in the night, apparelled like a slaue, and went aboord vpon this litle pinnace, and said neuer aword, as if he had bene fome poore man of meane condition. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme and quiet, by reason of a litlewind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main fea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the fea, that oucreame the land wind, informuch as the force & ftrength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waues of the fea, the encounter was maruellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back, & rebounding vpward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the Master of the pinnace seeing he could not possibly get out of y mouth of this river, bad the mariners to cast about againe, & to return against the streame. Casar hearing that straight discouered himselfe vnto the Master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Cafar the taking him by the hand, faid vnto him, good felow, be of good cheere, & forwards hardily, feare not, for thou hast Cejar & his fortune with thee. Then the mariners forgetting y danger of iftorme they were in laid on load with oares, & labored for life what they could againft the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vaine, and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to finke, cofar then to his great griefe was driven to returne backe againe: who when he was returned vnto his campe, his fouldiers came in great companies vnto him, and were very fory, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time Antonius arrived. and brought with him the rest of his army from BRVNDVSIVM. Then Cafar finding himselfe frombles in strong enough, went and offered Pompey battell, who was passingly well lodged, for victualling of his campe both by fea and land. Cafar on the other fide, who had no great plentie of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case insomuch as his mengathered rootes, and mingled them with milke, and eate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, & sometime when they skirmissed with the enemies, and came along by them that watched and warded, they cast of their breadinto their trenches, and saidthat as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would neuer leane befieging of Pompey. But Pompey straightly comanded them, that they should neither

Cefars words of mind after

IVLIVS CÆSAR. . 730 cary those words not bread into their campe, fearing least his mens hearts would faile them, and that they would be afraid when they should thinke of their enemies hardnes, with whom they had to fight, fith they were wearie with no paines, no more then bruite beafts. Cefars men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompeys campe, in the which Casar had cuer the better, sa. uing once onely, at which time his men fled with fuch fe are, that all his campe that day was in great hazard to have bin cast away. For Pompey came on with his battell vpon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their campe, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were flaine within the very gate & bulwarks of their camp. they were so valiantly pursued. Casar stood before them that fled, to make them to turne head againe, but he could not prevaile. For when he would have taken the enfignes to have flaved them, the enfigne-bearers threw them downe on the ground: so that the enemies tooke two and thirtie of them, and Cesars selfe also escaped hardly with life. For striking a great bigge souldier that fled by him, commanding him to fray, and turne his face to his enemie: the fouldier being affraid, lift vp his fword, to strike at Cafar. But one of Cafars pages preventing him, gave him such a blow with his fword, that he strake off his shoulder. Cafar that day was brought vnto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for feare, or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victorie, and retired into his campe, being contented to have driven his enemies into their campe) returning to his campe with his friends, he faid vnto them: The victory this day had bene our enemies, if they had had a Captaine that could have told how to have overcome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more then any night that ever he had. For still his mind ranne with great forrow of the foule fault he had committed inleading of his armie, of selfe-will to remaine there so long by the sea side, his enemies being the stronger by sea, considering that he had before him a goodly countrey, rich and plentifull of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly: and had not the wit to bring the warre frothence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lacke of victuals, then that he did befiege them by force of armes. Thus fretting and chaffing to fee himselfe so straighted with victuals, and to thinke of his ill lucke, he raised his campe, intending to go set vpon Scipio, making account, that either he should draw Pompey to battell against his will, when he had not the sea at his backe to furnish him with plentie of victuals; or elie that he should easily ouercome Scipio, finding him alone, vnlesse he were aided. This remoue of Casars campe, did much encourage Pompeys army and his Captaines, who would needs in any case haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for Pompey himselfe, he would in no respect hazard battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himselse so well prouided of all things necessary to tary time, he thought it better to draw this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to confume this litle strength that remained in Cafars army: of the which, the best men were maruellous well trained, and good souldiers, and for valiantnesse at one dayes battell, were in comparable. But on the other side againe, to remoue here and there fo oft, and to fortifie their camp where they came, and to befrege any wal, or to keepe watchall night in their armour; the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then vnable to away with their paines, so that the weaknes of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate. Yet was northis the worst: for befides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals; fo that it feemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects, Pompey would in no case fight, and yet had he but Cato onely of his mind in that, who stucke in it the rather, because he would avoide shedding of his countrimens bloud. For when Cato had viewed the dead bodies flaine in the campe of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was betweene them, the which were no lesse then a thousand persons, he couered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he so long refrained from battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings, say. ing that he delayed this war in this fort, because he would not leave his authority to command them all, and that he was glad alwaies to fee many Captaines round about him, which came to ailed sga- his lodging to honour him, & wair vpon him. And Faonius also a hare-braind fellow, frantickly counterfeiring the round and plaine speech of Cate, made as though he was maruellous angrie, and laid: Is it not great pitie, that we shall not eate this yeare of Tys Cy Ly M figs & all for Pompeys ambitious

ambitious mind to reignealone; and Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of Spain B (where because he had but ill fuccesse, he was accused of treason, that for money he had fold his armie vnto Cafar) he went bufily asking, why they fought not with that Merchant, vnto whom they faid he had fold the province of SPAINE : So that Pompey with these kinds of freeches against his will, was driven to follow Cafar to fight with him. Then was Cafar at the first, maruellously perplexed and troubled by the way, because he found none that would give him any victuals, being despiled of enery man, for the late losse and overthrow he had received. But after he had taken the citie of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not onely meet with plentic of victuals to relieue his army with bur he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the Gomphesinfouldiers meeting with plenty of wine, drinking hard, and making merry, drauc away the infe- Thefaty. ction of the peftilece. For they disposed themselves vnto dancing, masking & playing the BAC. CHERIANS by the way, infomuch that drinking drunke they ouercame their diffeafe, and made their bodies new again. When they both came into the country of PHARSALIA, & both camps lay before each other, Pompey returned agains to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signes and tokens of misfortune in his sleepe. For he thought in his sleepe, that Fombers when he entred into the Theater, all the Romain's received him with great clapping of hands. dramein Whereuponthey that were about him grew to fuch boldnesse and securitie, assuring themselves The security of victorie, that Domitius, Spinther and Scipio in a brauerie contended betweene themselves of the postfor the chiefe Bishopricke which Cafar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent vnto Perant. Rome to hire the nearest houses vnto the market place, as being the fittest places for Prætors, and Confuls; making their account alreadie, that those offices could not scape them, inconsinently after the warres. But befides those, the young Gentlemen, and ROMAINE knights were maruellous desirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armors their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselues goodly yong men, to the number of seuen thousand, where the Gentlemen of Casars side were but one thousand onely. The number of his footemen also were much after the same reckening. For he had five and fortic thousand a- Fompeys gainst two and twentiethousand. Wherfore Casar called his souldiers together, and told them armide how Cornificius was at hand who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteene enfignes led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about MEGARA & ATHENS. Then he asked them, if they would tary for that aid or not, or whether they wold rather themselues alone venture battell. The fouldiers cried out to him, & prayed him not to defer battel, but rather to denife some fetch to make y enemy fight as foon as he could. Then as he facrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his army, the first beast was no sooner facrificed, but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three daies. Cofar asked him again, if he faw in the facrifices, any luckie figne ortoke of good luck. The foothfayer answered: For that, thou shalt answer thy self, better then I can do: for the gods do promise vs a maruellous great change & alteratio of things that are now, vnto another cleane cotrary. For if thou beest well now, doest thou think to have worse fortune hereafter; and if thou be ill, affure thy selfthou shalt have better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to visite the watch, men saw a great firebrad in the element, al of a light feme in the fire, that came ouer Cafars campe, and fell down in Pompeys. In the morning also when they re-element, lieued the watch, they heard a false alarme in the enemies campe, without any apparent cause: which they comonly call a fod ain feare, that makes men befides themselves. This not with standing, Cafar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his campe from thence, and to have gone towards the city of Seoty shand his tents in his campe were already ouerthrowne when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him newes that his enemies were preparing themselues to fight. Then was he very glad, and after he had made his prayers Vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he fet his men in battell ray, and deuided them into three squadrons, giving the middle battell vnto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing vnto Antonius, order of and placed himselfe in the right wing, chusing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that, his enemies had set all their horsemen, he was halfe afraid when he saw the of that a great number of them, and fo braue besides. Wherfore he closely made fixe ensignes to come in. from the rereward of his battell, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do, when the horsmen of the enemies came to give Pempers them charge. On the other fide, Pompey placed himselfe in the right wing of his battell, gaue the army and left wing vnto Domitius, & the middle battel vnto Scipio his father in law. Now all the ROMANE buorder

732

Thebattell of Pharfa-

Cafars ftra

Cefar ouer Pompey.

knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing of purpose to enuiron Callare right wing behind & to give their hotest charge there, where the general of their enemies was making their account, that there was no squadron of footinen, how thicke soeuer they were that could receive the charge of fo great a troupe of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should ouerthrow them all, and march youn their bellies. When the trumpets on either fide did found the alarme to the battell, Pompey commanded his footemen that they should stand still withour flirring to receive y charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherfore Cafar afterwards faid, that Pompey had committed a foule fault, not to confider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also vnto their blowes doth fet mens hearts also on fire for the common hurling of all the souldiers that runne together, is vnto them as a boxe on the eare that fets men on fire. Then Cafar making his battell march forward to give the onset, saw one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skilfull in warre, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his souldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and faid vnto him: Well, Cains Crasinius, what hope shall we haueto day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then Crassinius casting up his hand, answered him aloud: This day, of Cafar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead. When he had told him fo, he was himself the foremost man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about fixe fcore men; and making a lane through the foremost rankes, with great slaughter he entred farre into the battell of his enemies, vntill that valiantly fighting in this fort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a fword, that the point of it came out agains at his necke. Now the footnen of both battels being come to the fword, the horfmen of the left wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troupes, to compasse in the right wing of Casars battell. But before they began to give charge, the fixe enfignes of footmen which Cafar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full vpon them, not throwing away their darts far off, as they were wont to do, neither firiking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to feeke to hit them ful in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cafar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty yong gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vied to fee themselues hurt, and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beautie, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the feare of the present danger to be flaine, as also for that their faces should not for euer be deformed. As indeed it came to passe, for they could never abide that they should come so neere their faces with the points of their darts, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselues, they began at length cowardly to flie, and were occasion also of the losse of all the rest of Pompeys armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to fet voon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slue them. Then Pompey seeing his horsemen from the other wing of his battell, fo scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgat that he was any more Pompey the Great, which he had bene before, but was rather like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him being afraid and amazed with the flaughter fent from aboue, and fo retired into his tent, speaking neuer a word, & fate there to see the end of this battell, vntill at the length all his armie being ouerthrowne and put to flight, the enemies came, and got vp vpon the rampiers and defence of his campe, and fought hand to hand with them that flood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himselfe againe, he spake but this only word: What, even into our campe. So in haft, casting off his coate-armour and apparell of a Generall, he shifted him, and put on such as became his miserable fortune, and so stole out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrow, and how he had put himselfe into the hands of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whom he was miserably flain, we have set it forth at large in his life. Then C.efar entring into Pompeys campe, and seeing the bodies layed on the ground that were slaine, and others also that were a killing, said, fetching a great figh. It was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Cafar, after he had wonne so many famous conquests, and ouercome so many great battels, had bene vtterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his armie. A sinius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke; and faith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the campe, were flaues and bondmen, and that there were not flaine in all this battell aboue fixe thousand souldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, cefar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards flue Cafar himfelfe; and it is reported, that Cafar was very fory for him, when he could fine cafar not immediatly be found after the battel, & that he reioyced againe when he knew he was aliue, taken prife. and that he came to yeeld himselfe vnto him. Casar had many signes and tokens of victory beforethis battel, but the notablest of al other that happened to him, was in the city of TRALLES. Pharfalia. For in the temple of victory, within the same city, there was an image of Cafar, and the earth all signes and about it very hard of it selfe, and was paued besides with hard stone; and yet some say that there colorise fprang vpa palme hard by the base of the same image. In the citie of PADVA, Caius Cornelius an story. excellent Southfayer, (a countriman and friend of Titus Liuius the Historiographer) was by chance at that time fer to behold the flying of birds. He (as Linie reporteth) knew the very time nellus an when the battell began, and told them that were present, Euen now they give the onset on both fides, and both armies do meete at this inftant. Then fitting downe againe to confider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the fignes, he fodainly rose vp on his feete, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit: O Casar the victory is thine. Euery man wondering to see him, he tooke the crowne he had on his head, and made an oath that he would neuer put it on againe, till the event of his prediction had proved his art true. Livie testifieth, that it came so to passe. Ca-Grafterwards giving freedome vnto the THESSALIANS, in respect of the victory which he wan in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gaue freedome also vnto the GVIDIANS for Theopompus fake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release Asia also, the third part of ftribute which the inhabitants paid vnto the Romains. The he came into ALEXANDRIA after Pompey was flaine: and detelted Theodotus that presented him Pompeys head, and turned his head afide because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his seale, & beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously vsed all Pompeys friends and familiars, casars dewho wandring vp and downe the country, were taken of the king of ÆGYPT, and wan them all mene: in to be at his commandement. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote vnto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory, was, that he daily saued the lines of some of his countrimenthat bare armes against him. And for the war he made in ALEXANDRIA, some say, he needed not to have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra; wherein he wan of Cefars litle honor, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault vpon the king warrein of Ægypis ministers, but specially on Pothinus & Eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the kings feruants, after he had caused Pompey to be flaine, and driven Cleopatra from the court, Postinus secretly laid wait all the waies he could, how he might likewise kill Cafar. Wherefore Cafar hea- the Eunuch ring an inckling of it, began thenceforth to spendall the night long in feasting & banqueting, that his person might be in the better safetie. But besides all this, Pothinus the Eunuch spake many besides. things openly not to be borne, only to shame Casar, & to stir vp the people to enuic him. For he made his soldiers have the worst & oldest wheat that could be gotten: then if they did coplaine of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eate at another mans cost. And he would serue them also at the table in treene & earthen dishes, saying, that casar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him; which was, a thousand seuen hundred & fifry Myriades, wherof Casar had before forgiue seuen hundred and fiftie thousand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his fouldiers withall. Thereto Pothinus answered him, that ar that time he should do better to follow his other causes ofgreaterimportace, & afterwards that he should at more leisure recouer his debt with the kings good will and fauor. Cafar replied vnto him, & faid, that he would not aske counsell of the Æ-GYPTIANS for his affaires, but wold be paid: and therupon secretly sent for Cleopatra, which was in the country, to come vnto him. She only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took cane to a litle bote, & went away with him in it in the night; and came & landed hard by the foot of the Cafar. castell. Then having no other meane to come into the court without being knowne, she laid her trusted >p felfe downe vpon a mattreffe or flockbed, which Apollodorus her friend tied & bound vptogether in a matlike a bundle with a great leather thong, & fo took her vpon his backe & brought her thus hampered in this fardle vnto Casar in at the castle gate. This was y first occasion (as it is reported) that to Casar, made Casar to loue her but afterwards, when he saw her sweet couer sation & pleasant entertain. ppin apelment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her again vnto her brother the king, backe. with condition, that they two loyntly should reigne together. Vpon this new reconciliation,

IVLIVS CÆSAR.

Alexandria

Celars (wimming with bookes

Cleopatra.

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734 a great feast being prepared, a slaue of Cafars that was his barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived fill bufily prying and liftening abroad in every corner, being miftruftfull by nature, found that Pothinus and Achillus did lie in waite to kill his mafter Cafar. This being proued vnto Cafar, he did fet fuch fure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that in fine, he flue the eunuch Pothinus himselfe. Achillas on the other side, saued himself, and sled vnto the kings campe, where he raifed a maruellous dangerous and difficult warre for Cafar: because he having then but a few men about him, was to fight against a great and strong citie. The first danger he fell into, was the want of water: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water into the castell. The second danger he had, was, that seeing his enemies came to take his ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arfenal where the ships lay, & that notable library of ALEXANDRIA withal. The third danger was in the battel by feathat was fought by the tower of Phas; where meaning to helpe his men that fought by fea, he leapt from the peere into a boate. Then the ÆGYPTIAN'S made towards him with their oares on cuery fide: but he leaping into the fea, with great hazard faued himselfe by swimming. It is said, that then holding divers books in his hand, he did never let the go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head aboue water, and fwam with the other hand, not withstanding that they shot maruellously at him, and was driven sometime to ducke into the water: howbeit y boate was drowned presently. In fine the king coming to his methat made war with Cafar, he went against him, and gaue him battell, and wan it with great slaughter, and effusion of Cafar made bloud. But for the King, no man could ever tel what became of him after. The rupon Cafar made Cleopatra his fifter, Queen of AGYPT, who being great with child by him, was fhortly brought to bed of a fon, who the ALEXANDRIAN'S named Cafarion. From thence he went into Syria, and fo going into As IA, there it was told him that Domitius was overthrown in battell, by Pharmaces the fon of king Mithridates, and was fled out of the Realme of Pont with a few men with him. and that this king Pharnaces greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, but further would needs attempt to win ARMENIA the leffe. procuring all those Kings, Princes, & Gouernors of the prouinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romains. Therupon *calar* went thither straight with three legions, & fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces* by the city of Z = 1.4, where he flue his army, and draue him out of althe Realme of Pont. And because he would aduertise one of his friends of the sodainnesse of this victory, he onely wrote three words vnto Anitius at Rome: Veni, Vidi, Vici: to wit, I came, I faw. I our came. These three words ending all with like found and letter in the Latine, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the earc, then can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this he returned againe into ITALY, & came to Rome, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the fecond time, which office before was neuer granted for one whole yeare, but vnto him. Then was he chosen Conful for the yeare following. Afterwards he was very il spokon of, for that his fouldiers in a mutiny having flaine two Prætors, cofconius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, but in stead of calling them soldiers, he named them citizens, & gaue Vnto euery one of them a thousand Drachmaes a man, and great possession ITALY. He was much missiked also for the desperate parts and madnesse of Dolabella, for the couetousnesse of Anitius, for the drunkennesse of Antonius and Cornisicius; which made Pompeys house be pulled downe and builded up againe, as a thing not big inough for him, wherwith the Romains were maruelloufly offended. Cafar knew all this well inough, and would have bene contented to have redressed them: but to bring his matters to passe, he precented he was driue to serue his turneby fuch inftruments. After the battell of Pharfalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africke, king Iuba ioyned with them, and leauied a great puitfant army. Wherefore Cafar determined to make war with them: and in the middest of winter, he tooke his journy into Sieil B. There, because he would take all hope from his captaines & fouldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged ypon the very fands by the feafide, & with the next gale of wind that came, he tooke the fca with three thousand footmen, & a few horsmen. Then having put the a land, vnwares to them he hoifed faile againe to fetch the reft of his army, being afraid left they shold meete with some danger in passing ouer, and meeting them mid way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was told him, that his enemies trusted in an anciet Oracle, which said, that it was predestined vnto the family of the Scipices to be conquerous in Africa: either of purpose to mocke Scipio the Generall of his enemies, or otherwife in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (giuen

(given by the Oracle) vnto himself, in all the skirmishes and battels fought, he gave the charge of his army vnto a man of meane quality and account, called Scipio Salutius, who came of the race of Scipio African, and made him alwaies General when he fought. For he was effoones compelled to wearie and harry his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had corne inough. nor the beafts forrage, but the fouldiers were driven to take sea weeds, called Alga: and (washing coffer away the brakishnessethereof with fresh water, putting to it a litle herb called dogstooth) to cast troubles in away the blaking chethere to cate. For the Nemidians (which are light horsmen, & very ready of fer- Alga and uice) being a great number together, would be on a sodaine in euery place, & spread all v fields. dogs tooth ouer therabout, so that no man durst peepe out of the campto go for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were staying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing & playing with the flute(they being let down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, hauing in the meane time given their flaves their horses to hold) the enemies stealing sodainly vpon them, finke. compassed them in round about, & slue a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pel melinto their camp, Furthermore, had not Cefar himself in person, and Asiniw Pollio with him, gone out of the campe to the rescue, and staid them that sled, the war that day had bin ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the vpper hand, in the which it is reported, that Cafar taking the enfigne bearer by the collar that caried the Eagle in his hand, staid him by force, and turning his face, told him see, there be thy enemies. These aduantages did lift vp Scipioes heart aloft, and gaue him courage to hazard battel; and leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and king Iuba on the other hand, both their campes lying neare together, he did fortifie himself by y city of THAP SACVS, aboue the lake, to be a saferefuge for the all in this battel. But whilft he was busie intrenching of himselfe, Cafar having maruellous speedily passed through a great country ful of wood, by by-paths which men would neuer haue mistrusted: he stole vpon some behind, and sodainly assailed the other before, so that he ouerthrew them all, and made them flie. Then following the first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set vpon the campe of Afranius, the which he tooke at the first onset, & the campe of the NNMIDI- Capital Ans also, king Iuba being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke three camps, & flue great vififty thouland of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his souldiers. In this fort is set down the effect final loss. of this battel by some writers. Yet others do write also, that Casar self was not there in person at the execution of this battel. For as he did fet his men in battel ray, the falling fickneffe took him, bled with wherunto he was given; and therfore feeling it coming, before he was ouercome withall, he was the falling caried into a castell not far from thence where the battel was fought, & there took his rest til the extremity of his disease had left him. Now for the Prætor & Consulsthat scaped from this battel, many of them being taken prisoners, did kil themselues, & others also Casar did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men els to haue Cato aliue in his hands, he went with al posfible speed vnto the city of Vrica, whereof Cato was gouernour, by means wherof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way, that Cato had slaine himself with his owne hands, he then made open shew that he was very for it, but why or wherfore, no man casar was could tell. But this is true, that Cafar faid at that present time: O Cato, I enuy thy death, because, for the thou didft enuy my glory to faue thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that he wrote afterwards against Cato being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitifull heart towards him. Celar wrote For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did against cafor how could he haue pardoned him, it itting he had had him in his hands, that being dead the spans fpeake fovehemently against him? Notwithstading, men suppose he would have pardoned him, dead. if he had taken him aliue, by the clemency he shewed vnto Gicero, Brutus, and diverse others that had borne armes against him. Some report, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any privat malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, vpon this occasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he intituled, Cato. This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason wrote a of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, & of the excellent subject thereof. Cefar therewith books in was maruelloufly offended, thinking thatto praife him, of whose death he was author, was euen praife of Cate being so much as to accuse himselse; and therfore he wrote a letter against him, & heaped vp a number dead, of accusations against Cato, & intituled the booke Anticaton. Both these books have favorers vnto this day, some defending the one for the loue they beare to Casar, & others allowing y other for Carous fake. Cafar being now returned out of AFRICK, first of almade an oratio to the people wherinhe greatly praised & comeded this his last victory, declaring vnto the, that he had coquered so many courries vnto the Empire of Rome, that he could furnish the comonwealth yearly

An ill counfoule fauls

cometh Pompey.

knights (as we hauntold you before) were placed in the left wing of purposeto enuiron casari right wing behind, & to gine their hotelt charge there, where the general of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no fquadron of footnien, how thicke foeuer they were that could receive the charge of fo great a troupe of horsemen, and that at the first onset they should ouerthrow them all, and march vpon their bellies. When the trumpets on either fide did found the alarme to the battell, Pompey commanded his footemen that they should stand still without stirring to receive y charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherfore Cafar afterwards faid, that Pompey had committed a foule fault, not to confider that the charge which is given running with fury, befides that it giveth the more strength also vnto their blowes, doth fet mens hearts also on fire for the common hurling of all the souldiers that runne together, is vnto them as a boxe on the eare that fets men on fire. Then Cafar making his battell march forward to give the onset, saw one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skilfull in warre, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his fouldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and faid vnto him: Well, Cains Crassinius, what hope shall we haueto day? how are we determined. to fight it out manfully? Then Crassinius casting vp his hand, answered him aloud: This day, ô Cafar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead. When he had told him fo, he was himself the foremost man that gaue charge vpon his enemics, with his band following of him, being about fixe fcore men, and making a lane through the foremost rankes, with great slaughter he entred farre into the battell of his enemies. vntill that valiantly fighting in this fort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a fword, that the point of it came out againe at his necke. Now the footmen of both battels being come to the fword, the horimen of the left wing of Pompey did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troupes, to compasse in the right wing of Casar's battell. But before they began to give charge, the fixe enfignes of footmen which Cafar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full vpon them, not throwing away their darts far off, as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to seeke to hit them ful in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cafar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty yong gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vsed to see themselues hurt, and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beautie, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the feare of the present danger to be slaine, as also for that their faces should not for euer be deformed. As indeed it came to passe, for they could neuer abide that they should come so neere their faces with the points of their darts, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselues, they began at length cowardly to flie, and were occasion also of the losse of all the rest of Pompeys armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to set vpon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slue them. Then Pompey seeing his horsemen from the other wing of his battell, so scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgat that he was any more Pompey the Great, which he had bene before, but was rather like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him, being afraid and amazed with the flaughter fent from aboue, and so retired into his tent, speaking neuera word, & sate there to see the end of this battell; vntillat the length all his armie being ouerthrowne and put to flight, the enemies came, and got vp vpon the rampiers and defence of his campe, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himselfe againe, he spake but this only word: What, even into our campe? So in hast, casting off his coate-armour and apparell of a Generall, he shifted him, and put on such as became his miserable fortune, and so stole out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrow, and how he had put himselfe into the hands of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whom he was miserably slain, we have set it forth at large in his life. Then C.esar entring into Pompeys campe, and seeing the bodies layed on the ground that were slaine, and others also that were a killing, said, fetching a great figh. It was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Cafar, after he had wonne fo many famous conquests, and ouercome fo many great battels, had bene vtterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his armie. Asimius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and faith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the campe, were flaues and bondmen, and that there were not flaine in all this battell aboue fixe thousand

thousand fouldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, C. sar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards flue Cofar himfelfe; and it is reported, that Cofar was very fory for him, when he could fre coffer not immediatly be found after the battel, & that he rejoyced againe when he knew he was aline, taken prife and that he came to yeeld himfelfe vnto him. Cafar had many fignes and tokens of victory before this battel, but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the city of TRALLES. Pharfalia. For in the temple of victory, within the fame city, there was an image of Cafar, and the earth all signer and about it very hard of it felfe, and was paned befides with hard stone; and yet some say that there construints fprang vp a palme hard by the base of the same image. In the citie of PADVA, Caius Cornelius an floreexcellent Southfayer, (a countriman and friend of Titus Liuius the Historiographer) was by chance at that time fet to behold the flying of birds. He (as Linie reporteth) knew the very time nelius an when the battell began, and told them that were present, Euen now they give the onset on both fides, and both armies do meete at this inftant. Then fitting downe againe to confider of the eater. birds, after he had bethought him of the fignes, he fodainly rose vp on his feete, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit: O Casar the victory is thine. Every man wondering to see him, he tooke the crowne he had on his head, and made an oath that he would never put it on againe, rill the eyent of his prediction had proved his art true. Linie testifieth, that it came so to passe. Ca-Grafterwards giving freedome vnto the Thessalians, in respect of the victory which he wan in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into As 1 A, he gave freedome also vnto the GVIDIANS for Theopompus fake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release As 14 alfo, the third part of ftribute which the inhabitants paid vnto the Romains. The he came into ALEXANDRIA after Pompey was flaine; and detelted Theodotus that presented him Pompeys head, and turned his head afide because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his feale, & beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteoufly vsed all Pompeys friends and familiars. catardiwho wandring vpand downe the country, were taken of the king of AGYPT, and wan them all mene in to be at his commandement. Continuing these courtesses, he wrote vnto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory, was, that he daily faued the lines of some of his countrimenthat bare armes against him. And for the war he made in ALEXANDRIA, some say, he needed not to have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Gleopatra; wherein he wan of Gafars litle honor, and befides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault vpon the king marie in of Ægypr's ministers, but specially on Pothinus y Eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the kings scruants, after he had caused Pompey to be slaine, and driven Gleopatra. from the court, Postinus fecretly laid wait all the waies he could, how he might likewife kill Cofar. Wherefore Cofar heathermothe ring an inckling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting & banqueting, that earled his person might be in the better safetie. But besides all this, Polhinus the Eunuch spake many bestaine, things openly not to be borne, only to shame Colar, & to stir vp the people to enuic him. For he made his foldiers have the worst & oldest wheat that could be gotten: then if they did coplaine of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eate at another mans cost. And he would ferue them also at the table in treene & earthen dishes, saying, that Casar had away all their gold and siluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him: which was, a thousand seuen hundred & fifty Myriades, wheref Casar had before forgive seuen hundred and fiftie thousand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his fouldiers withall. Thereto Pothinus answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importace, & afterwards that he should at more leisure recouer his debt with the kings good will and fauor. Cefar replied vnto him, & faid, that he would not aske counfell of the A-GYPTIANS for his affaires, but wold be paid and therupon fecretly fent for Cleopatra, which was in the country, to come vnto him. She only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends, took cane to a litle bote, & went away with him in it in the night, and came & landed hard by the foot of the castell. Then having no other meane to come into the court without being knowne, she laid her cleopatra felfe downe vpon a mattreffe or flockbed, which Apollodorus her friend tied & bound vptogether manute like a bundle with a great leather thong & fo took her ypon his backe & brought her thus ham. * treff-, and pered in this fardle vnto Cafar in at the castle gate. 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Cafar made Ducene of AEgypt. Cafarism, Cleopatra.

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In fine, the king coming to his methat made war with Cafar, he went against him, and gaue him battell, and wan it with great slaughter, and effusion of bloud. But for the King, no man could ever tel what became of him after. Therupon Calar made Cleopatra his fifter, Queen of ÆGYPT, who being great with child by him, was shortly brought to bed of a fon, who the ALEXANDRIAN'S named Cefarion. From thence he went into Syria, and fo going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitius was overthrown in battell, by Pharmaces the fon of king Mithridates, and was fled out of the Realme of Pont with a few men with hims and that this king Pharnaces greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the leffe, procuring all those Kings, Princes, & Gouernors of the provinces thereabouts to rebel against the Romains. Therupon Cafar went thither straight with three legions, & fought a great battell with king Pharnaces by the city of ZELA, where he flue his army, and draue him out of althe Realme of Pont. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the sodainnesse of this victory, he onely wrote three words vnto Anitius at Rome; Veni, Vidi, Vici: to wit, I came, I faw, I ouercame. These three words ending all with like sound and letter in the Latine, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the eare, then can be well expressed in any other tongue, After this he returned againe into ITALY, & came to RomE, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the fecond time, which office before was neuer granted for one whole yeare, but vnto him. Then was he chosen Consul for the yeare following. Afterwards he was very il spokon of for that his fouldiers in a mutiny having flaine two Prætors, cosconius and Galba, he gave them `no other punishment for it, but in stead of calling them soldiers, he named them citizens, & gaue vnto euery one of them a thousand Drachmaes a man, and great possessions in ITALY. He was much misliked aifo for the desperate parts and madnesse of Dolabella, for the couetousnesse of Anitius, for the drunkennesse of Antonius and Cornisicius; which made Pompeys house be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not big inough for him, wher with the Romain's were maruellously offended. Casar knew all this well inough, and would have bene contented to have redressed them: but to bring his matters to passe, he precented he was dring to serve his turne by fuch instruments. After the battell of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africke, king Iuba ioyned with them, and leavied a great puissant army. Wherefore Casar determined to make war with them: and in the middest of winter, he tooke his journy into Sicils. There, because he would take all hope from his captaines & fouldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very fands by the fea fide, & with the next gale of wind that came, he tooke the fea with three thousand footmen, & a few horsmen. Then having put the a land, vnwares to them he hoifed faile againe to fetch the rest of his army, being afraid lest they shold meete with some danger in passing ouer, and meeting them mid way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was told him, that his enemies trusted in an anciet Oracle, which faid, that it was predestined vnto the family of the Scipices to be conquerous in Africa: either of purpose to mocke Scipio the Generall of his enemies, or otherwise ingood earnest to take the benefit of this name

(given by the Oracle) vnto himfelf, in all the skirmishes and battels fought, he gave the charge of his army vnto a man of meane quality and account, called Scipio Salutius, who came of the race of Scipio African, and made him alwaies General when he fought. For he was effloores compelled to wearie and harry his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had corne inough. nor the beafts forrage, but the fouldiers were driven to take fea weeds, called Alga: and (washing cofare away the brakishnessethereof with fresh water, putting to it a litle herb called dogstooth) to cast troubles in it so to their horse to cate. For the NVMIDIANS (which are light horsmen, & very ready of sernice) being a great number together, would be on a fodaine in cuery place, & spread all y fields, dogs tooth ouer therabout, so that no man durst peepe out of the campto go for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were flaying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing & playing with the flute(they being let down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in Casars danthe meane time given their flaves their horses to hold) the enemies stealing sodainly vpon them, finke. compassed them in round about, & slue a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pel mel into their camp, Furthermore, had not C.efar himself in person, and Afinius Pollio with him, gone out of the campe to the refeue, and staid them that fled, the war that day had bin ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the vpper hand, in the which it is reported, that Cafar taking the enfigne bearer by the collar that caried the Eagle in his hand, staid him by force, and turning his face, told him; see, there be thy enemies. These aduantages did lift vp Scipioes heart aloft, and gaue him courage to hazard battel; and leaning Afranius on the one hand of him, and king Iuba on the other hand, both their campes lying neare together, he did fortifie himself by veity of Thapsacvs, aboue the lake, to be a suffere fuge for the all in this battel. But whilft he was busie intrenching of himselfe, Casar having maruellous speedily passed through a great country ful of wood, by by-paths which men would never have miftrusted he stole you some behind, and sodainly assailed the other before, so that he ouerthrew them all, and made them flie. Then following the first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set vpon the campe of Afranius, the which he tooke at the first onler, & the campe of the Namidi- Capital ANS also, king Iuba being fled. Thus in a little peece of the day only, he tooke three camps, & flue great vififty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his souldiers. In this fort is set down the effect final loss. of this battel by some writers. Yet others do write also, that C.esar self was not there in person at the execution of this battel. For as he did fet his men in battel ray, the falling ficknesse took him, colar tree. wherunto he was given; and therfore feeling it coming, before he was ouercome withall, he was the falling caried into a castell not far from thence where the battel was fought, & there took his rest til the schools. extremity of his disease had left him. Now for the Prætor & Consulsthat seaped from this battel, many of them being taken prisoners, did kil themselues, & others also Casar did put to death: but he being specially defirous of all men els to haue Cato aliue in his hands, he went with al posfible speed vnto the city of VTICA, whereof Cato was governour, by means wherof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way, that Gato had slaine himself with his owne hands, he then made open shew that he was very fory for it, but why or wherfore, no man cafar was could tell. But this is true, that Gafarfaid at that prefent time: O Cato, I enuy thy death, because, for for the thou didst enuy my glory to faue thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that he wrote after- death of wards against Cato being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitifull heart towards him. Cafer wrote For how could be have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands, that being dead did against caso thow could he hade partioled him; Notwithstading, men suppose he would have pardoned him, to bring speake so vehemently against him? Notwithstading, men suppose he would have pardoned him, to bring speake so vehemently against him? if he had taken him aliue, by the elemency he shewed vnto Givero, Brutus, and diverse others that had borne armes against him. Some report, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any privat malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, vpon this oceasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he intituled, Cato. This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason wrote a of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, & of the excellent subject thereof. Cafar therewith books in was maruellously offended, thinking thatto praise him, of whose death he was author, was euen case being so much as to accuse himselfe; and therfore he wrote a letter against him, & heaped vp a number dead, of accusations against Cato. & intituled the booke Anticaton. Both these books have favorers vnto this day, some defending the one for the loue they beare to Casar, & others allowing y other for Catoes fake. Cafar being now returned out of AFRICK, first of almade an oratio to the people wherin he greatly praised & comeded this his last victory, declaring vnto the, that he had coquered fo many contries vnto the Empire of ROME, that he could furnish the comonwealth yearly

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Iuba, the Celars feataken of the Romaines.

fourth time

Raitell. fought beor the your Fombers by the cite of Munda. Ctory of the foures of Pomp:y.

dedicated voto Cafar. for his cour-

with two hundred thousand bushels of wheate, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oile. Then he made three triumphs, vone for ÆGYPT, the other for the kingdome of PONT, and the third for AFRICKE not because he had ouercome Scipio there, but king Iuba. Whose son heing likewife called Inba, being then a yong boy, was led captine in the Thew of this triumph. But this his imprisonmet fel out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous NVMIDIAN. by the study he fell vnto when he was priloner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wifest historiographers of the GRECIANS. After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his foldiers: & to curry fauour with the people, he made great feafts & comon sports. . For he feasted all the Romaines at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, & gaue them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to fight at the sharpe, and battels also by sea, for the remébrance of his daughter Iulia, which was dead long before. The after all these sports, he made the people (as the maner was) to be mustered; and where there were at the last musters before three hundred & twenty thousand citizens, at this muster there were only but a hundred & fifty thousand. Such milery and destruction had this civill war wrought vnto the commonwealth of Rome, and had confumed fuch a number of Romains, not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had brought vnto all the rest of ITALY, and to the other prouinces pertaining to Rome. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Conful the fourth time, and went into Spaine to make war with the fons of Pompey; who were yet but very yong, but had not with 1152 ding raifed a maruellous great army together, and shewed they had manhood and courage worthy to command such an army, infomuch as they put Celar himselfe in great danger of his life. The greatest battel that was fought between the in all this war, was by the city of Mynda. For then Cafar feeing his mea forely diffressed, and having their hands ful of their enemies, he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, & cried out vnto them: What, are ye not ashamed to be beate & taken priforers, yeelding your felues with your own hands to these your boies? And fo, with all force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight, he flue about thirtic thousand of them in the field, & lost of his owne men a thousand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent and told his friends, that he had often before fought for vieto. ry, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He wanne this battell on the very feaft day of the BACCHANALIANS, in the which men fay, that Pompey the great went out of Rom B, about four yeares before, to begin this civil war. For his fonnes, the yonger fcaped from the battell, but within few daies after, Diddius brought the head of the clder. This was the last war that Cofar made. But the triumph he made into Kom E for the same, did as much offend the Romaines, and more, then any thing that ever he had done before; because he had not ouercome Captaines that were strangers nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man of Rome, whom fortune had overthrowne. And because he had plucked yp his race by the roots, mendid not thinke it meete for him to triumph so for the calamities of his country, rejoycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alledge in his defence, vnto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers vnto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civill wars: but did alwaies for shame refuse the glory of it. This notwithstanding the ROMAINS inclining to Cosars prosperity, & taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for the totake breath a litle, after so many troubles & miseries as they had abidde in these civil wars they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraid to be deposed: cieero pronounced before the Senate, that they should give him such honors as were meet for a man; howbeit others afterwards added roo, honors beyond all reason. For men striuing who should most honour him, they made him hatefull and trouble some to themselues that most fauoured him, by reason of the vnmeasurable greatnesse and honours which they gaue him. Thereupon it is reported, that euen they that most hated him, were no leffe fauourers & furtherers of his honors, then they that most flattered him, because they might have greater occasions to rife, and that it might appeare they had inst cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himself, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did so honorably behaue himfelfe, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore methinks amongst other honors they gaue him, he rightly descrued this, that they should build him a temple of clemency to thanke him for his courtesse he had vsed vnto them in

his victory. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes against him, and furthermore. did preferre some of them to honor and office in the common wealth: as amongst others, Cassins Cassins and and Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. And where Pompeys images had bene throwne Brutus down he caused them to be set up againe: whereupon Gicero said then, that Gasar setting up Pompeys images againe, he made his owne to stand the furer. And when some of his friends did coufell him to have a guard for the fafety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would never confent to it, but faid: It was better to die once, then alwayes to be afraid of cofars for death. Butto win himselfe the love and goodwil of the people, as the honorablest guard & best ing. of fafetie he could have, he made common feasts againe, and generall distributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the fouldiers also he replenished many cities again with inhabitants, which [ubietts,the before had bin destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which and fafetie the noblest and chiefest cities were these two, CARTHAGE and CORINTH: and it chanced also, for Princes. that like as aforetime they had bin both taken & destroyed together cuen so were they both set on foore again, and replenished with people, at one felf time. And as for great personages, he wan them also, promising some of them, to make them Practors and Consuls in time to come; and vnto others, honors & preferments; but to all men generally good hope, feeking all the waies he could to make every man contented with his reigne. Infomuch as one of his Confuls called Maximus chancing to die a day before his Conful ship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilius Conful only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the maner was) to falute him, Rebuins and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer, Cicero Confillor pleafantly faid: Come, let vs make hafte, and be gone thither before his Conful ship come out. Furthermore, Cefar being borne to attempt all great enterprifes, and having an ambitious defire befides to court great honors, y prosperous good successe he had of his former conquests, bred no defire in him quietly to enjoy the fruites of his labors; but rather gaue him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterprises, and defire of new glory, as if that which he had prefent were stale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with himfelfe as with another man, and a certaine contention to ouercome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to make warre with the Persians. Then when he had ouercome them, to passe through Hyaca-NIA (compassing in the sea Calpium, and mount Caucasus) into the Realme of Pontys, and so to inuade Scythia: and our running all the countries, and people adjoyning vnto high GER-MANIE, and GERMANIE it self, at length to returne by GAVLE into ITALY, & so to enlarge the ROMAINE Empire round, that it might be every way copassed in with the great sea Oceanum. But whilest he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the barre of the straight of, PELOPONNESVS, in the market place where the city of Corinth stadeth. The he was minded to bring the rivers of Anienes and Tiber, straight from Rome, vnto the city of Circe es with a deepe channelland high banks cast vp on either side, and so to fall into the sea at TERRACINA, for the better safety and commodity of the merchants that came to Rome to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and feaw all the water of the marishes betwixt the cities of Nomenty M and Setty M, to make firmeland, for the benifite of many thousands of people: and on the sea coast next vnto Rome, to cast great high bankes, & to cleanseall the hauen about Os TIA, of rocks and stones hidden under the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harborough dangerous for ships, and to make new hauens and arfenals meete to harbour fuch ships as did continually trafficke thither. All these things were purposed to be done. but tooke no effect. But the ordinance of the Kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take Anienes. away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to Tiber flu. perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the Romaines vfing then the ancient formed the computation of the yeare, had not onely such incertaintie and alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also also also also alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also also alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also also alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also also alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also also alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also also alteration of the moneth and incertainties are also altered alteration of the moneth and alteration of the times, that the facrifices and yearely feafts came, by litle & litle, to feafons contrary for the pur- of the yeare. pose they were ordained but also in the revolution of the Sunne (which is called Annus Solaris) no other nationagreed with them in account; and of the Romain Es themselves, only the priests vinderstood it. And therefore when they listed, they sudainly (no man being able to controlle them) did thrust in a moneth about their ordinary number, which they called in old time, * Mercedonius. Some say, that Numa Pompilius was the first that denised this way, to put a mo- nius mensus neth betweene but it was a weake remedy, and did litle helpe the correction of the errours that interestaris

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were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But Cafar committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, & best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set forthan excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before the which the ROMAIN'S do vie vntill this prefent day, and do nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies not with standing that enuied his greatnesse, did not sticke to find fault withall. As Cicero the Orator, when one faid, to morrow the starre Lyra wil rife; Yea, faid he, at the commandement of cafar, as if men were compelled fo to fay & thinke, by cafers edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couctous desire he had to be called king: which If first gaue the people inst cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignitie, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybilline prophecies, how the Romain's might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made war with them, & were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were fo bold befides, that Cafar returning to Rome fro the city of ALBA, when they came to falute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, & Cefar allo angry, he faid, he was not called king, but Cefar. Then every man keeping filence, he went his way heavie and forowfull. When they had decreed divers honors for him in the Senate, the Confuls and Prætors accompanied with the whole affembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was fet by the pulpit for Orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his maiestie, disdaining to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene private men, answered them: that his honors had more need to be cut off then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the commonwealth:infomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way, departed thece very forowfully. Thereupon also Cafar rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his dublet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, that his throate was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excuse his · folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wits are not perfit which haue this disease of the falling cuill, when standing on their feete they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their bodie, and a fodaine dimnesse & giddinesse. But that was not true, for he wold haue risen vp to the Senat, but Cornelius Balbus one of his frieds (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, faying: what, do you not remember that you are Cafar, and wil you not let them reuerence you, & do their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproch, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this fort. At that time the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in old time, men fay was the feaft of shepheards or heardmen, & is much like vnto the feast of the Lyc ÆIANS in ARCADIA. But how soener it is, that day there are diuers noble mens fons, yong men, (and fome of them Magistrates themselues that gouern then) which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way, with leather thongs, haire and all on, to make them give place. And many noble women and gentlewomen also, go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholers hold them out to their schoolemaster, to be stricken with the ferula; perswading themfelues that being with child, they shall have good delivery; and so being barren, that it wil make them to conceiue with child. Cafar fate to behold that sport vpon the pulpit for Orations, in a chaine of gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. Antonius who was Confull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at liberty, and he came to Cafar, and prefented him a Diademe wreathed about with laurell, Whereupon there rose acertaine crie of rejoycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when Cesar refused the Diademe, then all the people together made an outerie of ioy. Then Antonius offering it him againe, there was a second shout of ioy, but yet of a few. But when cafar refused it against he second time, then all the whole people shouted. Casar having made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it and the reupon rose out of his chaire, and commanded the crowne to be caried vnto Iupiter in the Capitoll. After that, there were fet vp images of Cafar in the city, with Diademes vpon their heads, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, Flauius and Marullus, went and pulled downe, and furthermore, meeting with them that first faluted Cafar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them Brutes, because of Brutus, who had in

being Conof the I upercalians.

ful, was one deme to Ca-

old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdome of one person, vnto the government of the Senate and people. Cafar was fo offended withall, that he deprined Marulius and Flautes of their Tribunethips, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bratiand Cumani, to wit, beafts and fooles. Hereupon the people went fraight vnto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother of the house of the Seruilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and sonne in law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honors and fauour Cafar shewed vnto him, kept him backe that of himselfe alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdome. For Cafar did Cafar faned not only faue his life, after the battel of Phansalia when Pompey fled, & did at his request also Britis life; faue many moe of his friends besides : but furthermore, he put a maruellous confidence in him. after the For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that yeare, & furthermore was appointed to be Confull the fourth yeare after that, having through Cafars friendship obtained it before Cakins, who likewise made suite for the same and Casar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, indeed Cassius hath alledged best reason, but yet shal he not be chosen before Brutus. Some one day accusing Brutus while he practifed this conspiracie, Cafar would not heare of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, Brutus wil looke for this skin meaning thereby, that Brutus fireth afor his vertue deserted to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, he wold not shew him- gainst cafelfe ynthankfull or dishonourable. Now they that defired change, and wished Brutus onely their far. Prince and Gouernour aboue all other, they durst not come to him themselues to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast fundry papers into the Prætors seate, where he gaue audience, and the most of them to this effect: Thou sleepest Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed. Cassius finding Brutus ambition stirred up the more by these sedicious bils, did prick him cassius nive forward, and edge him on the more, for a private quarrel he had conceived against Cefirsthe cir- reship cumftance wheref, we have fet downe more at large in Brutus life. Cefar also had Cassus in great gainst Ceiclousie, and suspected him much: wherupon he said on a time to his friends, what wil Cassins do, Siar. thinke ye? Hike not his pale lookes. Another time when Cafars friends complained vnto him of Antonius & Dolabella, that they pretended fome mischiefe towards him he answered them again; As for those far men & imooth combed heads, quoth he, I neuer reckon of them, but these pale visaged and carion leane people, I feare them most, meaning Brutus and Cossius. Certainly, destinie may easier be foreseene then avoided, considering the strange and wonderfull signes that were faid to be scene before Cosars death. For touching the fires in the element, and spirits running vp and downe in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seene at noon daies sitting in the and soregreat market place, are not all these signes perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance Cesars as happened? But Strabo the Philosopher writeth, that divers men were seene going vp & down death. in fire and furthermore, that there was a flaue of the foldiers, that did caft a maruellous burning flame out of his hand, infomuch as they that faw it, thought he had beneburnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cafar felf also doing facrifice vnto the gods, found that one of the beafts which was facrificed had no hart; and that was a strangething in nature, how a beast could line without a heart. Furthermore there was a certaine Soothfayer, that had given Cafar Cafariday warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of of his death the moneth) for on that day he shold be in great danger. That day being come, Casargoing vnto the Senate house, and speaking merily vnto the soothsayer, told him the Ides of March be come: southsayer. So they be, foftly answered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, Cafar supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the boord: so talk falling out amongst the, reasoning what death was best, he prenenting their opinions, cried out aloud, Death vnlooked for. Then going to bed the same night, as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doores of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, Thedreame being fast ascepe, weepe and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches: for she of casperdreamed that Cafar was flaine, and that she had him in her armes. Others also do denie that she wife. had any fuch dreame, as amongst other, Titus Livius writeth, that it was in this fort: The Senate having set vpon the top of Casars house for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certaine pinnacle, Calpurnia dreamed that the faw it broken downe, and that the thought the lamented and wept for it. Infomuch that Cafar rifing in the morning, she prayed him if it were possible, not to go out of the doores that day, but to adiorne the fession of the Senate vntill another day.

Decius Bruperswasion to Casar.

Decius Bruto broucht Cafar inte the Senate boufe. The tolies of the confpi. racragainst

The place where Cafar was flaine.

Cafars faithfull

And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would fearch further of the Soothfaiers by their facrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Therby it seemed that Cefar likewise did feare or suspect somewhat, because his wise Calpurnia vntil that time was neuer giuen to any feare and superstition; and that then he saw her so troubled in mind with this dreame the had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothfaiers having facrificed many beafts one after another, told him that none did like them: then he determined to fend Antonius to adiorne the seffion of the Senate. But in the meane time came Decius Brutus, sirnamed Albinus, in whom Cafar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conspiracie with Casius and Brutus: he fearing that if Casar did adiorne the feffion that day, the conspiracie would be betrayed, laughed at the Soothsayers, & reproued Cafar, faying, that he gaue the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, confidering that by his commandement they were affembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, & to proclaime him king of all his prouinces of the Empire of Rome out of ITALY, and that he should weare his diademe in al other places both by sea & land, And furthermore, that if any man should tel them from him, they should depart for that present time, and return againe when Calpurnia should have better dreames, what would his enemics and ill willers fay, and how could they like of his friends words? And who could perfuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slauery vnto them, and tyrannicall in himselfer. And yet if it be so, said he, that you veterly mislike of this day, it is better that you go your felf in perfon, & faluting the Senate to difiniffe the til another time. Therewithall he took Cefar by the hand, and brought him out of his house, Cafar was not gone far from his house, but a bond man, a ftranger, did what he could to speake with him: and when he saw he was put back by the great preffe & multitude of people that followed him, he went flraight into his house. put himself into Calpurniaes hands, to be kept til Casar came backe againe, telling her that he had greater matters to impart vnto him. And one Artemidorus alfoborn in the Ile of GNIDOS, a doctor of Rhetorick in the Greeke tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certaine of Brutus confederates; and therfore knew the most part of al their practises against Cafar, came and brought him a little bill written with his owne hand, of all that he meant to tel him, He marking how Calar received all the supplications that were offered him, & that he gave them straight to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: Cosar, reade this memoriall to your felfe, and that quickly for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearely. Cofar took it of him, but could never reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did falute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himselfe, went on withall into the Senate house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gaue him that memorial, & not Artemidorus, who did whathe could all the way as he went to give it C. far, but he was alwayes repulled by the people. For these things, they may seeme to come by chance but the place where the murther was prepared, & where the Senate were affembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himselfe amongst other ornaments which he gaue vnto the Theater, all these were manifest proofes, that it was the ordinance of fome god, that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did fauour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterprise, he did softly call vpon it, to aide him: but the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did sodainly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man halfe besides himselfe. Now Antonius that was a faithfull friend to Cafar, and a valiant man befides of his hands, him Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate house, having begunne a long tale of set purpose. So Cusar comming into the house, all the Senate stood up on their feete to do him honour. Then part of Brutus companie and confederates flood round about Cafars chaire, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suite with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment; and thus prosecuting still their suite, they followed Cefar till he was fet in his chaire. Who denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed upon him, and were the carnester with him, Metellus at length, taking his gowne with both his hands, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the figne given the confederates to fer vpon him. Then Cafea behind him, ftrake him in the necke with his fword; howbeit the word was not great nor mortall,

because it seemed, the searc of such a divellish attempt did amaze him, & take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Casar turning straight vnto him, caught hold of his fword, and held it hard, & they both cried out, Cefar in latin: O vile traitor Cafea, what doeft thous And Calca in Greek to his brother. Brother, help me, At y beginning of this ftir, they that were present, not knowing of the cospiracie, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw, they had no power to flie, neither to help him, nor so much as once to make an outcrie. They on ý other fide that had colpited his death, copassed him in on every side with their swords drawn in their hands, that Cafar turned him no where, but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked fwords in his face, & was hackled & mangled among them, as a wild beaft taken of hunters. For it was agreed among the, that every man should give him a wound, because al their parts shold be in this murther; and then Brutus himself gaue him one wound about his privities. Men report alfo; that Cafar did ftil defend himfelf against virest, running euery way with his body; but when he faw Brutus with his fword drawne in his hand, then he pulled his gowne over his head, and made no more refistance, & was driven either casually or purposedly, by the counsel of the confpirators, against the base, whereupon Pompeys image stood which ran all of a goare bloud till he was flaine. Thus it feemed that the image tooke inft reuenge of Pompeys enemie, being throwne down on the ground at his feet, & yeelding vp the ghost there, for the number of wounds he had voon him. For it is reported, that he had three & twentic wounds voon his bedie: and diners of cofarfiain, the conspirators did hurt themselues, striking one body with so many blowes. When Cafar was and had flaine, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the middest amongst them, as though he would have roughlin. faid something couching this fact) presently ranne out of the house, and slying, filled all the citie with maruellous feare and tumult. Infomuch as fome did flut too the doores, others for looke their shops and ware-houses, and others ranne to the place to see what the matter was and others also that had seene it, ran home to their houses againe. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Calars chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other mens houses, and for fooke their owne. Brutus and his confederates on the other fide, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, having their swords drawne in their hands, came all in atroupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenance to flie, The mur. but otherwise, boldly holding vp their heads like men of courage, & called to the people to de- thereis of fend their liberty, and stayd to speake with enery great personage, whom they met in their way. Of them, some followed this troupe, and went amongst them, as if they had bin of the conspiracie, and falfly chalenged part of the honor with them: among them was Cains Offaurus and Len- Place. tulus Spiniher. Butboth of them were afterwards put to death for their vaine couetouines of honor, by Antonius, and Octavius Cafar the yonger; and yet had no part of that honor for the which they were both put to death neither did any man believe that they were any of the confederates or of counsel with the. For they that did put them to death, took reuenge rather of the wil they had to offend, then of any fact they had comitted. The next morning, Brutus & his confederates came into the market place to fpeak vnto the people, who gaue the fuch audience, that it feemed they neither greatly reproued nor allowed the fact; for by their great filence they shewed that they were fory for Cafars death, & also than they did renerence Brutus. Now the Senate granted general pardon for all that was past, & to pacific enery man, ordained besides, that Cefars funcrals should be honored as a god, & established all things that he had done, and gaue certain proninces also, and convenient honors vnto Brutus & his confederates, wherby every man thought al things were brought to good peace and quietnes again. But when they had opened Cefars testament, & found a liberall legacie of mony bequeathed vnto energy citizen of Rome, & that they faw his body (which was brought into the market place) all bemangled with gashes of swords, the there was no order to keep the multitude & comon people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables & stooles, and laid them all about the body, and setting them aftire, burnt the corie. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the fire-brands, and went vnto their houses that had flaine Cafar, to fetthem afire. Other also ran vp and down the city to fee if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pecces; howbeit they could meet with neuer a man of them, because they had locked the felues vp fafely in their houses. There was one of Cafars friends called Cinna Cinnas that had a maruellous strange & terrible dreame & night before. He dreamed that Cafar bad him to supper, and that he refused & would not go: then that C. efar took him by the hand, & led him C. far. against his wil. Now Cinna hearing at that time, that they burnt Cafars body in the market place,

The muy ther of Cin

Cafar 56. at his death

of væsars death.

Caffins being ouerthrowne at the battell of philippes flue bimfelf w th the Selfesame jmord, wherewieh he strake Cefar. Wonders feene in the element after Cafars death. A great co-

Brutus vi-

The fecond ap;earing of the Spirit Pato Bru-

notwithstanding that he feared his dreame, and had an ague on him besides, he went into the market place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane fort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other vnto another, so that it ranne straight through them all, that he was one of them that murthered Cafar: (for indeed one of the traitors to Cafar, was also called Cinna as himselfe) wherefore taking him for Ginna the murherer, they fell vpon him with fuch fury, that they prefeliely dispatched him in the market place. This stirre and furie made Brutus and Cassius more affraid then of all that was past, and therfore within few daies after they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large in the life of Brutus. Cafar died at fixe and fiftie yeares of age, and Pompevalio lived not passing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other fruite of all his reigne and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreme danger, but a vaine name onely, and a superficiall glorie, that procured him the enuie and hatred of his countrey. But his great prosperitie and good fortune that fauoured him all his life time.did continue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land. till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all the that were actors or counsellers in the conspiracie of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to Casius about all other, is most to be wondered at: for he being ouercome in battel at the journey of PHILIPPES, flue himself with the same sword with the which he strake C.efar. Againe, of fignes in the element, the great comet which feuen nights together was feene very bright after C. efars death, the eight night after was neuer seene more. Also the brightnesse of the Sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not our. whereby it gaue but small heate; therefore the aire being very cloudie and darke, by the weakenes of the heate that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and vnripe fruite, which rotted before it could ripe. But aboue all, the shoft that appeared vnte Brutus, shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murther of Cefar. The vision was thus: Brutus being ready to passe ouer his armie from the city of ARYDOS to the other coast lying directly against it, slept enery night (as his maner was) in his tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires, for by report he was as carefull a Captaine, and lived with as litle fleepe as ever man did)he thought he heard a noise at his tent doore, & looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a mansof a wonderfull greatnesse, and dreadful looke, which at the first made him maruellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but flood by his bed fide, & faid nothing; at length he asked him what he was. The image answepeared onto red him: I am thy ill Angell, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippes. Then Brutus replied againe, and faid, Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him, After that time, Brutus being in battel neare vnto the city of Philippes, against Antonius and Ottauius Cafar, at the first battell he wannethe victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstood him, he draue them into yong Casars campe, which he took. The second battell being at hand, this fpirit appeared againe vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereupon Brutus knowing that he should die, did put himselse to all hazard in battel, but yet fighting could not be flaine. So feeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowne, he ranne vnto a litle rockenot

farre off, and there setting his swords point to his breast, fell vpon it, and flue himselfe, but yet, as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend that dispatched him.

THE COMPARISON OF Alexander the Great with Iulius Casar.





NTRING into confideration of Alexander and Cafar, it is an easie matterto speake, and much easier to proue, that they are two of the brauest Chieftaines of warre, that are to be noted in histories: that their vertues Chieftaines of warre, that are to be noted in histories: that their vertues out of warre are excellent, and have great refemblance together: that both of them were nobly borne, learned, eloquent, liberall, moderate, very louing to their friends and scruants, and wonderfull much made of, & obeyed of Captaines and souldiers of their armies, and mercifull even to their enemies: that even from their youth they made good proofe of the future

greatnesse of their courages: that their exploits are altogether admirable: that they be two miracles for militarie discipline, whether a man doth looke into the shortnesse of the time of their warres, and the countries which they have passed through, as it were with the turning of a hand: orthatthey behold the enemies they have overcome, the townes and provinces they have conguered their wisdome, valour, and happinesse, having neuer received repulse, but alwayes carying victory in their hands, and making valour their aduantage with an affured good direction. Both of them were in maruellous danger of their persons, the one in the citie of the Malli-ANS, the other in Spaine, against the sonne of Pompeius. Both of them were by Soothsayers exprefly told of their death, whom they loued and respected. Both of them in the meane space (as it were blindfold) did throw themselves into danger, from the which men would have withdrawne them. But he that will meerely confider the life of either of them, shall find himself in a field, whereof the eye cannot fee the end, nor the divers wayes object vnto it, but remaineth dazled, not knowing whither to point it, he feeth fo many things at once before him. If he come to preferre the life of one before the other, he entreth into an Ocean of discourse, & cannot tell, which of the two he should chuse, nor to what port to go to discharge himselfe of this man here, before the other there; yet to encourage some bodie to saile in this sea, let vs row to the shore: and (to speake plainly without figure) let vs see wherein the one doth passe the other, to leaue the Reader his free judgement of that we will say. At this present I will in few words shew what may be observed most memorable, in the adolescencie of the one and of the other, of their exploits of warre, of their vices and vertues, of their death, and what followed after. I pleade first for Alexander, not mentioning his race, his beautic, nor the sweetnesse of his body, which they speake of so much; all that being nothing worth in respect of vertue: his continencie vnto women, and for that he did moderatly yee the exercises of his bodie, doth so much the more condemne Cafars excesse and frailtie of his youth, doing and suffering filthy things, not to be ripped vp any further. The ambition of Alexander came of a noble minde, as witnefferth that he spake of the running at the games Olympicall, his discourse with the Ambassadors of Persia, and the complaint he made to his companions, that his father would leave him nothing to conquer. Whereas Celar after he had remained sometime in NICOMBDIA & in GRECE, he cast himself

THE

into the armes of the common people at Rome, being bountifull, and making orations to gaine their hearts, suing for pettie offices finely to attaine to the greater. To conclude, he tooke a quite contrary course vnto Alexander, who traced the great royall broade way to vertue, to become one day the honor of the world: and had also to his schoole-master the learnedst man of all men, and shewed himselfe indeed a most worthy disciple of Aristotle. But Casar pricked forward by his naturall wit, and tyrannicall manners of his time, was possessed (in an valuckie houre for him and his countrey) with the intollerable vice of self-will and ambition, which was cause of his death. The loue that Alexander bare from his infancie vnto learning and learned men, makes him farre excell other Princes. The honour that he did vnto Homer the Poet, returned againeto himselfe: No the contrary, Casar neuer seemed to care for any man, but for himselfe; or if he have regarded some, or given gold and silver by handsuls, it was but to gaine men, and by degrees to ferue his turne, to raise him to that greatnesse he aimed at, rather then for any other consideration. Now as may be said of the one and the other, he was.

In counfell wife: and valorous in fight.

And to speake truly, it is their true and right title of honour, and the advantage they have of all those that have gone before them: let vs see if we can a litle in particular qualific Alexander.

Asturdie warrier, neuer fearing harmes, And dreadfull to his enemies in armes:

As faith Afchilus: for what was all his warre in As 1A after the death of Philippue, but tempests. extreame heates, wonderfull deepe rivers, maruellous high mountaines, monstrous beasts for greatnesse to behold, wild sauage fashions of life, change and alteration of Gouernors vpon euerie occasion, yea treasons and rebellions of some? At the beginning of his voyage, GRECE did yet lay their heads together, for remembrance of the warres that Philippus made vponthem, the townesgathered together, MACEDONIA inclined to some change and alteration, divers people farre and neare lay in waite to see what their neighbours would do, the gold and filter of PERSIA flowing in the Orators purses, and Gouernors of the people in every town did raise vp Peloponnese: Philippus treasure and coffers were emptie, and the debts were great. In despite of all these troubles, and in the middest of his pouertie, a young man, but newly come to mans estate, durst in his mind thinke of the conquest of Asia, yea of the Empire of the whole world, with thirtie thousand footemen, and fine thousand horse, or (as some other thinke) with fine and fortie thousand footmen, and fine thousand and fine hundred horse; having to entertaine this warre in readic money but two and fortie thousand crownes, or (as Dura writeth) prouision of victuals and money but for thirtie dayes: howbeit he was furnished with magnanimitie, with temperance, with wifdome and valour; being more holpen in this marshall enterprise, with that he had learned of his tutor Aristotle, then with that which his father Philippus had left him: he was armed with a just quarrell against the PERSIANS, sworne enemies vinto GRECE, vnto whom they had done infinite wrongs and iniuries: his magnanimitie and valiantnesse appeared in all his fights, were it in a pitched field, or in assaults, and taking of townes; neuer sparing his person, having bene gricuously wounded in fundrie fights. What valour shewed he in the city of the MALLIANS, he himselfe alone against so many barbarous people: With what constancie did he encourage his surgeons to plucke out a dart that stucke fast in his breaft ? Let no man, faith he, be so faint-hearted nor cowardly; no, not if my life were in question, I could not thinke that a man would believe I feared death, if he had any feeling or feare in my behalfe. Now for a man in twelue yeares space and leffe, to have done these things, and to have travelled a conquerour the most part of the world, is a commendation passing mens vnderstanding. Casar on the contrary part, having made his preparations long before, happily found Crassus to pay his debts he ought, to the end to corrupt the city of Rome: and afterwards, having practifed adangerous league with Pompeius, he taketh armes, and entreth into FRANCE, where his fubtilties did him as good service as his armes:in the meane space, he had his meanes, through whose aide, in the end he ouerthrew the whole state of the commonwealth of Rome. Now Alexander is not so admirable, for that by his prowesse he ouercame his enemics, as he was by the wonderfull wife and verteous behauiour in the middest of his armes, where indeed he shewed himself a perfect Philosopher; whereof it is good to alledge some examples, that shall bring vs to the goodly discourse of the vertues of this Prince, surpassing Cafar in that respect.

Therefore we may see his prowesse accompanied with great instice, a sweet temperance, an excellent bountie, a good order and exquisite wisedome: directing all things by good discretion and ripe judgement. In all his doings you shall hardly discerne, that is a deed of valour, that of humanitie, that of patience: but all his exploits feemed to be mingled and compounded of all the vertues together. Yet it is true, that alwaies in euery action, there is a vertue eminent about the others: but that pointeth them all to one end. In Alexanders actions they fee, that his valiantnes is gentle, and his gentlenesse valiant; his liberalitie husbandrie, his choler soone down, his loues temperate, his passimes not idle, and his trauels gracious. What is he that hath mingled feasting with wars, and militaric expeditions with sports? Who hath intermingled in the middest of his belieging of townes, and in the middest of skirmithes and fights, sports, banquets, and wedding fongs? Who was euer more enemie to those that did wrong, or more gracious to the afflicted? Who was ever more cruell to those that fought, or more just vnto suppliants? Let vs bring forth parses wittie fayings, who being brought prisoner before Alexander, and by him asked how he would be yied: he answered: Like a king. So Alexander following on flill, asked him if he would fav anic thing more: No, faid he, for all is contained in that word onely. And so may they in all Alexanders deeds, to his friends and enemies, at the beginning and end of his life adde too this Like a wise man.

AND IVLIVS CÆSAR.

How lined he? Like a mile man. How caried he himselfe in all his exploits of warre? Like a wile man. How hath he conversed amongst men openly and privatly? Like a wife man. He hath some faults in his behaulour, and we will not forget to speake of them. But as all rules have their exceptions, and yet therefore not to be taken away; and a pimple or wart shall not staine the perfections of the face otherwise verie faire: so Alexanders follies and imperfections cannot take away this honour from him, which wife men giue him. If we would here helpe our selues with examples, we should write that which Plutareb hath so learnedly and briefly gathered out of so manic good authors, who tooke pleafure to do that in the life of Alexander, which they judge Xenophon did in Crrus: to wit, to fet before all men the pattern of a prince complete in all vertues. And whereas Cafar distained his life with a continuall violent desire to subdue his countrie, committing a greater fault in the last warres, and towards the end of his life, then if he had lien with his owne mother: as also this damnable illusion did torment him the night before he entred into ITALIE to violate the libertie of Rome; Alexander was not pricked forward but by vertue it self. to begin a just warre worthy of a great king, not of purpose to set his feet vpon the throats of the GREEKES, but to bring all the world to a peaceable and happie gouernment. His wars made the GREEKES shed no teares. C.e/ar filled all his country with fire and teares. Alexander keeping his fouldiers under obedience, fuffering none of them that followed him to commit any diforders, he brought the barbarous people through the helpe of his friends to be civill, Celar vindid forme of his friends, others for sooke him, he filled Rom with the insolencie of his souldiers, and fowed there the graines of infinite confusions that came out of his bloud. But what hath bene the continencie of Alexander, to whom all things succeeded as he wished: He would not see the Ladies that were prisoners, and through his temperance was as much conqueror of their beauties, (not with standing, he was in the slower of his age, and of a lusty complexion) as of the prowesse of men by his valiantnesse: yea he made lesse account of those women they shewed him, then of those that he neuer saw. And where he was gracious to all forts of people, he shewed himselfe as yntoward to them that were faire. How did he threaten Philoxenus, that would have bought him two boyes of a Merchant of TARENTYM? And if he did love Roxane and Statira, it was because he would lawfully marie them, and for the good of his affaires; and not as Cesar, that forgat himselfe too much in those matters. But furthermore, what praise deserueth Alexander, that will not steale a victorie? O how noble is his courage that would not accept Darius offers: but would needs have GRECE command As IA, as it was requifite! VVhat diligence vied he in following of his enemie? and otherwise what compassion tooke he of the vnworthy death of him?how did he punish Beffue? All his former behauiour sheweth that he had a good and a true kingly mind in him: that he loued not traitors, nor treason, and would not ouercome but with honour, C. e far indeed did purfue Pomper, but he did not punish the murderers, till he had disconered that they conspired against him. Now to make an end of that we have to say for Alexander: we may gather out of the discourse of his life, that the divine providence made a present vnto this Prince of the vertues most apparent in all the other noble GREEKES and ROMANES:

prosperitie, enuironed with flatterers, he was not drunke with his greatnes, he did acknowledge he was mortall, and humbled himselfe many wayes: he is wonderfull patient, beareth the hard words of his familiars: he neither taketh pen nor fword in hand to be reuenged of those that offended him, thinking it a worthie thing in a king to suffer himselfe to be blamed, and to heare ill to do good: Thewing a hartie affection and great honour to his friends, even for their fakes to forbeare his own necessary commodities, to write vnto them familiarly, & to have a speciall care of their persons, and of their affaires. He provided his servants pay of creditors fixe millions of gold due for his fouldiers. He sent out of Asia into Greece the like summe to build temples againe to their gods, in place of those which the Persians had ouerthrowne. To conclude, in the midst of his affaires he shewed an aspiring and inuincible valor, not being faint harted for any danger whatfoeuer. It is true that Cafar in this cafe had many things common with him, as we will tell you hereafter. This notwithstanding Alexander alwayes kept himselfe constant, and after such a manner, that he followed not vice, neither feemed he fo much to blemish his goodly versues as Alexanders vi- the other. Among other vices, they blame Alexander for drunkennesse and choler. I will neither ces, namely cho- excuse the one nor the other in him: but as for this last, there was never Prince that would sooner confesse his faults after he had done them through this vehemencie of his, whereunto he was formwhat giuen by nature: it may be faid also that Clitus, Calisthenes, and some others that felt the force of his anger, were the chiefe cause & motive of it, and had brought the mischiefe you the felues. And to speake the troth, there is no reason that a seruat much made of by his master, shold stands highly upon himself, that he will beare nothing, but wilfully run his head against a stone which he might eafily have avoided, if he could but have kept his tong, and given place to his furie that could prefently vindo him. Euery man will condemne Alexander for his ill viage of the INDIAN fouldiers, coming out of a towne vpon his word given them. And as for the Philosophers, it is a matter whereof formwhat may be faid, wherin they should have bene more spare in their practifes, to have done longer feruice to their countrey, and not to have prouoked fo much a puissant and victorious enemy. And as for the nation of the Cosses Ans, in that he ytterly de. stroyed them for facrifice of the funerals of Hephaltion, it is an vnexcusable fault, what excuse soeuer may be made for it. But the gracious entertainments he gaue Taxiles, and Porus, to fo many nations fubduced to formany townes taken the divers & great honors he gave vnto the captaines of his army, & the ordinarie course of his life wonderfull mercifull, do form what falue the wounds of his vnpremeditated choler, and his exceeding griefe and forow for his fauorites and familiars. The which we must distinguish from the strange hatred that Cofar hid in his heart, against all those that hindred his doings, without regard to any man. And where he pardoned some before & after victory, it was but for his advancemet, not for any good will he bare them: for in Africk he put many of them to death whom he suspected nay he spared not Cato himself after his death. As for the teares he shed taking Pompeyes seale, refusing to see the head of him, nor Theodotus that brought it him: & contrariwife, fauouring the feruants & friends of the dead, & writing goodly letters to Rome, which they call, Killing of his dead enemy; his acts that went before, and followed after, may plainely shew, that all that was but a tragicomedy ceremoniously ended; although otherwise they had had so many matters to deale in together, that it was not possible but that some remainder of the ancient knowledge meeting then in the heart, should stir vp some inward contrariety within: as also it hapneth to men of great courage, that contrary passions meeting together, do flew more without, then remaineth within. The wicked Theodotts descrued no lesse then Besser but Casar was not Alexander, neither went he into AGYPT but for the advancement of his affaires, which could not well be compatied but by the destruction of Pompey: the which when he had obtained, made him forget his dutie openly. For Alexanders drunkennesse, some defirous to excuse it, alledge that he dranke not much, but was long at the table, and spent the time talking with his friends. As they tell of Cato VTIC AN, that he fate at the table with his friends all night long vntil the morning: whereof fome faid that his busines in the commonwealth was

cause, which he followed all the day: this hindering him that he had no leisure to go to his booke

when night came, he tooke great delight to conferre with learned men at his table. If Alexander

after he had trauelled about fo many affaires of the commonwealth, the which he would never

leaue vndone to follow his owne pleasures, dranke somewhat liberally among his captaines, yea

suppose that he exceeded measure more then once: yet will I not conclude that he made vie

of it, and that he deserved the name of a drunkard. I will not excuse the fault he committed at the instance of Lauthe curtifan, not the promise that he made of a prise of six hundred crowns to his Captaines, vnto him that could drinke most: for it is not in glasses and goblets that men should shew their strength. But there died at this quasfing and carrousing, one and forty of his Captaines. And as for himselfe, truly he was too lightly led by Medius, to go drink with him all night, and the next morning: whereupon he fell ficke, and would not forbeare to drinke wine for all that, which cast him into a feauer that left him not. For where they say he was poisoned, it hath no likelihood of reason in it. Be it that this Prince did exceed in drinking, yet that not withftanding, wine must not drown nor bury so many excellent vertues that do shine in him in time of peace and war. Cafars intemperancy in his pleafures, and his vnfatiable ambition, is an extremirie without all comparison more vehement and dangerous then Alexanders choler or cuppe. And as for his death, as the continuance and greatnesse of his glory was pure and vnspotted, free from enuie, during the strength of his age, whilest he lived in this world: so after his death this Alexanders glory held out fill in the wonted maner, he being lumented of all his armie, of all GREECE and death and EVROPE; many royall branches having forung from his fouldiers, leaving the world in division to foure fimple Captaines, whose iffue after them have continued many yeares in possession of their parts. Whereas Cafar to the contrary, having with fo great labour and travell by many obfoure and o'blique waies, attained to the height of a shamefall glory, and which wan him the hatred of the chiefest members of the commonwealth, was immediatly cast downe, little lamented of those that loved good lawes and the good of the state, the which he lest turmoiled with ciuill warres; and which began to make fome flew againe under his nephew, whom the divine providence (having regard to things much more excellent then either heaven or earth) had in his counfell determined to make him Monarch of the world. As to the contrary, Alexander was happily flaved in Baby Lon, where he was told by the divines, the wicked fpirit having (according to the knowledge it pleafed the inst Judge to give him)coniectured and foretold something of that which God had long time before reuealed vnto his by his faithfull Prophet. But yet after Augustus, the Empire of Rom E fell againe into new misfortunes, and was neuer but vnconftant from that time forward, till in the end it funke vnder her owne weight. The like chanced to Alexanders successfors, but not through his fault: and that makes the memory of him more famous. Thus have you all I can fay of him. Let vs speake forthing of Iulius Cafar also, not that I pretend to attaine to that which may be faid of him: for it would require a more fufficient man then my selfe to performe that. But to make some comparison with Alexander, whose deeds he wherein chancing one day to reade of in a booke, he fell a weeping, enuying the brane exploits of the med to exother. Let vs therfore confider if he have done things that came neare, or did excell the other. First of all, vnto all the noble acts that may be written of Alexander in his youth, I do obiect the ander. worthy act of Cafar against the pirats, which were more his prisoners then he theirs, vntowhom cosars he paid ransome in such fort, that he made them repent their folly that they euer medled with youth. him. So that vpon land they found he was very round with them, as also their judge at sea, though he were but a young man in their hands. That is but an example of the rest of his life, who could abide no companion, and much leffe a maifter, as being borne to all great things, and delighting in nothing but to be excellent in all the rarest and highest things of the world : as his deeds did witnesse, after he came to beare office in the commonwealth, euen to the end of his dayes. Now albeit his eloquence is no fmall thing to be spoken of, which did him notable feruice in many troublefome encounters; though it was a wonder to fee the excellency of his file and grace, lively to expresse all things in so fine and goodly terms, that the smoothest Mufes neither would, nor could speake more sweetly then he: yet since we had rather stand vpon good deeds then faire words, let vs passe ouer this matter, so much to support Alexander, and let vs fee whether it may be received for truth of all men of vnderstanding: that Cufar is the most cafars great excellent Captaine that euer was in the world. Albeit that Alexander had but a finall meanes, skilling armes. yet he was Lord of a great kingdome, he had men and credit. But Cefar without patrimonie of much worth, without money and with few men, performed the greatest things that may be thought of. Alexander hadto do with women and children, if one compare the people he fought with, with those whom Casar overthrew: not in five or fixe battels, but in more then fifty, very well ordered, where he was ever the weaker in number of men, but the greater in valour: nener vanquished, but ever victor; and was never hurt that I cantell of, though he would

of his enemies, and destroyed the one by the other. Casars ambition was very extreme, but he

couered it in another maner of fort then Alexander did:who passing ouer a river, let fall certaine

words, plaine enough, that he fought the praise of the ATHENIANS. And the false inventions

venture euento his last, and let his steffing as freely as themeanest fouldier of his legions. And yet in the meane time they shall find he was better stayed in his enterprises then Alexander, that like a fwift running streame, would run into any danger, which indifferently joineth with all that comethagainst it. So he was in the heat of his age, and Cafar entred into doings being a man of ripe judgement, and well onwards in yeares. To fay it is a great commendation for a Generall in the field, headlong to put himself into all dangers, making no difference betwixt himself and a common souldier, that is somwhat too forward: and therefore therin I find Cesar to be preferred before Alexander, onely for that he was not fo forward without great necessitie. So that his happinesse defended him in all parts, as also for that Alexander seemed to have sought to be beaten. Shall I tell you that Casar killed a million of enemies, hath triumphed for a million of others and hath made an innumerable number to flie? That in leffe then ten yeares while the warre in GAV LE endured, he wan eight hundred rownes, and subdued three hundred nations? If I should mention the warshe made in fifteen yeares space, it would make a whole booke to speak onely but of the praifes he deserved. The SVVIZZERS, GERMAINES, GAVLES, ROMAINES, ÆGYP-TIANS, AFRICANS, the ASIANS, and his five triumphs of so many enemies, so mighty, and in fliew fo inuincible, do approue his valor and sufficiency in all the parts requisite in a cheftaine of warre. His vertues and happines being his tutors, he got about him a world of good wils of certaine valiant Captaines and fouldiers together, whom he ordered so wel, that he made them ready to performe what he commanded, and having such an vnmatchable cariage towards them. he made them inuincible with him: and in the middest of his continual troubles, he did reade, meditate, spake, wrote, and left behind him the goodliest booke that a martiall man, and one that entertaineth the Muses, can deuise to take in his hands. His Orations were a long time held in great reputation among the ROMANES. And for his respectivnto men learned, valiant, & vertuous, Cafar had renouced himself, if he had shut his gate against such men. The dangers Alexander passed through were great, but what were they in respect of Casars dangers, enuironed with so braue enemies, and in fo great a number, as were the GAV LES, and Pompeys followers? What foule parts have bene played him by some of his owne people, and yet he weighed them not? But to the contrary he suffered some of them to runne what course they liked best: he sent the cariage and goods to other: he alwayes respected and honoured his enemies, when they made no head against him. And by his friends he sent reasonable conditions vnto Pompey, before he would fight with him. Furthermore, when he entred into wars, being greatly in debt, and raifed VP with hope, having the chiefest in Rome his adversaries, he took vpon him to fight with all the enemies abroad, and to make his way in despite of the world to the sourcingnty of Rome, the which he faw had need of a good master, not of so many pettie Lords. His wonderfull foresight ferued him altogether in all occurrences, being neuer prevented in any thing he went about, but alwaies obtained more then he defired. His magnanimity weighed more then any other vertue they could note in him: which is as much as one would fay, that cafar outweighted all the other Captaines of the GREEKES and ROMAINES. He was almost at all the battels: in the warres where he commanded, he was neuer beaten but in his Lieutenants. For the skirmish in the which Pompey on a time had the better, it is not worth the speaking of it: because he could not tell how to follow his victory. And it is a fingular direction, fauoured with a most rare happinesse, that amongst so many blowes given, Cafar never had one given him. If he found favour of Grassus before he went to the warres, that cannot be imputed any blame to him, since he alwayes payed his friends well, and brought his enemies to reason, though they set against him. The vertues If inflice accompanied the prowesse of Alexander, if he have vied moderation, gentlenesse, and perfer and humilitie in his victories, if he shewed himselfe wise and circumspect in his purposes: what the stand of cafar then? Whose gentlenesse is so much spoken of, that men judge that that in war and was one of the occasions of his deat b. His passimes were very serious: and after he began to deale in affaires, he neuer played but in good earnest, and yet would he neuer lose his times of recreation, and his pleafant talke and communication with his friends and familiars. But in the middest of his victories, how did he vse his enemies, and shose that set themselves against him: He was a lightening of warre, that ouerthrew all that durft withftand him: and he neuer medled with any that yeelded without refistance. He was faithfull, wife, valiant, and couragious, and did not allow all kind of meanes to obtaine victorie: although more then once he might have fewed (as they fay) the case of the Foxe, with the skinne of the Lyon.

to make the glory of his name to continue for ever amongst the Indians, do not they discover a most grosse vanitie, which did but labour after that which it could not attainer But Casar desired earnestly, and touched the end of his intentions. His prowesse is wonderfull gracious, and his gentlenesse graue and valiant: his liberalitie so great, that to thinke what he should give, was more then the gift it selfe, how great soeuer. Also he gathered no riches together in the warres, to liue afterwards in deliciousnesse at his pleasure: it was a reward of vertue that he locked vp, to recompence men of valour, and to leave good fouldiers a meane to live by honestly at home, when age and their wounds did constraine them to leaue warres. He was neuer weary of any trauell more then Alexander: and gaue not himselfe to so much ease, though he was clder, slenderer, and thinner of bodie, and subject to the falling sicknesse: but he hardened himself against it by continual exercise of his bodie and mind, accompanied with an incredible quicknesse and diligence. He having left France, and running after Pompeius to Bryndysiym, he fubdued all ITALIE in leffe then three weekes, returned againe from BRVNDVSIVM to ROME: from whence he went to the heart of Spaine, where he ouercame extreame hardnesse in the war against Afranius and Petreius, and at the long siege of MARSEILLES. From thence he returned into MACEDONIA, wan the battell of PHARSALIA, and followed Pompeius into AGYPT. which he subdued also. After that he came into Syria, and into the kingdome of Pont, where he fought with Pharnaces: from thence into Africk E, where he ouercame Scipio and Iuba, Afterwards he returned against hrough ITALIE and SPAINE, and there overcame the fonne of Pompeius. Now weightherewithall the trauels, fights, conquests and expeditions of Alexander: then fay plainely, what you think of it: Cafar caried it by much. The onely wars of the GAVLES haue bene more sharp and dangerous then all the conquests of Asia and the Indians. For it is not in passing oner mountaines and rivers ill guarded, that she wes the deeds of men: it is to ouercome a subtill and puissant enemie. But I pray you, these words of Casar to the Maister of the Brigantine (who vnleffe they had known him, would have paffed him from Apollonia to BRYN DYSIVM) were they not more swelling then the sea it selfs courage my friend, said he, saile hardily: for thou carieft Cafar & his fortune. And that which he faid paffing ouer the river of Rubiconto enter into ITALIE: Aman can be but once undone : what a courage did he shew in that? Truly a mind, that from thence did behold death, and cared for no more, but for the execution of his counsels. If a man observe the directions of Alexander in his exploits, what is that in respect of the wisdome of Casar? being wont to say, he loued victorie gotten by counsell more then by force. I know that Alexander was adorned with most excellent vertues, and hurt with very few knowne vices. For therin it feemeth he hath lattifed vp Cafar, and many others of the chiefest in the Greek e and Romaine historicalthough I cannot dissemble also, that he was led by flatterers and women too: witneffe that which he did at the instigation of Lais and of his minions. As also that his deeds were but wind: dangerous vices in all men, but especially in Princes: from which Cafar kept himself with better understanding. But if we bring in shew the good vnderstanding, the spirit, the judgement, the conduct, the profound knowledge, the eloquence, the hardinesse, the greatnesse of courage, the more then humane boldnesse in the middest of the greatest dangers: the trauels, the paines, the bounty, the gentlenesse, the curtesie, the liberality, and the good fortune of C. far: we shall have enough to speake of. They object this against him, that among the Senators and others which tooke Pompeius part, he spared them that could not much hurt him; and others whom he thought he could not gaine, he ouercame the in Africk. But Brutus, Cassius, and his adherents shew, that Casar sought nothing else but to carie himselfe gracioufly, if his ill-willers would have let him alone. And fure it is very likely, that if they had borne with him but a while longer, matters had not gone on with fuch a violent course as they did after his death:but the estate of Rome had bene governed with better policie, and the ambition of this great person having attained his defire, had bene satisfied, & would have fallen of himselfe. For whereas he did leane to the flatteries of Balbus and Antonius, to disdaine the Senar, and to couet the markes and fignes of royall dignitie, these were but the blasts of this wicked vices. wind, which fuch dangerous bellowes entertained & kept in his heart. Now in this he cannot be

The indge-

beiwixt .4= lexander

and Cafar

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THE LIFE OF Phocion.

He Orator Demades on a time flourished in ATHENS, because in all his doings and fayings in the administration and government of the common-wealth, he alwayes fauoured the MACEDONIANS and Antipater in respect whereof he was eftsoones compelled, both in his counsell and lawes, to preferre many things to the difhonour of his ciry, faying, that they must pardon him, because he governed the shipwracks of his coun- pem des try. This was an arrogain speech but yet referring it to the government arms me of Phocion, he faid truly. For indeed Domades felie was the shipwracke. Toping. of the commonwealth, because he lived so insolently, and governed so

lewdly. Infomuch as Antipater faid of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaft facrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of Photos which had to fight against the cruell and bitter enemie of the time, were so obscured by the calamities of GREECE, that his fame was nothing fo great as he deferred. For we mult not credit Sophocles words, making vertue of it felfe but weake, in these verses:

> When stormes of fore adversities (o king) do men affaile, It dannts their courage, outs their combes, and makes their bearts to quarle.

But we must onely give place to fortune, who when she frownerh upon any good and vertuous man, her force is fo great, that where they deferne honor and fauour, the violently heapeth falle The new r and malicious accufations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credite of vertue which indeed it deferueth. And yet it feemeth to many, that free cities are most crueil vneo their time. good citizens in time of prosperitie: because thay flow in wealth and line are ase, which maketh them of haughry minds. Bur it is clean contrary. For aductifity commonly maketh mens maners. Astrofity fowre, cholericke, and very halfi the fides, flow to heare, churlifh, and offended with enery livle mod to ibarpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, feemeth to cast their adaersity in their tectionand he thattelleth them plainly of their faults, feemeth alfo to despise them. For like as homy fweete by nature, applied vn.o wounds, doth bring both finart and paine: each fo, fharpe words, though profitable, do bite the infortunate man, if they be not tempered with differetion and courtefic. And therefore Homer the Poet calleth fweete and pleafan: things paround; as yeeldiag, and not firiting with contrariety, against that part of the mind, whereby we be angry

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excused. On the contrary side, they cannot too much condemne this passion of his, which sustin ciently appeared in the first voyage he made into Spaine: when passing by a pelting village, he preferred the first place in that to the second in Rom E. This passion increased in him ever after. fo mightily ouerruling all the rest, & so absolutely possessing his mind, that it carried him whither

vntil that his fierce horse cast him on the ground, and brake his neck. Yea, so many victories and triumphs drew him not for all that to feek restibut (as Alexander failed vp & downethe Ocean. during his last sicknes, and some hours before his death)he embraced greater wars & conquests then before. For that he did in reforming the Kalender, and the enterprise of so many buildings and works for the commonwealth, sheweth, that that mind was a bow euer bent. For his voluptuousnes, peraduenture it will not become vs to speak of it; and we were better with filence and

it would, and made him that without respect of his country or of himself he neuer left running.

fhame lament mans imperfection, then in descrying of noble persons, content those that are neuer merry, but when one feedeth their malice. The ambition wher with he was infinitly wounded.coming to fight with this wickednesse after women, made him quickly leaue the haunt, vtterly to fubdue it afterwards: to the end that his pleasures should neuer make him steale a mi-

nute of an houre, nor to remoue one foot from the occasions offered him to raise him to greatnes. As for his death, it was violent indeed, but practifed by the most part of them to whom he hadgiuen life, and who continued not long after him. It is true, his high cariage of himfelf was cause of his death: for nothing wanted to his happinesse, but to loue his city, and to continue to

be more carefull then he was to please the Senate and people, as he had begun after his fine triguitin, and ofterwards umphs, pardoning all, raising one and other to offices in the commonwealth, and setting up againe the statues of *Pompey*. Now being fallen againe into this desperate desire to be yet greater. he made fo many offended with him, that diverse put that in execution, which one man alone could not easily hauc brought to passe. But yet he haththat more then Alexander, that his death

was reuenged. To the contrary, Alexanders mother, wines, and children made a poore end; his armic remained as a body without a head, and he had a good grace that compared it to Cyclope Polypheme, when Vlisses had put out his eye. His Captaines and successours denoured one another by long warres. As for c_{α} far, he lived still in the person of his succession Augustus, who having ouercome a world of hard aduentures, established a Monarchy: the which in despite of a million

of tempests, hath continued many hundreds of yeares. And specially the name of Casar, by excellent priviledge hath remained vnto those that after him reigned in the Empire of Rome: and his valiantnesse was, and yet is to this day defired of all men, that by valorous exploits seeke precedencie to win to their name immortall praise and glory. You looke here, Reader, to sec to which of

the two I should give the precedencie: but since the world hath bene too litle for the one and the other, I should go too farre if I plainely spake what I thought. Now that I have spoken for the other, I ceasse, and leave

you to your judgement.

The end of Iulius Cafars life.

THE

the cammonwealth

and froward. For even as fore eyes do like to look on black and dark colours, and cannot abide the bright and glaring: foin a city, where for want of forefight and government, things go not well, men be so divers and vnwilling to heare of their own faults and estate, that they had rather continue in their folly and danger, then by sharpnes of words be rebuked and restored. So that it being ynpossible to amend one fault with a greater, that commonwealth must be in great danger, that when it hath most need of helpe, is lothest to receive any: and he also hazardeth himfelfe, that plainly telleth them their faults. Like as ther fore the Mathematician faith, that the Sun dothnot altogether follow the motio of the highest heaven nor yet is moved directly contrary. but fetching a copasse a litle ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, & by variety of approching and departing preserueth all things, and keepeth the world in good temperature: euen so, too se. tiere gouernment, contrarying the peoples minds in all things, is not good as also it is martiellous dangerous not to correct offenders when they offend, for feare of the peoples displeasure. But the meane, sometime to yeeld vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to grant them things of pleasure, to demand of them againe things profitable, that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For by gentle meanes they are brought to do many profitable things, when they feeke it not of them by rigor and authority. Indeed this meane is very hard to be observed, because authoritie is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meet together. there is no harmony more mufical, nor concordance more perfect then that: & therfore it is faid that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary then a forced obedience in men. But this fault of seuerenes was in Cato the yonger, for he could not fashion himselfe to the peoples maners, nor did they like his:neither did he win his estimation in the comonwealth by flattering of them and therfore Cicero faid, that he was put by the Confulfhip, for that he behaued himself as though he lived in the comonwealth devised by Plato, and not amongst the disordered and corrupt posterity of Romulus. Me thinketh I can liken him properly vnto vntimely fruit; the which though men do take pleasure to see and wonder at yet they eat them not. Euen for the ancient of fimplicity of Catoes maner (having folong time bin out of vie, and coming then plaine man to shew it self in that corrupt time & ill maners of the city) was indeed much praise worthy but ner vecame yet not the convenientest, nor the fittest for him, because it answered nor respected not the vse and maners of the time. For he found not his country (as Phocion did) vtterly destroyed, buttoffed in a dangerous tempest: & being not of authority like the pilot to take the sterne in hand, and gouern the ship, he took himself to tricking the sailes, & preparing the tackle, so to assist men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to have Iworn the ouerthrow of the state of Rome) that with much ado, with great difficulty, & a long time after, the executed her malice. And yet the commonwealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by meanes of Cato and his vertue; with whom I do compare the vertue of Phocion, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike neither in their honesty, nor policy of gouernment. For there is difference betwixt manhood and manhood, as there was betwixt that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; betwixt wisdome and wisdome, as betwixt that of Aristides, and that of Themifocles: and betwixt inflice and inflice, as betwixt that of Numa, and that of Agefilans. But the vertues of these men(to him that shall superficially regard, and lightly consider them) seeme all one in quality, in maner, and vie, both alike in temperance of curtefie with feuerity, and manhood with wildome: a valiant care for other, with prefence of courage and fecurity of mind for themselues, abhorring all filthines and corruption, and imbracing constancy and loue of instice: that for any man to different the difference between them, it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgement. Now touching Cato, euery man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we will The paren. flew you hereafter in his life but for Phocion, I geffe he came of no base parentage. For if he had bin the fon of a spoonmaker, as Idomeneus testifieth, Glaucippus the son of Hyperides, having in an inuective he wrote against him, rehearsed all the mischieses he could of him, he would not have forgotten to have vpbraided him with his base parentage; neither he himselfalso (if that had bin true) had bene so well brought vp as he was. For when he was but a yong man, he was Platoes scholer, and afterwards Xenocrates scholer, in the schoole of Academia and so, even from his first beginning, he gaue himselfe to follow them that were learned. For as Duris writeth, neuer A-THENIAN faw him weepe nor laugh, nor wash himselfe in any common bath, nor his hands out of his fleeues when he wore a long gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alneuer wept wayes go on foot, and neuer wore gowne, vnleffe it were extreme cold; and then the souldiers

to mocke him withall, would fay it was a figne of a fharpe winter, when they faw Phocion in his gowne. Now though indeed he was very courteous and gentle of nature, yethe had such a photions grimme looke withall, that no man had any defire to talke with him, but fuch as were of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when Chares the Orator, one day mocking him for the bending of his browes, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall: My maisters, quoth Phocion, the bending of my browes hath done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of rhese flatterers haue made ye oftentimes weepe. Furthermore, his manner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsels he vttered; but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortnesse. For as Zeno the Philosopher saith, that the wise man should temper his words with wit and reason, before he vtter them: euen so was Phocions speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that Polyenetus SPHETTIAN faid, that Demosthenes was an excellent Orator, but in speech Phocion was very wittie. For like as coines of gold or filuer, the lighter they weigh, the finer they be of goodnes: euen fo the excellencie of speech consisteth in signifying much by few words. And touching wierein this matter, it is reported that the Theater being full of people, Phocion walked all alone vpon excellencis this matter, it is reported that the Theater being this of people with himselfe: whereupon, one of people the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with himselfe: whereupon, one of people the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with himselfe: whereupon, one of his friends feeing him fo in his muses, said vnto him, Surely Phocion, thy mind is occupied about somewhat. Indeed it is so, said he: for I am thinking with my selfe, if I could a bridge any thing of that I haue to fay to the people. For Demostheres selfe little esteeming all other Orators, when Phocion rosevp to speake, he would round his friends in the cares, and told them: See, the cutter of my words rifeth. Peraduenture he meant it by his manners alfo. For when a good man speaketh, not a word onely, but a wink of the eye, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall words and speeches of Rhetoritians. Furthermore, when he was a yong man, he went to the warres under Captaine Chabrias, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfect for foundifouldier, and in recompence therof, he reformed many of his Captaines imperfections, & made erface. him wifer then he was. For Chabrias otherwise being very dull and slothfull of himselfe, when he came to fight, he was so hore and couragious, that he would thrust himselfe into danger with the desperatest persons: and therefore for his rashnesse it afterwards cost him his life in the citie of Chio, where launching out with his galley before the rest, he pressed to land in despite of his enemies. But Phocion being wife to looke to himfelfe, and very quick to execute; on the one fide quickned Chabrias flownesses and on the other fide also, by wisedome cooled his heate and fury. Chabrias therfore, being a good man and courteous, loued Phocion very well, and did prefer him in matters of service, making him famous amongst the GRECIANS, and employed him in his hardest enterprises. For by his meanes he atchieued great fame and honor in a battell by sea, which he wanne by the Ile of Naxos, giving him the left wing of his armie, on which fide the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he soonest put the enemies to slight. This battell The visitors being the first which the citie of ATHENS wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene of Chabrias taken, gaue the people cause to loue Chabrias, and made them also make account of Phocion as on in the of a noble fouldier, and worthy to have charge. This victory was gotten on the feast day of the "le of Naxgreat mysteries, in memory whereof Chabrias did yearely in the sixteenth day of the moneth Bodromion (now called August) make all the people of ATHENS drinke. After that time Chabrias fending Phocion to receive the tribute of the Handers their confederates, and the ships which they should send him, he gaue him twenty gallies to bring him thither. But Phocion then (as it is reported) fayd vnto him: If he fent him to fight with his enemies, he had need to have more ships; but if he fent him as an Ambassador vnto his friends, then that one ship would ferue his turne. So he went with one galley onely; and after he had spoken with the cities, and courteoufly dealt with the governors of every one of them, he returned backe, furnished of their eonfederates, with agreat fleete of ships and money, to carry vnto Athens. So Phocion did not only reuerence Chabrias while he liued, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friends and kinsmen, and sought to make his sonne Ctesippus an honest man, whom though he saw very wild and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is faid also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous questions, seruing then vnder him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counfell, to reproue him, and to teach him the duty of a Captaine, he could not but fay: O Chabrias, Chabrias, now do I pay for the loue thou diddeft beare me when thou wert aliue, in bearing with the folly of thy

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fonne. But when he faw that the heads of the citie of ATHENS had (as it were) by lot divided among themselves the offices of warre and peace; and that some of them, as Ebulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides were common speakers and preferrers of matters in councels and Senate: and that others, as Diophites, Menestheus, Leofthenes and Chares became great men by the warres, and had charge of armies; he determined rather to follow the manner of goucrnment of Pericles, Arifides and Solon, as being mingled of both. For either of them feemed (as the Poet Archilocus faith,)

PHOCION.

To be both champions stout, of Marses warlike band, Und of the Muses eke, the arts to understand.

He knew also that Pallas the goddeffe and protector of ATHENS, was called Polemica, and Poli. tica, to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, having thus disposed of himselfe in gouernment, he alwayes perswaded peace and quietnesse, and yet was often chosen Captaine, and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his time. did neuer fue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serue the commonwealth. It is certaine that he was chosen fine and forty times Prætor, and was alwaies absent at the elections, but yet fent for. Whereupon all the wifemen wondered to fee the maner of the people towards him, confidering that Phocion had never done nor faid any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had been against their defires: and how they yied other gouernours notwithstanding, that were more pleasant and delightfull in their orations, like men to sport at . as it is faid of kings, who after they have washed their hands to go to their meate, do vieto have iesters and flatterers to make them merry: but on the other side, when they had occasion of wars indeed, how then like wife men they would bethinke themfelues, and chuse the wifest and stontest man of the citie, and that most would withstand their mindes and desires. For on a timean Oracle of Apollo Delphias, being openly read before them, which faid, that all the other ATHE-NIANS being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the rest of the cirv-Phocion stepping foorth before them all, bad them neuer seeke further for the man, for it was he notable fay that liked none of all their doings. Another time he chanced to fay his opinion before all the people, the which they all praifed and approued: but when he faw they were so suddenly become of his mind, he turned back to his friends, and asked them: alas, hath not some euill thing slipped my mouth vnwares? Another time a generall collection being gathered of the people at A-THENS, towards the folemnizing of a facrifice; other men of his state having payed their part, he was often also called vpon to pay his: but he answered them againe, Aske them that be rich. for it were a shame for me to give you any thing; being yet in this mans debt, pointing to callicles the viurer, who had lent him money. But when they left him not for all this, to crie out ypon him for the contribution, he began to tell them this tale: That on a time there was a coward preparing to go to the warres, and as he was ready to depart, he heard the rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill figne, he put off his harneffe, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnesse againe, and went on his way toward the campe, the rauens began againe to make a goodlier crie behind him: but thereupon he stayed straight, and at length said: Ye shall crooke as loud as ye list, before ye feed on my carcasse. Another time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his charge, would needs have him to leade them to give charge vpontheir enemies, bur he would not. Thereupon they called him coward, and faid, he durft not. Well faid he againe, It is not you can make me valiant, no more then my felfe can make you cowards and yet one of vs know another. Another time in a maruelous dangerous time, the people handled him very churlifhly, and would needs have him prefently deliver account of his charge: but he answered them, O my friends, first faue your schees. Furthermore, the people being very lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres; and prefently in peace againe waxing braue in words against Phocion, charging him that he had taken the victory out of their hands, he onely faid this to them: You are happie that have a Captaine that knowes you, elfe you would fing a new fong. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the Boectians and them, about their bounds and frontiers, the which they would not trie by law, but by battell: But Phocion told them, they did they wist not what, and counselled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the ftronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they fo much misliked his opinion in the assembly, that they would not abide to heare him, nor fuffer him to speake. Well, my Maisters, quoth he then, you may make me do that which is not

to be done: but you shall neuer compell me against my mind, to say that which is not to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the Orators his aduersaries, when they were busie with him. As on a time he answered Demosthenes, that sayd vnto him: The people, Phocion will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads: Yea thee, quoth he, if they be wife. Againe, when Polyentitus Sphettian, in a hot day perswaded the people of Athens to make warre with king philip, sweating, and with much ado fetching his breath, being a fat man, that he was driven oftentimes to drinke water, to end his oration: Surely faid Photion, ye shall do maruellous wifely. to make warre at fuch a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he do, when he hath his curates and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost stifled? Another time also when Lycurgus in his oration had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the rest, for that Alexander demanding ten citizens of ATHENS to do with them what he thought good, that he had counfelled them to deliuer them: Phocion answered him, I haue oftentimes counfelled them for the best, but they would neuer follow my counsell. There was one Archibiades at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeited the LACED EMONIAN, with a maruellous long beard, a beggarly cloake, and a fower looke. Phocion being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto Archibiades for a witnesse, to confirme that he spake. But he rifing vp, counfelled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. Phocion perceiuing it, tooke him by the beard, and faid vnto him: Alas Archibiades, why diddeft thou not then clip thy heard, seeing thou wouldest needs flatter? There was another great pleader, one Aristogiton, Aristogiton, 4 that in all the affemblies of the Citie, did nothing but buzze warres continually in their eares, Syrophans, and Afterwards when men were to be leauied and mustered, and their names entred that should go to the warres, Aristogiton came halting into the market place with a staffe in his hand, and both his legs bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was ficke and diseased. Phocion spying Aristogiton farre off, cried out to the clearke that wrote the bils: Put in Aristogiton, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muse, how, or wherefore so sharpe and seuere a man (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the surname of good. Notwithstan- Phocion called ding, in the end I find it a hard thing, but not impossible, that a man should be like wine, both by furname good. fweete and sharpe together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the first fight, seeme very courteous and gentle of conversation, and woon better acquaintance, prove churlish & dogged. It is reported also, that Hyperides the Orator one day should say to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my sharpnesse, but consider if my sharpnesse be without profit. As who should fay, men are not troublesome, but for couctousnesse onely, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of infolencie and malice, did abuse and contemne their authority, Phocion on the other fide, neuer did citizen hurt, for any private malice he bare him: but was euer sharpe and cruell to them which were against any matter he preferred for the benefit of the commonwealth. For in all other things, he shewed himselfe maruellous lowly and courteous to euery body, and would be familiar with his aduerfaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwife in danger of displeasure with the state. Insomuch as his friends therefore reproued him on a time, when he spake in the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O said he, honest men need no helpe. Another time, Aristogiton the Sycophant, being clapped up in prifon, fent vnto Phocion to pray him to come and speake with him, after he was condemned. Phocion went into the prison to him, and when his friends perswaded him to the contrary, he answered them: O let me alone, fayd he, for where could I fee Arifogiton more gladly then in prison? Furthermore, when there went any army to sea out of ATHENS, if there were any other chosen Generall but Phocion, the townes and Hands all alongst the sea coast (which were friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS) fortified their wals, filled up their hauens, and brought their wines, flaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemics, and open war proclaimed. Contrarily also, if Phocion had bin Captaine and Generall, they would fend out their ships to the sea to meete him afarre off, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and so would bring him to their cities. King Philip secretly seeking to win the Ile of Evbon, fent an army thither out of Macedon, and entifed the townes by tyrants to rebell: whereupon Plutarke ERETRIAN prayed aide of the ATHENIANS, to take this Iland from the MACEDONIANS, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not presently to aide them. So Phocion was fent Generall thither, but with a few men onely, because they made

him (though he defired it) to campe without the wals of their city, but opening their gates,

received him in, and mingled the ATHENTANS amongst them. Who, perceiving how much

the citizens trusted them, did so honestly behaue themselues in their conversation amongst

into Eubera.

Phocian perfina-

Photomiourney account the men of that countrey would fraight joyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither he found them all traytors, and rebels, and bribed with king phi lips money, which he lauished out amongst them: so that he was brought into great danger . Thereupon he retired to a litle hillseucred from the plaine of TAMINES with a great large valley, and there fortified himselfe with that litle army he had. Then he perswaded his Captaines not to care for all those rebels, pratlers, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and for soke their enfignes and Captaines, but that they should let them go out of the campe where they the musino infole would, For, faid he, such disobedient fouldiers here will do vs no feruice, and increouer will hinder them that have good will to ferue well: and at home also, knowing themselves in fault, for that they for fooke the campe without licence, they dare not complaine vpon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to fet vpon him, he commanded his men to arme, and put themselues either because he could have no lucky fignes of the facrifices, or else for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon Plutarke ERETRIAN supposing he deferred to march for feare, went himselfe first into the field, with certaine light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes feeing them give charge, could hold no longer, but followed him also, ftragling out of the campe one after another diforderly, and fo did fet vpon their enemies. The first being ouerthrowne, all the other dispersed themselues, and Plutarke himselse sled. Then certaine bands of the enemies thinking all had bene theirs, followed them even into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time, Phocion having ended his facrifice, the ATHE-Photions villo- NIANS came out of their campe, and fet vpon them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them also they slue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then Phogion commaunded that the battell should stand stil, to receive their men that were scattered up & downe the fields: in the meane space he himselfe, with the choisest men of his army, gaue charge upon the enemies. The fight was cruell betweene them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, venturing their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their Generall (Glaucus the sonne of Polymedes, and Thallus the sonne of Cineas) carried the praise away. And so did Cleaphanes that day also shew himselfe very valiant. For he crying out still upon the horsemen that fled, and perswading them to come and helpe their Generall that was in danger, brought them backe againe, and thereby got the footmen the victorie. After this battell, he draue Plutarke out of ERETRIA, and tooke the castell of ZARETRA, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the He draweth to a ftraightnesse, enuironed on either side with the sea and would not fuffer his men to take any GRECIANS prisoners, fearing left the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people, suddenly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these things were done, Phocion returned backe to Athens. But then did the confederates of the Athenians straight wish for his instice and courtesie: and the Athenians themselves also knew his skilfulnesse and manhood. For his fucceifor Moloffus, that was Generall for the rest of the warre, dealt so vndiscreetly, that he himselfe was taken prisoner there. Then king Philip being put in maruellous great hope, went with all his army into Hellespont, perswading himselfe, that he should straight take all Cherronesvs, the Cities of Perinth and Bizantivm. The Athenians thereupon determining to fend aide, to preuent king Philips comming, the Orators made great fute, that Chares might be chosen Captaine: but he being sent thither with a good number of thips, did no service worthic commendation, neither would the Cities receive his nauie into their hauens: but being suspected of enery man, and despised of his enemies, he was driven to faile vp and downe, and to get money of the allies. The people being incenfed by the Orators, were maruelloufly offended, andrepented themselves that they had sent aide vnto the Bizan-TIMES. Then Phocion rifing vp, spake vnto the people, and told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their confederates, they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their Captaines that deserved to be missrusted. For they said he, do make your confederates asraid of you, who without you notwithstanding cannot saue themselves. The people changing their minds by his oration, made Phocion against heir Captaine, and fent him with an army into vertue and authority in BIZANTIVM, having before bene Phocions companion and familiar in the Academy, made fute for him vnto the City. Then the BIZANTINES would not fuffer

in readinesse, and not to stirre vitill he had done facrifice but he stayed long before he came. HELLESPONT to helpe their confederates there, which was of great importance to faue the City of BIZANTIVM. Furthermore, Phocions fame was fo great, that Cleon, the greatest man of

them, that they gaue them no manner of cause to complaine of them; and shewed themselues fo valiant befides in all battels and conflicts, that Philip (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, every man being afraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of HeL-LESPON'T without any thing done, and to his great discredite: where Phecion wanne someof lipeat of his ships, and recourred againe the strong holds, in the which he had placed his garrisons. Hellespont. Furthermore, making diverse invasions into his countries, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was fore hurt there, and so driven to return home againe, by meanes of a great army photion that came against him to defend the countrey. Shortly after, the MEGARIANS secretly sent vin- isyned Meto him, to deliuer their city into his hands. Phocion fearing if the Bo for ians understood it. gara pato that they would preuent him, he called a common affembly early in the morning, and told the people what message the MEGARIANS had sent vnto him. The people vpon this motion being determined to aide them, Phocion ftraight founding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the affembly, gaue them no further leifure, but to take their weapons, and so led them incontinently to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiving him, Phocion that up the hauch of NISEA, and brought two long wals from the city vnto it, and so ioyned it vnto the sea: whereby he stood not greatly in fearcofhis encinies by land; and for the lea, the Athenians were Lords of it. Now when the Athenians had proclaimed open warre against king Philip, and had chosen other Captaines in his absence, and that he was returned from the Iles, about all things, he perswaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the danger) to accept the conditions of peace. Then one of these busic Orators that was still accusing one or other, faid vnto him: Why Phocion, how dareft thou attempt to turne the Athenians from warre. having now their fwords in their hands? Yestruly, faid Phocion: though in warre I know I shall command thee, and in peace thou wilt command me. But when the people would not hearkento him, and that Demosthenes caried them away with his perswasions, who counselled them to fight with king Philip, as farre from ATTICA as they could: I pray thee friend, quoth Phocion vnto him, let vs not dispute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall ouercome; the which if we can fo bring to paffe, be fure we shall put the warre farre inough from vs. for menthat are our come, be cuer in fear cand danger, where focuer they be. When the ATHENI-ANS had loft a battell against Philip, the seditious Orators, that hunted after innouation, preferred Charidemus to be chosen Generall of the ATHENIANS: whereupon the Magistrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the Areopagits. they made such earnest suite to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at last (but with much ado) they obtained, that the affaires of the city might be put into Phocions hands and gouernment. He thought good to accept the articles and gentle conditions of peace which Philip offered them. Butafter that the Orator Demades moued, that the city of ATHENS Would enter into the common treatie of peace, and common affembly of the states of GRECE, procured at king Philips request, Phocion would not agree to it, vntill they might understand what demands Philip would make at the affembly of the GRECIANS. When his opinion through the peruerinesse of time could not be liked of them, and that he saw the Athenians soone after repented them that they did not follow his counsell, when they heard they should furnish king

Philip with ships and horsemen: then he told them; the feare whereof ye now complaine, made

me to withftand that, which now ye have consented vnto. But fithence it is fo that you have

now past your consents, you umst be contented, and not be discouraged at it: remembring that

your ancestors in times past have fometime commanded, and otherwhile obeyed others; and

yet haue so wisely and discreetly gouerned themselues in both fortunes, that they have not

onely faued their city, but all GRECE befides. When newes came of king Philips death, the peo-

ple for ioy would straight haue made bonfires and facrifices to the gods for the good newes:

fes of Homer:

but Phocion would not fuffer them, and faid, that it was a token of a base mind, to reioyce at the strain mane any mans death, and befides that, the army which ouerthrew you at CH ERONEA, hath not yet hart flowlost but one man. And when Demosthenes also would commonly speake ill of Alexander, and ethabase specially when he was neare There's with his army, Phoeion rehearsed voto him these ver-

How great a folly is it for to stand Against a cruell king, Which being arm'd, and having foordin hand, Seckes fame of enery thing?

What, when there is fuch a great fire kindled, wilt thou cast the city into it? For my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not fuffer them to cast themselues away: for to that end haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernement. And afterwards also, when Alexander had razed the citie of Thebes, and had required the Athenians to deliver him Demosthenes. Lyourgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus; and that the whole affembly and councell not knowing what answer to make, did all cast their eyes vpon Phocion, and cried vnto him to say his o. pinion: he then rose vp, and taking one of his friends vnto him called Nicocles, whom he loued and trusted aboue all men else, he said thus openly vnto them: These men whom lexander requireth, haue brought this citie to this extremitie, that if he required Nicocles here. I would give my consent to deliver him: for I would thinke my selfe happy to lose my life. for all your fafety. Furthermore, though I am right heartily forry (faid he) for the poore affi-Sted THEBANS, that are come vnto the citie for succour: yet I assure you, it is better one citie mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is best to intreate the conquerour for both, rather then to our certaine destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is said also that Alexander refused the sirst decree which the people offered him vpon Phocions request, and fent away the Ambassadours, and would not speake with them. But the second which Phecion himselfe brought, he tooke, being told by his fathers old feruants, that king Philip made great accompt of him: whereupon Alexander did not onely give him audience, and grant his request. but further followed his counsell. For Phocion perswaded him, if he loued quietnesse, to leave warre: if he defired fame, then that he should make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the Grecians. So Phocion feeding Alexanders humour with fuch talke and discourse Athenians, as he thought would like him best, he so altered and softned Alexanders disposition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS should looke to their affaires, for if he should die, he knew no people fitter to command then they. Furthermore, because he would be better acquainted with Phocion, and make him his friend, he made so much of him, that he more honoured him then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, Duris the historiographer writeth, that when Alexander was growne very great, and had ouercome king Darius, he left out of his letters this word Chærin (to wit, ioy and health) which he vsed commonly in all the letters he wrote; & would no more honor any other with that maner of falutation, but Phocion and Antipater. Chares also writeth the same. And they all do confesse, that Alexander sent Phocion a great gift out of Asia, of a hundred filter talents. This mony being brought to Athens, Phocion asked them that brought it, why Alexander gaue him fuch a great reward, aboue all the other citizens of ATHENS. Because said they, he onely esteemed thee to be a good and honest man. Phocion replied againe, then let him give me leave to be that I feeme, and am whilest I live. The messengers wold not so leave him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandry and thriftinesse. For they found his wife her self baking, and he himself drew water before them, out of the well to wash his feete. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings present, and were offended with him, saying, it was a shame for Alexanders friend to line so miserably and beggarly, as he did. Then Phocion feeing a poore old man go by, in a thread bare gowne, asked them whether they thought him worse then her No, God forbid, answered they againe. Then replied he again, he lives with lesse then I do, and yet is contented, and hath inough. To be short, said he, if I should take this summe integrity in of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other fide, if I occupy it, I shall make all the city speake ill of the king and me both. So this great present was sent back from A-THENS: whereby he showed the GRECIANS, that he was richer that needed not such gold and filuer, then be that gaue it him. But when Alexander wrote agains to Phocion, that he did not reckon them for his friends, that would take nothing of him, Phocion not with standing would not takethemony, but only requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at liberty which were kept prisoners in the city of SARDIS for certaine accusations layed against them: Echecratides the Rhetoritian', Athenodorus borne in the city of Imbros, and two Corinthians, Demaratus and Spartus. Alexander presently set them at liberty, & fent Craterus into MACEDON,

Phocions

Alexander

pacified

with the

b) Phocions

commanding him to give Phecien the choise of one of these four cities of Asia which he liked best: Cios, Gergitha, Mylassis, Elea: fending him word, that he would be much more angrie with him now, if he did refuse his offer, than he was at the first. But Phoeion would neuer accept any one of them; and Alexander shortly after died. Phocions house is seene yet at this Phocions day in the village of MILITA, fet forth with plates of copper, but otherwise very meane, and hope and without curiofitie. For the wines he maried, there is no mention made of the first, saving that Cephifodotus the image grauer was her brother. But for his second wife she was no lesse famous at ATHENS, for her honesty and good huswifery, then Phoeion for his instice and equity. And for proofe therof, it is reported that the ATHENIAN's being one day affembled in the Theater, to fee new tragedies played, one of the players when he should have come vpon the scaffold to have played his part, asked the setter forth of the playes the apparell of a Queene, and certaine Ladies to waite vpon her, because he was to play the part of a Queene. The setter forth of the playes denying him, the player went away in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and would not come out vpon the stage. But Melanthius the setter forth of the playes, compelling him, brought him by force on the stage, and cried out vnro him: Doest not thou see Phocions wife that goeth vp and downe the citie with one maide onely waiting vpon her? and wilt thou play the foole & marrethe modestie of the women of ATHENS? The people hearing his words, filled all the Theater with joy and clapping of hands. The fame Lady, when a certaine Gentlewoman of Ionia came at Athens to fee her, and shewed her all the rich iewels and precious stones she had, she answered her againe: All my riches and iewels, is my husband Phoeton. who these twentieyearestogether hath continually bin chosen Generall for the ATHENIANS. Phocions fonne telling his father on a time, that he was defirous to contend with other young photon Phomenforthe victory, who should cunningliest leape out, and get vp againe into the chariots companie or coaches, running full course at the feasts Panathenwa at Athens: his father was contented what he he should; not that he was defirous his sonne should have the honour of the victory, but because by this honest exercise he should grow to better maners, for that he was a dissolute young man, and much given to wine. Yet he wanthe victory at that time, and there were diverse of his fathers friends, that prayed him to do them that honour, that they might keepe the feast of this victory in their houses. Phocion denied them all but one man, and him he suffered to shew his good will vnto his house, and went thither himselfe to supper to him. Where amongst many fine and superfluous things prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweete smelling spices to wash the feete of the bidden guests as they came to the feast. Whereupon he called his sonne to him, and asked him, how canst thou abide Phocus, that our friend should thus disgrace the victory with excesse? But because he would withdraw his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to Sparta, and placed him there among youg boyes brought vp after the Laco-NIAN discipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to see that Phocion did so much despise his owne countrey manners and fashions. Also when Demades the Orator one day said vnto Phocion: Why do we not persuade the Athenians to live after the Laconian maner: As for me, said he, if thou wilt make one to set it forward, I am ready to be if first man to move the matter: Indeed quoth Phocion, thou atta meete man to perswade the ATHENIAN'S to line LA-CONIAN like in common together at their meales, and to praise Lycurgus straight law, that are thy felfe commonly fo perfumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another time when Alexander wrote letters vito ATHENS to fend him fome thips, and the Orators perfeaded them not to grant him, the people called vpo Phocion chiefly to fay his opinion: then Phocion told them plainly, me thinks ye must either make your selues the strongest in wars, or being the weaker, procure to be friends vnto the stronger. Pithias a new come Orator, being full of tongue, & impudent, would still make one to speake in enery matter: wherefore Phocion said to him, Good gods, will this nouice neuer leave babling? And when Harpalus king Alexanders Lieutenant of the province of BABYLON, fled out of Asia, and came to Artica with a great summe of gold and filuer, straight these menthat sold their tongues to the people for money, slocked about him like a fight of swallowes. And he stuck not to give every one of them a peece of mony to baste them with: for it was a trifle to him, confidering the great fummes of money he brought. But to Phocion himselfe, he sent seuen hundred talents, and offered himselfe and all that he had into his hands of trust. But Phocion gaue him a sharpe answer, and told him that he would make Phocion dehim repent it, if he corrupted the city of ATHENS in that manner. So Harpalus being amazed /pifath Har-

therewith, left him at that time, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIAN'S fate in councell about him, he perceived that those which had taken his money were shrunke from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should have excused him, to bleare the world, that men should not suspect them they had bin corrupted; and that Phocion on the other fide which had refused his mony, having respect to the comonwealth. had also some regard to sauchis life the once more attempted all the waies he could to win him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could cary the man. Then Harpalus falling in friendship with Chariles (Phocions sonne in law) he made him to be ill spoken of, and greatly fuspected, because men saw that he trusted him in all things, and imployed him in all his affaires: as in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tombe for Pythonice, the famous courtilan that was dead, whom he loued, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking vpon him wheref was no leffe fhame vnto Chariles, then the finishing theref was differed vnto him. This tombe is seene vnto this day in a place called Hermium, in the high way from ATHENS to E-LEVSIN the workmanship thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirtie talents, which was reported to be given by Harpalus vnto Chariles, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore, after Harpalus death, Chariles and Phocion tooke his daughter, and carefully brought her vp. Afterwards also, Chariles being accused for the mony he had taken of Harpalus, he befought his father in law Phocion, to helpe to ease him in his judgement. But Phocion flutly denied him, and said: Chariles I took thee for my fonne in law, in all honest and just causes onely. Furthermore, when Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus, brought the first newes of the death of king Alexander, Demades the Orator would not beleeue him: for faid he, if it were true, all the earth would smell of militaring, the fauor of his corfe. Photion then perceiving the people began to be high minded, and fought innovation, he went about to bridle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators got vp to the pulpit for Orations, and cried out, that Asclepiades newes was true of Alexanders death: well then quoth Phocion, if it be true to day, it shall be true also to morow, and the next day after. And therefore my mafters, be not too haftie, but thinke of it at better leifure, and fer your affaires at a fure stay. When Leostbenes also by his practise had brought the city of Athens into the warre called the Greekes war, and in forme asked Phocion that was offended at it, what good he had done vnto the commonwealth so many yeares together, as he had bin General over the Athe. NIANS: Phocion answered him, No small good said he, for all my country men have bene buried at home in their owne graues. Another time also, Leosthenes speaking proudly & insolently vnto the people, Photion one day had faid vnto him: Yong man my friend, thy words are like vnto the Cypreffe tree, which is high and great, but beareth no fruite. Then Hyperides rifing vp, afked Phocion: When wilt thou then counsell the Athenians to make warre? When Ishall fee yong men, faid he, notto forfake their rankes, rich men liberall, and Orators leauero rob the common-wealth. When the ATHENIAN's wondred to fee such a goodly great armie as Leosthenes had leavied, and that they asked Phocion how he liked it: It is a goodly armie, quoth he for a furlong, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I do not fee the citie able to make any more money, nor more ships, neither yet any more souldiers than these. The which proued true: as it fell out afterwards; for at the first, Leosthenes did many notable exploits. He ouercame the Bobotians in battell, and draue Antipater into the citic of Lamia: the which did put the Athenians in fuch a hope and iolicie, that they made continual feasts and facrifices through the citie, to thanke the gods for these good newes. And there were some among them, that totake Phecion in a trippe, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? Yes indeede, answered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not have given the counfell to have done them. Another time also when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good newes, Good gods, faid he, when shall we leave of to overcome? But when Leosthenes was dead in this voyage, they that feared Phocion should be appointed Captaine in his place, and that he would pacific the warre, did thrust in a man of meane behauiour, and vnknowne, that said in full asfembly of counfell, that he was Phocions friend, and schoole fellow, and therefore befought the people that they would spare Phocion, because they had not such another man as he, and that they would make Antiphilus Generall of the armie. The people were well contented withall. But then Phocion stood vp, and said, that this man was neuer scholer with him, nei-

ther did he ener know him before that time: but now faid he, from henceforth I will

take thee for my friend, for thou hast given the people the best counsell for me. The people not. withstanding determining to make warre with the Bosotians, Photon spake against it all he could. Thereupon his friends bidding him beware of fuch speeches, how he did offend the people, lest they killed him, he answered them: They shall wrongfully put me to death, quoth he, speaking for the benefit of my countrey, but otherwise they shall have reason for to do it, if I speake to the contrary. But when he faw nothing would pacifie them, and that they went on fill with their intent, then he commanded the Herauld to proclaime by found of trumpet, that all citizens from foureteene yeares unto threefcore, able to carie weapon, should prefently upon the breaking vp of the assembly, arme themselves, and follow him with five dayes provision for victuals; then was there great stirre amongst them in the citie, and the old men came and complained vnto him, for his ouer ftraight commandement. He told them againe, I do you no wrong: for I am fourescore my selfe, and yet will go with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fond defire of warre. But when all the fea coast was full of fouldiers, both of the Macedonians, and other strangers which were led by Micion their captaine, that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNYS, and spoiled the country thereabours, then Phocion led the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, divers taking vpon them the office of a Lieutenant, and going about to counsell him, some to lodge his campe upon such a hill, and others to fend his horsemen to such a place, and others to camp here: O Hercules quoth he, how many Captaines do I see, and how few fouldiers! Afterwards when he had set his footmen in battell ray, there was one among them that left his ranke, and stepped out before the all. Thereupon one of his enemies also made towards him to fight with him: but the ATHENI-Ans heart failed, and he went backe againe to his place. Then faid Phecian vnto him: Art thou not ashamed yong loutto have for saken thy ranke twife: the one, where thy Captaine had placed thee, and the other in the which thou haddeft placed thy felf: So Phocion gining charge upon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and flue Micion their Captaine, and divers others. Furthermore, the army of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wan the battel of Assigner, & Leo. matus that iouned with him, with VMACEDONIANS, which he had brought out of Asia: where Photios Leonatus was flaine in the field, Antiphilus being Generall of the footmen, and Menon THESSA- relonger FIAN Colonell of the horsemen. Shortly after Craterus coming out of Asia into Evrope with seedonians. a great armie, they fought a battell by the city of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were outer- The Greatthrowne: yet was not the ouerthrow nor flaughter great, although it came through the diffobe- answerdience of the fouldiers to their Captaines, which were but yong men, & vsed them ouer gently. Moreouer, when Antipater practifed to make the cities revolt, they betrayed them, and shamefully forfooke to defend their common liberty: whereupon Antipater marched forthwith with his armic, to the city of ATHENS. Demostheres and Hyperides vnderstanding that, for sooke the citie. Then Demades, that was in difgrace and defamed for lacke of payment of fuch fines as were fet vpon his head (being feuer all times condemned, because he had so many times moued matters contrary to the law,) and could not therefore be suffered any more to speake in § affembly, was then dispenced withall, and licensed to speake: whereupon he moued the people to send Ambassadors vnto Antipater, with full commission and authoritie to treate with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans trust this absolute authority to treate of peace, they called for Phocion, faying, that he onely was to be trusted with the Ambassade. Then Phocion answered them: if you had beleeued my former counsels I alwaies gaue you, such weightie matters should not now have troubled you at all. So the decree being coffrmed by the people, Phocion was fent Photion Ambassador vnto Antipater, that lay at the castell of Cadmea, being readie at that time to in- Ambassador wade the country of ATTICA. Phocion first requested him, that before he removed from thence, pages he would make peace with the ATHENIANS. Craterus presently answered him: Phocion thy request is vnreasonable, that lying here we should eate our our friends, and destroy their country, when we may liue of our enemies, and inrich our felues with their spoile. But Antipater taking Craterus by the hand, told him: we must needs do Phocion this pleasure. And for the rest, touching the capitulations of peace, he willed that the Athenians shold send them a blanke & refer the conditions of peace to them:like as himfelf being befreged in the city Lamia, had referred al capitulations & articles of peace, vnto the discretion of Leosthenes their Generall. So when Phocion was come back to Athens, the Athenians feeing there was no remedy, were copelled to be cotented with fuch offer of peace, as the enemy made them. Then Photion was fent back again to

Sennerates

Xenocrates Antipater.

Profaces of

Antipater at THEBES, with other Ambassadors iouned in commission with him: amongst whom also was that famous Philosopher, Xenocrates. The estimation of his vertue was so great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing man so proud, crucl, disdainful, nor hasty of nature but that the only looke of Xenocrates would foften and qualifie him, and make him to reuerence him: but yet with Antipater it fell out contrarie, by his peruerse nature, which hated all vertue. for he embraced all the rest, and would not once salute Xenocrates. Whereupon some say, that Xenocrates said then, Antipater doth well to be ashamed, to see me a witnesse of the discourtefie and cuill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when Xenocrates began to speake, Antipater would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the end comman. ded him to hold his peace. When Phocion had spoken, Antipater answered them, that he would make peace with the ATHENIANS, fo they delivered him Demosthenes and Hyperides: that they should keepe their ancient lawes and gouernment, that they should receive a garrison into the hauen of Munychia, that they should defray the charges of this warre, and also pay a ransome besides. All the other Ambassadours but Xenocrates, willingly accepted these conditions of peace, as very reasonable and fauorable: but he faid, that for flaues Antipater did handle them fauourably, but for free men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then Phocion befought him that he would yet release them of their garrison. But Antipater (as it is said) anfwered him: Phocion, we would gladly grant thee any thing, fauing that which should vado thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithstanding, that Antipater said not so, but asked him if he would become furctic for the ATHENIANS, that they should attempt no alteration. but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did release them of this garrifon. Phocion then holding his peace, and delaying answer, there was one Callimedon firnamed Carobos (a bold man, and hated the liberty of the people) that brake forth in these words: If Phocion were fo fond to give his word for the ATHENIANS, wouldest thou Antipater beleeve him therefore, and leave to do that thou hast determined: Thus were the ATHENIANS driuento receiue the garrifon of the Macedonians, of the which Menyllus was Captaine, an honest man, and Phocions friend. This commandement to receive the garrison within the hauen of Munychia, was found verie stately, and done by Antipater rather of a vaine glory to boast of his power, then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke possession of the castell, he further increased their griefe; because the garrison entred the twentieth day of Boedromion (to wit, the moneth of August) on the which the feast day of their mysteries was celebrated, at what time they make their procession called Jacchus, from the citie of ATHENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therefore the folemnitie of this holy feast being thus confused, many beganto consider, that in old time when their Realme did flourish, there were heard and feene voices and images of the gods on that day, which made the enemies both afraid and amazed; and now in contrary manner in the very selfe same solemnity of the gods, they saw the greatest calamitie that could have happened vnto GRECE. And the holiest feast which was kept all the yeare through before, became then to be prophaned with the title of the greatest misfortune and euent that euer happened vnto the GRECIANS, which was, the losse of their liberty. For, not many yeares before, there was brought an Oracle from Dodone vnto ATHENS: that they should looke well to the rockes of Diana, that strangers should not possesse them. And about that time also the couerings with the which they do adorne the holy beds of the mysteries, being wet with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to looke yellow and pale, as if it had bene the couering of a dead body. Yea, and that which was most to be wondered at of all other, was this: that taking other coverings which were not holy, and putting them in the same water, they did without changing keepe their colour they had before. When one of the ministers of the temple also did wash a white pigge in the sea in a cleare place by the wharfe, there suddenly came a great fish that bit at it, and caried the hinder parts of the pigge cleane away with it. Whereby men coniectured that the gods did fignifie vnto them, that they should lose the lowest part of their citie, nearest vnto the sea, and should keepe the highest parts thereof. This not with standing, the garrison did not offend nor trouble the Athenians, because of the honestic of their Captaine Menyllus. Now there were abouetwelue thousand citizens, that for their pouerty lost the benefite of their freedome, of the which, part of them remained at ATHENS, vnto whom it seemed that they offered great wrong and iniurie: and part of them also went into THRACIA, where Antipater assigned them

townes and lands to inhabite. They seemed to be men like vnto them, that had bene taken by affault, or by fiege within a citic, which had bene compelled to forfake their countrey. Furthermore, the shamefull death of Demosthenes in the He of CALAURIA, and of Hyperides by the citie of CLEONES, (whereof we have written heretofore) were almost occasion given them to lament the times of the reigne of king Philip and Alexander. As it is reported, that when Antigonus was flaine, they that had ouercome him, were fo cruell vnto their fubiects, that a labourer in the countrey of Phrygia digging the earth, being asked what he fought for, answered fighing: Isceke for Antigonus. Then many men began to say as much, when they remembred the noble mindes of those two Princes, how mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their displeasure: not like vnto Antipater, who crastily cloaked his tyrannicall power, which he vsurped, by being familiar, going simply apparelled, and faring meanly, and yet shewed himfelfe notwithstanding a more cruell Lord and tyrant vnto them whom he had ouercome. Neuertheleffe, Phocion obtained of him the restoring againe of divers men, whom he had banished: and those whom he could not get to be restored, yet he procured that they should not be banished into so far countries, as others which had bene sent beyond the mountaincs Acrocerannians, and the head of Tanarus out of GRECE, but that they had libertie to remaine within the countrey of PELOPONNESUS: among the which was one Agnonides a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remained in ATHENS with great inflice and lenitie, and such as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he alwayes preferred to some office: but such as he saw were phantasticall people, and desirous of change, he kept them from office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they vanished away of themselves, and learned in time to loue the countrey, and to follow tillage. When he saw Xe= recrates also pay a certaine pension or tribute to the common-wealth, which all strangers dwelling in ATHENS did vseyearely to pay, he would have made him a freeman, and offered to put his name amongst the number of the free citizens. But Xenocrates refused it, saying, he would have no part of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof he had bene fent Ambassa- Fliction dour. And when Menyllus had fent Phocion money, he made him answer, that Menyllus was Menyllus was Menyllus no greater Lord then Alexander had bene, neither had he at that time any greater occasion to gills. receiue his present, then when he had refused king Alexanders gift. Menyllus replying againe, faid, that if he had no need of it for himselse, yet he might let his sonne Phocus haue it. But Phocion answered: If my sonne Phocus will leaue his naughticlife, and become an honest man, that which I will leaue him shall serue his turne very well; but if it be so that he will still hold on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. Another time also he answered Antipater more roundly, when he would have had him done an vnhonest thing: Antipater (said he) cannot have me to be his friend, and flatterer both. Antipater felfe was wont to fay, that he had two friends at ATHENS, Phocion and Demades: of the which he could never make the one to take any thing of him, and the other, he could neuer fatisfie. And truly Photions pouertie Photionlo. was a great glory vnto his vertue, firhence he was growne old, continuing in the same, after ued powerty. he had bene fo many times Generall of the ATHENIANS, and had received fuch friendship and courtefic of so many Kings and Princes. Where Demades to the contrary delighted to shew Theinso. his riches, in things that were contrary to the lawes of the city. For a decree being made at A- lenvie of THENS, commanding that no stranger, vpon forseiture of a thousand Drachmaes to be payed to the defraver of the degrees of the civil. Should be consequently the orater. to the defrayer of the daunces of the citie, should be any of the dauncers that daunced at any common playes or sports: Demades one day making certaine games and sports at his owne charges, brought a hundred dancers of strangers at one time, & with all brought also a hundred thoufand Drachmaes to pay the forfeiture thereof. Another time when he maried his fon Demas, he faid vnto him: Son, when I maried thy mother, there was so small rost, that my next neighbour knew not of it; where now at thy mariage, Kings and Princes are at the charge of the feast. Furthermore when the ATHENIANS were importunate with Phocion to go vnto Antipater, to intreate him to take his garrison out of their citie, he still refused the ambassade, either because he had no hope to obtaine it, or for that he saw the people more obedient vnto reason, for feare of the garrison. Howbeit he obtained of Antipater, thathe should not be too hastie in the demanding of his money, but should deferre it vitill a further time. So the ATHENIANS perceiuing they could do no good with Phocion, they intreated Demades, who willingly tooke the matter vpon him, and went with his sonne into Macedon; whither doubtlesse his destinie

Caffander: paters fen.

The wnfor . tunate end f Demades

Polyperchon of the Ma cedonians.

Polyperchös against

Better to receive then to offer an

caried him to his viter destruction, even at that very time when Antipater was fallen sick of a difease whereof he died; whereby the affaires of the Realme went through the hands of Cassander his fonne, who had intercepted a letter of this Demades, which he had fent vnto Antigonus in Asia, willing him to come in all possible speed to winne GRECE and MACEDON, which hung but of an old rotten threed, mocking Antipater in this maner. Wherefore Callander being advertifed of his arrivall, he made him prefently to be apprehended; and fetting his fonne hard by him, flue him before his father, so neare him, that the bloud of his sonne sprang ypon him, so that the father was all bloudied with the murder of his fonne. Then Cassander casting in Demades teeth his ingratitude, and treacherous treason against his father, giving him all the reprochfull words he could deuife, at the length he flue him with his owne hands. Now Antipater before his death had established Polyperchon Generall of the armie of the MACEDONIANS, and Cassander his son only Colonell of a thousand footmen. He notwithstanding, after his fathers decease, taking vp. on him the gouernement of the realme, fent Nicanor with speed to succeed Menillus in the Captainship of the garrison of Athens, before his death should be renealed, commanding him first in any case to take the castell of MVNYCHIA, which he did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vnderstanding of the death of Antipater, they accused Photion, for that he had knowne of his death long before, and yet kept it fecret to please Nicanor. But Phocion regarded not his accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with Nicanor; whom he handled so wisely, that he made him not only friendly vnto the ATHENTANS, but furthermore perswaded him to beat fome charge to give the people the pastime of common playes, which he made to be done at his cost. In the meane time, Polyperchon, who had the gouernment of the kings person, meaning to gine Caffander a flampant and blurt, he fent letters patents vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did restore vnto them their popular state againe, and commanded that all the ATHENIANS should vie their former ancient lawes of their citie. This was a wile and crafty fetch against Phocion. For Polyperchon denising this practife to get the city of Athens into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpose, vnlesse he found meanes first to banish Phocion and thought that he should easily bring that to passe, when fuch as had before bin put offtheir freedom by his meanes, should come againe to have voices in the affembly, and that the feditious Orators and accusers might be turned at liberty again, to say what they would. The ATHENIAN'S having heard the contents of these letters patents, began to be somewhat quickened and moued withall: whereupon Nicanor desiring to speake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was affembled in the hauen of PIR ÆA, he went and hazarded his person amongst them, vpon Phicions faith and word. Dercyllus Captaine for the king, being secretly aduertised therof, and in the field, not farre from the city, did what he could to take Nicanor: but Nicanor having warning of it in time, faued himfelfe. Then it appeared that Nicanor would prefently be reuenged of the citie, and they accused Phocion because he kept him not. but did let him go. Whereunto he answered, That he trusted Nicanors word, and that he did not think he would offer the city any hurt; but if it should fal out otherwise, he had rather the world should know, that he had no wrong offered him, then that he should offer any. This truly appeared to be nobly spoken, in respect of himselfe: but considering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the fafetie of his countrey, I cannot tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had to the fafety of his countrimen. Neither could he also alleadge for his excuse, that he did not lay hands on Nicanor, for feare to bring the city into manifest war: but that for a colour hedid preferre the faith which he had fworne and promifed vnto him, and the iustice that he would observe in his behalfe, that for his sake, Nicanor should afterwards keep himselfe in peace, and do no hurt to the ATHENIANS. Howbeit in truth it seemed, that nothing deceived Phocion, but the over trust the had in this Nicanor. The which seemeth to be so, because when divers came to him to complaine of Nicanor, that he fought all the secret meanes he could to surprise the hauen of PIR AA, and that he daily passed ouer souldiers in the Ile of SALA. MINA, and practifed to bribe certain of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen, he wold neuer heare of it, and much leffe beleeue it. Furthermore, when Philomedes LAMERIAN made a motion, that the Athenians should prepare to be in readinesse to waite upon their Captaine Phocion, to do as he commanded them; he made no account of it, vntill he faw Nicanor come out with his fouldiers from the fort of MVNYCHIA, & that he began to cast trenches to compasse in the hauen of Pir MA. But then, when Photion thought to leade out the people to preuent him, he

found they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commandement. In the meane time Alexander the fon of Polyperchen came with an army, pretending to aide them of the citie against Nicanor, where indeed he meant (if he could) to get the rest of the citie into his hands, the journe of then especially, when they were in greatest broile one against another; & the rather, because the Polyperthon banished men entred hand over head with him, and divers strangers also, & other desamed men: fo that there was a confused councell & affembly of Omnigatherum kept within the citie, without any order; in the which Phocion was deprined of his office of Generall, and others were also chosen Captaines in his place. And had they not seene this Alexander talking alone with Nicanor, and returning many times hard to the wals of the citie, which made the ATHENIANS afraid and mistrustfull, they had neuer faued it from taking. At that time Phocion was presently accused of treason by the Oratour Agnonides: the which Callimedon and Perioles fearing, got them out of the citic betimes. And Phocton also with his friends that were not fled, went vnto Polyperchon: reason. with whom also Solon Plat Elan and Dinarchus Corinthian went for companie, who thought to have found friendship and familiaritie with Polyperchon. Howbeit Dinarchus falling fick by the way in the city of ELATIA, they flayed there many daies, hoping of his recovery. But in the meane time, the people at the persuasion of the Orator Agnonides, & at the request of Archeftratus, stablished a decree, to fend Ambassadors vnto Polyperchon, to accuse Phocion: infomuch as both parties met at one felfe time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the country of Phocide, called Pharyges, standing at the foote of the mountaine Acrorion, which they firname also Galaten. There Polyperchon commanded a cloth of gold to be set up, and caused the king to be set under the same, and all his chiefest friends about him. But to begin withall, he made Dinarchus to be taken, and commanded them to put him to death after they had racked him; then he willed the Athenians totell what they had to fay. Then they began to phyperdon quarrell, and to be loud one with another, accusing one another in the presence of the king and aid pus Dihis councell, vntill Agnonides at length ftepped foorth, and faid: My Lords of Mac EDON, death put viall in prison, and then send vs bound hands and feete to ATHENS, to give account of our doings. The king laughed to heare him fay fo. But the Noblemen of MACEDON that were prefent then, and divers strangers besides to heare their complaints, made signe to the Ambassadours to veter their accusations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for Polyperchon checked vp Phocion oftentimes, and did ftill cut off his tale as he thought to purge himfelf; infomuch as in anger he beate his staffe he had in his hand against the ground, and commanded him at length to hold his peace, and to get him thence, And when Hegemon also told Polyperchon, that he himselfe could best witnesse, how Phocion had alwaies faithfully served and loved the people, he angrily answered him: Come not hither to lie falfly vpon me in the presence of the king. There-With the king rose out of his seate, and took a speare in his hand, thinking to have killed Hegemon had not Polyper chan fodainly embraced him behind, and staid him. So the councell rose, & brake vp, but prefently Phocion was apprehended, and they that flood by him. Certaine of his friends feeing that, which stood further off, muffled their faces, and straight conveyed themselves away. The rest were sent prisoners to ATHENS by Clieus, not so much to have their causes heard there, Photosis as to have them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carrying of featprifethem to ATHENS was shamefull. For they were caried vpon carts through the great streete merio A. Ceramicum vnto the Theater, where Clitus kept them vntill the Senate had affembled the toodamed, people, excepting no bondman, no stranger, nor defamed person out of this assembly, but left the Theater wide open to all commers in what focuer they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for enery manthat would speake against him. So first of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did aductife the people, that he had found these offenders connicted of treason notwithstanding, that he referred the sentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were freemen. Then Clitus brought his prisoners before the people, where the noblemen when they faw Phocion, were ashuned, and hiding their faces, wept to see him. Howbeir, there was one that rose vp, and said: My Lords, sith the king referreth the judgement of so great persons vnto the people, it were great reason all the bondmen and strangers which are no free citizens of ATHENS, should be taken out of this affembly. The people would not agree to it, The fury of but cried out, that fuch traitors should be stoned to death that fauour the authoritie of a few, the athenia and are enemies of the people; whereupon filence was made, and no man durft speake any more Photographe

The cruelty
of the athevians onto
Phocion.

Phocion sondemned to death.

The confeature and courage of Phocion, being conders, ned to die.

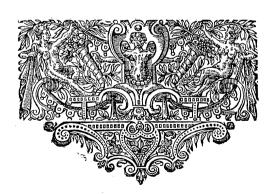
Photion
gaue menty
to be put to
denth.

for Phocion. Neuertheleffe when Phocion with much ado had obtained audience, he asked them: My Lords, will ye iustly or wrongfully put vs to death? Some answered him, justly. How then can you do it, quoth he, that will not heare our inftification? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then Phocion comming nearer, faid vnto them: For my felfe, my Lords, I confesse I have done you wrong, and have in gouernment committed faults deferuing death; but for thefe prifoners with me, what haue they done why you should put them to death? The common people answered him, Because they are thy friends. With this answer Phocion departed, and spake never a word more. Then the Orator Agnonides holding a decree in his hand ready written, read iropenly to the people, declaring how they should be judged by voices, whether the offendors had deserved death or not; and if it were found they had, then that they should all be put to death, And there were that when this decree was read, cried out, that they should adde further vnto the decree, that before Phocion should be put to death, they should first torment him: and therewithall commandement was given that the wheele should be set up to breake his joynts upon it, and also that the hangman should be sent for. But then Agnonides perceiving that Clitus was offended with it, and thinking befides it were too beaftly & barbarous a part to vie him in that fort. he faid openly: My Lords, when you shall have such a variet in your hands as Callimedon. then you may cast him on the wheele, but against Phocion, I would not wish such crueltie. Then rose vp a Nobleman among them, and added to his words: Thou hast reason to say so, Agrania des, for if Phocion should be laid on the wheele, what should we then do with thee? The decree being confirmed according to the contents thereof, judgement was given by voyces of the people, no man fitting, but all standing vp, and most of them with garlands on their heads, for the ioy they had to condemne these prisoners to death. With Photion there were condemned Ricocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pithocles: but Demetrius PHALERIAN, Callimedon and Charicles were also in their absence condemned to die. Now when the affembly was broken vp, and that the persons condemned were caried backe to prison, from thence to be conneyed to execution othersembracing their friends, and taking their last leaue of them as they went, wept, & lamented their curfed fortune. But Phocion looking as chearfully of it as he was wont to do being Generall, when they honourably waited on him to his house from the affembly, he made many of them pity him in their hearts to confider his constancie and noble courage. On the other sidealfo, there were many of his enemies that came as neare vnto him as they could, to reuilehim, amongst whom there was one that stepped before him, & did spit in his face. Then Phocion turning him vnto the Magistrates, said: Will ye not cause this impudent fellow to leave his railing? When they were in prison, Thudippus seeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a mortar to giuethem drinke, he began desperatly to curse and ban, faying, that they wrongfully put him to death with Phocion. Why, faid Phocion againe, and doeft thou not rather rejoyce to die with me. When one that flood by, asked Phocion if he would any thing to his fon Phocios. Yes, quoth he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the ATHENIANS do me. Then Nicocles one of Phocions dearest friends, prayed him to let him drinke the poyson before him. Phocion answered him, Thy request is grieuous to me, Nicocles: but because I gener denied thee any thing in my life, I will also grant thee this at my death. When all the rest had drunke, there was no more poifon left, and the hangman faid he would make no more, vnleffe they gaue him twelue Drachmacs, for fo much the pound did cost him: Phocion perceiuing then that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends vnto him, and prayed him to give the hangman that litle money he demanded, fith a man cannot die at ATHEN's for nothing, without coft. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, (to wit, March) on which day the knights were wont to make a folemne procession in the honour of Iupiter: how beit some of them left off the garlands of flowers which they should have worne on their heads, and others also looking towards the prison doore as they went by, burst out a weeping. For they whose hearts were not altogether heardened with crueltie, and whose judgements were not wholly suppressed with entite, thought it a gricuous facriledge against the gods, that they did not let that day passe, but that they did defile fo folemne a feast with the violent death of a man. His enemies not with standing, continuing still their anger against him, made the people passe a decree, that his bodie should be banished, and caried out of the bounds of the country of Arrica, forbidding the Africaians that no fire should be made for the solemnizing of his funerals. For this respect no friend of his did once touch his bodie. Howbeit a poore man called Conepion, that was wont to get his living

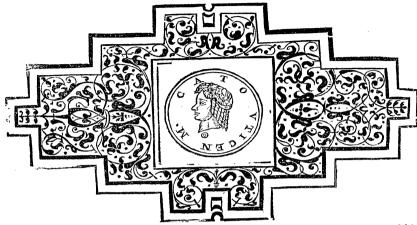
that way, being hired for money to burne mens bodies, he tooke his corfe, and caried it beyond the city of ELEVSIN; and getting fire out of a womans house of MEGARA, he solemnized his Photoni funerals. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of Magara, who coming by chance that funtrall. way, with her gentlewoman, where his body was but newly burnt, the caused the earth to be east vpa litle wherethe body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, whereupon she did vie fuch sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funerals of the dead: and then taking up his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her harth, faying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the reliques of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring him one day to the graue of his ancestors, when the ATHENIANS shall come to confesse the fault and wrong they have done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnesse of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained iustice and honesty at ATHENS. Whereupon they made his image to be fet up in braffe, and gaue honourable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accusers, they condemned Aenonides of treason, and put him to death themselues. The other two, Epicurus and Demophilus being fled out of the citie, were afterwards met with by his sonne Phocus, who was reuenged of them. This Phocus, as men report, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a yong maide, which a bawd kept, comming by chance one day into the schoole of Lycaum, he heard Theodorus the Atheist (to wit, that beleeved not there were any gods) make this argument: If it be no shame, said he, to deliver a mans friend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his lemman which he loueth; euen

fo it is all one to redeeme a mans lemman, as his friend. This yong man taking this argument to ferue his turne, belieuing that he might lawfully do it, got the young maid he loued from the bawd. Furthermore, this death of Phocion did also reviue the lamentable death of Socrates vnto the GRECT
ANS: for menthought that was a like hainous offence, and calamity vnto the citie of ATHENS.

The end of Phocions life.



THE LIFE OF Cato Utican.



Liuius Dru-

Catses mana

Why quicke

Carnes

He family and house of Cato tooke his first glorie and name of his great grandfather, Cato the Cenfor who for his vertue (as we have declared in his life) was one of the famousest and worthiest men of Rome in his time. This Cate whom we now write of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother Capio, and Porcia his fifter. Servilia was also Catoes halfe sister by his mothers side. All these were brought vp with their Vncle Linius Drusus, at that time the greatest man of the citie: for hewas passing eloquent, and very honest, and of as great a courage besides, as any other ROMAINE. Men report, that Cato from

his childhood shewed himselfe both in word and countenance, and also in all his pastimes and recreations, very conftant and stable. For he would gothrough with that he tooke vpon him to do, and would force himselfe aboue his strength; and as he could not away with slatterers, so was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh; and yet had euer a pleasant countenance. He was not cholericke, nor easie to be angered, but when the bloud was vp he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to schoole, he was very dull of vnderstanding and flow to learne; but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men elfe comonly do. For fuch as are quicke of conceipt, have commonly the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, do keep that better which they have learned. For every kind of learning is a motion and quickening of the mind. He seemed besides not to be light of credit,& that may be some cause of his slownesse in conceipt. For truly he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth that they that have least reason to resist, a rethose which do give lightest credit. For yong men are easilier perswaded then old men, and the sicke then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his doubts, there he is soonest brought to beleeue any thing. This notwithstanding, it is reported, that Cato was obedient vnto his schoolemaster, and would do what he commanded him: howbeit he would aske him still the cause and reason of enery thing. Indeed his schoolemaster was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to strike him with his fift. His name was Sarpedo. Furthermore, when Cato was but a young boy, the people of ITALY which were confederates of the ROMAINES, fixed to be made free citizens of ROME. At that time it chanced one Pompedius Silo, a valiant fouldier, and of great estimation among the confederates of the Romaines, and a great friend besides of Drusus, to be lodged many dayes at his house. He in this time falling acquainted with these yong boyes, said one day vnto the Good boyes, intreat your vncle to speake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of

CATO VTICAN. Rome. Capio smiling nodded with his head, that he would. But Cato making no answer, seoked

very wisely vpon the strangers that lay in the house. Then Pompedius taking him aside, asked him:

And thou, my pretie boy, what fayeft thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle as well as thy

armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would have let him have gone and speaking more sharply to him then he did before, he cast him many times out of his armes without the window, and faid, Promise vs then, or else I will let thee fall. But Cato abid it a long time, and neuer

of his birth, had many yong boyes to supper, and amongst others this Cato. The boyes to occupie themselues till supper was readie, gathered themselues together great & smal, into some priuate place of the house. Their play was counterfeiting pleadings before the Iudges, accusing one another, & carying them that were condemned to prison. Amongst them a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bound and a condemned person. The boy perceining he was locked vp, cried out vnto Cato: who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the chamber dore, & putting them by by forcethat withflood him to come vnto it, he took out the yong boy, and caned him very angerly with him to his own house, and all the other yong boies followed him alfo. So Cato had such name among the young boyes, that when Sylla made the game of yong boyes running on horsebacke, which the Romaines call Troia; to appoint them before that they might be readieat the day of the shew, he having gotten all the yong boyes of noble houses together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, because of his mother Meiella, which was the wife of sylla: but they would none of the other called

Sextus, who was nephew to Pompey the Great, neither would they be exercised vnder him, nor

follow him. Wherefore sylla asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cried then,

did commonly bring Cato vnto Syllaes house, to wait vpon him the which was rather like vnto a

iayle or prison, for the great number of prisoners which were daily brought thither, and put to

death. Cato being then but fourteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heads

brought which were said to be of great men, and that every body sighed & mourned to see the,

he asked his schoolemaster, how it was possible the tyrant scaped, that some one or other killed

fire with choler he maruelled much at it, and afterwards had a verie good eye vnto him, lest

rashly he should attempt something against squa. When he was but a little boy, some asked him

also, he then confirmed the loue he bare to his brother in his deeds. For twenty yeares together

he neuer supped without his brother Capio, neither went he euer out of his house into y market

place, nor into the fields without him: but when his brother did annoint himself with sweet oiles

of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things else, he led a streight and hard life. So that

his brother C. epio being commended of euery man for his temperance, honestie, and sober life,

he granted indeed that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate like: but when I do

(faid he) compare my life with my brother Catoes, me thinks then there is no difference betwist

me and Scippius. This Scippius was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious ef-

feminate life. After that Cato was once chosen Apolloes Priest, he went from his brother, and

tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the summe of an hundred

and twentie talents. Then he fined more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintance

brother, to be good to his guests: Cato still held his peace and answered nothing, but shewed by his filence and looke, that he would not heare their request. Then Pompedius taking him vp in his

quinched for it, nor shewed countenance of feare. Thereupon Pompedius setting him downe again, told his friends that stood by him: O what good hap doth this child promise one day vnto fante of again, total in strengs that Hood by Intil. What good hap ded not have one voice of all the peo-

pleon our fide. Another time there were some of Catoes neare kinsmen, that keeping y feast day sold.

Cato, and Sextus himself did willingly give him the honor, as the worthier of both. Sylla was their syllaes love fathers friend, and therefore did fend for them many times to come vnro him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnesse he shewed to few men, for the maiesty and great authority he had. Sarpedo also (Catoes schoolemaster) thinking it a great preferment & safety for his scholers,

him not? Because, quoth Sarpedo, that all men feare him more then they hate him. Why then, replied Cato againe, didst thou not giue me a sword that I might kill him, to deliuer my countrey of being a boy pned Cato againe, didit thou not give the a two fauther this flauish bondage? Sarpedo hearing the boy say so, and seeing his countenance and eyes on syrant.

whom he loued best? My brother, said he. Then the other continuing still to aske him and who next he answered likewise his brother. Then the third time againe, likewise his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was wearie with asking him fo oft. Yea and when he was come of age ther.

[choolema

Catoesait

for Bafilica

Catazion

with Antipater Tyrian, a Stoicke Philosopher, and gaue himselfe chiefly vnto the study of morall and civill Philosophie, embracing all exercise of vertue with such an earnest defire, that it feemed he was pluckt forward by fome god:but aboue all other vertues, he loued the feuerity of instice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor fauour. He studied also to be eloquent, that he might speake openly before the people, because he would there should be certaine warlike forces entertained in civill Philosophy, as also in a great citie. Notwithstanding, he would not exercise it before any bodie, neither would he cuer haue any man to heare him speake when he did learne to speake. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did mislike he spake fo litle in company: It skilleth no matter, quoth he, fo they cannot reproue my life, for I will begin to speake, when I can fay something worthy to be spoken. Hard by ŷ market place there was the common pallace or towne house of the citie, called Basilica Porcia, the which Porcius Cato the elder had built, in the time of his Cenforship. There the Tribunes were wont to keepetheir audience, and because there was a pillar that troubled their seats, they would either hane taken it away, or else haue set it in some other place. That was the first cause that made Caro against his wil to go into the market place, and to get up into the pulpit for Orations, to speak against them, where having given this first proofe of his cloquence and noble mind, he was maruellously eficemed of. For his Oration was not like a yong man, counterfeiting finenesse of speech and affectation, but flour, and full of wir and vehemency; and yet in his shortnesse of his sentences, he had fuch an excellent grace withall, that he maruelloufly delighted the heavers. & furthermore, shewing in nature a certaine gravity besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voyce that might be hard of a maruellous number of people, and fuch a ffrong nature besides, that he neuer fainted, nor brake his speech: for many times he would speake a whole day together, and was reuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cause against the Tribunes, he returned agains to keepe his former great filence, and to harden his body with painefull exercises, as to abide heate, frost and snow bare headed, and alwaies to go on foot in the field, where his friends that did accompany him rode on horsebacke; and sometime he would come and talke with one, sometime with another, as he went on foot by them. He had a wonderfull parience also in his ficknesse: for when he had any ague, he would be alone all day long, and fusfer no man to come to fee him, vntill he perceived his fit was off him, and that he found he was better. When he supped with his friends and familiars, they drew lots who should chuse their parts. If he chanced not to chuse, his triends not withstanding gaue him the preferment to chuse; but he refused it, saying, it was no reason, sith the goddesse Venus was against him. At the first he did not vie to sit log at y table, but after he had drunk one draught only he wold straight rife. But when he came to be elder, he fate long at the table fo that oftentimes he would fit it out all night with his friends, till the next morning. But they feeking to excuse it, said, that his great businesse and affaires in the commonwealth was the cause of it: for following that all the day long, hauing no leifure nortime to fludy, when night came he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philosophers at the boord. Wherefore when Memmius on a time being in company, Gerea Cos faid, that Cate did nothing but drinke all night; Cicero taking his tale out of his mouth, answered him: Thou doest not adde this vnto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dice. To be flort, Cate thinking that the manners and fashions of mens liues in his time were so corrupt, and required such great change and alteration, that to go vprightly, he was to take a contrary course in all things therefore when he saw that purple, red, and the lightest colours were best esteemed of, he in contrary maner defired to weare blacke. And many times also after dinner he would go abroad bare footed without shoes, and without any gowne: not because he would be wondered at for any fuch strangenesse, but to acquaint himselfe to be assumed only of shameleffe and dishonest things, and to despise those which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talents by the death of a coufin of his that likewise was called Case, he put it into ready money, to lend to his friends that lacked; and without vsuric. And there were some of his friends also that would morgage his land, or his flaues, to the chamber of the citie, for their owne prinate businesse: the which he himfelfe would either gue them to morgage, or els afterwards confirme the morgage of them. Furthermore when he was come of age to marie, having neuer knowne woman before, he was anade fare to Lepida. This Lepida had bene precontracted vnto Metellus Scipio: but afterwards the precontract being broken, he forfook her, fo that she was free, when Cato was contracted to her.

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Notwithstanding before Cato maried her, Scipio repenting him that he had refused her, made all the meanes he could to have her againe: and fo he had. Cate tooke it fo griewoully, that he thought to go to law for her, but his frieds diffwaded him fro it. Then feeing no other remedy. to fatisfie his angry mind, he wrote verses against Scipio, in the which he reuised him al he could: yfing the bitter taunts of Archilocus verfes, but not fuch impudent, lewde, and childish reproaches as be there. After that he maried Attilia, Soranus daughter, being the first woman he distinction cuer knew: yet not the onely woman whom he did know, as is reported of Lalius, Scipiaes too wife. friend, who therein was counted the happier, because all that long time wherein he lived, riage. he neuer knew other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondmen(otherwise called Spartacus warre) one Gellius was chosen Prætor of the army, vnder whom Cate ferued of his owne good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother Capio, who in that army cate first had charge of a thousand footmen. Now Cato could not as he wished, shew his valiant nesses soldier lare and good feruice, because of the insufficiency of the Prætor that gaue ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the midst of all the riot and insolencie of them in the campe, he shewing himfelfe a stayed man in all his doings, valiant where need was, and very wife alfo, all men esteemed him to be nothing inferiour vnto Cato the elder. Whereupon Gellius the Prætor gaue him many honours in token of his valiantnesse, which are given in reward of mens good service: howbeit Cato refused them, and said, that he was nothing worthie of those honors. These things made him to be thought a maruellous strange man. Furthermore, when there was a law made, forbidding all menthat fued for any office in the commonwealth, that they should have no prompters in any of the affemblies, to blow into their cares the names of prinate citizens: he alone making fuite to be Colonell of a thousand footmen, was obedient to the law, and committed all the private citizens names to memory, to speake vnto every one of them, and to call them by their names: fo that he was enuied even of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deeds praifeworthy, by fo much more were they grieued, for that they could not follow them. So Cato being chosen Colonell of a thousand footemen, he was sent into Mace- Cato chosen DON, vnto Rubrius, Prætorthere. Some fay, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to fee him go, one Munatius a friend of his faid vnto her: take no thought Attilia, and leave weeping, for I promifethee I wilkeepethy husband for thee. It is well faid, anfwered Cato. Then when they were a daies iourney from Rome, Cato after supper said vnto this Munatius: Thou must looke well to thy promise thou hast made Attilia, that thou wouldest keepe me for her, and therefore for sake me not night nor day. Therupon he comanded his men that from thenceforth they should prepare two beds in his chaber, that Munatius also might lye there:who was rather pleasantly himself looked vnto by Cato, then Cato by him. He had fifteene flaues with him, two freemen, and foure of his friends which rode, and he himself went on foot: fometime talking with one, otherwhile with another as he went. When he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the Romaines, the Prator immediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who thinking it small honor to him for himselfe only to be valiant, sith he was but How Cato one man, he practifed to make all his fouldiers under him, like unto himselfe. The which he did not by feare and tarren but by leaving and agreed a graph profile to the which he did not by feare and tarren but by leaving and agreed a graph profile to the which he did not by feare and tarren but by leaving and agreed a graph profile to the which he did not by feare and tarren but by leaving and agreed a graph profile to the which he did not by feare and tarrent but by leaving and agreed a graph profile to the which he did not be a graph profile to the which he did not by feare and tarrent but by leaving and the same and th not by feare and terror, but by lenity and gentle perswasions, training and instructing them in euery point what they should do:adding to his gentle instruction and perswaftons, reward to those raliant. that did well, and punishment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to judge, whether he had made the more quiet then warlike, more valiant, then iust. So dreadfull they shewed themselves to their enemies, and courteous to their friends: searcful to do euil, & ready to win honor. Whereof followed that which cato least accounted of, that is, he wan fame and good wil: for his fouldiers did greatly honour and loue him, because he himselfe would euer first set his handto any thing he commanded them; and because also both in his diet, in his apparel, and in any iourney or pains, he was rather like vnto the meanest soldier, then any of the other captaines. In contrary maner also in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he far exceeded al the other Co-Ionels and Captaines, for the true loue of vertue, (to wit, the defire to follow it) taketh no roote The loue of in mens minds, vuleffe they have a fingular loue & reverence vnto the person, whom they defire vertue sto to follow. When Cato vnderstood that Athenodorus sirnamed Cordylion, a Stoicke Philosopher, whence is excellently well learned development in the circle of Proceedings to the control of excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the citie of PBRGAMVS, being a very old man, and abbenodeonethat stifly refused the friendship of kings, princes, & noble men, desirous to have him about my the them: to write to him, he thought it was lost labour. Wherefore having two months liberty by stoicks, Cateronical was lost labour.

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the lawes of the Romaines, to follow his owneaffaires, he tooke fea, and went into Asia to him, hoping he should not lose his journey, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of divers matters together, at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him; effecting this victorie more then all the conquests of Lucullus or Pompey, who had conquered the most part of all the provinces and realmes of the East parts of the world. In the meane time, whilest he lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thousand footmen, his brother preparing to go into As 14, fel sicke in the city of Envis, in the country of THRACIA. Cate having speedy intelligence thereof tooke fea presently, when it was maruellous rough and boisterous, and imbarked in a little crayer of a merchants of THESSALY, with two of his friends, & three bondmen only, & did escape drowning very narrowly: & yet by good fortune arrived fafely, a litle after his brother Capioes death. He rook his death more forrowfully then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, embracing the dead corps of his brother; but also for the exceeding charge and funiptuous funerals which he bestowed vpon him, in perfumes, sweet sauours, and sumptuous filkes that were burnt with his body; and furthermore, in the stately tombe of THRAGIAN marble which he made for him, and fet vp in the market place of the Anians, that cost eight ralents Some did mislike this vaine charge that Cato bestowed, considering the modesty and temperance he yfed in all things elfe, not regarding with judgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinfinen, which was mingled in him with his feneritie, and hardneffe, againft all voluptuousnesses, and shamelesse requests. Divers cities, Princes and Noblemen sent him many fundrie prefents, to honour the funerals of his brother Capio howbeit he tooke no money of all them, faving only fpices, and fweet fauors, and fuch other ornaments as honoured the obfequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fel vitto him, & a little daughter of his, by the death of his brother, notwithstanding the charge he had bene at in his funerals, he did not reckon it in the partition of the land, betwixt him & his brother Cepioes daughter. All the which things when they were for lemnized, some write notwithstanding, that he did cleanse the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through a fine or riddle, where through they cleanse corne, and all to get out the of Cefar, whitherote gold and filter that was molten there; but fuch thinke that their writings should be as farre from controlment as their doings. So when Catoes time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not onely with ordinary praifes, vowes and prayers to the gods for his health but with embracings, teares, & maruellous lametations of the foldiers, which fored their garments on the ground as he went, and kiffing of his hands, which honor the Romaines did but to very few of their Generals. Furthermore, Cato being determined before he returned to Romb to deale in the affaires there, to go and see Asia, partly to be an eye-witnesse of the maners, customs, & power of enery prouince as he went: & partly also to satisfie king Deiotarus requeff, who having benchis fathers friend, had earneflly intreated him to come and see him, he went the journy and vied it in this fort, First, by peepe of day, he sent his baker & cooke before, where he meant to lie that night. They coming foberly into the city or village, inquired if there were none of Catoes friends & acquaintancethere, & if they found none, then they prepared his fupper in an Inne, and troubled no man but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernors of the town, & praied them to help the to lodging, and did content the selucs with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the townsmen did not beleeue they were catoes men, & made no account of them, because they tooke all things so quietly, & made no ado with the officers. In fo much as Cato fornetime came himfelf, & found nothing ready for him, & when he was come, they made as smal account of him, seeing him set ypon his carriages, and speake neuer a word for they took him for fome meane man, & atimorous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he salled them vnto him, and told them: O poore men, learne to be more courteous to receive travelling ROMAINS that passe by you. & looke not alwaies to have Catoes to come vnto you and therfore fee that you vie them with fuch courtefie and entertainment; that they may bridle the authoritie they have ouer you for you shal find many that wildesire no better colour nor occasió by force to take from you that they would have: because you vnwillingly also do grant them the things Aluazhing they wold, and need. There is a report of a prety least hapned him in Syria. When he came to ANTIOCH, he found a great number of people deuided on either side of the street, standing a row one by another very decently, the yong men by theselues in faire clokes, boies by theselues in feemely

feemely array, & priefts and other officers of the citic also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. Cato thought straight they had made this solemne procession to honor him, and fell out with his men he had fent before, because they did suffer them to make such preparation for his coming. So he made his friends light from their horses, and go on foote to accompany him. But when they came neare to the gate of the city, the master of these ceremonies that had assembled all that copany (an old man, having a rod in his hand, & a crown on his head) came to Cato with Demetrius out faluting of him, and asked him onely, where they had left Demetrius, and when he would affaut with come. This Demetrius had bene one of Pompeys flaues, and because Pompeys fame was great with tempey. all men, his feruant Demetrius also was much honoured and made of aboue his defert, for that he was in great credite with Pompey. Catoes friends hearing what question the old man asked him, burft out a laughing as they went through this procession. Cate being ashamed of it, said no more then, but: O vnfortunate city! Afterwards not with stading, when he told it to any body, he wold Jaugh at it himselfe. But Pompey rebuked them that through ignorance had failed to honour Cato. When Cate came to the citic of EPHESVS, and was coming towards Pompey to falute him, being Cate honors. the elderman, and of greater dignitie and estimation then he, who at that time also was General red from of a great and puissant army: Pompey feeing him coming towards him a farre off, would not tarv 10 in affa. tillhe came to him, fitting in his chaire of estate, but rising vp went to meete him, as one of the greatest & noblest persons of Rom B; and taking him by y hand, after he had embraced and welcomedhim, he prefently fel in praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereupon, every man after that had him in great veneration for those things which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble and courteous mind. For men that faw Pompeys entertainment towards him, knew well enough that Cato was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kind of duty obserucd, more then for any loue he bare him and they noted further, that he honoured him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when Cato went fro him. For he fought to keepe backeall the yonggentlemen of Rome that went to fee him, and defired them to remaine with him:but for Cato, he was nothing defirous of his company, for that in his presence he thought he eld cato, could not command as he would, and therefore was willing to let him go, recomending his wife and his children to him, § which he neuer did before vnto any other Romaine that returned to Rome: howbeit indeed Cato was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities wherby he passed, deuised (in emulation one of the other) which of them should honor him most, and made him great feasts and banquets: in the which he praied his friends to have an eye to him, left vnwares he shold proue Curioes words true. For Curio sometime being his fried, & a familiar of his. mifliking notwithstading his severity, asked Cato if he would go fee As 1 A, when his charge were expired. Cato answered again, that it was his full determination. O well faid, quoth Curio, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleasant and civil. And these were Curioes words. Furthermore, Detotarus king of GALATIA, being a very old man, fent for Cato to come into his countrey, to recommend his fons and house vinto him: who when he arrived there, had great rich presents of all mer price forts offered him by the king intreating him all he could to take them. This fo much misliked & king Deisangred Cato, that he coming thither in the euening, (after he had taried there one whole day only) the next morning he went his way from thence at the third houre. Howbeit he had not gone near from one dayes journy, but he found greater gifts that taried him, with Deiotarus letters, at the citie of gifts. PESSINVNTA; in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them himselfe, that then he would let the be deuided amongst his friends, sith every way they did descrue it, but specially for his sake, for that his goods also were not so great, as could cotent all his friends. But Cate wold not fuffer the to take any iot of it more then before although he faw wel enough that there were fome of them fo tender hearted, that they coplained of him, for that he would not fuffer them to take any of it. For he told them, that otherwise, corruption and bribery could lacke no honest colour to take and for his friends, they should alwayes have part with him of that which was his own iustly. So he returned king Deiotarus presents backe again. Now whenhe was ready to imbarke, to passe ouer the sea again vnto BRVNDVSIVM, some of his friends perswaded him, that it was better to put the asses of his brother Cepioes bones into another ship. But he answered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leave his brothers relicks. Thereupon he presently hoissed saile, and it is reported that he passed ouer in greatdanger, where other ships arrived very safely. When he was returned vnto Rome, he

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was alwaics either talking Philosophy with Athenodorus the Philosopher, or else in the marker place, to pleasure his friends. When his turne came that he was to make suite to be Questor he would never fue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the ordinances touching the of. fice of Quæstor, and that he had particularly made enquirie of men of greatest experience, to know what the authoritie of the office was. So he no fooner came to his office, but he prefently made great alteration among the Clearkes and officers of the treasurie; who having the lawes and records in their hands, and exercifing the office commonly vider young men which were chosen Treasurers (who for their ignorance & lacke of experience, stood rather in neede of maifters to teach them, then that they were able to correct others) they them selves were the officers and controlled them. But Cate not contenting himselfe with the name and honor of the thing. did throughly understand what the Clearkes and Registers should be, and therfore would have them to be as they ought to be, ministers vnder the Quastors onely; telling them of their briberie and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also that faulted through ignorance. And when he faw fome infolent and impudent perfons, that curried fanour with other treasurers to be against him, he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for fallhood, in making division betwixt two coheires: and consequently turned him cleare our of his office, for euer doing any thing there any more. He accused another also for forging of a Will, whom Catulus Luctatius defending, being then Cenfor, and a man of great honour for the dignitie of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the inftest man one of them in his time at Rome, and of those also that highly commended Cate, was conversant with him for his honeft life; when he perceived that he could not defend his man by no reason. he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But Cate would in no wife grane it. But Catulus carneftly intreating still for him, then Cato plainly said vnto him: It is shame for thee (Catulus) thou that art Cenfor, and shouldest reforme all our lives, thus to forget the dus tic of thine office, to pleafe our ministers. Catulue looking at Cato when he had spoken; as though he would answer him: whether it were for shame or anger, he went his way, and said neuer a word more. Yet was not the partie condemned, though there was one voice more, that did condemne then cleare him, because of the absence of one of the Judges. For Marcus Lollius, one of Catoes colleagues in the Quæstorship, being ficke at that time, and absent, Catulus sent vnto him. to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereupon Lellius being brought thither in a litter, after judgement given, gave his last voice, which absolutely cleared him. Cato, this not with flanding would neuer vie him as a Clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of Lolling voice among others. Thus having pulled downe the pride and fromacke of the Clearkes, and brought them vnto reason, in short time he had all the tables & records at his commandement, and made the Treasure chamber as honorable as the Senate it selfe: so that every man thought, and faid, that Cato had added vnto the Quæftorship the dignitic of the Consulship. For finding diverse men indebted before vnto the commonwealth, and the commonwealth also vnto divers men, he fet downe such an order, that neither the commonwealth should be deceived by any man, nor that any man also should have wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their debt, & willingly and quickly also paid them to whom the chamber ought any thing: fo that the people were ashamed to see some pay which neuer thought to have paid any thing; and on the contrary fide also others paid, which neuer looked to haue had any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make false bils of their debts, and brought them so to be put into the coffer of the Quæstors; and many times also his predecessors were wont of fauor & friendship to receive false messages. But whileft he was Quaftor, he neuer did paffe away matter fo lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a message that was sent vnto him, to know whether it was true or no albeit diuers men did witnesse it was true, yet wold he not beleeue it, vntill such time as the Consuls themselves came in their owne persons to instificit was true, and to sweare, that it was so ordained. Now there were many vnto whom Lucius Sylla (being Dictator) had appointed in his fecond profeription twelue thousand filuer Drachmaes for every citizen and outlaw which they had flain with their owne hands. These men, though every mandid hatethem, and knew them to be wicked people and cruell murtherers, yet no man durst offer to be reuenged of them. Cato called these men reserved of Still actions in fuite, as those that did wrong fully detaine the mony of the common treasure, and compelled d) marther. them to repay it backe againe: sharply reprouing (and inftly) the wicked diucilish fact they had committed.

committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were straight accused by others for murder; and as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one judgement, they were brought into another, to the great joy of all the Romains, who then thought they faw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and sylla himfelfe punished. Besides all this, Catoes continual paines and care of the treasure, was so well thought of and liked of the people as could be. For he was alwaves the first that came to the coffer of the treasurers, and also the last that went from thence. and was neuer weary of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer missed to be at any assembly of the people, or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, left lightly by fauour, any money due to the commonwealth should be forgiven, or else that they should above the rent of the farmers, orthatthey should give no money but to them that had justly deserved it. Thus having rid all accusers, and also filled the coffers with treasure, he made men see that the commonwealth might be rich without oppressing of any man. Indeed at his first coming into the office, his colleagues and companions found him maruellous trouble fome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and feuere: howbeit they all loued him in the end; because he onely withftood the complaints and cries of all menagainst them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or fauour letgo the mony of the common treasure,) and was contented his companions should excuse themselves vnto their friends that were importunate, and lay the fault voon him, faying, that it was unpossible for them to bring Cate unto it. The last day that he went out of his office, being very honourably brought home to his house by the people, it was told him that Marcellus being in the treasure chamber, was attempted and environed with many of his friends, and men of great authoritie, that were earneftly in hand with him to record a certaine fumme of mony, as a thing that had bin due by the commonwealth. This Marcellus had bene Catoes friend even from their childhood, and whilest Cato was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him; but when he was left alone, he was of fo gentle a nature. that he would eafily be entreated, and was as much assamed to denie any man, as he was also ouer-readie to grant enery manthathe required. Case ftraight returned backe vponit, and finding that Marcellus had yeelded vnto their importunacie, and recorded the gift, he caused the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did raze it out before his face, Marcellus speaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, Marcellus brought Cato home, and neuer once repined sgainst that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued fill in friendship with him. as he had done before. But now though Cato was out of his office of Questor, he was not without spials of his men in the treasure chamber, who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and meand passed in the treasury. And Cato himselfe having bought the bookes of account for the fumme of fine talents, containing the revenew of the whole state of the commonwealth, from wealth, Syllaes time vntill the very yeare of his Quæstorship:he euer had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate, and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarying long before they came, he went and fate downe in a corner by himfelf, and read closely the booke he had under his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would never be out of the citie on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, Pompey and his consorts perceiuing that it was vnpoffible to compell Cato, and much leffe to win or corrupt him, to fauor their vniust doings, they fought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Senate, and defending certaine of his friends causes, and to occupie him some other wayes about matters of arbiterment. But Cate finding their wils and craft, to encounter them, he told his friends once for all, whom he would pleafure, that when the Senate did fit, no mans cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serve the commonwealth to en- Catatrining rich himselfe as many did, neither for any glorie or reputation, nor yet at all aduenture; but and deerthat he had aduisedly chosen to serve the commonwealth, like a just and honest man, and thereforethought himselfe bound to be as carefull of his dutie, as the Bee working her waxe in the interest hony combe. For this respect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of monwealth, his friends which he had in every province belonging to the Empire of Rome, he got into his hands the copies of all the chiefest acts, edicts, decrees, sentences, and the notablest judgements of the governours that remained in record. Once Cato perceiving that Publius Clodius a seditions Orator amongst the people, did make great stirre, and accused diverse vnto the asfembly, as the Priests and Vestall Nunnes, among the which Fabia Terentia, Ciceroes wives si- Cato drawe ster was accused; hetaking their cause in hand, did so disgrace Clodius their accuser, that he of Rome.

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Cato tooke with him went into the country.

The office

was driven to flie the citie. Giver therefore giving Cato thankes, Cato told him, that he mine thankethe commonwealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both said and did that he had done. Hereby Cato wanne him great fame. For when a certaine Orator or common counfellor preferred one witnesse vnto the Judges, the counsellor on the other side told the, that one wirnesse was not to be credited, though it were Cato himself. Insomuch as the people tooke it up for a proughe among them, that when any man spake any strange and vnlikely matter, they would fay: Nay, though Cato himselfe saidit, yet were it not to be beleeved. When on a time a certaine prodigal man had made a long oration in the Senate, in praise & commendation of sobriety temperance, and thriftinesse, one Amnaus a Senator rising vp, said vnto him: Alas friend, what thinkest thou, who can abide to heare thee any longer with patience, that farest at thy tablelike Crassus, buildest like Lucullus, & speakest to vs like Cato: So men comonly (in sport) called them Catoes, which were graue and fenere in their words, and dissolute in their deeds. When divers of his friends were in hand with him to fue to be Tribune of the people, he told the hethought it not meete at that time: for such an office (quoth he) of so great authoritie as that, is not to be imploied, but like a firong medicine in time of need. So, the terme and matters of law ceaffing for that time, Cato went into the country of Lv c A to take his pleasure there, where he had pleasure there, where he had pleasure there is the country of Lv c A to take his pleasure there. fant houses, and tooke with him both his bookes and Philosophers to keepe him company. But meeting as he went, with divers fumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men befides. he asked them whose cariage it was: they told him, it was Metellus Nepos that returned to Rome. to make suite to be Tribune. Therupon Cato stayed suddenly, and bethinking himself, commanded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruelling at it, he answered them, Do not you know that Metellus is to be feared of himfelf, for his rashnesse and folly and now that he commeth inftructed by Pompey, like a lightning he would fet all the common-wealth on fire. for this cause therefore we must not now go take our pleasure in the country, but our come his folly, or otherwise die honourably in defence of our libertie. Yet at his friends perswass. ons he went first vnto his house in the countrey, and taried not long there, but returned straight againe to Rome. When he came thither ouer hight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, and fued to be Tribune of the people, purposely to crosse Metellus enterprise, because the power and authoritie of the Tribune consisteth more in hindering then doing any thing: for if all men else were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were against it, the Tribune would carie from them all. Cato at the first had not many of his friends about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made fuite for the Tribuneship, all his friends and Noblemen ftraight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and incouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to ferue the common-wealth then his owne turne; confidering that where many times before he might (without refistance or denial) have obtained the same, the state being toward no trouble, he then would neuer sue for it, but now that he saw it in danger, where he was to fight for the commonwealth, and the protection of her liberty. It is reported that there were fuch a nuber of people about him to fauour his fuite, that he was like to haue bene stifled among them, and thought he should never have come to the market place, for the preasse of people that swarmed about him. Thus when he was chosen Tribune with Metellus and others, he perceived how they bought and fold the voices of the people when the Confuls were chosen: whereupon he made an oration, and sharply tooke them up for this detestable merchandife, & after his oration ended, folemnly protested by oath, that he wold accuse him, & bewray his name which had given mony to be chosen Consull. Howbeit he spake nothing of Syllanus, whose fifter Servilia he had maried but he flatly accused Lucius Murana, that had obtained to be Conful with Syllanus, by meanes of his mony. Now a law being prouided, that the party accused might haue a keeper or spiall to follow the accuser, to see what he would accuse the partie with that he might the better be able to defend himselfe, knowing what should be objected against him: Mur.ena hauing one for him to wait vpon Cato, to confider throughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not maliciously to work, but took a plaine common way of a just accuser, he had so great confidence in Catoes vpright mind and integrity, that not regarding the narrow fifting of him otherwise, he did one day aske him himself in the market place (or at home in his own house) if that day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his accufation. If Cate answered him that he did not, then he went his way, & simply believed him. When the day came indeed that his cause was to be heard & pleaded vnto, Cicero being Consult

that yeare, defending Murana, played fo pleasantly with the Stoicke Philosophers, and their strange opinions, that he made all the Iudges laugh: insomuch as Cato himselfe similing at him, rina a. told them that were by him: See we have a pleasant Consult that makes men laughthus. So gainst his Murana being discharged by this indgement, did neuer after malice Cato for that, but so long as to he remained Confull, he was alwayes ruled by his counfell in all his affaires, and continued euer to honour him, following his counfell in all things touching his office. Hereof Cats himfelfe was cause, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsell, & in his orations before the people, for the maintenance only of equity and inflice; for otherwise he was very civil and courteous to all men. But before he entred into his Tribuneship, Cicero being yet Conful he did help him in many things touching his office, but specially in bringing Catilines cospiracy to good end The confirm which was a noble act done of him. For Cariline did practife a generall commotion and firre in reconfict the commonwealth, to ouerthrow the whole state of Rome, by civil discord within Rome, and tiline aopen warres abroad who being discovered and overcome by Cicero, he was driven in the end to flie Rom E. But Lentulus, Cethegus, & many other of the accomplices of this conspiracie, blamed Catiline for his faint & cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to butne the whole citie of Rome, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by strange warres, and rebellious forreine nations and provinces. Howbeit this treason being discovered, as appeareth more largely in the life of Cicero, the matter was referred vnto the judgement of the Senate, to determine what was to be done therein. Syllanus being the first who was asked his opinion therein faid, that he thought it good they should suffer cruell paines; and after him also, all the rest said the like vntill it came to Casar. Casar being an excellent spoken man, and that rather defired to nourish then to quench any such stirres or feditions in the commonwealth, being fit for hispurpose long determined of, made an Oration full of sweete pleasant words, declaring vnto them, that to put such men as they to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreasonable and rather that they should do better to keepe them in prison. This oration of C. far fo altered all the rest of the Senators minds for that they were afraid of the people, that Syllanus felfe mended his opinion againe, and faid, that he meant not they should put them to death, but keepe them fast in prison, because that to be a prisoner, was the greatest paine a Ro-MAINE citizen could abide. Thus the Senators minds being fo fuddenly changed, and bentto a more fauorable fentence, Cato rifing vp to fay his opinion, began very angrily with maruellous Catostorie cloquence, grienously to reproue Syllanus for changing his mind, and sharply to take up Cafar, tion again, that under a popular femblance, and maske of fweet fugred words, he fought under hand to dethroy the commonwealth, and also to terrifie and make the Senare afraid: where he himselfe lines conshould have bene afraid, and thinke himselfe happie, if he could scape from being suspected, gi- sprase. uing such apparent cause of suspition as he did, going about so openly to take the enemies and traitors of the commonwealth out of the hands of inftice, feeming to have no piric nor compassion of his naturall citie, of such nobilitie and same, being euen brought in maner to vtter deftruction, but rather to lament the fortune of these wicked men, that it was pitie they were ener borne, and whose death preserved Rome from a thousand murthers, & mischiefes. Of all the O. rations that ever Cato made, that only was kept; for Cicero the Conful, that day had dispersed diuers pen men in fundry places of the Senate house, which had maruellous swift hands, and had further taught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements, which in few lines shewed many words. For vntill that time, writers were not known that could by figures and ciphers expressea whole sentence and word, as afterwards they could, being then the first time that euer taught the they were found out. So Cato at that time prevailed against Cafar, and made them al change their how to minds againe, that these men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a iot of his manners, as the very paterne and impression of his mind: it is reported, that when Cato that day was To hote and vehement against C.esar, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both, a letter was deliuered Cafar, fent him into the house. Cato began presently to suspect it, and fo earnestly misliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commanded his letter should be seene and read openly. Casar therupon reached his letter vnto Cato, that sate not farre from him. When Cato had read it, and found that it was a loue letter, which his lifter Seruilia, had written vnto Cafar, whom she loued, and had knowne, he cast it agains to Cafar, and said, There drunkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begun before. In cate ruforfine, it seemeth that Cato was very vnfortunate in his wives: for this Sernilia, as we have said, tunatein his wives.

had an il name by Cafar. And the other Seruilia alfo, which was his fifter, was worse defanied for she being maried vnto Lucullus, one of the greatest men of Rome, by whom she had a sonne, was in the end put away from him, for her naughtie life. But worst of all, his owne wife Attilia also was not altogether cleare without suspition for though he had two sons by her, yet he was dring to be divorced from her, she was so naught and comon. After that, he maried Martia, the daughter of Philip, which by report feemed to be a very honest gentlewoman It is she that is so famous among the ROMAINS. For in the life of Cato, this place (as a fable or comedie) is disputable, and hard to be judged. For thus it was, as Thraseas writeth, who referreth all to the report & credite of one Munatius, Catoes very familiar friend. Among many that loued Catoes vertues and had them in admiration, some of them did shew more what he was, then other some did: amongst the which was Q. Hortensius a man of great honestie and authoritie. He desiring not onely to be Catoes friend & familiar, but also to joyne with him in alliance, and by affinitie to make both their houses one, was not abashed to move him to let him have his daughter Porcia in mariage (which was Bibulus wife, and had brought him two children) that he might also caltabroad the feed of goodly children, in that pleafant fertile ground. And though to men this might feeme a strange minde and defire, yet that in respect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the common wealth, not to suffer a young woman in the prime of her youth to lose the fruite of her wombe, being apt to beare children: nor also that he should impour ish his some in law with moe children then one house needed. And further, that communicating women in this loreship and fort from one to another, specially being bestowed upon worthy and vertuousmen, that vertue should thereby be increased the more, being so dispersed in divers families; and the citic likewife should be the stronger, by making alliances in this fort together. And if it be so quoth he. that Bibulus do loue his wife fo dearly, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him againe when he had a child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendship to him, by meanes of this communication of children with Bibulus felfe, and with him. Cato answered him, that he loued Hortensius well, and liked of his alliance, howbeit that he maruelled he would speake to him to let him haue his daughter to get children of, fith he knew that she was maried to another. Then Hortensias altering his tale, stuck not total him his mind plainly, and to defire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and Cato had children enough. But a man cannot tell whether Hortenfius made this fuite, because he say Cate make no reckoning of Martia, for that the was then with child by him. In fine, Cate feeing the earnest desire of Hortensius, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he must also get Philips goodwill, the father of Maria. He knowing that Cato had granted his goodwill, would not therefore let him haue his daughter before that Cato himfelfe by his presence did confirme the contract and mariage with him. Though these things were done long after, yet having occasion to talke of Catoes wines. I thought it not amisse to anticipate the time. Now Lentulus and his conforts of Catilines conspiracie being put to death, Cafar to cloake the accusations wherewith Cate charged him in open Senate, did put himfelfe into the peoples hands; and gathering the rakehels & seditious persons together, which sought to set all at fixe and seuen, he did further encourage them in their mischieuous intent and practises. Whereupon, Cato searing lest such a rabble of people should put all the commonwealth in vprore and danger, he perswaded the Senate to winne the poore needie people that had nothing, by distributing of corne amongst them, the which was done; and the charge thereof amounted yearely vnto twelve hundred and fiftie talents. This liberalitie did manifestly drinke vp and quench all those troubles which they stood in feare of .But on the other fide, Metellus entring into his Tribuneship, made certaine seditious Orations & affemblies, and preferred a law to the people, that Pompey the great should presently be called into ITALY with his armie, that he should keepe the citie by his comming from the present danger of Catilines conspiracie. These were but words spoken for fashions sake, but indeed the law had a secret meaning, to put the whole commonwealth and Empire of Rome into Pompeys hands. Hereupon the Senate affembled, wherein Cato at his first comming spake somewhat gently, and not too vehemently against Metellus, as his maner was to be sharpe vnto them that were against him:but modestly perswaded him, & felto intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his house, for that they had alwayes taken part with the Senate and Nobilitie. But Merellus therewith tooke fuch pride and conceit of himselfe, that he began to despise Caro, thinking he had vsed that mildnesse, as though he had bene afraid of him: in so much as he gaue out

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broudspeeches against him, and cruell threats, that in despite of the Senate he would do that cato rest which he had vndertaken. Then Cato changing his countenance, his voice and speech, after he stilles trihad spoken very sharply against him, in the end he roughly protested, that while he lived, he bone of the would never fuffer Pompey to come into Rome with his armic. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both wel in their wits, but that Metellus doings was a fury, which proceeding of a cancred stomacke and extreme malice, would put all in hazard: and that which Cato did. was a rauishment and extasse of his vertue, that made him beside himselfe, contending for iuflice and equitie. When the day came that this law should passe by voices of the people, Metellus failed not to be in the market place with a world of strangers, slaues, and fencers, armed, and fet in battell ray, besides a number of the common people that were desirous to see Pompeys returne, hoping after change. Besides all those, Casar then being Prætor, gaue aide likewise with his Inline Cas men, in the behalfe of Metellus. On the contrary part also, the Noblemen and Senators of the far Prator. citie were as angry as Cato, and faid, it was a horrible shame: howbeit they were his friends, rather in missiking the matter, then in defending the common wealth. Whereupon, all his friends athome, and his whole family, were maruelloufly perplexed and forowfull, that they both refused their meate, and also could take no rest in the night for seare of Cato. But he, as one without feare, having a good heart with him, did comfort his people, and bade them not forow for him: and after he had supped (as he commonly vsed to do) he went to bed, and slept soundly all night, till the morning that Minutius Thermus, his colleague and fellow Tribune, came and called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them. Whereupon divers of their friends came and metthem by the way, and bad them take heedevoto themselues. When they were come into the market place, and that Cato saw the temple of Caftor and Pollux full of armed men, and the degrees or steps kept by sword players and fencers, and Mesellus on the top of them fet by Cafar : turning to his friends, he faid, See I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked and vnarmed. Therewithall he straight went forward with his companion Thermus vntothatplace, and they that kept the degrees, opened of themselves tolet him passe, but they would let no other go vp but himselse: but Cato with muchado, taking Minutius by the Carestrable hand, got him vp with him; and when he was come vp, he fet him downe betwixt Metellus centrage & and Cafar, to keepethem afunder, that they should not whisper one in anothers earc. Neither of them both could tell what to fay to him: whereupon the Noblemen that confidered Catees countenance and boldnesse, wondring to see it, drew neare, and by their cries willed him not to be afraid, but incouraged one another to slicke by him that stood for defence of their libertie. So, there was a fernant that tooke the written law in his hand, and would have read it to the people, but Cato would not lethim. Then Metellus tooke it himselfe in his hands to reade it, but Cate also snatched it out of his hands. Metellus not with standing, having it perfect without booke, would needs declare the effect of it by heart. But Thermus clapped his hand before his mouth to keepe him that he should not speake. Metellus seeing these two menbent by all meanes to keepe this law from passing, and that the people did leane on their side, he beckned to his mento go for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terrour and cries to make them afraid, and so they did. The people thereupon were difperfed here and there for feare, that Cato was left alone in the market place, and they threw stones at him from beneath. But then Murana, who had before accused Cato for buying of the Consulship, forfookehim not in that danger, but holding his long gowne before him, cried out vnto them beneath that threw at Cato, to leaue. So shewing him the danger he had brought himselfe vnto, holding him still by the armes, he brought him into the temple of Castor and Follux. Then Metellus seeing the pulpit for Orations voided, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the goale: whereupon commanding his fouldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to passe his law. But his enemics that fled for feare, being gathered against ogether in the market place, began afreshto crie out against Metellau, with greater boldnesse and courage then before. Then Metellus and his adherents being afraid and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder, they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for Orations. So when Metellus and his company were gone, Cato came againe to the pulpit for Orations, and greatly commended the people for the good wil they had shewed, and perswaded them to continue in their well

CATO VTICAN. doing. Whereupon the common people were then against Metellus; and the Senatealso being affembled gaue order, that Cato should have better aide then he had before, and that by all meanes possible they should resist Metellus law, which onely tended to moue sedition and civill war in Rome. For Metellus selfe, he was yet vehemently bent to follow his attempt and enterprise; but perceiuing that his friends were maruellously affraid of Cato, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he suddenly came into the market place, and affembling the people, told them many reasons in his oration, supposing to bring cate in difgrace with the people; and amongst other things hesaid, that he would withdraw himselfe out of this tyrannicall power of Catoes, and his confpiracie against Pompey, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that he presently de. parted Rome, and went into Asia to informe Pompey of all this matter. Cato on the other fide, was greatly effected for his doings, for that he had freed the common wealth from the great trouble of fuch a foolish Tribune, and by ouerthrowing Metellus, he had also suppresfed the power of Pompey. But yet he was much more commended, when he was against the Senate, who would have noted Metellus of infamie, and deprined him of his office, the which he would not fuffer them to do. The common people thought him of a courteous and gentle nature, because he would not tread his enemie vinder his foote, when he had the vpper band of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wife men judged it otherwise, that it was wisely done of him not to prouoke Pompey. About this time returned Lucullus from the warve, of the which it feemed that Pompey had taken the honor and glory from him for the ending of it, and was likely also to have bene put from his honour of triumph, for that Cains Memmius was his aduerfary, who laid many accufations egainst him before the people, ratherto please Pompey, then for any malice else he had towards him. But Cato, both for that Lucullus was his brother in law, and had maried his owne fifter Servilia, as also for that he saw they did him wrong, refifted this Memmins, and defended many accufations against him. So that in the end, though Memmius had laboured that Cato should be deprived of his office, as from a tyrannical power, yet Cato copelled Memmius at the last to leaus off his accusations, & to prosecute law no more against him. Thus Lucullus having obtained honor of triumph, did embrace Catoes friend. ship more then before, taking him for a sure bulwarke and defence against the power of Pompey the great. But Pompey shortly after returning home again, with great honor from his conquests, trusting that for respect of his welcome he should be denied nothing at the peoples hands when he came home, sent before unto the Senate, to pray them for his sake to deferre the election of the Confuls, vntill hecame to Rome, that being present he might fauour Pises suite, suing to be Consul. Therunto the most part of the Senate gaue their consent, but cate on the other side was against it; not that the deferring of time was a matter of such importance, but to cut all hope fro Pompey to go about to attempt any new deuices: infomuch that he made the Senate change opinion againe, and Pompeys request was denied. Pompey being maruellously troubled withall, and perceining that Cato would be against him in all things, if he found not some deuice to win him, he fent for his friend Munatius, by his meanes to demand Catoes two necces of him which were mariable; y cldest for himself, & the yongest for his son. Others say also, that they were not his necces, but his own daughters. Munatius did Pompeys meffage, and brake the matter vnto him, his wife, and his fifters, who maruelloufly defired Pompeys alliance, for the greatnes & dignity of his person. But Cato making no further delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleased with the motion, answered him presently: Munatius, go thy way vnto Pompey againe, and tell him that Jethalliance Cato is not to be won by women, though otherwise I mislike not of his friendship : and withall, that folong as he shall deale vprightly in all causes, and none otherwise, he shall find him more affuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage; and yet, that to fatisfie Pompeyes pleafure and will against his country, he will neuer give him such pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his answer and refusall, saying, it was too stately and vncourteous. But afterwards it chanced, that Pompey fuing to have one of his friends made Confull, he fent a great fumme of money to bribe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, and spoken of, because the mony was told in Pompeys owne garden. Then did Catotell the women of his house, that if he had now bene bound by alliance of mariage vnto Pompey, he should then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of Pompeys shamefull acts. When they heard what he

had told them, they all confessed then that he was wifer to refuse such alliance, then they were

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that wished and defired it. And yet, if men should judge of wisedome, by the successe and enent of things. I must needs fay, that Cato was in great fault for refusing of his alliance. For therby he was the cause of Pompeys matching with Casar, which iouncd both their powers together, was the whole destruction of the Empire of Rome: whereas peraduenture it had not fallen out so. if Cato fearing Pompeys light faults, had not caused him by increasing his power with another, to commit farre greater faults. Howbeit those things were yet to come. Furthermore, Pompey being at iarre with Lucullus, touched certaine ordinances which he had made in the Realme of Pontys, because both the one and the other would have their ordinances to take place, Cato favoured Lucullus, who had open wrong. Pompey therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, took part with the people, and put forth the law for deniding of the lands Les Arreamongst the fouldiers. But Cato floutly resisting that law againe, he put it by, and made Pompey via thereby in a ragero acquaint himselfe with Publius Clodius, the most seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes; and befides that, made alliance even at that time with Cofar, whereof Cato himselfe was the onely author. Casar returning out of Spain B from his Prætorship, required the honour of triumph, and withall made fuite to be Confull. But being a law to the contrarie, that they that fued to be Confuls should be present themselves in the city, and such also as desired the honour of triumph, should be without the citie, he carneftly required the Senate, that he might fue for the Confulship by his friends. The most part of the Senat were willing vnto it, but Cato was flatly against it. He perceiuing that the other Senators were willing to gratifie Cefar, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole day in his Oration, and by this policy preuented the Senate, that they could not conclude any thing. Then Cafar letting fall his triumph, made fuite to be Confull, and entring the city, loyned friendship with Pom- The alliance pey. Hereupon he was chosen Consult, and immediatly after maried his daughter Iulia vnto hip betwas Pompey: and so having made in maner a conspiracie against the commonwealth betweene Casar and themselves, Casar preferred the law Agraria, for distributing the lands vnto the citizens, and Pemper. Pompey was present to maintaine the publication thereof. Lucullus and Cicero on the other side taking part with Bibulus the other Conful, did what they could againft it, but specially Catowho fearing much this alliance of C.e far and Pompey, that it was a pactand conspiracie to ouer throw the commonwealth, said, that he cared not so much for this law Agraria, as he feared the reward they looked for, who by fuch meanes did intice and please the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people befides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his part, maruelling much, and also being offended with Cafars great vnrcafonablenesse and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Confulfhip did preferre such things, as the most feditionsest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to do, to currie fauour with the people, and by fuch vile meanes fought to make them at his commandement. Wherefore, Cafar and his friends fearing fo great enemies, fell to open force. Forto begin withall, as the Confull Bibulus was going to the market place, there was a basket of dung powred vpon his head: and furthermore, the Officers rods were broken in their hands, which they caried before him. In fine, darts were throwne at them out of cuery corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driven to flie, and leave the market place. But Cato, he came last of all, keeping his wonted place, and often cast backe his head, and curfed fuch citizens. So, they did not onely paffe this law Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate should be sworne to stablish that m law , and be bound to defend the same (if any attempted the alteration thereof) upon great penalties and fines to be fet on his head, that should refuse the oath. All the other Senatours fware against their wils, remembring the example of the mischiefe that chanced vnto the old Metellus, who was banished out of ITALY, because he would not sweare to such a like law. Whereupon, the women that were in Catoes house, belought him with the teares in their eyes, that he would yeeld and take the oath: and so did also dinerse of his friends besides. Howbeit, he that most inforced and brought Cato to sweare, was Cicero the Orator: who perswa- cicero by his ded him, that peraduenture he would be thought vnreasonable, that being but one man, Oration he should seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and praye tathat it were a fond part of him wilfully to put himselfe in so great a danger, thinking to hinder a matter already past remedy. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconuenience would happen, if he forfooke his countrey (for whose sake he did all these things) and left it a prey,

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vnto them which fought the vtter subuersion of the same, as if he were glad to be rid from the trouble of defending the common-wealth. For (faid he) though Cate have no neede of Rome, yet Rome had neede of Cato, and so have all his friends: of the which, Cicero faid, he was the chiefe, and was most maliced of Publius Clodius the Tribune, who fought to drine him out of the countrey. It is faid that Cato being wonne by these like words and perswasions at home. and openly in the market place, they fo foftned him, that he came to take his oath last of all men, but one Phaonius, a very friend of his. Cafars heart being then life vp, for that he had brought his first purpose to passe he began now to preferre another law, to devide all CAMPA. NIA, and the countrey called TERRA DI LAVORO (the land of labour) vnto the poore needy people of Rome, and no man stood against him but Cato. Whereupon Casar made his officers to take him from the pulpit for Orations, to carie him to prison. All this made not Cato Stoupe. nor leaue his francke speech, but as he went he still spake against this edict, and perswaded the people to beware of them that preferred such lawes. All the Senate, and the best fort of citizens, followed Cato with heavie hearts, shewing by their filence that they were offended and angrie for the iniurie they did vnto him, being fo worthy aman. In fo much as Cafars felfe perceiued that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition and stomacke, he looked alwayes when Cato would have appealed vnto the people. So when he faw that Cato meant no fuch matter, at length ouercome with shame and dishonour, he himselfe precured one of the Tribunes to take Cato from the Sergeants. In fine, all Cafars practife tended to this end, that when he had wonne the peoples fanour by fuch lawes, they should then grant him the gouernment of all the GAVLES (as well on this fide, as beyond the mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an armie of four legions, for the space of fine yeares; not with standing that Cato told the people before, that they themselves with their own voyces did set up a tyrant, that one day would cut their throats. They did also chuse Publius Clodius Tribune of the people, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrarie to the law. But this Clodius had promifed them, fo that they would helpe him to banish Cicero out of Rome, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made Calpharnius Pifo (Cafars wines father) and Gabinius Pauliss (a man wholly at Pompeys commandement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Confuls the next yeare following. Now notwith francing they had the rule of the commonwelth in their owne hands, and that they had wonne part of the citie with bribes, and the other part also with feare, yet they were both afraid of cate, when they considered what trouble they had to ouercome him; which they did very hardly not with standing, and to their great shame, being driuen to vse force, and yet thought they should neuer haue done. Furthermore, Clodius vtterly despaired that he could possibly banish Cicero, so long as Cato was there. So denisting waies how to do it, when he had taken possession of his office, he fent for Cato, and began to tell him, that he thought him the honestest and instest man of Rome, and that he was ready to performe itto him by deed. For, where many made fuite vnto him to be fent into Cyprvs, to make warre with king Ptolomy, he thought none so worthie as himselfe, and therefore for the good will he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleasure. Cato straight cried out with open mouth, that this was a denice to entrap him, not to pleasure him. Then Clodius proudly and fiercely answered him, Well, seeing thou wilt not go with good will, thou shalt go then against thy will; and so he did. For at the first assembly of the citie, he caused the people to grant his commission for his journey thither: but they neither appointed him ships, nor souldiers, nor any ministers to go with him, saving two Secretaries onely, of the which the one of them was a very villaine and arrent theefe, and the other one of Clodins followers. Befides all this, as if they had appointed him but little to do in Cyprvs against Ptolomy, he made them command him after that, to go and restore the outlawes and banished men of the citie of BIZANTIVM, vnto their countrey and goods againe, of purpose only to keepe Cato sarre inough from Rome, whilest he continued Tribune, Cato being driven by necessitie to obey, he counselled Cicero (whom Clodius pursued) to beware that he made no stirre against him, for seare of bringing Rome into civil warre and murther for his fake: but rather, to absent himselfe, that he might another time preserue his countrey. After that, he sent his friend Canidius before into Cy-PRVs, vnto Ptolomy, to perswade him to be quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he should neither lacke honour nor riches, for the Romaines would grant him the Priesthood of Venus in the citie of Paphos. Cato in the meane time remained in the Ile of Rhodes, preparing

preparing himselfethere, and abiding his answer. In the time of these stirres, Prolonie king of Prolonie ÆGYPT, for a certaine offence and differd with his fibiects, departing out of ALEXANDRIA, ling of AE-EGYPT, for a certaine onence and dieord with his molecus, departing out of Alexandria, agent failed towards Rome, hoping that Cafar and Pompey with a great armie would reftore him to Tomo Cato. his Crowne and kingdome againe. He being defirous to see Cato, sent vnto him, supposing he would come at his fending for. Cato by chance was occupied at that time about some busineffe, and bad the meffenger will Ptolomie to come to him, if he would fee him. So when Ptolomie came, he neither went to meete him, nor rose vp vnto him, but onely welcomed him, and bad him fit downe. It amazed the king at the first, to see under so simple and meane atraine, such a statelinesse and maiestie in Catoes behauiour. But he heard him boldly talke with him of his affaires, and fuch grave talke come from him, reproving his folly he had committed, to forfake fuch princely pleasure and wealth, to go and subject himselfe vnto such dishonour, such extreame paines, and such passing great gifts and presents, as he should throwaway, to latisfie the concronfuesse of the rulers at Rome, the which was so vnsatiable, that if all the Realme of AGYPT were converted into filver to give among them, it would fearce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to returne backe with his nauie, and to reconcile himselfe againe with his subjects, offering himselfe also go with him, to helpe to make this peace. Then Ptolomie comming to himselfe, and repenting him of his folly. knowing that Cato told him truly, and wifely, he determined to follow his counfell, had not his friends turned his mind to the contrary. So when Ptolomie came to Rome, and was driuen to waite at the gates of the Magistrates that were in authoritie, he fighed then, and repented his folly, for that he had not onely despised the counsell of a wise man, but rather the Oracle of agod. Furthermore, the other Piolomie that was in Cyprys (a happy turne for Cato) poisoned himselse. Cato being also informed that he left a wonderfull summe of mony behind him, he determined to go himselfe vnto Byzantivm, and sent his nephew Brutus into Cyprvs, because hedurst not trust Canidius so farre. Then having restored the banished men vnto the peoples fauour againe, fetting agreement betwixt them, he returned into Cyprvs. There he found Caterdillia maruellous great treasure, and plate both of gold and silver, tables, precious stones, hangings, gence about and purple filkes, all the which he was to make ready money of. There he tooke great care and Coprus. paines to raife all things to the vtmost and dearest prices that could be, and he himselfe was presentatall, to keepe the reckening of the last penny. Wherefore, to bring this to passe, he would not fland to the common vse of the fale of the crier, but suspected them all, both criers, praifers, and his owne friends, and therefore talked himfelfe with the praifers, and made them fet high prifes vpon euery thing that was to be fold. And thus were the most part of their goods foldand cariet away, at the dearest prises. This did maruellously offend the most part of his friends, when they faw that he did mistrust them: but Munatius specially, his dearest friend, The ensie tooke it so inwardly, that he thought neuer to be friends with him againe. Infomuch as in between Cathe booke Cafar wrote against Cato, in this place he forceth most the accusation against him. Munatius notwithstanding writeth, that he was not angry so much with Cato for that he mistrusted him, but for a certaine disdaine he had himselfe of Cato, and for the emulation betwixt him, and Canidius. For Munatius wrote a booke of Catoes deeds and fayings, whom Thraseas in his history chiefly followed. In this booke he sheweth that he came late into Cyprvs, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore also, that when he would have come into Catoes house, they kept him out of the gates, for that Cato was busie, doing something with Canidius. He modefly complaining of it vnto Cato, had this churlish answer: Ouermuch loue (faith Theophrastus) oftentimes causeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who over louing me, doest thinke that love often-I efteeme thee not as thou deferueft, and therefore art angry with me. And for Canidius, I must imescantell thee truly, Ido rather employ him for his skil and faithfulnesse in things, then any man else, stib hate. for that he hartbeene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer bribed, but cleane handed still. These words Cato told Munatius secretly betweene them two, but afterwards he knew that he had also reported them vinto Canidius. When he saw that, he would no more go and fup with Cato as he was wont; and when he was also called to counfell, he would not come there neither. Wherefore Cato threatned him, that he would feize vpon all his goods and cariage, as they vse to handle them that are disobedient vnto instice. This notwithstanding, Munatius cared not for it, buttooke sea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing Cato grudge a long time. Then Martia, being at that time Catoes wife, spake with him,

ued into Rome with great honor

and were both bidden to supper together vnto a friend of theirs called Barca. Thereupon Cata also arrived, and came thither when they were all set at supper, and asked where he should sit Barca told him againe, where it pleased him. Then casting his eyes about, he said, he would sit by Munatius: and so fetching a compasse about the boord, he went and sate by him, but offered him no friendship and familiarity al supper time. Afterwards notwithstanding, at the request of Martia, that was earnestly in hand with Cato for him, he wrote vnto him, and willed him to come and speake with him. Munatius went to Catoes house in the morning, where Martia stayed him. and kept him company, vntill all the rest that came to salute Cato were departed. Then Cato comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made very much of him. We have the willinglier dilated this matter at length, because mens natures and maners might be discerned euen in these small matters of friendship prinatly, as otherwise in the greatest publike causes. Now touching Catoes commission, he got together little lesse then seuen thousand silver talents. Furthermore. Money got fearing the farnesse of the journey he had togo by sea, he made divers little coffers, and pur into every one of them two talents, and five hundred Drachmaes, and tied vnto each of them along rope, and a great peece of corke; because that if the shippe should fortune to miscaric, those corkes might shew where the chests with money lay in the bottome of the sea. Thus was all the money faued, fauing a litle, and brought fafely to Rome. Cato having made two bookes, wherein he had noted all things done in his journy, he could neither fauethe one nor the other of them. For one of his bondmen made free, called Philargyrus, tooke the one away; who taking ship at the hauen of CENCHRBES, was himselfe drowned, and the booke he had also, lost with him. The other book which he himself had kept vntil he came to Cor Fov, he lying in the market place of the citie in his tents which he caused to be set vp; the mariners being very cold in the night, made so great a fire, that it burnt the tents, stuffe, booke and all. Notwithstanding, he brought certaine of the late king Ptolomies flaues with him, who while he lived, had the charge and custodic of all his treasure and riches, the which he brought as witnesses to stop the mouthes of his malicious enemies, that would have accused him in any thing. But yet the losse of the did grieue him, not so much for the great care and paines he had taken in setting downe the account of his charge, for the inftification and proofe of his fidelity and good feruice; but also for that they might have ferued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to have bene a like careful in their charge, as himself. But the gods denied him this good hap. Newes being brought that he was come to Rome by water; when they understood that he was at hand, by and by althe Magistrates, the Priests, the Senate, and the most part of the people also went out to meete him by the rivers fide: so that both fides of the river of Tyber were full of people, and the receiving of him in, seemed not inferour to the entry of a triumph. Notwithstanding, some thought him very prefumptuous, that the Confuls and Prætors comming out to meet him, he did not stay his gally, but rowed still vpthe streame(being in a kings gally of fixe oares to euery banke) and neucr frayed, untill all his fleete arrived in the hauen. This notwith standing, when the coffers with money were caried through the market place into the treasure chamber, the people wondered to see so great a quantitie of it. And thereupon the Senate being assembled, with great and honourable words they gaue Cato an extraordinary Prætorship, and priviledge also, at any common sports to weare a purple gowne. Cato refused all these honours, and only befought the Senate to make Nicias a freeman, Steward of the late deceassed king Ptolomy, being a witnesse of his faith & great paines he had taken in this service. Philip the father of Martia, was that yeare Confull, so that after a fort, the authoritie of the Conful was in Cato: because Lentulus, colleague and fellow Confull with Philip, did no leffe reuerence Cato for his vertues, then Philip did for his alliance with him. Furthermore, when Cicero was restored againe from his banishment, the which Publius Clodius (being then Tribune of the people) had put vpon him, and being againe growne to great credite, he went one day into the Capitoll, in the absence of Clodius, by force to take away the tables which Clodius had confecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being affembled, Clodius did accuse Cicero of this violent fact. Cicero answered him againe, that because Clodius was chosen Tribune, directly against the law, therefore all his doings were voide, and of no validitie. Then stood vp Cato, and said, he knew that all that which Clodius did when he was Tribune, was feantly good and allowable; but yet if generally any man should vndo all that he had passed by that authoritie, then all that he himselfe had done likewise in Cyprys,

must of necessitie de renoked. For the commission that was granted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many things) should be valuawfull: becaute the Tribune also that did grant it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that Publius Clodius was not made Tribune against the law, who by confent of the law was taken out from a noble house, and made a popular perfonthowbeit, if he had behaued himfelte vidurifully in his office, as other men that hapiy had offended, then he was to be accused to make him mend his fault, and not to destroy the authoritie of the officer, which in it felf was lawfull. After that, there fell misliking betwixt Cicero and Gue, for this counterbuffe he had given him: and Cicero continued a long time after, before he did shew him any countenance of friendship as he had at other times done. But afterwards they were reconciled together againe, by this occasion. Pempey and Crassus having bene with Casar to talke with him (who for that purpose came out of GAVIE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demand the second Confulship together, and when they had it, then to proroge Gafars gouernment for five yeares more; and also they would have the best provinces and greatest for themselves, with great armies, and money inough to pay them with. This was indeed a plaine conspiracie to denide the Empire of Rome between them, and viterly to ouerthrow the state of the commonwealth. At that time there were many Noble men. which came to make fuite for the Confulship. But when they saw Pompey and Crassus offer to make fuite for it, all the rest gaue over, but Lucius Domitius that had maried Porcia, Catoes fister: through whose perswasion he would not replenish his suite, considering that it was not the office onely of the Confulfhip that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the libertic of the Senate & people. Straight there ran a rumor through the most part of the people, that they were not to fuffer Pompeys power to be joyned with Craffus, by meanes of his office: for then his authoritie would be too great and strong, and therefore, that of necessitie one of these two were to be denied. For this cause therefore, the good men tooke Domitius part, and did encourage him rogo on with his fuire, affuring him of aide underhand of diuerfe, which durft not be seene openly for feare of those two great men, who at the day of the election wold procure him voices in his fauour. Pompey and Crassus wistrusting this, made Domitius be set vpon, going with torchlight before day into the field of Mars, where the election was alwayes made: and first striking the torch bearer that went before him, they hurt him fo fore, that he fell down dead at his feete. Then they laid at the rest in like case, who finding themselves cruelly hurt, ran away every man of them, and left Domitius and Cate post alone. But Cate notwithstanding he was hurr in one of his armes, stil held Damitius fast, and prayed him to tary, and not to leave to defend the liberty of their countrey, against tyrants, which plainly shewed after what manner they would gouerne, fith by fuch wicked meanes they aspired to tyrannicall gouernment. All this not with standing, Domitius would tary no longer, but betooke him to his legs, and ranne home. Thus were Craffusand Pompey without deniall proclaimed Confuls. Cato neuer yeelded therfore, but came and fued to be Prætor, because that thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenance to him against their Consulship, that being no private person, he should have some better authoritie to refift them that were the chiefest persons. But they fearing, that the Pratorship by Frator. the estimation of Cate, would come to equal their authoritie of the Consulship, first assembled the Senate (the most part of the Senators not hearing of it,) and in that assembly caused the Senate to decree: that all fuch as were chosen Prætors, should presently go to their charge, not attending the time and liberty appointed by the law, during which time men might accure those which had bought the voices of the people with money. Then having by this colour and decree set ill doers at libertie, without seare of punishment, they pretended to vie corruption, did preferre some of their owne ministers to make suite for the Prætorship, themselves giving money to corrupt the people, and being presentalso at the election. But not with standing all these practises, the vertue and reputation of Gato ouercame them. For the people had him in so great reverence, that they thought it too shamefull a part to sell Cata by voyces, who deserued rather to be hired to take the Prætorship vpon him. Then the first Tribe being called to give their voyces, declared him Prætor. Pompey feeing that, straight brake off the assembly, making a shamefull lie, telling that he had heard it thunder: the which the ROMAINES do maruellously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thundreth. Howbeit afterwards catoful hy they gaue more money then they had done before, and thereby draue away the chiefest men the Prator out of the sield of Mars; and by practife obtained, that Vatinius was chosen Prætor for Cato.

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And the report went, that they that had fo wickedly given their voyces, feeling thefelues pricked in conscience, fled immediatly out of the field: and the honest men that remained, were both very fory and angry, for the injurie they had offered Cato. At that time one of the Tribunes keeping an affembly of the citie, Cato flood vp, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all what would happen to the commonwealth by these practisers, and stirred up the people against Pompey and C. elar, faying that they were guiltie of those things, and therefore procured them to be done, because they were afraid that if Cato had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly have fifted out their deuices. In fine, Cate going home to his house, had more company to waite voon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had beene chosen. When Caius Trebonius, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the deuiding of the provinces vnto the new Confuls, SPAINR and Africk E vnto the one, and Algypt and Syria vnto the other, with full power to make warre as they thought good both by fea and land; all other men having no hope to keep it back. did let it alone, and ipake nothing to contrarieit. Then Cato getting vp into the pulpit for Orations, before the people began to give their voices, could hardly have two houres space to speak. propines of but at length, they perceiving, that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would fuffer Pomper & him to speake no longer, but sent a Sergeant to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpir. But when he was beneath, and cried out notwithstanding, and diverse gave goodcare vnto him: the Sergeant went to him againe, and tooke him, and caried him out of the market place. Howbeit the officer had no fooner left him, but he went straight towards the pulpit for Orations. and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to have an eye to aide the libertic of their common-wealth, which went to ruine. When he often times together did this, Trebonius the Tribune being mad withall, commanded his Sergeant to carie him to prifora The people followed him hard notwithstanding, to heare what he said vnto them. Whereupon Trebonius fearing some stirre, was forced to command his Sergeant to let Catogo, So Cato draue offall that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithstanding, the contraricfaction having partly put the ROMAINES in feare, and womethe other part allo by faire words and money, and by force of armes likewife kept Aquilius, one of the Tribunes, from coming out of the Senate, and after they had also violently driven Cato out of the market place, for faying that it thundred : and having hurt many men, and also slaine some out of hand in the market place, in the end they forcibly passed the decree by voices of the people. Many being offended therewith, a company of them went together to plucke downe Pompeyes images: but Cate would not fuffer them. And afterwards also, when they preferred another law for the prorogation of the provinces & armies which Cafar demanded, Cato would speake no more to the people to hinder it, but protested vnto Pompey himselfe, that he saw not how he plucked Cafar vpon him, and that he should feele the weight of his force before he looked for it; and then when he could neither fuffer nor remedie it, he would even cast his burthen and himselfe vpon the common-wealth, and too late would remember Catoes warnings, which were prinarly as profitable for Pompey, as openly iust and reasonable for the common-wealth. Cato vsed many of these perfwasions fundrie times vnto him, but Pompey neuer made account of them: for he would not be perswaded that Casar would ever change in that fort, and besides he trusted too much to his owne power and prosperitie. Furthermore, Cato was chosen Prator for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he ministred instice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maiestie and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go on foot bare-legged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, and there giue sentence of life and death, otherwhiles on men of great account. And fome report, that he would give audience when he had dined, and drunke wine: but this is vntrue. Now Cato perceiuing that the citizens of Rome were marred by bribes and gifts of those which aspired vnto offices, and that the people made an art and faculty to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common-wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a law, that fuch as hereafter should be chosen Consuls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer themselues before the Judges, and taking their oath, should truly declare what meanes they had vsed to attaine to their office. This offended the suiters for the for many. offices, but much more the mercenarie multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, & all cried out vpon him, reuiled him, & threw stones at him infomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, and himselfe also was

driven out of the place by the prease of the people, and had much ado to get to the pulpit for Orations, where standing on his fecte, he presently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldneffe and constance of his countenance onely. Then when all was pacified by the present perfwafions he vied, aprly spoken to purpose for the instant, they giving attentive care, without flir or vprore; the Senate giving him great commendation therefore, he told them roundly and plainly: but I have no cause to praise you, to leave a Prætor in such danger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the fuiters for the offices, they werein a maruellous case: for one way, they were afraid to give mony to buy the peoples voices; and on the other fide, they were afraid also if any other did it, that they should go without their suite. So they were all agreed together; cuery man to put downe twelve Myriades and a halfe a peece, and then they should make their fuite inftly and vprightly: and who focuer were taken faultie, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had layed downe. This agreement being concluded betweene them, they chofe Cato (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in Catoes house, where they all did put in caution or fureties to answer the money: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, Cate affilting the Tribunes that gouerned the election, and carefully marking how they did give their voices, he spied one of the suiters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the rest: But they greatly commending his instice and integritie, forgane the forseiture, thinking it punishment enough vnto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by Cato. But thereby Cato procured himself the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he feemed therein to take vpon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honour and credite doth procure more enuic then inflice doth, because the people do commonly respect and retierence The power that more then any other. For they do not honour them as they do valiant men, nor haue them of suffice. in admiration as they do wife men, but they love and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are afraid of, and the other they diffruit : befide, they suppose that valiancie and wifedome commeth rather by the benefite of nature then of our intent & choise, esteeming wisedome as a readinesse of conceir; and fortitude, a presence and courage of the mind. For energy man may be just that will, and therefore injustice is of all other vices most shamefull; for it is a wilfulland malicious default, and therefore cannot be excused. Lo, this was the cause why all the Noblemen in manner were against Cato, as though he onely had ouercome them. Pompey thought that the estimation of Cato was altogether the discountenance of his power and greatnesse, and therefore did dayly rife vp many railers against him. Of them Publins Elodius that seditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in friendship with Pompey, he accused Cato, and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common-wealth of a wonderfull treasure by his commission in Cypros : and that he was enemie vnto Pompey, because he did refuse to marie his daughter. Caso thereto made answer, that he had brought more gold and filter out of Cyprys into the treasure of Rome, without the allowance of either horse or souldier, then Pompey had done with all his triumphs and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreouer, that he did neuer feeke alliance with Pompey, nor that he thought him vnworthy of it. but because he saw he dealt not as vprightly in the commonwealth as he himselfe did. I (said he) haue refused a province offered me when I came out of my Prætorship: but Pompey hath taken force by force, and given away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent Cafar not long fince, an armie of fixe thousand men to serue him in the warres of GAV LE: the which he neuer required of vs, nor Pompey granted them him by our consent. But we see, that so many armies, armours and weapons, so many men and horses by common pleasures of our private citizens, given and Icnt at our charge and Pompey himselfe reserving onely the name of Emperour, and Lieutenant generall, affigneth ouer his armies and provinces to the government of others, whilest he himselfe besiegeth here the walls of the citie, with seditions and tumultuous election of officers, craftily undermining thereby the state of the commonwealth, to bring all to confusion, that he himselfe might be absolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he reuenged of Pompey. Among Catoes friends, he had one called Marcus Faonius, fuch a one as Apollodorus PHALERIAN Was faid M Faonius to be in old time vnto Socrates, who did counterfeit to be another himselfe, in doing all things Catoes as he did. This man wold be farre out of reason, and passionate in his talke, storming like a drun- friend. kard. He one yeare made suite to be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit Caro that furthered

Cato doth Tet forth the plaies for AEdelis.

counse'l for

his fuite, marked, that the tables wherein the voyces were written, were all one hand. So he finding out the falshood, appealed thereupon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voide for that time. After that Faorius was created Ædilis, Cato did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, & specially in setting forth plaies in the Theater, which are accustomably done at the comming in of enery fuch new officer, to give the people pastime; and gave vnto the common players and dancers in those playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crownes of wilde olive twigges, as they comonly vie in GRECE at the Olympian games. And whereothers gaue vnto the poore rich gifts, he gaue the GRECIANS leckes, lettiles, radiffies, and peares. and vnto the Romains, they had earthen pots full of wine, porke, figges, cucumbers, and fagots of wood of small value. Insomuch as some thought scorne of them they were so meane.o. thers were very glad of them, feeing that Cato which was feuere and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by little and little they turned this aufteritie of his into pleasure. In fine, Faonius himfelfe fitting down amongst the people, which looked vpon the playes, clapped his hands for iov at Cato, and cried out to him, that he should give them good rewards that played well; alluring them also about him to do the like, and told them that he had made Cato the whole ruler of those sports. At the selfe same time, Curio, Facious colleague and companion in the office of Adilis, had likewife goodly playes in another Theater; but all the people for fooke his, and went to fee Faorius playes, who fate among them like a private man, and Calo as the mafter of the playes. Cato did this in fcorne and mockery of vaine charge and expences, which men are wont to beflow in fuch trifles, shewing thereby, that who focuer will make any playes, he should make the charge but a sport also, furnishing it only with a conucnient grace, but with no vaine expendeor charge about lucha trifle. Shortly after, when Scipio, Hypfeus and Milo, fued all three together to be Confuls, not onely by briberic of money (a common fault then in fuing for any of the offices in the commonwealth) but by plaine force of armes, flaying and killing as in a cinill ware. they were fo desperate and infolent : some preferred a law, that they should make Pompey Prefident in these elections, because men should move their suite after a lawful fort, But Cato straight was against it, saying that the law could have no safetic by Pompey, but Pompey might have safetic by the law. Notwithstanding, when he saw this trouble continue of a long time without any Confuls in Rome, and that daily there were three camps in the market place, that it was almost impossible to preuent the mischiefe at hand, and to stay that it should go no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne goodwils, rather then by compulfion, should put the government of the state into Pompeys hands alone, chusing the lesser cuill, to with stand the greater, and so to yeeld to the absolute government withour constraint, which the sedition would bring it vnto. Therefore Bibulus, Catoes friend and kinfman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would chuse Pompey sole Consult: For, said he, either the commonwealth shall be well gouerned by him, or elfe Rom & shall serve an ill Lord. Cate then rising vo, beyond all mens expectation confirmed Bibulus opinion, and faid, that the citie were better to have one foueraigne Magistrate then none, and that he hoped Pompey could give present order for the pacifying of this confusion, and that he would be carefull to preserve the citie, when he saw that they trusted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was Pompey by Catoes meanes chosen fole Confull. Then he fent for Cato to come to his gardens to him, which were in the suburbes of the citic.Caated fole to went thither, and was received with as great honour and courtefic of Pompey as could be devifed:& in the end, after he had given him great thanks for the honors he had done him, he prayed him to affoord him his aduice and counfell in his government. Cato answered him thus: That he had not spoken any thing before that time in respect of any ill wil he bare him, neither that he deliuered this last opinion of his in respect of his friendship, but wholly for the commonwealths fake: howbeit otherwise, that for his owne private affaires, if he thought good to vse his advice, whenfoeuer it pleafed him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the best he could. But for common causes, that he would alwaies tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him; and in fine, he performed allhe faid. For, first of all, when Pompey did set gricuous penalties and new fines, vpon their heads which had bought the peoples voyces for money, Cato counfelled him to prouide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already pail. For, faid he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man should seeke to reforme the faults that are passand furthermore, if the punishments appointed were neuer then the offences committed, then they should do wrong vinto them that were already accused, to punish them by a new

law which they had not offended. Afterwards also, certaine men of good calling (Pompers friends) being accused, Cato perceiuing that Pompey grew remisse, and yeelded in many things, he fharply reproued and reformed him. Furthermore, where Pompey had by law taken away the praifes which were wont to be spoken of the offenders that were accused, he himselfe notwithstanding having written an Oration in the praise of Munatius Planeus, sentit vnto the Iudges, whilest his cause was a hearing. Cato being one of the Iudges at that time, stopped his eares with both his hands, and would not have it read. Wherefore Planeus refused him for one of his Judges, after his cause was pleaded vnto: howbeit he was condemned notwithstanding. To conclude, Cato was fuch a griefe and trouble vnto them that were accused, that they could not rell well how to deale with him. For once they durft not let him be any of their Judges, neither could they well also refuse him. For there were many that were condemned, which refusing Ca. to, feemed vnto others that they were guilty: and many also were shamefully reproued, becaule they would not accept Cato for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this fort at ROME, Cefar remained in GAVLE with his armie, where he made warres: neuerthelesse he wanne him friends still in Rome, by gifts and money, and made himselfe very strong. Now appeared Catoes predictions and forewarnings true vnto Pompey, and beganne to quicken his spirits which had slept so long, and made him then to consider of the danger, the which before he could not be perfuaded to beleeve. But perceiving his flacknesse and feare withall, doubting how to proceede: to preuent Cafars practiles, Cato determined to fue to be Confull, with intent either to make him leave his army, or elfe to find out the practife he intended. Catoescompetitors, they were both of them very honest men also, of the which Sulpitius full tore. had received great honour and preferment by Catoes credit and authority: in respect whereof file cases. many thought that it was feant honeftly done of Sulpitius, to shew himselfe so vnthankfull, as to fland against Cato in this suite. Howbeit, Cato neuer coplained ofti. matter, but said, that it was no maruell he would give place to no man in that, fith it was the greatest good happe that ever came vnto him. This not with flanding he perswaded the Senat to make a law, that from thenceforth, fuch as fued for any office, they should themselues be suiters to the people, and not preferre their fuite by others. This caused the people to be more offended with him then before because thereby he did not only take away their fingering of mony, which they got by their voices in elections; but tooke from them the meanes they had also to pleafure many, bringing them now into ponerty and contempt. He therefore having no face to flatter the people and to currie fauor with them, but rather sticking to his graue maner and modest life, then to seeke the dignity of a Confull by fuch meanes, made fuite himselfe in person, and would not suffer his friends to take the ordinary course which might win the peoples harts, wherupon he was put by his Confulship. This deniall was wont not only to have made y parties refused, very sorowfull, but their confulship. friends and kinfmen also greatly assumed a long time after. Howbeit Cato made no reckening of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his friends in the field of Mars, and after he had dined, walked againe in y market place, as his maner was, without shoots on his feet. & coat. Cicero blamed him much for that, because the comonwealth requiring then such a Con- cicero blafull as he, he had not carefully endeuoured himselfe by curtesie and gentle meanes to win the fanor of the people, neither would ever after make fuite for it, although at another time he fued to be Prætor. Thereunto Cato answered, that for the Prætorship he was not denyed it by the goodwill of the people, but rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Confuls, where there was no deceipt vied, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the people misliked: the which he thought were no wise mans part to change for any mans pleasure, nor yet by making the like suite againe to hazard the resusall. Furthermore, Casar making warre with very flour nations, and having with no small danger and travell subdued them: and having also set upon the Germaines with whom the Romaines were at peace, and also flaine three hundred thousand persons: his friends made suite that the people should do folemne facrifice to giue thanks vnto the gods. But Cato in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliuer Cafar into their hands whom he had injured, to receive such punishment as they thought good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be cast vpon him, that the city might be no partaker of it, fith they could not do with all. Neuertheleffe, said he, we are to do facrifices vnto the gods, to give them thankes, for that they turned not the revenge of the furie and rashnesse of the Captaine, vpon our poore souldiers which were inno fault, but

cefaisty-

Cafar re.

have pardoned the common wealth. Cafar being advertised thereof, wrote a letter vnto the Sea nate, containing many accusations against Cato. The letter being read, Cato rose, not as a man pur in a chafe with choler, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would fay) declared that y accusations which Casar heaped against him in his letters, were but prety mockes and fleights which he had gathered together, to make the people merrie withall. But on the other fide, when he began to vnrip his whole intents and practifes from the beginning, not as if he had bene his enemy, but rather a confederate with him in his cospiracie, declaring that they were not the Germains, nor the Gavles, which they were to be afraid of, but of himselfe, if they were wise: he therupon so offended the Senate, and made fuch stirreamong them, that Cafars friends repented them they had caused his letters to be read in the Senate, giving Cato thereby occasion justly to complaine of Cafar, and to alledge much good matter against him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate against Cafar, but this was faid onely, that it was good reason to let him have a successour. Then Cafars friends made fuite that Pompey should put away his army, and refigne up the provinces he kept. or else that they should compell Casar no more then him to do it. Then Cate opened his mouth. and faid, the thing was now come to passe, which he had ever told them of, and that C. sfar came to oppresse the common wealth, openly turning the armie against it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the fame. All this preuailed not, neither could be thereby win any thing of the Scnate, because the people favoured Casar, and would alwayes have him great; for the Senate did believe all that he faid but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that Casar had wonne the city of ARIMINYM, and was coming on with his army towards Rome. then every man looked your Cato, and the people and Pompey confessed, that he onely from the beginning had found out the marke Cafar shot at and had hit the white of his slie device. Then faid Cato vnto them, If you would have beleeved me, my Lords, and followed my counfell, you should not now have bene afraid of one man alone neither should you also have put your onely hope in one man. Pompey answered thereunto, that Caro indeed had guessed more truly, howbeit that he also had dealt more friendly. Thereupon Cato gaue counfell that the Senate should referre all ynto Pompeys order; for, faid he, they that can do great mischiest, know also how to helpe it. Pempey perceiuing that he had no armie conuenient about him to tarie Casars coming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint hearted he for sooke the citie. Cate being deestofolione termined to go with him, fent his younger fonne before vnto Munatius, which lay in the countrie of the Brytians, and tooke his eldest some with him. Now because he was to prouide a stay and gouernor of his house and daughters, he tooke Martia againe, which was left a widow and very rich, for that Hortensius dying made her his heire of all that he had. Therein Casar vpbraideth Cato much, reprouing his couetousnesse to marie for goods. For, said he, if he had need of a wife, why then did he before grant her vnto another? If he had no need of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Vnlesse she were before a baite vnto Hortenstw., to keepe her whilest she was young, that he might have her againe when she was rich. But against that me thinkes it is sufficient to recite these verses of Eurypides:

> Vnlikelihoods first I disprove. For why? what man can (ay. That ever feare made Hercules to turne his face away?

For I take it to be all one, to reproue Hercules cowardlinesse, and Catoes couetousnesse. But if his mariage be to be reproued, peraducture it is in another fort. For fo foone as he had maried Martia againe, he left his house and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed Pompey. But after that time, men report that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented and bewailed in his heart, the miserie and calamitie of his countrey, whether they had victory, or were our come. So having the province of Sicile allotted to him, he went vnto Syracvsa. There vnderstanding that Asinius Pollio was arrived at Messi-NA, with men of warre from his enemies, Cato fent vnto him, to know wherefore he came this ther, Pollio againe asked of him, who was the causer of all this warre. Againe, when Cato was aduertifed that Pompey had forfaken ITALIE, and that he lay in campe beyond the fea by the city of DYRRACHIVM, then he faid, he faw a maruellous great change & incertainty in the providence of the gods:that when Pompey did al things beyond reason, and out of course, he was inuincible, and now that he fought to preserve his countrey, he saw he lacked his former good happe. Now he knew he was strong enough at that time to drive Asinius Pollio out of Sicile if he woulds but because there came a greater aide vnto him, he would not plague that Iland with the misery of warre. Then after he had adulted the Syracys ans to take the fironger part, and to looke to their fafetic, he tooke the fea, and went towards Pompey. When he was come vnto him, he did al. cue har wayes counfell him to prolong the warre, hoping still of some treatic of peace; and would in no case they should come to fight any battell, where the weaker part should of necessitie be put to the fword by the stronger. Therefore he perswaded Pompey and the counsellers about him, to establish certaine lawes to this effect. That they should sacke no city in this warre, the which be- cateer. longed vnro the Empire of Rome: and also, that they should kill no citizen of Rome, but in Property furie of battell, when their fwords were in their hands. Thereby he wanne himselfe great ho- army. nour, and brought many mento take Pompeys part, by the lenitie and elemencie he vied vnto them that were taken. Thereupon Cato being fent into As 1 A, to aide them that had commission to presse shippes and men of warre, he tooke his fister Servilia with him, and the boy which Lucullus had by her for all the time of her widdowhood she had followed Cato, and thereby had worne out her ill name she had before, sith they saw she had so willingly given her self to follow him in his flying, and contented herfelfe with his straight manner of life. This notwithstan- why romding, Cafar did not let to shame her to Cato. Pompeys Captaines had no need of Cato any where per chambut at Rhopes. For he wannethe peoplethere with his courteous viage and perswasion, leamind for
mind for uing with them Servilia and her little fonne, and went from thence to Pompeys campe, who had the governleauied a great armie both by sea and land. There did Pompey most of all discouer his mind and intent. For first he meant to have given Catathe charge of the army by sea which were about intent. For first he meant to have given Cato the charge of the army by sea, which were aboue 500 ships of war, besides an infinite number of foists and pinnaces, and such small bottomes vnconcredibut fodainly confidering better of it (or possibly being informed by some of his friends, that all Catoes regard and counfel in matters of government was, to deliver Rome fro tyranny; and that if he had so great a charge vnder him, Cafar being once ouercome, he would also force Pompey to leave his army, and fo make him subject to the law) he changed his mind, notwithfranding he had already moued it to Cate, and leaving him, gave Bibulus the charge of al his army by sea. But Cato therefore shewed no lesse good will vnto Pompey then before. For it is reported, that in a certain skirmish & cossict before the city of Dyrrac entry M. Pompey encoraging his soldiers, & commanding euery Captain also to do the like in his quarter, the soldiers gaue but faint eare vnto them, and made no maner of shew of men whose hearts had bin any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when Cato after the all came & told them (as the time ferued) the reason of Philosophic, touching libertie, manhood, death and honor, and that with a vehement affection; and last of all, ending his oration, with calling vpon the gods, turning his speech vnto them, as if they had bene present to have seene how valiantly the souldiers fought for the liberty of their country they gaue fuch a lufty cry, and had fuch a braue conceit & vehement defire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, & so led the to battell, where they gaue fuch a cruell charge and fierce onset vpontheir enemics, that they ouerthrew them, & put them that day to flight. Howbeit Casars good fortune tooke the final cond of this victory from Pompey, by his ouer great feare and mistrust: who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victorie, as we have written more amply in his life. But when all the rest rejoyced that they had done fo noble an exploir, and made their vaunts of the great aduantage they had of their enemies, Cato to the contrary bewailed the calamity of his country, and lamented that curfed ambition which caused so many good and valiant citizens of one selfe citie, so to kill and murther one another. After this overthrow, Cafar taking his way into THESSALY, Pompey raised his campe to follow him, and leaving a great power at Dyrrachivm, of men, armour, munition, and friends, he gaue Cato the charge of them all, and fifteene enfignes of footmen besides. The which he did why Pomfor the feare and mistrust he had of him, being affared, that if by ill fortune he should lose the prospect. battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a truftier man then he: but on realisms. the other fide if he wan the victory, he doubted fore that he could not command as he would, where Cato was. There were also many other noblemen, as a man wold fay, cast away, & left as Dyrrachivm with Cato. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battellat Pharsalia being blowne abroad, Cato refolued with himselfe if Pompey were dead, that he would passe ouer all his men into ITALY, and then like a banished man would himselfealone wander as farre as he could from

the tyranny: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his armie together for

him, as long as he could. With this determination he passed oner the sea into the Ile of Correy,

Cato faueth life, from Pompeyes

Cato went

Tilles, be men which Beals the flinging of zime bathed and washed themfelues, laid them downein their bed to file and no-

neth with

where Pompeys armie by fealay. There Cato finding Cicero, he would have furrendred up his chargevntohim, as to a man of a greater dignitie, for that he had bene Confull, and Cato onely but Prætor. Howbeit Cicero would in no wife receiue it, but returned immediatly into ITALY. Cato then perceiving that Pompey the yonger (sonne vnto Pompey the Great) of a rash and haughtie minde, would have punished all them that went into ITALIE, and left the armie by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with Cicero: Cato reproued him privatly for it. so that he certainly faued Ciceroes life, and many other mo befides. Now Cato supposing that Pom. per the Great had faued himself in ÆGYPT or in AFRICK, he determined to take y seas, to meer him with all his men: but before he tooke ship he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. Cato being arrived in Africke, failing vp and down the coast there he met with Sextus, the yongest some of Pompey, who first told him, that his father was slaine in ÆGYPT: when the foldiers heard it, they took it very heavily, and not one of the after the death of Pompey the Great, would serue vnder any other Captaine then Cato. He thereupon being ashamed, and thinking it pitie also to leave so many noble and good men that had served so faithfully vnder him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to go, at their request he was contented to take charge of them, & went first into the city of CYRENES, where not many daies before, the citizens had shut the gates against Labienus. Being there, it was told him that Scipio, Pompeys father in law, was gotten vnto king Iuba, who had received him, and that Actius Varus, vnto whom Pompey had given the charge of the province of Africke, was in their company with an armic, and determined to go joyne with them. So he went by land in the winter time, and had gotten amaruellous number of affes together, to cary water and victuals, which followed him with a great number of carts befides, and of those men, which the Africans call Psilles, to wit, they that do heale the stinging of serpents, & do sucke out the poifon with their mouthes, and do furthermore charme and enchant the snakes, that they have no power to do hurt. He was feuen dayes together marching continually, and went on foote as a guide vnto his men, without helpe of horse or beast. From that day forth, on the which he vnderstood of the battell lost at Pharsalia, he neuer supped but sitting; * and added that vnto the rest of his forrow, that he neuer laid him downe, but when he went to bed for all night. Cato having paffed the winter in Libia, he brought his fouldiers into the field, which were about ten thousand persons. The affaires on their side had but hard successe, for the contention and variance betwixt Scipio and Varus, for the which they both flattered king Iuba, to win fauour: being a maruellous proud man for his greatnesse and riches; as he shewed the first time he spake with Cato. For when Cato came, he caused his owne chaire to be set betwint Scipio and Cato, to haue the honour to be in the midft. But Cato perceiuing it, tooke vp his ownechaire, and fet it on the other fide by Scipioto put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his enemy, and had written a shamefull booke against him. Many make no account of this fact of Cato, but reproue him, because that walking one day with Philastratus in Sicile, he gaue him the vpper hand, honoring him for his Philosophic. Thus Cato did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vsed Scipio and Varus as his noble men and subjects; howbeit Cate did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the company prayed him to take charge of the whole armie, and that Scipio himfelfe, and Varus both, did first give him place, and willingly refigned vnto him the honour to command the whole campe he answered them, he would not offend the law, fith he made warre onely to preserve the authoritie and priviledge thereof, neither would take you him to command all, himselfe being but Vicepretor, where there was Viceconfull prefent. For Scipio was created Proconfull, and furthermore, the people had a certaine confidence that their affaires would prosper the better, if they had but the time of a Scipio to leade them in Africk E. Now when Scipio was Generall over them, he would ftraight, for Iubaes fake, have put all the inhabitants of the citie of VTICA (without respect of age) vnto the fword, and have razed their houses to the ground, as those that had taken Casars part. Howbeit Cato would not suffer him, but protesting vnto them that were present, and calling the gods to witnesse in open councell, with great difficultie he saued the poore people, of Vrica from that cruell tragedie and flaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at Scipioes instance, Cato tooke vpon him to keepe the citie, fearing lest by treason, or against their wils it should come into Cofars hands; because it was aftrong place of situatio, & wel replenished with all things necessary for him that should keepe it. Cate did both furnish it, and also fortific it.

For he brought ingreat store of corne, he repaired the rampers of the wals, made great high towers, and cast deepe trenches round about the citie, paling them in and betwixt the trenches and the towne, he lodged all the young men of Vrica, and compelled them to deliuer vp their armour and weapon, and kept all the rest within the citie it selfe, carefully prouiding that neuer a man of them should be hurr by the Romain es, and besides, did also send corne, armour, munition and money vnto the campe: so that the citie of Vrica was the staple and store-house of the warres. Moreouer, as he had before counfelled Pompey not to come to battel, the like counfel he now gaue also vnto Scipio, not to hazard battell against a man of great skill & experience in wars, but to take time, whereby, by litle and litle, he should consume the power and strength of Casars tvranny. But Scipie was so stout, that he regarded not Catees counsell, but wrote otherwhile vnto him, twitting him with his cowardlinesse in this maner. That it was enough for him to be safe in Bille hear a good citic copassed about with wals, though otherwise he sought not to hinder men to be valiant, to execute any enterprise, as occasion was offered. Cato wrote againe vnto him, that he was ready to go into ITALY with his footmen and horsemen which he had brought into AFRICK to draw Cefar fro them, & to turne him against him. Scipio made but a sport at it. Then Cato shewed plainly, that he did repent him he had given him the preferment to be Generall of the army, because he saw he would but fondly prosecute this war; & also, that if he chanced to our come, he could not moderatly vie y victory against his countrimen. Then he began to mistrust the good fuccesse of this war (and so he told his friends) for the Generals hastinesse & vnskilfulnesse; and yetifbeyond expectation it fel out well, and that Casar were overthrown, he would never dwel at Rome any more, but would fliethe crueltie and bitternetic of Scipio, who even at that prefent time did proudly threaten many. But in the end, that fell out sooner then looked for. For a post came to him late that night, who but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was lost, in a great battel, by the citie of THAPSES, which Cofar had wonthat he had taken both campes; that Scipio and king Iuba were fled with a few men, and that all the rest of their army was flaine. These newes did put the citizens in such a feare and maze, (and specially being in the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could feant keepe themselues within the wals of their citie. But Cato meeting with them, flayed them that ran vp and downe crying in the streetes, and did comfort them the best he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare extremition from them, though he brought them againe vnto themselves from the extasse they were in declaring vnto them that the loffe was nothing fo great as it was made, and that it was a comon matter to enlarge fuch newes with words enough. By these persuasions, he somewhat pacified the tumultand vprore, and the next morning by breake of day he made a proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellers, should come and assemble in the temple of Iupiter, they all being citizens of Rome, which for trafficke of merchandize lay in A. FRICK, and all the ROMAINE Senators and their children also. Now whilst they gathred them. felues together, Cato himfelfe went very grauely with a fet modest countenance, as if no such matter had happened, having a litle booke in his hand, which he read as he went. This booke contained the store and preparation of munition he had made for this warre, as corne, armour, weapons, bowes, flings, and footmen. When they were all affembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulnesse of these three hundred ROMAINES, which had profitably Komaines ferued their country with their persons, mony, and counsell; and did counsell them not to depart as Prica. one from another, as men having no hope, or otherwife feeking to faue themselves scatteringly. For remaining together, Cafar would leffe despise them, if they would make war against him; and would also sooner pardon them, if they craued mercie of him. Therfore he counselled them to determine what they would do, and for his owne part, he faid he would not mislike what socuer they determined of: for if their minds followed their fortune, he would thinke this change to proceed of the necessitie of time; but if they were resolued to withstand their missortune, and to hazard themselves to defend their libertie, he then would not onely commend them, but hauing their noble courage in admiration, would himselfe be their chieferaine and companion, e- » uento proue the fortune of their country to the vttermost. The which was not VTICA nor A- >> DRVMETVM, but the city felfe of Rome: the which oftentimes through her great neffe had raifed herselfe from greater dangers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many wayes to saue >> themselues, and the greatest meane of all was this, that they should make war with a man, who by reason of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For Spaine of the one side was vp

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against him, and took part with the yonger Pompey and the city of Rome also not being vied to be bridled with the fnaffle of such insolencie, could not abide it, but would rather rise with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuse any danger, but to take example of their enemy:who to work his mischieuous intent, spareth not his perso in any danger. And contrarily alfo, that vnto them the incertaintic of the war, if victory followed, would make them happy; as also in being ouerthrowne, their death would turne to immortall glory. Notwithstanding, they were to think of the matter among themselves, and to make their prayers to the gods, that in recompence of their vertue and good feruice which they had flewed therunto, they would grant them grace to determine for the best. After Cato had ended his oration, there were divers of the that were stirred vp by his liuely perswasions, but the most part of them were incouraged by his constancy and noble mind, and also by his kindness so that they presently forgot the danger they were in, and praying him to command their persons, goods, & weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible captain, of whom fortune had no power, thinking it better to die obeying his counsel, then to saue theselues, forsaking so valiant & worthy a man. Then, when one of the affembly made a motion that they should make their bondmen free, and that divers also did confirme it, Cato said, he would by no meanes suffer it, because it was neither meete nor lawfull:howbeit if their mafters would manumiffe them, that he was contented to receive them for fouldiers that could weare any weapon. Divers promifed him to do it and Cato commanded their names should be enrolled that would, and so went his way. Immediatly after, letters were brought him from king Inba and Scipio: of the which king, Inba was hidden in a mountaine with few men with him, who fent vnto him to know whathe would determine to do. For if he means to forfake Vrica, he would tary him there: & if other wische determined to keepe Vrica, then that he would come & helpe him with an army. Scipio on the other fide riding at anker, at a point of the land not far fro Vrica, staid for the like answer. Then Cato thought it best to stay i mes. fengers which had brought him their letters, til he saw what was the determination of the 300. For all they that were Senators of Rome, were very glad men, & did prefetly make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other three hundred which were merchant venturers, and that lived by vsury and exchange, who had the most part of their goods in slaves and bondmen, did not long follow Catoes counsell, but like men, whose bodies soone receiue heate, & are foone cold again when they are once gone fro the fire:euen fothofe merchants, while Cato was present among them, had some good prety will & desire, but when by themselves they had cast their account, the feare they had of Cafar made them forget the reverence they bare vnto Cato. and vnto their duty. For, said they, what are we, and what is he whom we disdaine to obey. Is it not Cafar himselfe, who at this day is Lord and Emperor of Rome! Neuera one of vs is Scipio, Pompey, or Cato: and yet now, when all men for feare (and in maner compelled) do yeeld and fubmit themselucs, we wil needs take vpon vs within the wals of VTICA to fight for the libertic of Rome against him, for whom Cato flying with Pompey for fooke ITALY: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with Cafar, having no better liberty our selues then it pleaseth himto giue vs. Let vs therfore now know our selues whilest we have time, and crave mercy at his hands that is the stronger, and send vnto him to pray him to pardon vs. The greatest and wisest men of those three hundred merchants had this speech. But the most part of them sought means how to intrap the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at Cafars hand, if they did deliuer them vnto him. Cato did looke for this change in them, but yet vttered not that he thought, and returned the messengers backe againe vnto king Iuba and Scipio, and wrote vnto them, that they should bewarethey came not neare VTICA, because he did mistrust these three hundred merchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had scaped from the battell, who coming towards VTICA, fent three of their company vnto Cato, the which brought him not one selfe determination from all the company. For some of them meant to go vnto king Inba, others also to ioyne with Cato, and part of them were afraid to come into VTICA. These things being thus reported vnto Cato, he commanded Marcus Rubrius to take care of these three hundred men, and to receive the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumiffed, without compelling of any man. In the meane time Cato with all the Senators went out of VTICA to meet with these horsemen, and there he spake to the Captaines, and prayed them that they would not forfake fo many Noblemen & Senators of Rome as were there and that they would not have king Inha for their Captaine before Cato, but to come into VTICA, where they might faue themselves

the citie was of fuch strength, and besides, so wel armed and victualed for many yeares. The like request did the Senators also make vnto them, with the teares running down their cheeks. Therupon the Captaines went and spake with their souldiers. Cato in the meane time sate him downe on a litle hil, with the Senators, tarying for answer. But then on the sodain came Rubrius vnto him in great hast, complaying of the tumult of these three hudred merchants, which went about to make the city to rebell: wherupon the rest (their hearts failing them) fell to be waile their miserable fortune. But care fought to comfort them, and then fent vnto the three hundred merchants. to pray the to have a litle patience. So the Captains returned again with unreasonable demands of the horsmen. For they said, that they cared not for king Iubaes pay, neither were they asraid of Cafars malice, so that they had Cato for their Generall: yet to be pend vp within the wals of a city with Africans, that were Phobnicians, & a traiterous nation as could be, that grieued the most of all. For, said they, though now they stirre not, and be quiet, yet when Cafar comes, they will be the first that will be tray vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if Cato would have them to joyne with him in this war, that he should either kill or drive away all the VTICANS OUR of the citie, and then that they would come into it, when it was cleare of al those barbarous people their enemies. Cato thought this a cruell and barbarous condition, neuertheleffe he told them that he would talke with the threehundred; and so returning againe into Vrica, he spake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerence vnto Cato, diffembling no longer, faid openly, that they would not like of him what socuer he were, that should compel them to make war with Gelar, both because they would not, nor cold not do it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled to them clues, that the Senators, should be kept theretill Cafar came. Cate over-heard them, for indeed his hearing was not very quicke. At that very instant one came to him, and told him, that the horsemen were going their way. Cato therfore fearing lest these three hundred merchants would lay hands upon the Senators, he went unto them himfelf with his friends, and perceining they were gone a great way off, he tooke his horse and rode after them. They rejoycing to fee him come, received him among them, and prayed him to faue himself with them. But Cate prayed them againe to faue the Senators, and that with fuch affection, as it forced teares in him: be fides he held up his hands vnto them, took their horfes by the bridles, & themselves by their sorfer the weapons, that at the length he obtained of them, that they would remaine there one day at the least to helpe the Senators to saue themselves. So Cato returning with them into the citie, he appointed some of them to ward at the gates, and put others also in garrison into the castelliso that the three hundred merchants quaked for feare, left he would have bin revenged of them, because of their return with him. Therupon they fent vnto Cato, humbly to pray him to come vnto them in any case. But the Senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said, that they would not cast away their sauior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doubtlesse, all that were within VTICA plainly faw the vertue and simplicitie of Cato, and found that there was no fraud nor deceit in him: who having long time resoluted to kill himselfe, he onely tooke tief Cato. that extreme paines and care for others, that their lives being faued, he might then rid himself of his own. For men might easily see, though he diffembled it, that he was resolued to die. Whereupon having comforted the Senators, he yeelded vnto the requests of the 200. merchants, and went himselfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his comming, and prayed him to command them, and boldly to trust them: so that he would pard on them if they could not be all Catoes, and would take pitie of their faint hearts, though they were not so constant and noble mindedas he. For they were determined to fend vnto Cafar, specially to intreate him for him: and if that they could not obtaine pardon for him, then they were affured they could have none for themselves, and therefore would fight for the safetic of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. Cato thanking them for their good wils, answered, that they should send quickly to craue pardon for themselves, but to aske none for him. For (said he) men that be our come, and extreminal haue offended, it standeth them upon to make humble suite, and to craue pardon: but for himfelfe, he was never ouercome in his life, and yet had ouercome as much as he defired; and had alwayes bene better then Cafar in inftice, who only (not himfelfe) was now taken and our come: the thing being apparetly proued in fight against him, which he had alwaies denied to have practifed against his country. When he had made this answer vnto the three hundred merchats, he departed from them. Newes being brought that Cafar was in his way with all his army, coming towards Vrica: O gods, faid he, then he commeth against vs as against men. Then turning

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vnto the Senators, he gaue them counfell quickly to faue themselues, whilest the horsmen were yet in the citie. So shutting all the gates of the citie, saving that towards the hauen, he appointed Thips for them all, and fet eue, y thing at a ftay, without tumult or diforder, no man having injury offered him, and gaue every one money to make way for their fafetie. When Marcus Octavius (who came with two legions, and camped hard by VTICA) fent vnto Cato, to determine which of them two should be Generall, he made no answer, but turning to his friends, said: How can we wonder any more, that all goeth to wracke with vs. fith there is fuch ambition amongst vs for the government, even now, when we are at the last cast? In the meane time word was brought ambition of him, how the horfemen going their way were spoiling of the citizens goods, as a law full previn warre. He straight ran thither himselfe, and the first he met withall, he took from them that they had gotten: the rest, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, and hanging downe their heads for shame, they went their way, and said nothing. Then Cato calling all the citizens of VTICA together, prayed them not to incense nor moue C.esar against the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for them all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there embracing his friends, and taking his leaue of them all, he brought the to their fnips. Now for his fon, he did not counsel him to go, neither did he thinke it meet to vige him to for sake his father. Furthermore, there was one Statilius a yong man in his company, of a noble courage, that was determined to follow the inuincible constancie of Cato: who counselled him to take the sea. and to faile away with the reft, because he knew he was Cefars mortall enemy. Statilius faid, he would not go. Then Cato turning him vnto Apollonides a Stoick Philosopher, & vnto Demetrius a Peripatetick Philosopher, faid: You must take this stour you man, to perswade him to obey vnto necessitie. Case himself in the meane time sent away the rest, and did minister justice vnto them that required it, spending all that night and the next day about those matters. Then Lucius Casar. the kinfinan of Iulius Cafar the conqueror, being chosen by § three hundred, to go & make suite vero him for them all came and prayed Cato to help him to make his oration, which he shold say vnto Cafar for them all: and as for thee Cato, faid he, I will kiffe his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreat him for thee. Nay, faid Cato, thou shalt not do so. For if I would fauc my life by Cafars grace. I could do it, if I wold but go vnto him howbeit I wil not be bound to a tyrant for iniuftice. For it is an iniuftice in him, to take vpon him as a Lord & four raigne to faue far for him, a mans life, when himfelfe hath no authoritie to command. But yet let vs confider if thou wilr what thou shalt fay, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were awhile together confidering the matter; and in fine, Lucius Cafar being ready to depart, Cato recommended his son and friends vnto him, and embracing him, took his Icaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his fon and friends before him, and talking of many matters, among others he chargod his fonne in no case to meddle in the affaires of the commonwealth. For, said he, to deale yprightly like Catoes fon, the corruption of the time and state will not abide it; and contrarily, ob. feruing the time, thou canft not do like an honest man. Towards enening he went into his bath ser, of Habe to wash himselfe, and as he was bathing, thinking vpon Statilius, he cried out aloud: Well Apollonides, thou haft at length yet perswaded Statilins to go his way, and pulled down his stout courage he had : and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? How, gone, faid Apollonides? Nay, his heart is now more front & couragious then euer it was, not with franding all the perfwasions we could vie vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take fuch part as thou doeft. After he had bathed himfelf, he went to supper, and sate at his meate, as he had alwaies ysed after the battel of PHARSALIA, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed: and he had all his friends & the chiefe Magistrates of VTICA to supper with him. After supper they fell into graue talke, & matters of Philosophy, til at length they came vnto the strange opinio of the Stoicke Philosophers, which was this, that only § good man is free, & althe cuil be flaues. The Peripatetick Philosopher that was preset there, was straight against it. But Cato was very earnest against the Peripatetick & argued the matter a long time, with a vehement speech & contention in somuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid himselfe out of all thosetroubles. Butthen when he had ended his argument, and faw that every man held their peace, and looked dly on itito comfort them againe, and to put the suspicion of his death out of their heads, he began againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and seemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affraid lest some misfortune were come vnto them vpon the sea, or vnto them that were gone by land, because they passed through deserts, where there was no water to be had:

Now when supper was done, & the strangers gone, he walked as his maner was with his friends, and having taken order with the captaines of the watch for matters of service, as the time required, going into his chamber he embraced his fonne and his friends more louingly then he was wont to do, whereby he made them againe suspect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and laied in his bed, he tooke Platoes dialogue in hand, treating of the foule, and read the most part of it. Then looking by his beds side, and missing his sword, bene of the (which his fon had taken from him when he was at supper) he called one of the groomes of his faile. chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his fword away. His man made him no answer, and he fell againe to reade his booke. Then a prettie while after, not feeming to be importunate, or ouerhafty of the matter, but as though he would only know what became of it, he willed the to bring him his fword againe. They taried long, and he had read ouer all the booke, but yet his fivord was not brought him againe. Wherupon he called for all his men, one after another, and very angerly asked them his fword, and gaue one of them fuch a blow on the face, that his nose fella bleeding, and his hand was all bloudy withall; and cried out, that his fonne and his feruants would deliver him naked into the hands of his enemy; vntill his fon and his friends at length ran vnto him, and falling downe on their knees, lamented, and befought him to be contented. Cate then rifing out of his bed, looked grimly vpon them, and faid vnto them: O gods, who euer faw me in this taking? why doth no man by reason perswade me, if they see me out of the way, and not to keepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me : why doeft not thou (my fonne) bind thy fathers hands behind him, that when Cafar commeth, he may find me in case not to defend my selfe I do not defire my sword to hurt my selfe, for if I had any such mind, I need but hold my breath a litle, or give but a knocke of my head against the wall onely, and dispatch my selfe quickly. When he had faid thus, his sonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his friends also, no man remaining with Cato, but Demetrius and Apollonides, vnto whom he spake more gently, and reasoned in this fort: What do you thinke to keepe an old man as I amaliue by force? and haue you taried behind but to fit staring vpon me, and fay nothing vnto merif otherwise esse, by reason you come to perswade me, that it shall be no shame for Ca-thereshilds to (despairing of the safetie of his life) to seeke it by the grace and mercie of his enemie, why phers his then do you not now tell me your reasons to perswade me; that for saking all other fancies friends, and determinations which hitherunto we have holden for good, being on a fudden become wifer by Cafars meanes, we should be bound the more therefore to give him thankes? I do not tell you this, that I have determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I lift) to put the thing inexecution I have determined : but yet I will confult with you, when I am fo determined, to heare the reasons and opinions of your bookes, which your sclues do vse indiscourse and argument together. Go your way therefore hardily vnto my fon, and tell him that he must not thinke to compell his father vnto that which he cannot proue good vnto him by reason. After this talke, Demetrius and Appollonides being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his fword was brought him by a little boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and cato confe looked whether the point and edge of his fword was sharpe and would cut: when he saw it was dered his well: O, faid he, now am I where I would be, and fo laying downe the fword naked by him, he where with tooke his booke againe in his hand, and read it ouer (as they fay) twife together. Then he flept he littled fo foundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him snortagaine. About himselfe. midnighthe called for two of his freemen, Cleanthes his Phisitian, and Butas, whom he chiefly employed in his weightiest affaires of the commonwealth. So he sent him vnto the hauen, to see if all his men that were imbarked were vnder faile, & gaue his hand to the Phisitian to be bound vp, because it was swollen with the blow he gaue one of his slaues when he hit him on the face. All his feruants were glad to heare of that, hoping then that he defired to live. Soone after came Butas backe againe from the haven, and brought him word that all were gone but Craffus, who stayed about some businesse he had, and yet that he was going to take ship howbeit that the sea was very rough, and wind exceeding great, Cato hearing this, fighed, being forie for them that were vpon the sea: and sent Butas backe againe to the heauen, to see if any man came backe for any matter they had to fay vnto him. The litle birds began to chirpe, and Cato fell againe in a litle flumber. But thereupon But as returned, and brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, and there was no stirre. Then Cato bade him go his way, and shut too the doore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had meant to have flept out all the rest of the

night. Butas backe was no fooner turned, but Cato taking his naked fword in his hand, thrust in into his breaft: howbeit the swelling of his hand made the blow so weake, that it killed him nor presently, but drawing onto his latter end, he fell downe vpon his bed, and made such a noise with his fall(ouerthrowing a litle table of Geometrie hard by his bed) that his feruants hearing the noise, gauca great shreeke for feare. Thereupon his sonne and his friends ran into the chamber, and found him all of a goare bloud, and the most part of his bowels coming out of his body, him selfe being yet aliue and seeing them. They were all stricken with such forrow to behold it, that at the first they were so amazed, as they could not tell what to say to it. His Phisitio comming to him, he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not perifhed, and to fow up his wound. But Cato coming to himselfe, thrust backe the Phistion, and tore his bowels with his owne hands, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue up the ghost. Whereupon the three hundred Romaines (in leffe time then a man would have thought Catoe's owne hour. hold servants could have knowne of his death) were at his doores; and immediatly after all the people of Vrica also came thither, and with one voice called Cato their benefactor & fautour and faid, he only was a freeman, and had an innincible mind: and this was done, when they heard fay, that Cafar was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, neither feare of the present danger, nor the defire to flatter the conqueror, neither any prinat quarrell amongst themselves, could keepe them from honoring Catoes funerals. For sumptuously setting out his body, and honorably accompanying his funerals as might be, they buried him by the sea side, whereat this present time is to be seene his image, holding a sword in his hand. After that, they made their best way to same themselves and their city. Now C. of ar being advertised by them that came vnto him, how Cato stirred not from Vrica, nor fled not, but fent all others away, fauing himselfe and his son, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing, he could not deuise what he means by it. Therefore effecting Cato much, he made hast with all the speed he could with his army to comethither. But when he vnderstood that Cato had fleine himselfe, writers do report he faid Cefars far- thus: O Cato, I enuie thy death, fith thou hast enuied mine honor to faue thy life. For indeed, had Cate bene contented Cafar should have faued his life, he had not so much impaired his owne honour, as he had augmented Cafars glory. And yet what Cafar would have done, men make it doubtfull, fauing that they coniecture well of Cafars clemencie. Cate died when he was but eight and forty yeares old. For his fonne, Cefar neuer did him hurt; howbeit it is reported of him that he was very idlely given, and lascinious besides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in anoblemans house of the kings bloud, called Maphradates, who had a faire woman to his wife, he taried longer there then he might well with honeftie, wherupon he fell to be a laughing stocketo the people, and in mockerie they faid: Cato will go to morrow, a thirty daies hence. And further, that Maphradates and Porcins are two good friends, but they have but one mind: and the reason was, because Maphradates wife was called Pfyche, which in the Greeke fignifieth, mind : and Case is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind: howbeit his famous death did stop this infamous speech. For hevaliantly fighting against Augustus and Antonius at the battell of PHILIPPES, for the liberty of his country, their army being ouerthrown and fled, he would neither flie nor hide himselfe, but running in amongst his enemies, he made them know what he was by encoraging those of his side, which yet did defend themselves, till he was slain in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, Porcia the daughter of Cato, gaue no place vnto her father, neither for chastitic, nor greatnesse of mind. For she being maried vnto Brutus, who slue Cafar, was of the conspiracie, and slue her selfas couragiously as became the vertue and nobility of her bloud from whence she came, as we have more amply declared in the life of Brutus. Statilius alfo, who had faid, he would runne Catoes fortune (as we have told you before) was kept from kil-

The death of Percia, the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus. The death of Statilius.

The fonne

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ling of himselfe by the Philosophers, Demetrius and Apollonides. But after that time having shewed himselfe very faithfull and serviceable vnto Brutus in all his affaires, he was flaine in the field also at the battell of PHILIPPES.

The end of Catoes life.

AGIS

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.



Ruly the fable of Ixion was not ill deuised against ambitious persons, who imbracing a cloud for the goddeffe Iuno, begot (as it is faid) the of Ixion against amount of the fable of Ixion against amount of the image of vertue, do neuer any act that is good nor perfect: but being caried away with diverse fancies, and following others humors with define people they apply the proof of the people they are the people they are the people they are the people they are they are the people they are the fire to please the people, they may as the heardmen in the tragedy of Sophocles (speaking of their cattell) fay:

We waite upon their beafts, though we their masters be. And wherefocuer they become, there also follow we.

Such indeed are they compared to that gouerne common weales after peoples lust and fancy: who doubtleffe are as their feruants obedient at call, because they only may enjoy the glorious itle and name of an officer. For like as in a ship the mariners that stand in the prove, do better fee before them then the pilots that steere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwayes backe vnto them to fee what they command: euen fo, they that gouerne in the commonwealth for honors fake, are no better then honourable flaues of the people, having no more but thebare name of a gouernour. But indeed, the perfect good and honest man should never cover outward glory, but as a meane to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a young man that coueteth honour by vertue, give him Theephra. leave a little to glory in his well doing: for as Theophrastus saith, vertue buddeth and sourisheth saith, vertue buddeth and sourisheth in youth, and taketh fast roote by praises given, as wit and courage groweth in them. But ouermuch praife is dangerous in enery person, but chiefly in ambitions gouernours. For if they Immoderate be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperate parts; for they will not allow praise very that honour proceeds of vertue, but that honour is vertue it felfe. But indeed they should say as Phocion did vnto Antipater, that requested an vnlawfull matter of him: Thou canst not, said he, haue Phocion a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be faid vnto the people: you faying. cannot both have one, a master and a servant, that can command and obey together. Or else the mischiefe spoken of in the tale of the Dragon must needs happen, which was; The taile on a The sale of time fel out with the head, and complained, faying, it would another while go before, and would the Dragons notalwayes come behind. The head granted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing bead and taile. how to guide the head; and befides that, the head thereby was tormented every way, being compelled against nature to follow that part and member, which could neither heare nor see how to guide it. The like matter have we seene happe vnto many, which in the administration of the commonwealth, did feek to pleafe the humors of y multitude. For when they have once put their heads under their girdles to please the common people, which without cause and reason do soone rebell, they can by no possible meanes afterwards bridle their furic and insolencie. Plutarel Now the reason that made vs enter into discourse against the ambition and vaine glorie time Grands Yyy 4

amongst the people, was the consideration I had of their great power, remembring the missortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracebi: both of the which coming of a noble house, and having bin maruellous well brought vp, and managing also the affaires of the common wealth with a good defire, were not with standing in the end calt away: not fo much through conetous nessels of gloric. as for feare of dishonour, which came also of no base mind. For they having received great plea. fures and friendship of the people, were assumed to be indebted to them, and therefore earnestly fought to exceed the people in good wil, by new decrees & deuices, which they preferred for common benefit; and the people also for their parts contended to honor them the more, by how much they ftriued to flew themselues thankfull. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people to honour them, were fo vnwares entangled with publike causes, that they could no more follow the common proucibe, which saith:

Although our deeds diffent from equitie,

Yet can we not desist with honesty. This thou shalt easily find by the declaration of the historie. With these we do compare two other popular men, both kings of LACED AMON, Agis and Cleomenes. For they as the Graceki. feeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the just and honest gouernment againe of the common wealth of LACED EMON, which of long time had bene out of vie, did in like manner purchase the hate of the Nobilitie, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted couctousnesse. Indeed these two LACONIANS were no brethren borne, but yet did both follow one felfe course and forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this fort. After that couetous nessed again into the city of Sparta, and with riches, conetous field and misery, and by vie voluptuous field and licentious life; Sparta then was voide of all honor and goodneffe, and was long time drowned in fhame & dishonor, vntill king Agis and Leonides came to reigne there. Agis was of the house of the Emptiontides, the sonne of Endamedas, the fixt of lineall defeent after Agefilaus who had bene the greatest Prince of all GRECE in his time. This Agefilaus had a fon flaine in ITALY by the MESSAPHIANS, called Archidamus before the citie of MANDONIVM. Archidamus had iffue two fonnes. Agis and Endamidas that was king, who fucceeded his brother Agis, whom Antipater flue before the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, and left no children behind him. Eudamidas begat Archidamus, which Archidamus begat another Eudamidas: which Eudamidas also begat Agis, whose life we now write of. Leonidas alfo, the fonne of Cleonymus, was of the other family of the Agiades, the eight of fuccefof Leonidas, fion after Paufanias, who flue Mardonius, the kings Lieutenant generall of Persia, in a battell fought before y city of PLAT ÆES. This Paufanias had a fon called Pliftonax, & Pliftonax alfoanother, called Paulanias: who flying fro Sparta unto the city of Tegea, his eldest fon Agesipolis was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without iffue, his yoger brother Cleombrotus fucceeded him in the kingdome. Cleombrotus had two fons, Agespolis and Cleomenes : of the which, Agefipolis reigned not long king, and died without iffue. Then Cleomenes his brother, who was king after him, had two fons, Acrotatus the elder, that died in his fathers life time: and Cleonymus the yonger which furnised him, & was not king, but one Areus his nephew, the fon of Acrosatus. This Areus died before the city of Corinth, who having another Acrotatus to his fon, he fuccceded him in the kingdome. He also died at a battell before the city of MEGALIPOLIS, & was flain there by the tyrat Aristodemus, leaving his wife great with child. She being brought to bed after his death of a fonne, whom Leonidas the fonne of Cleonymus taught and brought up, the child dying very yong, the crowne by his death was cast vpon Leonidas himselfe. Howbeit his manners and conditions neuer liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the common wealth, and cleane out of order, yet Leonidas of all other exceeded, deforming most the ancient LACONIAN life: because he had bene long time brought vp in princes houses, and followed also Sciences court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe sato Sparta. of those courts into GRECE, where law & reason ruleth. Agis on the contrary part did not only farre excell Leonidas, in honour and magnanimitie of mind: but all other almost also which had reigned in Sparta from the time of Agefilaus the great. So that when Agis was not yet twenty yeares old, & being daintily brought vp with the finenesse of two women, his mother Agistrata, and Archidamia his grandmother, which had more gold and filuer then all the LACED EMO-NIANS els, he began to spurne against these womanish delights and pleasures, in making himselse faire to be the better liked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell; and to cast vpon him a

plaine

mus, tyrant of Megali.

Leonidias tinenciz of 801

plaine Spanish cape, taking pleasure in the diet, bathes, and manner of the ancient LACONTAN life; and openly boafted befides, that he would not defire to be king, but onely for the hope he had to restore the ancient LACONIAN life by his authoritie. Then began the state of LACED A- The begin. MON first to be corrupted, and to leave her ancient discipline, when the LACED EMONIANS ning of the hauing subdued the Empire of the ATHENIANS, stored themselues and country both, with niams fall, plenty of gold & filuer. But yet referuing still the landes left vnto them by succession from their from their fathers, according vnto Lycurgus first ordinance and institution, for division of lands amongst discipline. them which ordinance, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongft them, did yet preferue the common wealth from defamation of diuerie other notorious crimes, vntill the time of the au-sherra, for thoritie of Epitadeus, one of the Ephores, a feditious man, and of proud conditions; who bitterly falling out with his owne fonne, preferred a law, that every man might lawfully give his lands ken by Epiand goods whilest he lined, or after his death by testament, vnto any man whom he liked or tadeus law. thought well of. Thus this man made a law to facisfie his anger, and others also did confirme law for debuy lands of numbers, and so transferred it from the right and lawfull heires: whereby a few lands by men in flort time being made very rich, immediatly after there fell out great pouerty in the city of Sparta, which made all honelt sciences to ceasie, and brought in the reupon vnlawfull occupations, who enuied them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not aboue feuen hundred natural citizens of Sparta in all, and of them, not about an hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the rest were poore people in the city, and were of no countenance nor calling, and befides that, went vnwillingly to the warres against their enemies, looking euery day for firre and change in the city. Agustherefore thinking it a notable good act (as indeed it was) to replenish the city of Sparta againe, and to bring in the old equalitie, he moved the matter about to vnto the citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to give good eare vnto him, and very reduce the well given vnto vertue, easily changing their garments and life, to recover their liberty againe. common But the oldest men, which were now even rotten with coverous field and corruption, they were bet excited to be are in the same and corruption. affraid to returne againe to the straight ordinances of Lycurgus, as a slaue and runnigate from estate. his master, that trembleth when he is brought backe againe vnto him. Therefore they reproucd Agis, when he did lament before them their present miserable estate, and wish also for the former ancient honour and true dignitie of Svarta. Howbeit Lyfander the sonne of Lybis, and Mandroclidas the sonne of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus also, greatly commended his noble defire, and perfwaded him to go forward withall. This Ly (ander was of great authoritie and estimation amongst them in the city, Mandreelidas was also very wise, and carefull about any matter of counsell, and with his wisdome and policy, very valiant: Agestlans in like manner, thekings vnckle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couerous, and yet prickt forward to give his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his some Hippomedon, who was a noble good fouldier, and could do very much, by meanes of the love and good will the young men did beare him. But indeede, the secret cause that brought Agesilans to consent vnto this practife, was the greatnesse of his debt which he ought, of the which he hoped to be discharged by changing of the state and common wealth. Now when Agu had wonne him, he fought by his meanes to draw his mother also vnto the matter, which was Agestaus fifter. She could do very much by the number of her friends, followers, and debtors in the city, by whose meanes she ruled the most part of the affaires of the city after her owne pleasure. But the young man Hippomedon making her privie vnto it, at the first she was amazed withall, and bade him hold his peace if he were wife, and not meddle in matters vnpoffible & vnprofitable. But when Ageflans had told her what a notable act it would be, and how easily in might be brought to passe, with maruellous great profit: and that king Aga began alfoto straine her with great intreatie, that the should willingly depart with her goods to win her sonne honor and glory: who though he could not in mony and riches come to be like vnto other kings (because the slaues & factors only of the kings Seleucus, and Ptolomy, had more money then all the kings of Sparta had together that euer raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftinesse, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to restore the LACED EMONIAN'S againe vnto equalitie, that then indeed he should be counted a noble king. These women being stirred vp with ambition by those perfwafions of the young man, feeing him so nobly bent, as if by the gods their minds had secretly bin inflamed with the love of vertue, did presently alter their minds in such fort, that they them.

How lauing the Lacede monians were pato their

felues did pricke forward Agis, and fent for their friends to pray and intreate them to fauour his enterprise: and furthermore they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDE. MONIANS did euer heare and beleeuetheir wives, fuffering them to vnder stand more of theaffaires of the state then they theselues did of their private estate at home. Herein is to be consisdered, that the most part of the riches of LACED EMON was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were against it, not onely because thereby they were cut off from their finenesse and excesse, in the which being ignorant of the true good indeed, they put all their felicity: but also because they saw their honour and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foore. Therefore comming to Leonidas, they did perswade him to reproue Agis, because he was elder manthen he, and to let that this enterprise went not forward. Leonidas did what he could in fauour of the rich, but fearing the common people, who defired nothing but alteration, he durst not openly speake against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder Agis practife talking with the Magistrates of the city, and accusing Agis vnto them, he told them how he did offer the rich mens goods vnto the poore, the division of their lands, and the abolishings of all debts, for reward to put the tyranny into his hands, and that thereby he got a strong guard vnto himselfe, but not many citizens vnto Sparta. This not with standing, king Agu hauing procured Lyfander to be chosen one of the Ephores, he presently preserved his law vnto the counsell. The articles whereof were these: That such as were in debt, should be cleared of all their debts, and that the lands also should be deuided into equal parts: so that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the cities of Malea and Selasia, there should be foure thousand fine hundred parts; and without those bounds, there should be in all the rest, fifteene thousand parts, the which should be distributed vnto their neighbours meete to cary weapon; and the rest vnto the natural Spartans. The number of them should be replenished with their neighbors and strangers in like maner, which should be very well brought vp, and be able men besides to serue the common wealth: all the which afterwards should be deuided into sifteene copanies, of the which, some should receive two hundred, and others foure hundred men. & should live according to the old ancient institution observed by their ancestors. This law being preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grew to diverse opinions vponit. Whereupon Lylander affembled the great counsell of all the people, and there spake vnto them himselfe, and Mandroclidas, and Agefilaus also, praying them not to suffer the honor of Sparta to be trodenynder foote, for the vanitie of a few: but that they would remember the ancient Oracles of the gods. warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and destruction of the commonwealth; and of the late Oracle also brought vnto them, from the temple of Passphae. The temple & Oracle of Pasiphae, was famous at the city of Thalames: & some fay, that Phasiphae was one of the daugh. ters of Atlas, which was gotten with child by Inpiter, and was delinered of a fon called Hammon; Other thinke that it was Cassandra, one of king Priamus daughters that died there, which was surnamed Paliphae, because she gaue all the answers and Oracles of things to come. But Phylarchus writeth that Daphne the daughter of Amyela, flying from Apollo that would have ravished her. was turned into a lawrel tree, and honored by Apollo with the gift of prophecy, So, they faid that this Oracle of the god commanded them, that the Spartans should againe returne vnto their former ancient equality, stablished first by Lyourgus law. When every man else had spoken, king Agu rifing vp, briefly speaking vnto the people, said: that he would bestow great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which he was defirous to restore again. For first of all, he would make common all his arable & pasture he had, and besides that he would adde too fixe hundred talents in ready mony, and fo much should his mother, grandmother, kinsmen, and friends, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in Sparta. When the people heard what he faid, they maruelled much at the noble mind of this yong king, and were very glad of it, faying:that for three hundred yeares space together, the city of Sparta had not so worthy a king as he. But Leonidas contrarily affaired with all the power he could to refift him, thinking with himselfethatif king Agis purpose tooke place, he should also be compelled to do as he did, and yet he should have no thankes, but king Agis: because that all the Spartans indifferently shold be compelled to make their goods common, but the honor should be his onely that first began, it. So he asked Agis, whether he thought Lycurgus had bene a good and just man, or not. Agis answered that he had bene. Then replyed Leonidas, Did you ever see that he had taken away and abolished any debts, or had received strangers into the number of the citizens of Sparta? Who

keth his goods com-

hing Agis.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES 803 contrarily thought his commonwealth unperfect, if al strangers were not banished the city. Agis againe answered him: that he maruelled nor that Leonidas being brought vp in a strange countrey and also maried there in a noblemans house, he should be ignorant of Lyenrem lawes, who banishing gold and filter out of his city, did therewithall exile debt and lending. And for ftrangershe hated them that would not conforme themselues vnto the manners and fashions of life which he inflituted, and those they were which he banished; not for any ill will he bare vnto their perfons, but because he feared their manners of life, lest that mingling them with the citizens, they should make them run after vanity & couctous heffe to berich. For otherwise, Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, which were all strangers, were maruellously reuerenced and honored in Sparta in old time, because they did fing in their writings, the self same things which Lycurque had established in his lawes. And thou thy selfe also doest comend Exprepes, being one of the Ephores, because he did cut with a hatchet the two strings which Phrynis the musician had added vinothe citherne, more then the feuen common ftrings, and those also which did the like vinto Timosheus: and yet thou reprouest me, because I go about to roote out all excesse and pride out of Sparta, as though those men did not farre off preuent that these superfluous strings of the musicke, delighting the citizens minds too much with their fongs, should not cause them fall vn. to fuch trade and maner of life, as should make the city at discord with it felfe. After this contention the common people did sticke vnto king Agis, and the rich men followed Leonidas: praying and persuading him not to for sake them: & further, they did so intreate the Senators, in whom confifteth the chiefe authority, to determine and difgeff all matters before they be propounded vnto the people, that they overthrew the law by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore Lyfander who was yet in office, attempted to accufe Leonedas by an ancient law, forbidding that none of the race of Hercules should marie with any strange woman, nor beget children of her: and faid further, that no man youn paine of death should dwel any where, but in Sparta. When he had instructed others to object these things against Leonidas, he with others of his colleagues observed a figure in the element, the ceremony whereof was in this fort; Euery ninth yeare, the Ephori chusing a bright night without moone-light, did fit downe in some open place, and beheld the starres in the element, to fee if they faw any starre shoote from one place to another; if they did, then they accused their kings that they had offended the gods, and did deprine them of their kingdom, vntil fome Oracle came fro Delphes or Olympus, to restore them again. Zyfunder then declaring that he had feen a ftar flie in the element, did therfore accuse king Leonidas, and brought forth witnesses against him, how he had maried a woman of Asia, the which one by Lyfanof king Selencus Lieutenants had given him in mariage, and that he had two children by her; and der. afterwards being for faken of his wife that refused him, he returned again into his courty against his wil, and had fo possessed the kingdom for lacke of a lawful heire. So following his accusation in this maner against him, he allured Cleombrotus his son in law, being also of the kings bloud, to make title to the crowne. Leonidas being afraid of the fuccesse hereof, took fanctuary in the temple of Iuno, firnamed Chaleacos, and his daughter with him, who for fooke her husband Cleon, brotus. Leonidas then being cited to appeare in person, & making default, they deposed him, & made Chembrotus king. In the meane time Lyfanders office expired, and the new Ephori which fucce- Leonides ded him, did deliuer Leonidas againe, and accused Lysander and Mandroelidas, because against the his king. law they had abolished all debts, and had againe made new division of lands. When they faw dome. they were openly accused, they incensed both the kings, that joyning together, they shold make the Ephores ordinances of no effect; declaring that their authority was onely erected for the difcord of the two kings, because they should give their voices vnto that king that had the best iudgement and reason, when the other would wilfully withstand both right and reason: and therfore they two agreeing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlment of any person and that to result the kings, was a breaking of the law, sith that by right the Ephori had no other priviledge and authority, but to be Judges and arbitratours between them, when there was any canfe of iarre or cotroucrfie. Both the kings being caried away by this perswasion, went into the market place accompanied with their friends, plucked the Ephores from their feats and put others in their roomes, of the which Agefilaus was one. Furthermore they armed a great number of young men, and opening the prilons, did fet the priloners at libertie: the which made their aduerlaries afraid of them, doubting some great murder would have followed vpon first met

it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For Agefilaus being bent to kill Leonidus, who fled to the Teges.

Arefilans.

Hew lawes by the Lace. demonians.

Aratus Ge vall of the Achaiaxs.

city of TEGEA, and having also layed men in waite for him by the way: king Agis hearing of it. fent thither other friends of his in whom he put great confidence, & they did accompany Leonidas, and brought him fafely vnto the city of TEGEA. Thus their purposetaking effect, and no man contrarying them, one man onely Agesilaus ouerthrewall, and dashed a noble LACONIAN law by a shamefull vice, which was concrousnesse. For he being a great landed man, and having the best lands of any man in the countrey, and owing a great summe of money besides, would neither pay his debts, nor let go his land. Wherefore he perswaded king Agis, that if he went aboutto stablish both together, he should raise a great vprore in the city, and with all, if he did first win them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting off of debts onely, then that they would eafily and willingly also accept the law of partition of lands. Lyfander was also of this opinion: whereby king Agis and he both were deceived by Agefilaus fubrilty. So they commanded all the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bils of debt (which the LA-CEDÆMONIANS do call Claria) into the market place, & there laying them on a heape together they did set fire on them. When the vsurers & creditors saw their writings obligatory on a fire. they departed thence with heavy hartsibut Agefilaus mocking them faid, he never faw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently decided, and the kings likewise commanding it, Igesilaus still interposing some cause of let, delayed time, untill oportunity served, that king Agis should go to the warres: for that the Achaians their confederates had prayed aide of LACEDEMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betweene them, because they looked daily that the ATOLIANS coming through the countrey of MEGARA, would invade PELOPONNESUS. Aratus Generall of the Achaians had leavied a great army to withstand their inuasion, and had also written vnto the Ephores, that they should fend then aide. Whereupon they presently sentking Agis, perceining also the readinesseand good will of the fouldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the most part of them were young men and needy, who feeing themselves discharged of the searc of their debts, and hoping also at their returne, that the lands likewise should be deuided among them, they went with glad hearts, and were obedient to king Agis. So that the cities where through they passed, wondred how they came through Peloponnesvs, from the one fide to the other, very quietly, without noise or offence to any man. Likewise many Grecians calling to mind the ancient times, told one another, that it was a noble fight then to fee the army of LACED ÆMON whethey were led by Agesilaus, Lysander, and Leonidas, famous Captaines: fith now they saw so great obedience vnto Agis by his fouldiers, who was in manner the youngest man of all his campe: who also glorying to be content with litle, to away with paines, and not to be more costly apparrelled, and armed then any private fouldier he had, he wanne himselse thereby a maruellous love of the people. Howbeitthe rich men liked not this change, and were afraid least Agis should give other people example to rife also, and to do the like with theirs, as he had done. Agis meeting with Aratus by the city of Corinth, cuenas he was confulting whether he should fight with his enemy, or not, shewed himselfe in his counsell then, no rash, but a resolute and valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, and not to suffer the warre to come any farther, leaving y entry into Peloponnesvs free to their enemy:neuertheleffe, that he would do what Aratus thought good, because he was the elder, and Generall also of the A-CHAIANS, whom he came not to command, but to aide them. But Baton SINOPIAN Writeth that king Agis would not fight, though Aratus was willing: howbeit he had not read that which Aratus had written for his excuse & instification, alledging there that the farmers and husbandmen having brought all the corne into their barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemics to come farther into their countrey, rather then to hazard battell, to the losse of the whole countrey of Peloponnesvs, and that therefore he licenced all the confederates to depart, and brake vp his army. Soking Agis returned home againe, greatly honoured of them that served with him in his journey, finding the citie of Sparta then in great broile and trouble. For Agefilans at that time being one of the Ephores, finding himself ridde of the seare which before kept him vnder, cared not what iniurie or mischiese he did vnto any citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, hat very yeare he made him pay beyond all reason the tallages and taxes due voto the common wealth for thirteene moneths, adding too the thirteenth moneth about the ordinary time of the yeare. Wherefore perceiuing euery man hated him, and being afraid of them he had offended, he kept fouldiers about him, armed with their fwords, and fo

came downe into the market place among them. And for the two Kings, he made no account of the one; but of the other that was Agis, he feemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindreds sake, then for his dignitie of a King; and furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next yeare following. Wherupon, his enemies speedily to preuent the danger, gathered force together, & openly brought king Leonidas fro Tega, to restore him agains to his kingdome. The people were glad to see that, because they were angry they had bin mocked in that fort, for that the lands were not deuided according vnto promife. Furthermore turneth Hippomidon was fo well beloued of every man for his valiantnesse, that intreating the people for frem exile his father Agestlaus, he faued his life, and got him out of the city. But for the two kings. Agis took fanctuary in the temple of Iuno Chalcacos; and Cleombrotus the other king fled into the temple of Neptune: for it feemed that Leonidas being much more offeded with him, did letking Agis alone, and went against him with certaine souldiers armed. Then he sharply taunted him, that being his fon in law, he had conspired against him to deprive him of his kingdom, and had driven him out of his country. But then Cleombrotus not having a word to fay, fat still, and made him no answer. Whereupon his wife Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, who before was offended for the injury Theratural they did her father, & had left her husband Cleombrotus, that had vsurped & kingdom from him, to serue her father in his aduersitie, and while he was in sanctuary tooke part with him also of his day dayshmifery; and afterwards when he went into the city of TEGEA, wore blacks for forrow, being of. fended with her husband; she contrarily then changing her anger with her husbands fortune & her father and buying the horse and buying the shape and buying misery, became also an humble futer with him, sitting down by him, and imbracing him, hauing band, her two litle sonnes on either side of them. All men wondring, and weeping for pitie to see the goodnesse and naturall loue of this Lady, who shewing her mourning apparell, and haire of her head flaring about her eyes, bare headed, the spake in this maner vnto her farher: O father mine, this forowfull garment and countenance is not for pitie of Cleombrotus, but hath long remained the darghwith me, lamenting fore your former milery and exile: but now, which of the two should I ra- ter of Liether chuse, citherto continue a mourner in this pitifull state, seeing you againe restored to your kingdome, having ouercome your enemies, or else putting on my princely apparell, to see my husband flaine, vnto whom you maried me a maide? who if he cannot mone you to take compassion on him, and to obtain emercic, by the teares of his wife and children, he shall then abide more bitter paine of his enill councel then that which you intend to make him suffer. For he shall see fee his wife die before him, whom he loued more dearely then any thing in the world, Allo, with what face can I looke vpon other Ladies, when I could neuer bring my father to pitie by any intercession I could make for my husband, neither my husband intreate him for my father; and that my hap is to be borne a daughter and wife alwayes most vnfortunate, and despised of mine owner And for my husband, if he had any reason to do that he did, I then tooke it from him, by taking your part, and protesting against him: and contrarily your selfe doth give him honest colour to excuse his fault, when he seeth in you the defire of the kingdome so great, that for the louetherof, youthinke it lawful to kill your fonnes in law; and also not to regard the children he hathgotten, for her fake. Chelonis pitifully complaining in this fort, putting her face vpon Cleonbrotus head, cast her swollen and blubbering eyes vpon the standers by. Wherefore Leonidas after he had talked a litle with his friends, he commanded Cleombrotus to get him thence; and to The banifly leauethe cities an exile : and prayed his daughter for his fake to remaine with him, and not to for lake her father, that did to dearly loue her, as for her take he had faued her husbands life. This long Clenotwithstanding, she would not yeeld to his request, but rising vp with her husband, gaue him one of his sonnes, and her selfe tooke the other in her armes; and then making her prayer before thealtar of the goddesse, she went as a banished woman away with her husband. And truly the example of her vertue was fo famous, that if Cleombrotus mind had not bene too much blinded with vaine glory, he had cause to thinke his exile farre more happy, to enjoy the loue of so noble lone of the a wife as he had, then for the kingdome which he possessed without her. Then Leonidas having husband banished king Cleombrotus out of the citic, and removing the first Ephores, had substituted other cleombroin their places, he presently bethought him how he might craftily come by king Agis. First, 1996. he perswaded him to come out of the fanctuary, and to governethe kingdome safely with him, declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgiuen him all that was past, because they knew he was deceived, and subtilly circumvented by Agestans craft, being a young man, ambitious of honour. Agis would not leauethe fanctuary for Leonidas cunning perswasion, but miltrusted

Notethe regard of the lea. then veto the perfais of a king, abharing to lay vis-lent hands

all that he said vnto him. Wherefore Leonidas would no more beguile him with faire words. But Amphares, Demochares and Arcefilam, did oftentimes go to visite king Agis; and otherwhile also they got him out of the fanctuary with them vnto the bath, and brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But Amphares having borowed not long before, certain rich apparell and plate of Agefistrata, because he would not redeliuer them againe, he determined to betray king Agrs, his mother & grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did serve Leonidas turne, and prouoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) against Agis. Now therfore, Agis keeping al the rest of his time within the temple, saving when he went vpon occasion to the bath, they determined to intercept him by the way, & to take him when he was out of the sanctuary. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed, and came and faluted him as their maner was, and seemed to accompany him, sporting & being merry with him, as with a yong man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a streete that went towards the prison, Amphares laying hold on him, being one of the Ephores, faid vnto him: I arrest thee Agis, and will bring thee before the Ephores, to give account of thy doings in the commonwealth. Then Demochares which was a great mightie man, cast his gowne ouer his eares, and pulled him forward: othersalfo thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being neare them to helpe Agis, they got him into prison. Then came Leonidus incontinently with a great number of fouldiers that were strangers, & besetthe prison round about. The Ephores went into the prison, and sent vnto some of the Senate to come to them, whom they knew to be of their mindsthen they commanded Agis, as if it had bene judicially, to give account of the alteration he had mad in the commonwealth. The yong man laughed at their hypocrific. But Ampha estold him, that it was no laughing sport, & that he should pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephares feeming to deale more favorably with him, and to shew him a way how he might escape the condemnation for his fault, asked him if he had not bene entited vnto it by Agestlans and Lysander. Agis aufwered that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the steps of the ancient Lyeurgus, co bring the commonwealth vnto the former estate of his graue ordinance and institution. Then the same Senator asked him again, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The yong man boldly answered him, that he would never repent him of so wise and vertuous an enterprife, though he ventured his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commanded the Sergeants to cary him into the Decade, which was a place in the prison wherethey were strangled that were condemned to die. Demochares perceiving the Sergeants durst not lay hold on him, and likewise that the souldiers which were strangers, did abhorre to commit such a fact contrary to the law of God & man, to lay violent hands vpon the person of a king, he threatned and reuiled them, and dragged Agis perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumor ranne straight through the cirie, that king Agis was taken, and a multitude of people were at the prison doores with lights and torches. Thirher came also king Agis mother and grandmother, threeking out, and praying that the king of Sparta might yet be heard and judged by the people. For this cause they hastened his death the sooner, and were afraid besides, lest the people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people thither. Thus king Agis being led to his death, spied a Sergeant lamenting and weeping for him, vnto whom he faid: Good fellow, I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am an honester man than they that so shamefully put me to death; and with those words he willingly put his head into the halter. Amphares then going out of the prison into the street, found Agesistrata there, king Agis mother, who straight fell downe at his feete but he taking her vp againe, in old familiar manner, as being her very friend, told her that they should do king Agis no hurt, and that she might if she would, go and fee him. Then she prayed that they would also let her mother in with her. Amphares said, With a good will: and so put them both into the prison house, and made the doores be shut after them. But when they were within, he first gaue Archidamia vnto the Sergeants to be put to death, who was a maruellous old woman, and had lived more honorably vnto that age then any Lady or Matron beside her in the citie. She being executed, he commanded Agefistrata also to come in. Who when she saw the body of her dead son layed on the ground, and her mother also hanging on the gallowes, she did her selfe helpe the hang-manto plucke her downe, and layed her body by her fonnes. Then having covered her in decent maner, the layed her downe on the ground by the corpes of her sonne Agis, and kissing his cheeke, said: Out alas my fon, thy great modestie, goodnesse and elemency brought thee and vs vnto this death.

Then Amphares peeping in at the doore, to see what was done, hearing what she said, came in withall in a great rage, and faid: I perceive that thou hastalso bene of counsell with thy son, and fithence it is fo, thou shalt also follow him. Then she rising also to be strangled, faid: The gods grant yet that this may profit Sparta. This horrible murther being blowue abroad in the city. and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison, the feare though it were great amongst the people, could not keepe them backe from apparent fliew of griefe, and manifest hate against Leonidas and Amphares, thinking that there was never a more wicked and crueller tact committed in SPARTA, fince the DORIANS came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies them- The enemies felices in battel, would not willingly lay hands upon the kings of LACED EMON, but did for beare did not as much as they could possible, both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maiestic. For in willingly many great battels & conflicts which the LACED EMONIANS had againft the GRECTANS, there king of Lee was neuer any king of Laced Amon flainc before Philips time, but Cleombrotus only, who was flain with a dart at the battel of Levernes. Some write also that the Messinians hold opinion, that their Aristomenes flue Theopompus: howbeit the LACEDEMONIANS faid, that he was but hurt, not flaine. But hereof there are divers opinions; but it is certaine that Agis was the first king whom the Ephores cuer put to death, for that he had laied a plot of a noble deuice, and worthy of Sparra, being of that age when men do eafily pardon them that offend and was rather to be accused of his friends then of his enemies, because he had saued Leonidas life, and had trusted o-

ther men, as the best natured yong man that could be.

Now Agis having suffered in this fort, Leonidas was not quicke enough to take Archidamns Herebester his brother alfo, for he fled prefently wet he brought Agis wife out of her house by force, with a nubcleslitle boy she hadby him, and maried her vnto his sonne Cleomenes, who was yet vnder age to menes life. matry; fearing lest this young Ladie should be bestowed elsewhere, being indeed a great heire, the some of and of arich house, and the daughter of Gylippus, called by her name Agiatis; besides that, she was the fairest woman at that time in all GRECE, and the vertuousest, and best conditioned. Wherefore for divers respects she prayed she might not be forced to it. But now being at length maried with Cleamenes, she ever hated Leonidas to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: who immediatly after he was maried vnto her, fell greatly in fancie with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the love she bare king agin vnto her first husband, and for the louing remembrance she had of him, in so much as he him. with marifelfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquisitive how things had passed, ca- ea who cleaners. king great pleasure to heare of Agis wife counsell and purpose. For Cleomenes was as defirous of honour, and had as noble a mind as Agis, and was borneal so to temperancie, and moderation of life, as Agis in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modestie and lenitie which the other had, but was fomewhat more stirring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it great honeflie to bring the citizens (if he could) to be contented to live after an honest fort but contrarily, he thought it no dishonest ic to bring them vnto good life, by compulfion also. Furthermore, the manners of the citizens of Sparta giuing themselues ouer to idlenesse and pleasure, did nothing like him at all; neither that the king did suffer the commonwealth to be ruled as they listed, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: in so much as no man regarding the profite of the commonwealth, euery man was for himfelfe and his family. And contrarily, it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperancie, and for the refloring againe of equalitie of life, the preferment whereof was the onely cause of the late death of Agis. They say also, that Cleamenes being a yong stripling, had heard some disputation of Philofophy, when & Philosopher Spharus, of the country of Borysthenes, cameto Laced Amon, and louingly stayed there to teach yong men and children. He was one of the chiefest scholers principles to the chiefest scholers of the chiefest of Zenon Citian, and delighted (as it seemed) in Cleomenes noble mind, and had a great defire of Boryto pricke him forward vnto honour. For as it is reported, that the ancient Leonidas being demanded what Poet he though Tyrtaus to be, answered, he was good to flatter young mens minds: for he fet their hearts on fire by his verses, when they began to fight any battell, fearing no danger, they were fo encouraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat dangerous, for the stout and valiant minds, which otherwise doth make desperate: and when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lifteth vp his heart, and then maketh him tast the profite thereof. Now Leonidas (the father of Cleomenes) being deceassed, and he himselfe also

the richmen followed their pleasure and profite, taking no care for the common wealth, that

the poore men also for very want and need, went with no good life and courage to the warres,

neither cared for the bringing vp of their children; and that he himselfe had but the name of a

king, and the Ephori the absolute authoritie to do what they lifted; at his first coming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and government of the common wealth. Who

having a friend called Xenares, that had bene his louer in his youth (which the LACED EMO-

NIANS called Empnisha, as much as inspired) he began to found his opinion, asking what maner of man king Agis had bin, and by what reason, and whose aduice he had followed in his attempt

for the reformation of the commonwealth, Xenares at the first did not willingly rehearse these things vnto him, declaring enery thing what had passed. But when he found that Cleomenes was

affected vnto king Agis intent, and still defired to heare of it, then Xenares sharply and angerly

reproued him, and told him he was not wife, nor well aduifed : and at length would no more

come and talke with him as he was wont; yet making no man priuy why heabstained from com. ming to him, but told them that asked him, he knew a cause well enough why. Xenares now ha-

uing thus refused him, and thinking all the rest would do the like: to bring this matter to passe,

he tooke this resolution with himselfe. Because he thought he might the rather do it in warre, then in peace, he set the citie of Sparta and the Achaians at variance together: who did

themselues give the first occasion to be complained upon. For Araba being the President and

chiefe of althe Achaians, had practifed a long time to bring al Peloponnesus into one bo-

die: and had therefore onely fustained great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking

that there was no other way to deliuer them from forraine warres. Now when he had wonne

all the other people to be of his opinion, there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACE.

DEMONIANS, and a few of the Arcadians, which were subject to the Laced Emonians. When king Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to invade the ARCADIANS, those specially that

bordered vpon the Argives to proue how the Laced Emontan's would take it, making no

account of Cleomenes, being but a young king, and had no experience of warres. Thereupon the

Ephori fent Cleomenes vnto Athænium (a temple of Minerua hardby the citie of Bribina)

with an armie to take it, because it was a passage and entry into the countrey of LACONIA; how-

beit the place at that time was in question betwixt the Megalipolitans and the Laced #.

MONIANS. Cleamenes got it, & fortified it. Aratus making no complaint otherwise of the matter, ftole out one night with his army to fet vpon the Tegeans and Orchomenians, hoping to

hauetaken those ciries by treason. But the traitors that were of his confederacie, their hearts fai-

led them when they should have gone about it, so that Aratus returned, having lost his journey, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discouered. But Cleomenes finely wrote vnto him

as his friend, and asked him, whether he had led his armie by night. Aratus returned answer a-

gaine, that vinderstanding Cleomenes meant to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armie,

thinking to haue let him. Cleomenes wrote againe vnto him, and faid, he did beleeue that which

hespake was true: howbeit he carnestly requested him (if it were no trouble to him) to aduer-

tife him why he brought scaling ladders and lights after him. Aratus smiling at this mocke, as-

ked what this young man was. Democrites LACED EMONIAN being a banished man out of his

countrey, answered: if thou hast anything to do against the LACED EMONIANS, thou hadst

need make hast, before this young Cockrell haue on his spurres. Then Cleomenes being in the field in the countrey of Arcadia, with a few horsemen and three hundred sociemen onely,

the Ephori being afraid of warres, fent for him to returne againe. His backe was no fooner tur-

after the Achaians making warre with the Elians, Cleomenes was fent to aide them, and mer Tho faying with the armie of the Achains by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne the of the lings fetting vpon them, gaue them the ouerthrow, flue a great number of them, and tooke many also montouth prisoners that the rumor ran through GRECE, how Aratus self was flain. Cleomenes wisely taking ingtheire. the occasion which this victory gaue him, he went straight to the city of MANTINBA, and taking it ypon a sudden, when no man knew of his comming, he put a strong garrison into it. Now the LACED EMONIAN'S hearts failing them, and refifting Cleomenes enterprises, ouer wearying them with warres, he went about to fend Archidamus, king Agis brother, being then at ME ssina, vnto whom the kingdome of right belonged by the other house; supposing that he shold cafily weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authority of the two kings, if both of them iovned together. Which when the murtherers of king Agis vnderstood, being afraid that Archidamus returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them, they fecretly received him into the citie, and found the meanes to bring him into Sparra. But when they had him, they put him ftraight to death, whether it was vnwitting to Cleomenes (as Phylarchus plainely testifieth) or elle with his prinitic suffering them to make him away, by perswasson of his friends. But it is die broa cleare case, the city was burdened withall, because probable matter fell out, that they had compelled Cleomenes to do it. Neuerthelesse, he holding, still his sirst determination, to alter the flate of the common wealth of Sparta, as foone as he could possible, he fo fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he should make warre. He had also wonne many other citizens by the meanes of his mother Crateficlea, who furnish thim with mony, that helacked not to honour him withall: and further maried as it is reported (though otherwise she meant not to marry) for her fons fake, vnto one of the valiantest men of all the citie. So Cleomenes leading his army into the field, wan a place within the territorie of MEGALIPOLIS, called LEVETRA. The ACHAIANS also being quickly come to their aide, led by Aratus, they straight foughta battellby the citie felfe, where Cleamenes had the worst on the one side of his armic. Howbeit Araus would not fuffer the Achaians to follow them, because of bogges and quanemires, but founded the retraite. But Lysiadas a MEGALIPOLITAN being angry with al caufed the horfemen he had about him to follow the chafe, who purfued fo fiercely, that they came amongst vines, wals and ditches, where he was driven to disperse his men, and yet could not get out. Cleomenes perceiving it, fent the light horsemen of the TARENTINES and CRETANS against him: of whom Lysiadas valiantly fighting was slaine. Then the LACED EMONIANS Lysiadas being couragious for this victory, came with great cries, and giuing a fierce charge upon the A. faine. CHAIANS, Ouerthrew their whole armie, and flue a maruellous number of them: but yet Cleomenes at their request suffered them to take up the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For the Athai Lysiadas corpes, he caused it to be brought with him, and putting a purple robe vpon it, and a ans. crown on his head, fent it in this array vnto the very gates of the city of MEGALIPOLIS. It was that felfe Lyfiadas, who giving over the tyranny and government of MEGALIPOLIS, made it Lyfiadasya popular state, and free citie, and to ynedit to the Achaians. After this victory, Cleomenes that ram of Mes. determined greater matters and attempts, perswaded himselfe that if he might once come to flablish the affaires of the common welch at Sparta to his mind, he might then easily ouer- bustrants, come the ACHAIANS, brake with his father in law Megistonus, and told him that it was neces- and made farie to take away the authoritie of the Ephores, and to make division of the lands among the fare. Spartans: and then being brought to equalitie, to encourage them to recouer the Empire of GRECE again vnto the LACED EMONIANS, which their predecessors before them held and enloyed. Megistonus granting his good will and furtherance, loyned two or three of his friends morevnto him. It chanced at that time, that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of Pasiphae, The dreams had a maruellous dreame in the night. For he thought he faw but one chaire franding where of one of the the Ephori did vie to fit to give audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, Ephores. were taken away; and that maruelling at it, he heard a voice out of the temple that faid, That was the best for Sparta. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto Cleomenes, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feele him, or that he had heard some inkling of his intent. But when he perswaded himselfe that the other meant good saith, and lyed not vinto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpole; and taking with him vnto the camp, all those Spartans which he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and took the cities of Hen &A and ALSEA, confederates of the ACHAIANS, & victualled

gether by

Cleomanes

did fet the Lacedo-

ned, obeying their commandement, but Aratus suddenly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereiourney into of the Are

upon the Ephori incontinently sent Cleomenes backe againe with his armie: who tookethe fort of Methydrivm, and burnt the borders of the Argives. The Achaians came against him the countre; with an armie of twentie thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemenled by Aristomachus. Cleomenes met with them by the citie of PALANTIVM, and offered battell. But Aratus quaking at gines. the hardinesse of this young man, would not suffer Aristomachus to hazard battell, but went his way derided by the Achaians, and despised by the Laced Memonians, who in all were not aboue five thousand fighting men. Cleamenes courage being now lift vp, and brauely speaking to his citizens, he remembred them of a faying of one of their ancient kings, that the LACE-D. # MONIAN'S neuer enquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly

Orchomena, and went and camped before the city of Mantinea. In fine, he so wearied and

ouerharried \$\foatin Laced \pm Monians by long journeys, that at length they belought him he wold

let them remaine in AR CADIA, to repose themselves there. In the meane time, Cleomenes with his

ftrangers which he had hired, returned again vnto Sparta, and imparted his intent by the way

vnto them he trusted best, and marched at his owne case, that he might take the Ephores at sup-

per. When he came neare vnto the citic, he fent Euryclidas before, into the hall of the Ephores.

as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he fent also Tbe-

ricion and Phebis, and two other that had bene brought up with him, whom the LACED EMO-

NIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a few fouldiers. Now whileft Euryclidus

was talking with the Ephores, they also came in vpon them with their fwords drawne, and did fer

vpon the Ephores. Agefilaus was hurt first of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene

flaine; but by litle and litle he crept out of the hall and got fecretly into a chappell confecrated

vnto Feare, the which was wont cuer to be kept flut, but then by chance was left open; when he

was come in he shut the doore fast to him. The other foure of the Ephores were slaine presently.

and about ten moe befides, which came to defend them. Furthermore, for them that fate still and

stirred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was defirous to go

out of the cities but moreouer, they pardoned Agestlans, who came the next morning out of the

chappell of Feare. Amongst the Laced Emonians in the citie of Sparta, there are not onely

temples of Feare and Death, but also of Laughter, and of many other such passions of the mind.

They do worship Feare, not as other spirits and diuels that are hurtfull, but because they are per-

fwaded that nothing preserveth a common wealth better than feare. Wherefore the Ephori (as

Aristotle witnesseth) when they are created, do by publike proclamation command all the

Spartans to shaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, lest they should make them feeletheri-

gour of the law. They brought in the shauing of their chins, in my opinion, to enure you men

to obey the Magistrates even intrifles. Moreover, it seemes that men in old time did esteeme

fortitude to be notaking away of feare, but rather a feare and lothnesse to incurre shame. For

commonly those that are most afraid to offend the law are in the field most valiant against their

enemie, and shunno perill to winne fame and honest reputation. And therefore it was wisely

£leomenes One the E phores.

Diners tamples at Sparta, of Feare. Death, and fuch other fancies.

The vali are wolf afraid so offend the

of Feare

iotned to

the ball of

the Epho-

of king Cle-

faid of one:

That feare cannot be without shamefastnesse. And so Homer in a certaine place made Hellen say vnto king Priamus: Of truth I do confesse deare father in law. You are the man of whom I stand in aw.

And reverence most of all that ever I saw. And in another place, speaking of the GRECIAN souldiers, he faith thus !

For feare of their Captaines they spake not a word.

For men do vie to renerence them whom they feare. And this was the cause why the chappell of The chaptel Feare was by the hall of the Ephores, having in maner a princely and absolute authoritie. The next morning Cleamenes banished by trumpet foure score citizens of Sparta; and ouerthrewall the chaires of the Ephores but one onely, the which he referued for himselfe to sit into give audience. Then calling the people to counfell, he gaue them account of his doings, and The oration told them that Lycurgus had joyned the Senators with the kings, and how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithstanding afterwards the city hauing great warres with the MESSINIANS the kings being alwayes employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the commonwealth at home, did chuse certaine of their friends to fit in judgement in their fleads, to determine controversies of law, which Sha Zohores. were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kings ministers; howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke vponthem absolute gouernment by themselues. And for manifest proofe hereof, you see that at this present time when the Ephori do send for the king, the first and second time he refused to come, but the third time he riseth and goeth vnto them. The first man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was Asteropus, one of the Ephores, many yeares after the first institution of the kings : and yet if they had gouerned discreetly, peraduenture they might hauc continued longer. But they licentiously abusing their authoritie, by sup-

the first an that alle au. pressing the lawfull gouernours instituted of old time, taking vpon them to banish some of their The Ephokings, and putting other of them also to death, without law and instice, & threatning others that AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

defire to restore that noble and former blessed gouernment vnto Sparta againe; all these things I say, are in no wisc to be suffered any longer. And therefore if it had bin possible to haue bani-Thed all these plagues of the commonwealth out of Sparta, brought from forraine nations, (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, debts, and vsuries, and others yet more ancient, pouertie and riches) he might then have efteemed himselfe the happiest king that ever was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his country in that infection without griefe or forow. But in that he was constrained to begin with bloud, he followed Lyeurgus example, who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but a private citizen onely, taking vpon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king Charilaus that then reigned, so affraid, that he was driven to take sanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of anoble nature, and louing the honour of his countrey, tooke part with Lycurgus, adding to his aduice and counsell, for the alteration of the state of the government of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that Lyourgus faw it was a hard thing to alter the commonwealth without force & feare: the which he not with standing had vsed with as great modestie and discretion as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profite and wealth of LACED EMON, giving all the lands of the countrey alfoto be equally devided amongst them, and setting all men cleare that were in debt. And furthermore, that he would make a choice and proofe of the strangers, to make them free citizens of Sparta whom he knew to be honest men, thereby to defend their city the better by force of armes to the end that from henceforth we may no more fee our countrey of LACONIA spoiled by the ATOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of mento defend themselues against them. Then he began first him- cleoments selfe to make all his goods common and after him Megistonus his father in law, and consequently all his other friends. Then he caused the land also to be deuided, and ordained enery banished the state of the land are the state of the land are the land ar man a part, whom he himselfe had exiled, promising that he would receive them again into the monwealth citie, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the citizens of Lacedaof Sparta, with the choicest honest mentheir neighbours, he made foure thousand footemen well armed, and taught them to vie their pikes with both hands, in stead of their darts with one hand, and to carie their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwards he tooke order for the education of children, and to restore the ancient LACONIAN discipline againe: and did all these things in manner by the helpe of Spherus the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickly set vp again schoole-houses for children, and also brought them to the old order of diet: and all, but a very few, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institution of life. Then because the name of one king should not offend any man, he made his brother Euclidas king with him. But this was the first time that euer the two kings were of one housebut then. Furthermore, vnderstanding that the Achaians and Aratus were of opinion, thathe durst not come out of LACED EMON, for feare to leaue it in peril of revolting, because of the late change & alteration in the commonwealth, he thought it an honourable attempt of him to make his enemies see the readines and good will of his army. Therupon he inuaded the terri- cleoments tories of the MEGALIPOLITANS, and brought away a great prey and bootie, after he had done imade the great hurt vnto his enemies. Then having taking certaine plaiers and minstrels that came from the briders of the Me. Messina, he set vp a stage within the enemies country, made agame of 40 Minas for the victor galipolina. and fate a wholeday to looke vpon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the fight of it, but more to despite the enemies withall, in making them see how much he was stronger then they to make fuch a Maygame in their owne country, in despite of them. For otherwise of all the armies of the GRECIANS, or kings in all GRECE, there was no armie but his only that was without players, minstrels, fooles, and inglers; for his campe onely was cleane of such rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to some exercises of their bodies, and the old men also to teach them. And if they chanced to have any vacant time, then they would pleafantly be one merric with another, ingining some pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. And what profite they got by that kind of exercise, we have written it at large in Lycurgus life. But of al these things, the king himself was their schoolemaster and example, shewing himselfe very temperate of life, and menes the plaine without curiofitie, no more then any private souldier of all his campe: the which were teacher and great helps vnto him in his enterprises he made in GRECE. For the GRECIANS having cause of fuite and negotiation with other kings and princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhor and detest their pride and insolencie: so distantially they would answer Zzz 4

Cloomenes moderate diet,

Cleamenes
curteous entertainment
at his boord.

Cleomenes leadeth his army against An ratus and the Athaians.

The victory of Cleomenes against the atchai-

them that had to do with them. But contrarily when they went vnto Cleomenes, who was a kind in name and deed as they were, finding no purple robes nor stately mantles, nor rich imbrodered beds, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by messengers, gentlemen vshers, and supplications and yet with a great ado: and feeing him also come plaintly apparelled vnto them, with a good countenance, and courteoufly answering the matters they came for the thereby did martielloufly win their hearts and goodwils, that when they returned home, they faid he only was the worthic king that came of the race of Hercules. Now for his diet at his boord, that was very straight and LACONIAN like, keeping onely three boords: and if he chanced to feast any Ambassadours or other his friends, that came to see him, he then added too, two other boords; & besides made his men see that his fare should be amended, not with pastrie and conserues, but with more store of meate, and some better wine then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his friends, that bidding strangers to supper, he gaue them nothing but blacke broth, and browne bread only, according to the LACONIAN manner. Now, faid he, we may not vie strangers so hardly after our manner. The boord being taken vp, another litle table was brought with three feet, whereupon they fet a bowle of copper full of wine, and two filuer cups of a pottle a peece, and certain other few filuer pots befides: fo euery man dranke what they lifted, and no man was forced to drink more then he would. Furthermore, there was no fport, nor any pleasant fong sung to make the companie merry, for it needed not. For Cleomenes felfe would entertaine them with some pretie questions or pleasant tale: wherby, as his talke was not seuere and without pleasure, so was it also pleasant without insolencie. For he was of opinion, that to win men by gifts or mony as other kings & princes did, was but base and coynclike; but to seek their good wils by courteous meanes and pleasantnesse, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his mind, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling, but that the one is won with money, and the other with civilitie and good entertainment. The first therefore that received king Cleomenes into their citie, were the MANTINE-ANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to drive out the garrifon of the A-CHATANS, they yeelded themselues vnto him. But he referring them to the vse and gouernement of their owne lawes and liberty, departed from thence the same day, and went vnto the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compassed about ARCADIA, and came vnto PHERES in ARCA-DIA, determining one of the two, either to give the ACHAIANS battell, or to bring Aratus out of fauour with the people, for that he had fuffered him to spoile and destroy their countrey. Hyperbatas was at that time Generall of the Acharans, but Aratus did beare all the sway and authoritic. Then the Achaians coming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citic of DYME's neare vnto the temple of Hecatombaum, Cleomenes going thither, lay betwixt the city of DYMEs that was against him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a very vnwise part of him. Howbeit valiantly prouoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the battell, ouerthrew them, made them flie, and flue a great number in the field, and took many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went & set vpon the city of LAN-GON, and draue the garrifon of the Acharan's out of it; and restored the citic againe vnto the ELIANS. The ACHAIANS being then in very hard state, Aratus that of custome was wont to be their Generall (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, not with standing the Achaians did specially pray and increase hims the which was an ill act of hims to let another steere the rudder in so dangerous a storine and tempest. Therefore the Acharas sent Ambassadors vnto Cleomenes to treat peace, vnto whom it seemed he gave a very sharpe answer. After that he fent vnto them, and willed them only to refigne the figniorie of GRECE vnto him: and that for all other matters he wold deale reasonably with them, & presently deliver them vp their townes and prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The Achaians being glad of peace with these conditions, wrote vnto cleamenes that he should come vnto the city of Lerna, where the diet and generall affembly should be kept to confult thereon. It chanced then that Gleomenes marching thirther, being very hote, dranke cold water, and fel on fuch a bleeding withall, that his voice was taken from him, and healmost stifled. Wherefore he sent the Achaians their chiefest prisoners home againe, proroging the Parliamont till another time, and returned backe to LACED EMON. It is supposed certainely, that this let of his coming to the diet, was the only cause of the vtter destruction of GRECE: the which otherwise was in good way to have rifen againe, to haue bene deliuered from the present miseries, and extreme pride and couc-

tousnesse of the Macedonians. For Aratus, either for that hetrusted not Cleanenes, or for that he was affraid of his power, or that he otherwise enuied his honour and prosperitie, to see him rifen to fuch incredible greatnesse in so short a time; and thinking it also too great shame and dishonour to him, to suffer this yong man in a moment to deprive him of his great honour and power, which he had poffeffed fo long time, by the space of thirtie yearestogether, ruling all GRECE: first he sought by force to terrifie the ACHATANS, and to make them breake off from this peace. But infine, finding that they little regarded his threates, and that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affraid of Cleomenes valiantnesse and courage, whose request they thought reasonable, for that he sought but to restore Paloponnesvs vnto her former ancient state againe; he fell then into a practife farre vnhonest for a GRECIAN, very infamous for himfelfe, but most dishonourable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought Anti- Aratus gonus into Grece, and in his age filled the country of Peloponnesvs with Macedonians, becomere whom he himself in his youth had driven thence, had taken from them the castle of Corinth, and had alwaies bene an enemy of the kings (but specially of Antigonus, of whom before he had fpoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, faying that he tooke maruellous paines, and did put himselfe into many dangers, to deliver the city of ATHERS from the garrison of the Macedonians.) And yet notwith standing he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his countrey onely, but into his owne house, yea euen into the Ladies chambers and closets: disdaining that the king of LACED EMON, descending of the bloud royall of Hercules (who fetting vp againe the ancient manner of life of his countrey, did temper it as an instrument of mulicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient, and fober discipline, and Dortean life inftituted by Lycargus) should be called and written king of the Sickonians, and of the TRICE # IANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread & with the plain course caps of y LACED EMONIANS, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefest matter they did accuse Cleamenes for) and to prouide for the poore, he went and put himselfe and all Achaia vnto the crowne and diademe, the purple robe, and proud imperious commandement of the MACEDONIANS, fearing left men should thinke that Cleomenes could command him. Furthermore his folly was fuch, that having garlands of flowers on his head, he did facrifice vnto Antigonus, and fing fongs in praife of his honor, as if he had bin a god, where he was but a rotten man confumed away. This that we have written of Aratus (who was indued with many noble vertues, and a worthy GRECIAN) is not fo much to accuse him, as to make vs fee the frailtie and weaknesse of mans nature; the which, though it have never so excellent vertues, cannot yet bring forth fuch perfect fruite, but that it hath euer fome maime and blemish. Now when the Achaians were met againe in the citie of Ar Gos, to hold the session of their parliament before proroged, and Cleamenes also being come from TEGEA, to be at that parliament, enery man was in hope of good peace. But Aratus then, who was agreed before on the chiefest articles of the capitulations with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes by faire words or force would grant the people to bring that he defired, fent to let him understand, that he should but come himselfe alone into the citie, and for safety of his person, they would give him three hundred hostages: or otherwise, if he would not leaue his armie, that then they would giue audience without the city, in the places of exercises, called Cyllarabium. When Cleomenes had heard their answer, he told them they had done him great wrong, for they should have aduertifed him of it before he had taken his journey, and not now when he was almost hard at their gates, to fend him backe againe, with a flea in his care. Thereupon he wrote a letter vnto the Councell of the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaints against Aratus. On the other sidealso, Aratus in his Oration to the counsell, inueighed with bitter words against Cleomenes. Thereupon Cleomenes departing with speede, sent an Herauld to proclaime warres against the A-CHAIANS, not in the citie of ARGOS, but in the citie of ÆGION, (as Aratus writeth) meaning to fet vpon them being vnprouided. Hereupon all Achara was in an vprore: for divers cities did prefently revoltagainst the ACHAIANS, because the common people hoped after the divifion of lands, and discharging of their debts. The Noblemen also in many places were offended With Aratus, because he practised to bring the MACE DONTANS into the country of PELOPON-NESVS. Cleamenes therefore hoping well for all these respects brought his army into Achara, and at his first comming tooke the citic of PALLENA, and draue out the garrison of the ACHAI-ANS: and afterthat, wan also the cities of PHENEVM, and PENTELIVM. Now the ACHAIANS

3

Cleamenes winneth the city of

King Pyrof Argos.

The force

fearing some treason in Corinth and Sicyone, sent certainehorsemen out of the citie of AR GOS, to keepe those cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebration of the feast at the games Nemcea, Cleomenes thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to Ar Gos, he should find the citie full of people that were come to see the feasts and games, and that assailing them vpon the sodaine, he should put them in a maruellous feare: brought his army in the night hard to the wals of the city of Ar gos, and at his first coming wan a place they call Aspis, ave. ry strong place about the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The ARGIVE's were so amazed at it, that no man would take vpon him to defend the city, but received Cleomenes garrison, and gave him twenty hostages, promising thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the LACED EMONIANS, vnder his charge and conduct. The which doubtlesse wan him great same, and increased his power: for that the ancient kings of LACEDÆM ON, could never before with any policie or denice, winne the city of ARGO's . Forking Pyrrhus one of the most valiantest & warlikest Princes that euer was, entring the city of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was flaine there, and the most part of his army: wherby enery man wondered greatly at the diligence and counsell of Cleomenes. And where enery man did mocke him before, when Cleomenes faid that he would follow Solon and Lyeurgus, in making the citizens goods common, and discharging all debts: they were then clearely perfwaded, that he only was the caufe and meane of that great change which they faw in the courage of the Spartans, who were before so weake and our of heart, that they hauing no courage to defend themselues, the Atolians entring Laconia with an armie, tooke away at one time fifty thousand slaues. Wherupon an old man of Sparta pleasantly said at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleasure, to rid their courty of Laconia of such a rabble of rascals. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former ancient discipline of Lyoungus, as if Lyoungus selfe had bene aline to hanerrained them vnto it, they showed themselves very valiant, and obedient also vnto their Magistrates; whereby they recovered again the commandement of all GRECE, and the countrey also of PELOPONNESVS. After Cleomenes had taken the city of Argos, the cities also of CLEONES & PHLIVNTHodid yeeld themselves Virto him. Aratus in the meane time remained at Corinth, and there did bufily accuse them which were suspected to fauour the LACED EMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS westaken, and that he perceived also the city of CORINTH did leane vnto Cleomenes pare, and draue away the Achaians, he then calling the people to counsell in Corinth, fecretiv fole to one of the gates of the citie, and caufing his horse to be brought vnto him, took his backe, & gallopped for life vncothe city of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooketheir horsebacks also, striving who should be there soonest, & posted in such hast vnto Cleemenes at the city of An Gos, that many of the (as Aratus writeth) killed their horses by the way:howbeit Cleomenes was very much offended with them, for that they hadler him scape their hands. But dratus faith further, that Magistonus came vnto him from Cleomenes, and offered him a great summe of money to deliuer him the castle of Corinta, wherein there was a great garrifon of the Achaians. But he answered againe, that things were not in his power, but rather that he was subject to their power. Now Cleomenes departing frothe city of ARGOS, ouercame the Troezenians, the Epidavrians, and the Hermionians. After that, he came vnto Corinth, and presently intrenched the castlethere round about, and sending for Aratus friends and factors, commanded them to keepe his house and goods carefully for him; and fent Trytimallus MESSINIAN againe vnto him, to pray him to be contented that the castle might be kept indifferently betwixt the Achaians and Laced Amonians, promifing him prinatly to double the pension that king Ptolomy gaue him. But Aratus refusing it, sent his sonne vnto Antigonus with other hostages, and perswaded the Achaians to deliver vp the castle of CORINTH into Antigone hands. Cleomenes understanding it, entred with his armie into the country of the Steventans, and destroyed it as he went, and took Aratus goods and money of the gift of the Corint Hams Dycecres. Now Antigonus in the meane time being passed the mountaire of Gerania vinage me power, Cleomenes determined not to fortific the Isthmys or the fire cat of Fri apo rays, but the wayes of the mountaines of Onienes; determining to keepe cuer on or then coinft the Mac a donians, with intent to confume them rather by time then fig. about with an armic, so good fouldiers, and well trained as they were. Cleamenes solle ing ais gererranation, did put Antigonus to great trouble, because he had not in time prouded for corne, and could not win the passage by force, for that Cleomenes kept it

with fuch guard and fouldiers. Then Antigonus ftealing fecretly into the hauen of LECH EVM. he was fourly repulted, and loft a number of his men; whereupon Cleomenes and his men being couragious for this victory, went quietly to supper. Antigonus on the other side fel into despaire to seehim brought by necessitie into such hard termes. Wherefore he determined to go to the temple of Iuno, and from thence to passe his armie by sea into the citie of Sicrone, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the same night there came some of ziratus friends of the Augives, who coming from Angos by sea, broughtnewes that the An- The Ar-GIVE'S were rebelled against Cleomenes. The practifer of this rebellion was one Ariffoleles, who gives dorecassly brought the people vato it, that were already offended with Cleomenes, that had promised cleomenes. to passe a law for the clearing of debts, but performed it not according to their expectation. Wherefore, Aratus with a thousand and five hundred men which Antigonus gave him, went by fea vnto Epidavnym. Howbeit Arifloteles taried not his coming, but taking them of the citie with him, went and befreged the garrifon of the LACED EMONTANS within the castell, being aided by Timoxenus, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. Cleomenes receiving aduertifement hereof, about the fecond watch of the night; fent for Megistonus in hast, and commanded him in anger speedily to go and aide their menthat were in the citie of Argos. For it was Megistonus himselfe that promised Cleomenes the sidelitie of the Argives, and that kept him from driving them out of the citie, which he suspected. So sending him away forthwith withtwo thousand men, he attended Antigonus, and comforted the Corinthians the best he could: aduertifing them that it was but a little mutinie of a few, that chanced in the citic of Argos. Megistonus being come to Argos, and slaine in battell, fighting for the Laced E-MONIANS in garrison there, who being in great distresse, and scantable to keep the castel against the enemies) fent fundrie messengers vnto Cleomenes, to pray him to fend them immediate aide. Cleamenes then being affraid that the enemies having taken Argos, would stoppe his way to returne backe into his countrey, who having opportunitie fafely to spoile LACONIA, and also to befiege the citic felfe of Spanta that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his clammes armie from Corinth. Immediatly after came Antigonus and tooke it from him, and put a loft sheeing ftrong garrifon into it. When Chemenes came before the citie of Angos, he scaled the walles, and breaking the vaults and arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the citie, and ioyned with his garrifon there, which yet refifted the Achaians: and taking other parts of the fame also, affiulted the walles, and cleared the streets in such fort, that not an enemie durst be feene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he faw Anticonus clements afarre off, coming downe the hilles into the valley with his footemen, and that his horsemen left the oute also came vpon the spurre into the citie, despairing then that he could any longer keepe it, he gatheredall his men together, and fafely going downe by the walles, retired without loffe of anie man. So, when in fhort time he had conquered much, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESVS, in shorter space also he loss all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his campe, fome did presently for sake him, others also immediatly after surrendred vp the townes vnto Antigonus. Cleomenes being thus oppressed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the rest of his armie, newes came to him in the night from La-CED EMON, which grieued him as much as the loffe of all his conquefts: for he was aduertifed "of the death of his wife Agiates, whom he loued fo dearely, that in the middeft of his chiefest prosperitie & victories, he made often iourneys to Sparta to secher. It could not be but a marucllous griefe vino Cleomenes, who being a young man, had loft fo vertuous and faire a yong La- ling Cleon die, so dearely beloued of him; and yet he gaue not place to his sorrow, neither did griese ouercome his noble courage, but he vsed the selfe same voice, apparell, and countenance that he did before. Then taking order with his private captaines about his affaires, and having provided also for the fafety of the TEGEANS, he went the next morning by break of day vnto SPARTA. After he had privatly lamented & forowed for his wives death, with his mother and children, he prefently bent his mind againe to publike caules. Now Cleomenes had fent vnto Ptolomy king of A-GYPT, who had promifed him aide, but vpon demand, to have his mother and children in pledge. So he was a long time before he would for shame make his mother privile vnto it, and went oftentimes of purpose to let her vnderstand it: but when he came he had not the heart to breake it to her. She first suspecting the thing, asked Cleomenes friends, if her some had not somewhat to say vnto her, that he durst not vtter. Whereupon, in fine he gaue the venture,

The noble mind of Cratificlea, Cleomenes

fendeth bis mother and

Cleomones

and brake the matter to her. When the heard it, the fell a laughing, and told him: Why, how cometh it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldest not tell me? Come, come, faid she. put me straight into a ship, and send me whither thou wilt, that this bodie of mine may do some good vnto my country, before crooked age confume my life without profite. Then all things being prepared for their journey, they went by land, accompanied with the armie, voto the head of Tænarus; where Cratesiclea being ready to imbarke, the tooke Chomenes aside into the temple of Neptune, and embracing and kiffing him, perceiuing that his heart yearned for forow of her departure, the faid vnto him: O king of LACED EMON, let no man fee for shame when we come out of the temple, that we have wept and dishonored Sparta: for that onely is in our power; as for the reft, as it pleafeth the gods so let it be. When she had spoken these words, and fashioned her countenance againe, the went then to take her ship with a little sonne of cleome. nes, and commanded the matter of the shippe to hoife faile. Now when she was arrived in A. hollageren. GYPT, and understood that king Ptolomy received Ambassadours from Antigenus, and werein talke to make peace with him; and hearing also that Cleomenes being requested by the Achar ANS to make peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and end that warre, without king Ptalomyes consent, and because of his mother: she wrote vnto him, that he should not spare to do any thing that should be expedient for the honour of Sparta, without feare of displeasing Piolomy. or for regard of an old woman, and a young boy. Such was the noble mind of this worthic Lady in her fonne Cleomenes aduerfitie. Furthermore, Antigonus having taken the citie of Tropa. and facked the other cities of ORCHOMENE & MANTINEA, Cleomenes feeing himselfe brought to defend the borders onely of Laconia, he did manumiffe all the ILOTES, (which were the flaues of Laced. Emon) paying flue Artica Minas a man. With that mony he made the fumme of flue hundred talents, and armed two thousand of these freed slaves after the Macedonian fashion to fight against the Levelspides (to wit, the white shields of Antigonus:) and then there fell into his mind a maruellous great enterprise, vnlooked for of euery man. The citicof MEGALIPOLIS) at that time being as great as Sparta, and having the aide of the Achaians. and Antigonus at hand, (whom the ACHAIAN's as it feemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the MEGALIPOLITANS) Chomenes determining to facke this citie, and knowing that to bring it to passe, nothing was more requisite then celeritie, he commanded his souldiers to victual themselves for five dayes; and marching with the choise of all his armie towards Salasia, as though he had meant to have spoiled the AR GIFE's, fodainly turning from thence, he inuaded the countrie of the Megalipolitans; and supping by Roetivm, went straight by ELICVNTA vnto the citic. When he was come neare vnto it, he sent Panteus before with speede, with two bands of the LACEDEMONIANS, and commanded him to take a certaine peece of the wall betweene two towers, which he knew was not kept nor guarded, and he followed him alfo with the rest of his army coming on faire and softly. When Paneas came thither, finding not onely that place of the wall without guard or watch which Cleomenes had told him of, but also the most part of that side without defence, he tooke some part of the wall at his first coming, and manned it; and overthrew another place of it also, putting them all to the sword that did defend it : and then came Cleomenes, and was within the citie with his armie, before the MEGALI-POLITANS knew of his coming. At length, the citizens understanding that the citie was taken, some fled in hast, conveying such light things as came to hand, in so great a searciand the others also arming themselnes, ran together to resist the enemies. But though they valiantly fought to repulse them out of the citie, and yet preuailed not, they gave the rest leisure thereby to flie and faue themselves, so that there remained not behind aboue five thousand men; for all the rest were fled with their wines and children, into the citie of MESSINA. The most part of them also that fought with the enemies, faued themselues, and very few were taken, the chiefest whereof were Lyfandridas and Thearidas the noblest persons that were amongst the MEGALIPOLITANS; wherefore when the fouldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto Cleomenes. Lyfandridas when he faw Cleomenes a good way off, cryed out aloud vnto him: O king of LACED EMON, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to do a more famous princely act then that which thou half already done, and that will make thy name also more glorious. Gleomenes musing what he would request: Well (quoth he) what is that thou requirest: One thing I will tell thee beforehand, thou shalt not make me restore your citie to you againe. Yet, quoth Lysandridas, let me request thus much then, that yedo not destroy it, but rather replenish it with friends and conse-

derates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you and that shall you do, giving the ME-GALIPOLITANS their city againe, and preferring fuch a number of people as have forfaken it. Cleamenes paufing a while, antiwered, It was a hard thing to beleeue that: but yet, quoth he, let Cleamenes honour take place with vs before profit. After that he fent an Herald straight vnto Messina ing. vnto them that were fied thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their citie againe, so that they would become good friends & confederates of § LACED EMONIANS, forfaking the alliance of the Achaians. Philopamen would by no meanes fuffer y MEGALIPOLI-TANS to accept this gracious offer of Cleamenes, nor also to leave their alliance with the Achai-ANS: telling them, that he meant not to give them their citie againe, but to take them also with their citie: and therefore draue Thearidas and Lyfandridas out of Messina, that moved this practife. It was that Philopamen that afterwards was the chiefeft man of the ACHAIANS, and that wanne fuch fame and honour among the GRECIANS, as we have particularly declared in his life. This word being brought to Cleomenes, who had kept the city from spoyling vnrill that time, he was then fo throughly offended, that he gaue the goods in prey to the foldiers, fent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto Sparta, and defaced the chiefest parts of the ci- cleameres their goodly tables, images, and pletures vitto or kata, and defact the entering factor ty, and then returned home againe, being afraid of Antigonus & the Achaians. Howbeit they theory of flirred not because of the parliament that was kept at that time in the city of ÆGIVM; where Megalipolis Aratus being in the pulpit for Orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayled: he answered them: MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and razed by Cleomenes. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the fod ainnesse of this great losic, straight brake off their parliament and assembly. But Antigonus thinking to aide them, sent presently for all his garrisons, who being long a comming, he willed them to stay where they were, and he himselfe taking a few soldiers with him, went vnto the city of An Gos. Therefore the second enterprise of Cleomenes seemeth at the first sight a very rash and desperate attempt: howbeit Polybius writeth, that it was an attempt of great wildome and policie. For Gleomenes vn- Cleomenes derstanding that the MACEDONIANS were dispersed in garrisons in diverse places, and that An- fratagents. tigenus lay all the winter in the city of ARGOS with a certaine number of footemen that were firangers, he invaded the countrey of the Argives: with his armie, perswading himselfe, that cither Antigonus would for fhame come & fight with him, or if he did nor, that the he should put him in difgrace with the ARGIVES: which indeed came fo to passe. The ARGIVES seeing their country spoiled by Cleomenes, were in a maruellous rage, and gathering together at Antigonas lodging, they cried out vnto him, either to go into the field & fight with the enemie, or elfe if he were afraid, to refigne his office of Generall of Green vnto others that were valianter then himselfe. But Antigonus like a wife and excellent Captaine, thinking it a dishonorto him, rashly Awie car. to put himselfe in danger, and his friends also, though he were prouoked with many injuries and fairessiald to pur himfelte in danger, and his friends and strongs the were producted with many infinites and opprobrious words, would not go into the field, but flood conflant in his first determination.

**The product of the conflant in the first determination of the conflant in the first determination of the conflant in the c Then Cleomenes having brought his armie hard to the walles of the city of Argos, and spoi- in hazard. led and destroyed the country, round about, without let or danger he safely returned homeagaine. Within a while after, Cleomenes being aduertised that Antigonus was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to innade the country of LACONIA, he going another way with his army (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondred when they faw him in the morning by the city of AR GOS, spoiling their country, and cutting down their corne, not with fickles or fwords as others do vie, but with long poles in forme of fithes, wher with the foldiers as they went sporting wise, ouerthrew and spoiled it. But when they came to the place of exercises in the suburbs, called Cyllabaris, certaine of the foldiers going about to have fet it on fire, Cleomenes would not fuffer them; and The modetold them, that what he had done at MEGALIPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honeftly done, tation of Now Antigonia presently returned backe againe, being minded first to have gone directly to the to his enecity of AR gos but sodainly altering his mind, did campe vpon the top of hils and mountaines. Cleamenes seeming not to be afraid of him, sent Heralds to him to desire the keyes of the temple of Iuno, and then after he had done facrifice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking Antigonus, after he had facrificed vntothe goddesse, vnder the templethat was shut vp, he sent his army vnto PHLIVNTA; and having driven away the garrifon out of OLOGVNTA, he came vnto the city of ORCHOMENE, having not oncly encouraged his citizens, but gotten even amongst the enemies themselues, a same also to bee a noble Captaine, and worthie to mannage great affaires. For every man judged him to be a skilfull fouldier, and a valiant Captaine, that with the

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Cleomenes Quercome by Antigo. mus, for iacke of meny to pay bis fould: -

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oser:brown by Antigo-

power of one only city, did maintaine warre against the kingdome of MACEDON, against all the people of PELOPONNESVS, and against the treasure of so great a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his own country of LACONIA vnfoyled, but far otherwife to hurt his enemies countries, and to take so many great cities of theirs. But he that first said, that money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the wars. Demades the Orator said on a time, when the Athenians commanded certaine gallies should be put out of the arsenall into y sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked mony: He that rules the prowe, must first see before him: meaning, munition and victuals must be prouided, before the ships be set out. And it is reported also, that the ancient Archidamus, when the consederates of the Laced Emonians at the beginning of the war of Peloponnesus required, that they might be seissed at a certaine rate, answered: The charges of warre haue no certaine stint. For like as wreftlers that exercise their bodies continually in games, are better able to wreftle,& ouerthrow them with time, that have no strength but onely art and slight: even so king Antigonus, who by the greatnesse of his kingdome defrayed the charge of this warre, did weary and ouercome Cleamenes at the length, because he lacked mony, both to pay the strangers that served him, and also to maintaine his owne citizens. For otherwise doubtlesse the time serued his turne well, because the troubles that fell vpon Antigonus in his realme, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his absence did spoyle and destroy the realme of Mac a Don, and specially the ILLYRIAN's of the high country that came downe then with agreat armie wherupon the Macedonians being spoyled & harried on al fides by them, they fent post vnto Antigonus, to pray him to come home. If these letters had bin brought him but a little before the battell, as they came afterwards, Antigorus had gone his way, and left the Achaians. But fortune that alwaies striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gaue such speed and fauour vnto him, that immediatly after the battell was fought at Selasia, (where Cleamenes lost his armic and city) the very messengers arrived that came for Antigonus to come homesthe which made the ouerthrow of king Cleamenes fo much more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two daies longer, when the Mac B Don LANs had bene gone, he might have made what peace he would with the Achaians: but for lacke of money, he was driven (as Polybius writerh) to give battell with twenty thousand men, against thirty thousand: where he shewed himselfe an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens also fought like valiant men, and the strangers in like case did shew themselues good soldiers. But his only ouerthrow was by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footement But Phylarchus writeth, that treason was the cause of his ouerthrow. For Antigonus had appointed the Acarnanians, and the Illyrians, which he had in his army, to steale vpon the wing of his enemies army, where Euclidas, king Cleamenes brother was, to compasse him in belind, while I he did fet the rest of his men in battell. When Cleomenes was got vp vpon some hill to looker sout him, to see the countenance of the enemie, and seeing none of the Acarna-NIANS, nor f the ILLYRIANS, he was then afraid of Antigonus, that he went about some flracageme of warre. Wherefore he called for Demoteles, whose charge was to take heede of strangemes and secret ambushes, and commanded him to looke to the rereward of his armie, and to be very circumspect all about. Demoteles, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, told him that all was cleare in the rereward, and bad him looke to ouerthrow his enemies before him. Gleomenes trusting this report, set forward against Antigonus, and in the end, his citizens of Sparta which he had about him, gaue fuch a fierce charge vpon the squadron of the Macedonian footemen, that they draue them backe fine furlongs off. But in the meanetime, Euclides his brother, in the other wing of his armie, being compassed in behind, Cleomenes turning him backe, and seeing the ouerthrow, cried our aloud: Alas good brother, thou art but flaine, yet thou diest valiantly, and honestly, and thy death shall be a worthic example vnto all posterity, and shall be sung by the praises of the women of Sparta. So Euclides and his men being flaine, the enemies came straight to set vpon Cleomenes wing, Cleomenes then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer result the enemie, sted, and faued himselfe. Many of the strangers also that served him, were slaine at this battell: and of fixe thousand Spartans, there were left aliue but onely two hundred. Now Cleomenes being returned vnto Sparta, the citizens comming to fee him, he gaue them counfell to yeeld themselues vnto Autigonus the conquerour : and for himselfe, if either aline or dead he could do

any thing for the honour and benefit of Sparta, that he would willingly do it. The women of the city also comming vnto them that flying had escaped with him, when he saw them vnarme the men, and bring them drink to refreshthem with, healfo went home to his own house. Then amaid of the house, which he had taken in the city of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had enregained cuer fince the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refresh him comming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drink though he was extreme dry, nor fit being very weary, but armed as he was, laid his armed croffe vpon a pillar, and leaning his head vpon it reposed himselfe a litle and casting in his mind all the waies that were to be thought of he tooke his friends with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his ships which he had appointed for the purpose, he hoissed saile, and departed his way. Immediatly after his departure, came Antigonus into the city of Sparta, and courteously entreated the citizens and Antigonus inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despite the ancient honour and dignity of Sparta, but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernement: when he had facrificed to the gods for his victory, he departed from thence the third day, newes being brought him that the warre was very great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did spoile his country. Now a disease took him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared attificke, mixtwich a The death forecatarre; but yet he yeelded not to his disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his countrey, of artigiand obtaining a famous victory, with great flaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as indeed he did, by Philarchus testimony, who faith, that with the force of his voice usking of fiercely crying out in the middest of his fight, he tare his lungs and lights, worse then they were Mandon. before. Yet in the schooles it is said, that after he had won the battell, he was so ioy full of it, that crying out: O bleffed day, he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, & a great feauer took him withall, thathe died of it. Thus much touching Antigonus. Now Cleomenes departing out of Cleomenes the Isle of Cythera, went & cast anker in another Hand, called ÆGLALIA. Then determining Pelopome. to faile ouer to the city of CYRENA, Therycion, one of Cleomenes friends (aman that in warres fie. shewed himselfevery valiant, but a boaster besides of his ownedoings) tooke Cleamenes aside, Theoretical and faid thus vnto him: Truly ô king, we have loft an honorable occasion to die in battel, though of thereis, euery man hath heard vs vaunt and fay, that Antigonus should never overcome the king of Spar- vnto Clea-TA aline, but dead. A second occasion yet is offered vs to die, with much lesse honour and fame notwithstanding then the first. Whither do we faile to no purpose . Why do we flie the death at hand, and feeke it fo farre off: If it be no shame nor dishonor for the posterity and race of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, let vs saue then our labour, and long dangerous failing, and go yeeld our felues vnto Antigonus; who in likelihood will better vie vsthen Ptolomy, because the MACEDONIANS are farre more noble persons then the EGYPTIANS. And if we disdaine to be commanded by them which have overcome vs in battell, why then will we make him Lordof vs that hath not ouercome vs: in flead of one, to make vs inferiour vnto both, flying Antigonus, and serving king Ptolomy? Can we say that we goe into Agrer, in refpect to fee your mother there? A joyfull fight no doubt, when she shall shew king Prolomies wines her fon, that before was a king, a prisoner and fugitive now. Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACON IA our country in fight, and our fwords befides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great mifery, and fo doing to excuse our selves with them that are slaine at SELASIA for defence of Sparta: then cowardly losing our time in ÆGYPT, to enquire whom Antigonus Cleomones left his Lieutenant and Gouernor in LACEDEMON? Therycion ending his oration, Cleomenes an- evation of fwered him thus. Doest thou thinke it a glory for thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest vnto any man, that can be: and yet wretch that thouart, thou syes now more " cowardly and shamefully then from the battell? For diverse valiant men, and farre better then " our felues, haue often yeelded vnto their enemies, either by fome misfortune, or compelled by " greater number, and multitude of men: but he, fay I, that submitteth himselfe vnto paine and " miserie, or to reproach and praise of men, he cannot but confesse that he is ouercome by his own miserie, or to reproach and praise of men, he cannot but confesse that he is ouercome by his own miserie, or to reproach and praise of men, he cannot but confesse that he is ouercome by his own miserie. vnhappinesse. For when a man will willingly kill himselfe, he must not do it to be rid of paines death must and labour, but it must have an honourable respect and action. For to live or die for his owie rable rerespect, that cannot but be dishonourable: the which now thou perswadest me vnto, to make frest. me flye this prefent miserie we are in, without any honour or profit in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we should not yet cast off the hope we hauero serue our country in time to come; but when all hope faileth vs, then we may eafily make our felues away when we

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

821

Cleamenes flieth into AEgytt onto king Proiomy.

lift. Thereunto Therecion gaue no answer, but affoone as he found oportunity to flip from Cleamenes, he went to the fea tide, & flue himselfe. Cleomenes hoisting faile from the lle of AGIALIA. went into Africke, & was brought by the kings servants vnto y city of ALEXANDRIA. King Ptolomy at his first comming, gaue Cleomenes no speciall good, but indifferent entertainement. but after that he had shewed himselse to be of great wisdome and judgement, and that Ptolomy faw in the simplicity of his LACONIAN life, he had also a noble disposition and courage, nothing degenerating from the princely race and bloud of Heronles, and that he yeelded not to his aduersity, he tooke more delight in his company then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be ouerthrown by Antigonus, who through this victory of him, had maruellously enlarged his honour and power. Then he began to comfort Chomenes, and doing him as great honor as could be, promifed that he would fend him with ships and money into GRECE, and put him againe into his kingdome: and further, gaue him an annuall pension in the meane time, of four eand twenty talents, with the which he fimply and foberly entertained himfelfe and his men about him : and bestowed all the rest vpon his countriemen that came out of GRECE into ÆGYPT. But now old king Ptolomy deceasing before he could perform the promise he made vnto Cleomenes, to send him into GRECE, the realme falling the into great laseinioufnesse, drunkennesse, & into the government of women, his case & misery was cleane forgot, ten. For the yong king his fon was fo given ouer to women and wine, that when he was most fober and in his best wits, he most disposed himself to make feasts and sacrifices, and to have the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a stage player or ingler; whilest one Agathoclea his lemman, and her mother, and Oenanthes a band, did rule all the affaires of the state. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had need of Cleemenes because he was afraid of his brother Magas, who by his mothers meanes, was very wel efteemed of among foldiers. Wherefore he called cleamenes to him, and made him of his prinic Councell, where he denifed by pra-Etife, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counfel with him, did confell him to do it: but Cleamenes onely vehemently diffwaded him from it, and told him, that if it were possible, rather more brethrenshould be begotten vnto y king for the safety of his person, & for deuiding of the affaires of the kingdome between them. Amongst the kings familiars that were chiefest about him, there was one Sosibius that faid vnto Cleomenes : So long as his brother Magas lived, the fouldiers that be strangers, whom the king entertained, would never be true to him. cleomenes answered him, for that matter there was no danger: for, faith he, of those hired firangers, there are three thousand Peloponnesians, which he knew at the twinckling of an eye would beat his commandement, to come with their armour and weapon where he would appoint them. These words of Cleomenes at that time shewed his faith and goodwill he bare vnto the king, and the force he was of befides. But afterwards, Ptolomies fearefulnesse increasing his mistrust, (as it commonly happeneth, that they that lack wit, thinke it the best safetie to be fearefull of enery wagging of a straw, & to mistrust enery man) the remembrance of Cleomenes words made him much suspected of the Courtiers, vnderstanding that he could doe so much with the foldiers that were strangers: infomuch as some of them faid: See (meaning Cleomenes) there is a Lyon amongst sheepe. Indeed considering his fashions and behaulour, they might well say so of him: for he would looke through his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw al what they did. In fine, he required an army & ships of the king: and vnderstanding also that Antigonus was dead, and that the Achaians & Arolians were at great wars together, & that the affairs of his country did call him home, all Peloponnesvs being in armes & vprore, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But neuer a man would give care vnto him, & the king also heard nothing of it, because he was continually entertained among ladies, with banquets, dancing, and maskes. But Sofibias that ruled all the realme, thought, that to keepe cleomenes against his will, were a hard thing, and also dangerous: and to let him go also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a stirring mind, and one that knew the vices & imperfections of their gouernment, he thought that also no safe way, sith no gifts nor presents that could be offered hin, could foften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in AGYPT, Apis) that is full fed in goo'lly pasture, doth yet defire to follow his natural course and liberty, to runne and leape at his pleasire, and plainely sheweth, that it is a griefe to him to be kept still by the Priest: even so the courtly pleasures did nothing delight Cleomenes, but as Homer writeth of Achilles:

It irkt his noble heart to fit at home in flothfull reft, When martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked best.

Now Cleamenes standing in these termes, there arrived in ALEXANDRIA One Nicagoras MESSI- Nicagoras Now Greeners reading in the termissing the arrivation of the state of ras on a time had fold Cleomenes certaine land, but was not payed for it, either because he had no so Cleome present money, or else by occasion of the warres which gaue him no leysure to make payment. "". Cleamenes one day by chance walking upon the fands, he faw Nicagor as landing out of his ship, being newly arrived; and knowing him, he curreoufly welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into AGYPT. Nicagoras gently faluting him againe, told him, that he had brought the king excellent horse of seruice. Cleomenes smiling, told him, Thou hadst bene better have brought him some curtifans and dancers, for they would have pleased the king better. Nicae or as faintly laughed at his answer, but within few daies after he did put him in remembrance of the land he fold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to mony, telling him that he would not have prest him for it, but that he had sustained losse by merchandise. Cleomenes anfwered him, that all his penfion was spent he had of the king. Nicagorus being offended with this answer, he went and told Sosibius of the mocke Cleomenes gaue the king. Sosibius was glad of this occasion, but yet defiring further matter to make the king offended with Cleomenes, he persivaded Nicagoras to write a letter to the king against Cleomenes, asthough he had conspired to take the city of CYRENA, if the king had given him ships, money, and men of warre. When Nicagor as had written this letter, he tooke ship, and hoised saile. Foure daies after his departure, Solibius brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly received it. The king vpon fight of it, was so offended with Cleomenes, that he gaue present order he should be shut vp in a great house, where he should have his ordinary diet allowed him, howbeit that he should keepe his house. Cleaments, This grieued Clemenes much, but yet he was worse afraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: Ptolomy the son of Chrysermus, one of the kings familiars, who had oftentimes before bene alexantris very conversant & familiar with Cleomenes, and did frankly talke together in all matters, Cleomenes one day fent for him, to pray him to come vnto him. Ptolomy came at his request, and familiarly discoursing together, went about to disswade him from all the suspitions he had, and excufed the king all o for that he had done vnto him: fo taking his leaue he left him, not thinking that Chemenes followed him (as he did) to the gate; where he sharply tooke vp the soldiers, saying, that they were very negligent and careleffe in looking to fuch a fearefull beaft as he was, and to ill to be taken if he once scaped their hands. cleomenes heard what he said, and went to his lodging againe, Ptolomy knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very words againe vnto his friends. Then all the Spartan's concerting their good hope into anger, determined to be reuenged of the iniury Ptolomy had done them, and to die like noble Spartans, not tarying till they should be brought to the shambles like far weathers, to be fold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonour vnto Gleomenes, having refused to make peace with Actigonus, a noble Prince & warrier, to tarie the kings pleafure till he had left his drunkennesse and dancing, and then to come and put him to death. They being fully refolued hereof, as you have cleamenes heard, king Ptolomy by chance went vnto the city of CANOBY s, and first they gave out in ALEX- practifeth ANDRIA, that the king minded to fet Cleomenes at liberty. Then Cleomenes friends observing the custome of the kings of ÆGYPT, when they meant to fet a prisoner at liberty (which was, to fend the prisoners ment. & presents before to their supper, did send vinto him such maner of presents & fo deceived the foldiers that had the keeping of him, faying, that they brought those presents from the king. For Cleamenes himselfe did facrifice vnto the gods, and sent vnto the souldiers that kept him, part of those presents that were sent vnto him, and supping with his friends that night, made merry with them, every man being crowned with garlands. Some fay, that he made the more haft to execute his enterprise fooner then he would have done, by means of one of his men that was priny vnto his conspiracy; who went every night to lie with a woman he kept, and therefore was afraid left he would bewray them. Cleomenes about noone, perceiuing the foldiers had taken in their cups, and that they were afleepe, he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his sword drawne in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that fort, which were thirty in all. Amongst them there was one called Hippotas, who being lame, went very lively out with them at the first: but when he saw they wentfaire & foftly because of him, he praied the to kil him, because they should not hinder their

The end &

Cleomenes

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enterprise for a lame man, that could do them no seruice. Notwithstanding, by chance they mee with a townes man a horse back, that came hard by their doore, whom they pluckt fro his horse and cast Hippotas vpon him : and then ran through the city, and cryed to the people, Liberty, R. berty. Now the people had no other courage in them, but onely commended Cleomenes, and wondered at his valiantnesses but otherwise to follow him, or to further his enterprise, not a man of them had any heart in them. Thus running up and downe the towne, they met with Ptolomy (the same whom we said before was the son of Chinsermus) as he came out of the Court: whereupon three of them fetting on him, flue him prefently. There was also another Piolomy that was Gouernour and Lieutenant of the city of ALEXANDRIA: who hearing a rumour of this stirre. came vnto them in his coach. They went and met him, and first having driven away his guard and foldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coach, and flue him also. After that they went towards the castle, with intent to set al the prisoners there at liberty to take their part. Howbeit the jaylors that kept them had so strongly locked up the prison doores, that Cleomenes was repulfed and put by his purpose. Thus wandering vp and downe the city, no man neither came to joyne with him, norto relift him, for every man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going up and downe he turned him to his friends, and faid vnto them: It is no maruel though women command fuch a cowardly people, that flie in this fort from their liberty. Thereupon he prayed them alto die like men, and like those that were brought up with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his fo noble deeds. Then the first man that made himfelfebe flaine, was Hippotas, who died of a wound one of the young men of his companie gaue him with a fword at his request. After him enery man flue themselves, one after another, Without any feare at all, fauing Panters, who was the first man that entred the city of MEGALI-The courage POLIS. He was a faire young man, and had bene very well brought wp in the LACONIAN difeipline, and better then any of his yeares. Cleamenes did loue him dearely, and commanded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill himselfelast of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he fearched them one after another with the point of his fword, to fee if there were any of them yet left aliue; and when he had pricked Cleamenes on the heele amongst others, and faw that he did yet knit his browes, he kissed him, & sate downe by him. Then perceiving that he had yeelded up the ghoft, embracing him when he was dead, he also flue himselfe, and fell vpon him. Thus Gleomenes having reigned king of Sparta fixteeneyeares, being the fame manner of man we have described him to be, he ended his daies in this fort as ye heare. Now his death being presently bruited through the citie, Cratesielea his mother, though otherwise she had a noble mind, did not with standing a little forget her greatnes, through the extreme forrow she felt for the death of her son and so embracing Cleomenes sons, she fell to bitter lamentation. But the eldest of his sonnes (no man mistrusting any such matter) found means to get out of her hands, and running vp to the top of the house, cast himselfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted, yet died not, but was taken vp crying, and angry with them, that they would not fuffer him to die. This news being brought to king Ptolomy, he comanded they should first flea Cleomenes, and then hang up his body, and also that they should put his children, his mother, and all her women waiting on her to death, among the which was Panteas wife, one of the fairest and courteousest women in her time. They had not bene long maried before, when these mischiefes lighted vpon them, at what time their loue was then in greatest force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit, shortly after she found the meanes to get her a horse, and some mony, and stole away in the night, and galloped towards. the hauen of Tanarus, where finding a ship ready bound for ÆGYPT, she imbarked and went to feeke her husband, with whom the gladly and louingly led her life, forfaking her owne country, to liue in a strange Realme. Now whethe Sergeants came to take Cratesicles to put her to death, Panteas wife led her by the arme, carying up her traine, and did comfort her; although Cratesiclea otherwise was not assaud to die, but only asked this fauor, that she might die before her litle children. This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman first flue her children before her eyes, and then her felfe afterwards, who in fuch great griefe and forrow, said no more but thus : Alas my poore children, what is become of you? And Panteas wifealfo, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the flaine bodies one after another, and wrapped them vp in fuch things as she could get, speaking neuera word, nor

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

shewing any signe or token of griefe. And in fine, having prepared her selfe to die, and plucked off her attire her selfe, without suffering any other to come neare her, or to see her, but the hangman that was appointed to strike off her head, in this fortshe died as constantly, as the flourest man living could have done; and had so covered her body, that no man needed after her death to touch her, so carefull was she to her end, to keepe her honesty, which she had alwaies kept in her life: and in her death was mindfull of her honour, wherewith she decked her body in her lifetime. Thus these LACED EMONIAN Ladies playing their parts in this pitifull tragedy, contending at the time of death, even with the courage of the flaine Spartans their countrey men, which of them should dye most constantly, left a manifest proofe and testimony, that forume hath no power ouer fortitude and courage. Shortly after, those that were appointed to keepe the body of king Cleomenes that hung vpon the croffe, they fpied a great cleomenes screen wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, in fo much as no rauching fowle durst come nearchim to cate of it: whereupon theking fell into a superstitious scare, being afraid cross-bad that he had offended the gods. Hereupon, the Ladies in his court began to make many facrithat he had offended the gods. Hereupon, the Ladies in his court began to make many lattiwreathed fices of purification, for the clearing of this finne: perfivading themselines, that they had put about his amanto death beloued of the gods, and that he had fomething more in him then a man. The bead. ALEXANDRIANS thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto Cleomenes, as vnto a demy god, calling him the fonne of the gods: vntill that the learned men brought them from that errour, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten there breed bees, and of horse also come waspes, and of asses likewise bettels: euen so mens bodies, when the marow melteth and gathereth together, do bring forth Serpents.

The which coming to the knowledge of the ancients in old time, of all other beafts they did confecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper

vnto man.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

Aaaa4



beafis. H'by the Dragon is confecrated. vnto Prins

TIBERIVS AND CAIVS Gracchi.



The worthines of Tibevius Gracchus the father. Tiberius Gracchus the father,

Ow that we have declared vnto you the history of the lines of these two GRECIANS, Agis and Cleomenes aforesaid, we must also write the history of two Romaines; the which is no lesse lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chanced vnto Tiberius and Caius, both of them the fonnes of Tiberius Gracehus. He having bene twife Confull, and once Cenfor, and having had the honour of two triumphes, had notwithstanding more honour and fame onely for his valiantnesse, for the which he was thought worthy to marry with Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio, who ouercame Hannibal after the death of his father:

though while he lived he was never his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that Tiberius on a time found two fnakes in his bed, and that the foothfayers and wifards having confidered the fignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and alfo to let them both escape, but one onely; affuring him that if he killed the male, he should not live long after; and if he killed the female, that then his wife Cornelia should die. Tiberius then louing his wife dearely, thinking it meeter for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a young woman, should die before her, he flue the male, and let the female escape; howbeit he died soone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of Cornelia. Cornelia after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her house and children, led such a chast life, was so good to her children, and of fo noble a mind, that every man thought Tiberius a wife man for that he she Graeshi died, and left her behind him. She remaining widow, king Ptolomy made fuite vnto her, and would have made her his wife and Queene: but the refuted, and in her widowhood loft all her children, but one daughter (whom the bestowed vpon the yonger Scipio African) and Tiberius, and Cains, whose lives we prefently write. Those she carefully brought up, that they being become more civill, and better conditioned then any other Romaines intheir time, every man judged, that education prevailed more in them then nature. For, as in the fauours and pictures of Caffor and Pollux, there is a certaine difference difference, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wreftling, and the other for running: even so betweene these two yong brethiren, amongst other the great likenesse betweene them, being both happily borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew not with standing great difference in their actions and doings in the commonwealth: the which I thinke contenient to declare, before I proceed any further. First of all, for the fauour of the face, the looke and mouing of the body, Tiberius was much more mild and tractable, and Caius more hot and earnest. For the first in his Orations was very modest, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMAINES was the first that in his Oration ictted up & dewnethe pulpit, and that plucked his gowne over his shoulders: as they write of Cleo ATHENIAN, that he was the first of all Orators

Scipio. The tender love of Tiberius to his wife Corner Thepraise of Canelia.

mother of

maried

Cornelia.the

A true defeription of Tiberin & Cains Grace

TIBERIUS AND CAIVS.

Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his Oration. Furthermore, Cains words, and the vehemency of his perswasson, were terrible and full of passion; but Tiberius words in contrarie maner, were mild, moued men more to compassion, being very proper, and excellently applied; where Caius words were full of finenesse and curiosity. The like difference also was between ethem in their fare and diet. For Tiberius alwaies kept a conuenient ordinarie; and Caius also in respect of other Romain Bs, lived very temperately, but in respect of his brothers fare, curiously and superfluously. Insomuch as Drusus on a time reproued him, because he had bought certaine Dolphins of silver, to the value of a thousand two hundred and fiftie Drachmaes for every pound weight. And now, as touching the maners and naturall dispofition of them both agreeing with the diversity of their tongues, the one being mild & plausible. and the other hot and cholericke: in so much that otherwhile forgetting himselfe in his Oration, against his will he would be very earnest and straine his voice beyond his compasse, and so with great vncomelinesse confound his words. Yet finding his own fault, he deuised this remedy. He had a feruant called Licinius, a good wife man, who with an instrument of musicke he had, by the which they teach men to rife and fall in their tunes, when he was jin his Oration, he ener stood behind him; and when he perceived that his masters voice was a litle too loud, and that through choler he exceeded his ordinary speech, he played a fost stop behind him, at the sound whereof Gains immediatly fell from his extremity, and cafily came to himselfe againe. And here was the diverfity betweene them. Otherwise, for their hardinesse against their enemies, inslice vnto their tenants, the care and paines in their offices of charge, and also their continency against volupruousnes, in all these they were both alike. For age, Tiberius was elder by nine yeares, by reafon whereof their fenerall authority and doings in the commonwealth fell out at fundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, because they had not both authority in one selfe time, neither could they io yne their power together: the which if it had met at one selfetime, had bene of great force, and peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we must write particularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the elder. He, when the came to mans state, had such a name & estimation, that immediatly they made him fellow in made Anthe colledge of the Priefts which at Rome are called Augures (being those that have the charge to confider of fignes & predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes then for nobility. The same doth Appius Clodius witnesse vnto vs, onethat hath bene both Consull and Censor, and also president of the Senate, and of greater authority then any man in his time. This Appins ata supper when althe Augures were together, after he had saluted Tiberius, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage, Tiberius was very glad of the offer, & therewithall the mariage was presently concluded betweene them. Thereupon Appius coming home to his house, at the threshold of his doore he called aloud for his wife, and told her: Antistia, I have dividantly bestowed our daughter Clodia. She wondering at it, O gods said she, & what needed all this haste ter. what couldest thou haue done more, if thou haddest gotten her Tiberius Gracchus for her husband: I know that some referre this history vnto Tiberius, father of these two men we write of, and vnto Scipiothe African: but the most part of writers agree with that we write at this prefent. And Polybous himself also writeth, that after the death of Scipio Afra can, his friends being met together, they chose Tiberius before all the other youg men of the city to mary him vnto Cornelia, being free, and unpromised, or bestowed upon any man by her father. Now Tiberius the yonger being in the wars in Africk & vnder Scipio the fecond, who had maried his fifter: Tiberius lying in the tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble gifts of nature, Gracehus to allure mens hearts to defire to follow his valiantnesse. So in a short time he did excell all the fare. yong men of his time, as well in obedience, as in the valiantnesse of his person: in so much that he was the first man that scaled the wals of the enemies, as Fannius reporteth, who saith that he fcaled the wals with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterprise. So that being present, all the campe were in love with him: and when he was absent, every man wished for him againe. Afterthis warrewas ended, he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his chance to goe against the Tiberius NYMANTINES, With Caius Mancinus one of the Consuls, who was an honest man, but yet had shown the worst lucke of any Captaine the Romaines had. Notwithstanding, Tiberius wisedome Quefor. and valiantnesse, in this extreme ill lucke of his Captaine, did not only appeare with great glory to him, but also most wonderfull, by the great obedience and reverence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did fo trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell himselfe

Gracchus concludeth peace with

whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was overthrowne in great foughten fields, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The Nymantines hearing of it, first tooke his camp. and then ranne after them that fled, and fetting vpon the rereward, flue them, and enuironedall his armie. So that they were driven into firaight and narrow places, whereout they could by no meanes escape. Thereupon Mancinus despairing that he could get out by force, he sent a Herauld to the enemies to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made answer, that they would trust no man but Tiberius onely, and therefore they willed he should be sent vnto them. They defired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the yong man, because there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly alfo, as remembring his father Tiberius, who making warres in Spaine, and having there subdued many nations, he granted the Nyman-TINES peace, the which he caused the Romaines afterwards to confirme & ratific. Hereupon Tiberius was fent to speake with them, and partly obtaining that he defired, and partly also granting them that they required, he concluded peace with them, whereby affuredly he faued the liues of twenty thousand ROMAINE citizens, besides slaues and other stragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithstanding the NVMANTINES took the spoile of all the goods they found in the ROMAINES campe, among the which they found Tiberius booke of account touching the mony disburfed of the treasure in his charge. Tiberius being maruellous desirons to have his booke againe, returned backe to NVMANTIA with two or three of his friends only. though the army of the Romaines were gone farre on their way. So comming to the towne, he spake vnto the governours of the city, and prayed them to redeliner him his bookes of ac. count, because his malicious enemies should not accuse him, calling him to account for his doings. The NVMANTINES were very glad of this good hap, and prayed him to come into the towne. He standing still in doubt with himselfe what to do, whether he should goe into the towne, or not: the gouernours of the city came to him, and taking him by the hand, prayed he would think they were not his enemics, but good friends, and that he would trust them. Whereupon Tiberius thought best to yeeld to their persuasion, being desirous also to have his bookes againe, and the rather, for feare of offending the Nymantines, if he should have denied and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the city, they provided his dinner, and were yery carneft with him, intreating him to dine with them. Then they gave him his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he would of all the spoiles they had gotten in the campe of the Romaines. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but frankinsence, which he vsed, when he did any facrifice for his countrey; and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to Rome, all this peace concluded was vtterly misliked, as dishonorable to the maiestie of the Empire of Rome. Yet the parents and friends of them that had ferued in this warre, making the greatest part of the people, they gathered about Tibe. rim, faying, that what faults were committed in this seruice, they were to impute it vnto the Confull Mancinus, and not vnto Tiberius, who had faued fuch a number of ROMAINES lines. Notwithstanding, they that were offended with this dishonorable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their forefathers in the like case. For they sent backetheir Captaines naked vnto their enemies, because they were contented the Samnir Es should spoile them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreover, they did not only send them the Captaines and Consuls, but all those also that bare any office in the field, and had consented vnto that condition: to the end they might lay all the periurie and breach of peace vpon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the love and goodwill the people did beare vnto Tiberius: for they gaue order, that the Confull Mancinus should be sent naked and bound vnto the NYMANTINES, and for Tiberius fake they pardoned all the rest. I thinke Scipio, who bare great sway at that time in Rome, and was a man of greatest account, did helpe him at a pinch, who not withstanding was ill thought of, because he did not also saue the Consul Mancinus, and confirme the peace concluded with the NVMANTINES, confidering it was made by Tiberius his friend and kinfman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius friends, and certaine men, which stirred him vpagainst Scipio. But yet it fell not out to open malice between them, neither followed there any hurt vponit. And furely I am perswaded, that Tiberius had not fallen into those troubles he didafterwards, if Scipio African had bene present, when he passed those things he preferred. But Scipio was then in warres at the fiege of NVMANTIA, when Tiberius Vpon this occasion passed these lawes. When the Romaine's in old time had ouercome any of

Why Tibe-

their neighbours, for ranfome they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their land from them, part. whereof they fold by the crier, for the benefit of the commonwealth; and part alfothey referred to their state as a demeane, which afterwards was let out to farme for a small rent yearely, to the poore citizens that had no lands. How beit the rich men inhanced the rents, and so beganne to thrust out the poore men. Thereupon was an ordinance made, that no citizen of Roma should haue about five hundred acres of land. This law for a time did bridle the couctoufnesse of the lutters. rich men, and did ease the poore also that dwelt in the countrey, ypon the farmes they had taken vn of the commonwealth, and so lived with their own, or with that their ancestors had from the beginning. But in processe of time, their rich neighbors, by names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seene in it in their owne names. Whereupon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, went with faint courage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp their children. So that in short time, the free men left ITALY, and flaues and barbarous people did replenish it, whom the rich men made to plough those lands which they had taken from the Romaines. Caius Lelius, one of Scipioes why Caius friends, gaue an attempt to reforme this abuse: but because the chiefest of the city were against Labus was him, fearing it would breake out to some vprore, he desisted from his purpose, & therfore he was called Lelius the wife. But Tiberius being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforefaid, being allured vnto it (as divers writers report) by Diophanes the Orator, and Graebus Blessins the Philosopher; of the which, Diophanes was banished from the city of MITYLENE, and bane of the Blogius the ITALIAN from the city of CVMEs; who was scholler and familiar vnto Antipater of Poople. TARSVS at ROME, by whom he was honored for certaine works of Philosophy he dedicated unto him. And some also do accuse their mother Cornelia, who did twit her sons in the teeth, that the Romaines did yet call her Scipioes mother in law, and not the mother of the Gracchi. Other fay it was Spurius Polthumius, a copanion of Tiberius, & one that cotended with him in eloquece. For Tiberius returning from the wars, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputation, and well beloued of enery one, he fought to excell him by attempting this noble enterprife, and of so great expectation. His owne brother Cains in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the wars of NVMANTIA, passing through THVSCAN, he found the countrey in maner vnhabited: and they that did follow the plough, or keepe beafts, were the most of them slaues, and barbarous people, come out of a strange country. Whereupon euer after it ranne in his mind to bring this enterprise to passe, which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the people only that most set his heart on fire to couet honor, and that hastened his determination: first bringing him to it by bils set up on every wall, in every porch, & upon the tombes, praying him by them to cause the poore citizens of Rome to have their lands restored, which were beloging to the comonwealth. This not with standing he himself made not the law alone of his own head, but did it by the counsell and aduice of the chiefest men of Rome, for vertue and csima- Counsellers tion: among the which, Craffus the high Bishop was one, and Autius Scanola the Lawyer, that to Tiberius then was Confull, and Appius Clodius his father in law. And truly it feemeth, that neuer law for preferwas made with greater fauour, then that which he preferred against fogreat iniustice and auarice. For those that should have bene punished for transgressing the law, and should have had Lex Agridthe lands taken from them by force, which they vniustly kept against the Law of Rome, & that should also have bene amerced for it, he ordained that they should be payed by the commonwealth to the value of the lands, which they held vniustly; and so should leauethem to the poore citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and reliefe. Now, though the reformation established by this law, was done with such great fauour, the people not with standing were contented, and would forget all that was past, fo that they might have no more wrong offered them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great possessions, hated the law for their anarice, and for spite and selfewill (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly food with the Lawyer that had preferred the law, and fought by all denice they could to difswade the people from it: telling them that Tiberius brought in this law Agraria againe, to diflurbe the commonwealth, and to make some alteration in the flate. But they prevailed not: for Tiberius defending the matter, which of it selfe was good and just, with such eloquence as might haue iustified an euill cause, was inuincible; and no man was able to argue against him Orations, to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poore citizens of Rome (the people beinggathered round about the pulpit for Orations) he told them, that the wild beafts through

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Marcus Octavius Tribune. did to the Aund Tibe-

The modeft beries and

. ITALY had their dens and caues of abode, and that the menthat fought, and were flaine for their country, had nothing else but aire and light; and so were compelled to wander vp and downe with their wines and children, having no resting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do butmocke their fouldiers, when they encourage them in battell to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their owne houses, and their predecessors. For, said he, of such a number of poore citizens as there be, there cannot a man of them shew any ancient house or rombe of their ancestors : because the poore men do go to the wars, and be slaine for the rich mens pleasures & wealth; besides, they falsly call them Lords of the earth, where they have not a handfull of ground that is theirs. These and such other like words being vttered before all the people with fuch vehemency and troth, did so moue the common people withall, and put them in fuch a rage, that there was no aductfary of his able to with stand him. Therfore, leaving to contrarie and denie the law by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in Marcus Octanius. colleague & fellow Tribune with Tiberius in office, who was a graue and wife yong man, & Tiberius very familiar friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the cofirmation of this law, he prayed the to hold him excused, because Tiberius was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the rich menthat were importunate with him, he did withfrand Tiberius law, the which was inough to ouerthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against ir, though althe other passe with it, he ouerthroweth its because they all can do nothing, if one of them be against it. Tiberius being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first favorable law, but in a rage preferred another more gratefull to the common people, as also more extreme against the rich. In that law he ordained, that who focuer had any lands contrary to the ancient lawes of Rome, that he should presently depart from them. But thereupon there fell out continuall brawles in the pulpit for Orations, against oftanius:in the which, though they were very earnest & vehemet one against another, yet there pailed no fowle words fro them (how hot foeuer they were one with another) that should shame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth such a stav and knowledge in a man, not only in things of pleafure to make him regard his credite, both in word and deed, but in paffion and anger also, and in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereupon Tiberius finding that this law among others touched Octamus, because he enjoyed a great deale of land that was the commonwealths, he prayed him fecretly to contend no more againft him; promifing him to give him of his owne, the value of those lands which he should be driven to forfake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he faw O Hauius would not be perfwaded, he then preferred a law, that al magistrates & officers should cease their authority, til the law was either past, or reiccted, by voices of the people; and thereupon he set his owne seale vpon the doores of the temple of Saturne, where the coffers of the treafure lay, because the treafurers themselues during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, vpo great penalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other magistrate of authority that should breakethis order. Hercupon, all the Magistrates fearing this penalty, did leaue to exercise their office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great livings, changed their apparell, and walked very fadly up and downe the market place, and layed fecret waite to take Tiberius, having hired men to kill him: which caused Tiberius himselfe, openly before them all, to weare a short dagger vnder his long gowne, properly called in Latine, Dolon. When the day came that his law should be established, Tiberius called the people to give their voices: and the rich men on the other side, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the papers of mens voices were throwne, so that there was like to fall out a stirre vpon it. For the faction of Tiberius was the stronger side, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not bene for Manlius and Fuluius, both the which had bene Confuls; who went vnto him, and befought him with the teares in their eyes, and holding vp their hands, that he would let the law alone. Tiberius thereupon, forcleeing the instant danger of some great mischiefe, as also for the reuerecehe bare vnto two fuch noble persons, he stayed a litle, and asked them what they would hauchim to do. They made answer, that they were not able to counfell him in a matter of so great weight, but they prayed him notwith standing he would be contented to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. Thereupon he granted them presently. But afterwards perceiving that the Senate sate vpon it, and had determined nothing, because the rich men were of too great authority, heentred into another denice that was neither honest nor meet; which was, to depriue Offauius of his Tribuneship TIBERIUS AND CAIVS.

Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to passe the law. But before netooke that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with courteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to ftand no more against him; and to do the people this pleasure, which required a matter iust and reasonable, and only requested this small recompence for the great paines they tooke in service abroad for their countrey. Octamus denied him plainly. Then faid Tiberius openly, that both of them being brethren in one selfe place and authority, and contrary one to another in a matter of so great weight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without civill warre: and that he could see no way to remedie it, vnlesse one of them two were deposed from their office. Thereupon he bad octavius begin first with him, and he would rise from the bench with a good will, and become a private man, if the people were so contented. Offauius would do nothing in it. Tiberius then replied, that he would be doing with deposits him, if he alterednot his mind, vpon a better breath and confideration; and so dismissed the affembly for that day. The next morning the people being againe affembled, Tiberius going vp to his scate, attempted againe to perswade Octavius to leave off. In fine, finding him still a man vnremoueable, he referred the matter to the voices of the people, whether they were contented off auins should be deposed from his office. Now there were five and thirty tribes of the people, of the which seuenteen of them had already passed their voices against oftanius, so that there remained but one tribe more to put him out of his office. Then Tiberius made them stay for proceeding any further, and prayed of anius again, embracing him before all the people, with all the intreatie possible, that for selfewill sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done vnto him, as to be put out of his office, neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of fo pitifull a deed. They fay that Octavius at this last intreatie was somewhat moued and won by his perswasions, and that weeping, he stayed a long time, and made no answer. But when he looked vpon the rich men that stood in a great company together, he was ashamed (I think) to have their ill wils, and rather betooke himfelfe to the losse of his office, and so bad Tiberius do what he would. Thereupon he being depriued by voices of the people, Tiberius commanded one of his infranchised bondmento pull him out of the pulpit for Orations: for he ysed his infranchised bondmen in stead of Sergeants. This made the fight so much more lamentable, to see offanius thus shamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue runne voon him, but the rich men came to rescue him, and would not suffer them to doe him further hurt. So offauius faued himselfe running away alone, after he had bene rescued thus from the fury of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull servant of octavius, who stepping before his master to saue him from hurt, had his cies pulled our against Tiberius mind, who ranne to the rescue with all speed when he heard the noise. After that, the law Agraria passed for division of lands, and three Commissioners were appointed to make inquirie and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appointed were these: Tiberius himselfe, Appius Clodius Agraria. his father in law, aud Cains Gracehus his brother, who were not at that time in Rome, but in the campe with Scipio African, at the fiege of the citie of Nymantia. Thus Tiberius vety quietly passed ouer these matters, and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in Ottauius place no man of quality, but onely one of his followers, called Mutius. For which cause the Noble men were fore offended with him, and fearing the increase of his greatnesse, they being in the Senate house did what they could possible to do him despite and shame. For when Tiberius demaunded a tentat the charge of the common-wealth, when he should goe abroad to make division of these lands, as they vsually granted vnto others, that many times went in farre meaner commissions, they flatly denied him; and through the procurement of P. Nasica (who being a great landed man in his countrey, shewed himselfe in this action his mortall enemie, taking it grieuously to be compelled to depart from his land) onely granted him nine of their oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the people on the other fide wereall in an vprore against the rich. In so much as one of Tiberius friends being dead vpon thefudden, vpon whose bodie being dead there appeared very ill signes, the common people ranne suddenly to his buriall, and cried out, that he was poyloned. And so taking vp the Beere whereon his body lay vpon their shoulders, they were present at the fire of his funerals, where immediatly appeared certaine fignes to make them suspect, that indeed there was vehement cause of presumption he was poysoned. For his belly burst, whereout there issued such abundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the first fire, and made

King Attolus made the people of Rome his heire. Tiberius law, for diniding of Attalus money.

T'eas Annius afubtil queffioner and an freezer of things.

The Oration of Tiberius Gracehus, touching the power and authoristy of the Tribane.

them fetch another, the which also they could not make to burne, vntill that they were compelled to carry the body into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much adoto make it burne. Tiberius feeing that, to make the common people mutine the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his fonnes before them, and befought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that despaired of his health and safetie. About that time died Attalus, sirnamed Philopater, and Eudemus PERGAMENIAN brought his will to Rome, in the which he made the people of Rome his heire. Wherefore Tiberius, still to increase the good will of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritance of this king, should be distributed among the poorecitizens. on whose lot it should fall to have any part of the division of the lands of the common-wealth to furnish them towards house, and to ser up their tillage. Furthermore, he sayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of Attalus, the Senate had nothing to do to take any order with them, but that the people were to dispose of them, and that he himselfe would pur it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, in fo much as there was one Pompey a Schator, that standing vp, faid, that he was next neighbour vnto Tiberius and that by reason of his neighbourhood he knew that Eudemus Pergamenian had given him one of king Attalus royall bands, with a purple gowne besides, for a token that he should one day be king of Rome. And Quintus Metellus also reproued him, for that his father being Cen. for, the ROMAINES having supped in the towne, and repairing every man home to his house. they did put out their torches and lights, because men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they taried too long in company banqueting: and that in contrary manner, the seditions and needie rabble of the common people did light his fon home, and accompany him all night long up and downe the towne. At that time there was one Titus Annius, a man that had no goodnesse norhonessie in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a subtill questioner andanswerer. He provoked Tiberius to answer him, whether he had not committed a shamefull fact against his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him that by the lawes of Rome should have bene holy and vntouched. The people tooke this prouocation very angrily, and Tiberius also comming out, and having assembled the people, commanded them to bring this Annins before him, that he might be endited in the market place. But he finding himselfe faire inferiour vnto Tiberius both in dignity and eloquence, ranne to his fine subtill questions, to take a man at his word: and prayed Tiberius before he did proceed to his accusation, that he would first answer him to a question he would aske him. Tiberius bad him say what he would. So filence being made, Annius asked him: If thou wouldest defame me, and offer me injurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he should rise to take my part, and angerthee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his office : It is reported, that Tiberius was so gravelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his Orations of any man, yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the assembly. Afterwards, vnderstanding that of all the things he did, the deposing of octavius from his office was thought (not onely of the Nobility, but of the common people also) as foule and wilfull a part as cuer he played, for that thereby he had imbased and viterly overthrowne the dignity of the Tribunes, the which was alwaies hadin great veneration until that present time: to excuse himself therfore, he made an excellent Oration to the people, whereof we will fet downe some speciall points, that you may the better discerne thereby the force and effect of his eloquence. The Tribuneship (said he) indeed was a holy and facred thing, as particularly confecrated to the people, and established for their benefit and safetie: where contrariwise, if the Tribune do offer the people any wrong, he thereby minisheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wils by voices; besides that he doth also imbase his owne authority, leaving to doe the thing for the which his authority was first giuen him. Or otherwise we could not chuse, but suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, " to overthrow the Capitoll, orto fet fire on the Arfenall, and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the people still, though a leud Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authority and power of the people, then he is no more " a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a " Confull, and commit him to prison: and that the people should not withstand the authority " of the Tribune, who gaue him the same, when he would vse his authority to the prejudice

of the people: for the people are they that do chuse both Confull and Tribune. Furthermore, 3, the kingly dignitie (because in the same is contained the absolute authority & power of all other kinds of magistrates and offices together) is confecrated with very great and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhead: and yet the people expulsed king Tarquin, because he vfed his authoritie with crueltie; and for the injurie he offered one man onely, the most ancient rule and government (by the which the foundation of Rome was first layed) was veterly abolithed. And who is there in all y city of Rome to be reckoned to holy as the Vestall Nuns, which haue the custodie and keeping of the cuerlasting fire; and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, the is buried aline for her offencer for when they are not holy to the gods, they lote the liber. tie they have in respect of serving the gods. Even so also it is vancete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, should for the peoples sake be renerenced any more, seeing that through his owne folly he had deprined himfelf of that authority they gaue him. And if it be for that he was chosen Tribune by the most part of the tribes of the people, then by greater reaso is he justly deprinced that by all the whole tribes together is for faken & deposed. There is nothing more holy , nor inviolate then things offered up vnto the gods: and yet it was never feene that any man did forbid the people to take the, to remoue & transport them from place to place as they thought good. Euch for they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offering confecrated to y gods. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate ,, may lawfully depose himselfe: for it hath bene often seene, that men in office have deprined themselves, or otherwise have sued to be discharged. This was the effect of Tiberius purgation. Now his friends perceiving the threats the rich & noblemen gave out against him, they wished him for the fafety of his person, to make suite to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereupon he began to flatter the common people again afresh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the Other lawes which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when every citizen of Roma mateby was bound to go to the wars being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull alfo for men Grachus. to appeale from fentence of the Judges vnto the people, and thrust in also amongst the Senators (which then had abfolute authority to judge among themselves) a like number of the Romaine Knights, and by this meanes fought to weaken and imbase the authority of the Senate, increafing also the power of the people, more of malice then any reason, or for any justice or benefit to the common-wealth, Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voices of the people for the confirmation of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the stronger in the assembly, because all the people were not yet come together, he fell a quarelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwaies to winne them; and yet in the end brake vp the affembly, commanding them to returne the next morning. There hee would be the first man in the market place, apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, and looking heavily vpon the matter, praying the people affembled to have compassion upon him, saying, that he was afraid less his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the people were so moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tents, and lay about his house to watch it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickens (by fignes of the which they do deuine of things to come) brought them vnto him, and cast them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one onely, and yet with much ado, shaking the Vitalities cage: and when it came out, it would cate no meate, but onely lift vp her left wing, and put fine vnic. forth her legge, and for anne into the cage againe. This figne made Tiberius remember another he had had before. He had a maruellous faire helmet and very rich, which he wore in the wars: vinder it were crept two fnakes vinwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made Tiberius wonder the more, because of the ill signes of the chickens: notwithstanding, he went out of his house when he heard that the people were assembled in the Capitoll; but as he went out, he hit his foote fuch a blow against a stone at the threshold of the doore, that he brake the naile of his great toe, which fell in such a bleeding that it bled through his shooe. Againe, he had not gone far, but he faw vpon the top of a house on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of people by, yet a stone which one of these rauens cast from them, came and fell hard at Tiberius foot. The fall thereof stayd the fourest man he had about him. But Blosius the Philosopher of Cvm s that did accompany him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the hearts of all his followers, that Tiberius being the sonne of Gracehus, and nephew of Scipio the African, and the chiefe B b b b 2

had not in all aboue 3000 men of the people about him. But furely it feemes this conspiracie was

Flaceus beconspiracie

Gracebus.

Tiberius

would plainly tell the people, that this was a tricke of a tyrant that reigned indeed, and that for pride and disdaine did abuse the peoples good wils. Furthermore, diuers messengers came vnto him, and faid, that his friends that were in the Capitoll, fent to pray him to make hafte, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably received: for the people feeing him comming, cried out for ioy to welcome him; and when he was gotten vp to his feate, they shewed themselves both carefull and louing towards him, looking warily that none came nearehim, but such as they knew well. When Mutius began againe to call the tribes of the people to give their voices, he could not proceed according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noise the hindmost people made, thrusting forward, and being driven backe, and one mingling with another. In the meane time Flaums Flaceus, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might fee him, and when he faw that his voice could not be heard of Tiberius, he made a figne with his hand that he had fome matter of great importance to tell him. Tiberius straight bad them make a lane through the preasse. So, with much adoe, Flanius came at length vnto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Confull to their wils, determined themsclues to come and kill him, having a great number of their friends and bond-men armed for the purpose. Tiberius immediatly declared this conspiracie vnto his friends and followers, who ftraight girt their long gownes vinto them, and brake the Sergeants ianelins which they caried in their hands to make roome among the people, and tooke the trunchions of the same to refift those that would set upon them. The people also that stood furthest off, maruelled at it, and asked what the matter was. Tiberius by a figne to tell them the danger he was in, layed both his hands on his head, because they could not heare his voice for the great noise they made. His enemics feeing the fignehe gaue, ranne prefently to the Senate, crying out, that Tiberius required a royall band or diademe of the people, and that it was an enident figne, because they faw him clappe his hands upon his head. This tale troubled all the company. Whereupon Nafica befought the Confull, chiefe of the Senate, to helpe the common-wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Confull gently answered againe, that he would vie no force, neither putany citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as also he would not receive Tiberius, nor protect him, if the people by his perswasion or commandement should commit any act contrary to the law. Naficathen rifing in anger, Sith the matter is so (said he) that the Consull regardeth not the common-wealth, all you then that will defend the authority of the law, follow me. Thereupon he cast the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, and went straight to the Capitoll. They that followed him also tooke their gownes and wrapped them about their armes, and laid at as many as they might, to make them give way: and yet very few of the people durst meete with fuch states as they were to stay them, because they were the chiefest men of the city; but cuery man flying from them, they fell one on anothers neck for haft. They that followed them, had brought from home greatleauers and clubs, and as they went they took vp feete of treffles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowne and broken, running away, and hied them apace to meete with Tiberius, striking at them that stood in their way: so that in short space they had dispersed all the common people, and many were flaine flying. Tiberius seeing that, betooke him to his legges to faue himfelfe; but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne and stayed him but he leauing his gowne behind him, ranne in his coate, and running fell vponthem that were downe before. So, as he was rifing vp againe, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seene strike him, was one of the Tribunes his brethren, called Publim Satureius, who gaue him a great rap on the head with the foote of a chaire; and the fecond blow he had, was giuen him by Lucius Rufus that boasted of it, as if he had done a notable act. In this tumult, there were flaine about three hundredmen, and were all killed with staues and stones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the first sedition among the citizens of Rome, that fell out with murther & bloudshed, fince the expulsion of the kings. But for all other former diffentions (which were no trifles) they were eafily pacified, either party gluing place to other: the Senate for feare of the Commoners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it fee-

meth that Tiberius himself wold easily have yeelded also, if they had proceeded by faire meanes

and perswasion, so they had meant good faith, and would have killed no manifor at that time he

TIBERIUS AND CAIVS.

led him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing sport of it, but

executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparent cause they presupposed against him. For proofe hereof may be alledged, the barbarous cruelty they vsed to his body being dead. For they would not suffer his owne brother to haue his body to bury it by night, who made carnest suite vnto them for it; but they threw him amongst the other bodies into the river, and yet this was not the worst. For some of his friends among it the other bothes into the fuer-and yet this was not the world. For joine of his friends they banished without forme of law, & others they put to death which they could meet withal. faine,

Among the which they flue Diophanes the Orator, and one Caius Billius, whom they inclosed in Theorem a pipe among fnakes and ferpents, and put him to death in this fort. Blossus also the Philosopher death of Caims Bilof Cymes, was brought before the Confuls, and examined about this matter who boldly confossed vino them, that he did as much as Tiberius commanded him. When Nasica did aske him,

And what if he had commanded thee to fet fire on the Capitoll? He made him answer, that Tiberius would neuer haue giuen him any such commandement. And when diuers others also were still in hand with him about that question: But if he had commanded thee? I would fure haue

done it, said he: for he would neuer haue commanded meto haue done it, if it had not bin for the commoditie of the people. Thus he scaped at that time, and afterwards fled into As IA vnto Ari-

fonicus, whom misfortune having ouerthrowne, he flue himfelfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that present time, did no more withstand the law Agraria, for division of the lands of the commonwealth, but suffered the people to appoint another Commissioner for that purpose

in Tiberius place. Thereupon Publius Crassus was chosen, being allyed vnto Tiberius, for Cains Gracehus (Tiberius brother) had maried his daughter Licinia, Yet Cornelius Nepos faith, that it was

not Crassus daughter Caius maried, but the daughter of Brutus, that triumphed for the Lysitani-ANS. Howbeitthe best writers & authority agree with that we write. But what soener was done, the people were maruelloufly offended with his death; and men might eafily perceive that they

looked but for time and oportunity to be reuenged, and did presently threaten Nasica to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing fome trouble towardshim, deuised away (vpon no occasion) to send him into As 1 A. For the common people did not dissemble \(\hat{y} \) malice they bare him

when they met him, but were very round with him, and called him tyrant, & unrederer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the bloud of the holy Tribune, and

within the most facred Temple of all the city. So in the end he was inforced to for fake Rome, though by his office he was bound to folemnize all the greatest facrifices, because he was then chiefebishop of Rome. Thus, trauelling out of his country like a meane man, and troubled in steep of

his mind, he died shortly after, not far from the city of Pergamys. Truly, it is not greatly to be Rome. wondred at, though the people so much hated Nasica, considering that Scipio the AFRICAN himfelfe (whom the people of Rome for inster causes had loued better then any man else what soe-

uer) was like to haue lost all the peoples good will they bare him, because that being at the fiege

of Nymantia, when news was brought him of Tiberius death, he rang out this verse of Homer: Such end voon him ener light, Which in fuch doings doth delight.

Furthermore, being asked in the affembly of the people, by Cains and Fuluins, what he thought of Tiberius death: he answered them, that he did not like his doings. After that the people handled him very churlishly, and did euer breake off his Oration, which they neuer did before: and he himselfeasso would reuile the people even in the assembly. Now Cains Gracehus at the first because he feared the enemies of his dead brother, on otherwise, for that he sought meanes to make them more hated of the people, he absented himselfe for a time out of the common

affembly, and kept at home, and medled not, as a man contented to liue meanely, without bufying himselse in the commonwealth: insomuch as he made men thinke and report both, that he did vtterly mislike those matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares yonger then his brother Tiberius, who was not thirtie yeares old when he was flaine. But in processe of time, he made his manners and conditions caim Grats

(by litle and litle) appeare, who hated florhand curiofity, and was leaft of all given vnto any coners. uctous mind of getting; for he gaue himfelfeto be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwards to practife in the common-wealth. So that it appeared plainly, that when time came, he would

not stand still and looke on. When one Vectius a friend of his was sued, he took vpon him to defend his cause in court. The people that were present, and heard him speake, they leaped for ioy B b b b 3

chus Queflor in Sar

Caise Grace & dreame.

Caius Grac chas returnethout of Sardinia

to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators besides were but children to him. Hereupon the rich men began to be afraid againe, and whispered among themselues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chanced so that he was chosen Treafurer, and it was his fortune to go into the Ile of SARDINIA, with the Confull Orestes. His enemies were glad of that, and he himselfe was not sorie for it. For he was a martiall man, & as skil. full in armes as he was else an excellent Orator: but yet he was afraid to come into the pulpir for Orations, and misliked to deale in matters of state, albeit he could not altogether denie the people, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cause therefore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might absent himselfe for a time out of Rome though divers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and defirous of the common peoples good will and favour, then his brother had bene before him. But indeed he was cleane contrary: for it appeared that at the first he was drawne rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common wealth. Cicero the Orator also faith, that Cains was bent altogether to flie from office in the commonwealth, and to line quietly as a prinate man. But Tiberius (Caius brother) appeared to him in his fleepe, and calling him by his name, faid vnto him: Brother, why doeft thou prolong time, for thou canst not possibly escape? For we were both predestinated to one manner of life and death, for procuring the benefit of the people. Now when Cains arrived in SARDINIA, he shewedall the proofes that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the yong men of his age in hardinesse against his enemies, in instice to his inferiors, and in loue and obedience towards the Confull his Captaine: but in temperance, fobriety, and in painfulnesse, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chance fell out very sharpe, and full of sicknesse in Sardi-NIA: whereupon the Confull sent vnto the cities to helpe his fouldiers with some clothes: but the townessent in post to Rome, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Consull to find fome other meanes to clothe his people. The Conful could make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But Caius Gracehus went himselse vnto the cities, and so perswaded them, that they of themselves sent to the Romaines camp such things as they lacked. This being caried to Rome, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauour, and indeed it made the Senate also afraid. In the necke of that, there arrived Ambassadors of Africke at Rome, sent from King Micipsa, who told the Senate that the King their master, for Cains Gracehus sake, had sent their army corne into SARDINIA. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadors out of the Senate, and fo gaue order that other fouldiers should be fent in their places that were in SARDINIA: and that orestes should still remaine Consult there, meaning also to continue Caius their Treasurer. But when he heard of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to Rome incholer. When men saw Cains returned to Rome vnlooked for, he was reproued for it, not onely by his enemies, but by the common people also, who thought his returne very strange before his Captaine, under whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, answering his accusation, he so turned the peoples minds that heard him, that they all said, he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had served twelve yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine butten yeares: and that he had continued Treasurer vinder his Captainethe space of three yeares, where the law gaue him liberty to return eat the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men else that had bene in the wars, had caried his purse full, and brought it home emptie; where others having drunke the wine which they caried thither in vessels, had afterwards brought them home full of gold and filuer. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessary to a conspiracy that was reucaled in § city of FREGELLES. But having cleared all that suspition, & being discharged, he presently made suite to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of quality his sworne enemies. On the other side also he had so great fauour of y common people, that there came men out of all parts of ITALY to be at his election, and that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of Mars not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voices vpon the top of houses. Now the Noblemen could no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent Caius of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was onely pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possess officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, because he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of

calamity offered him: which made him bold to speake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters focuer he spake of he alwaies fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had passed, and laying before them the examples of their ancestors, who in old time had made war with the Phaliscas, by the meanes of one Genutius Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniury: who also did condemne Cains Veturius to death, because that he onely would not give a Tribune place, coming through the market place. Where these, said he, in your prefence and before your faces, have flaine my brother Tiberius with staves, & have dragged his body from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the river: and with him also have most cruelly slaine all his friends they could come by without any law or justice at all. And yet by an ancient custome of long time observed in this city of ROME, when any man is accured of treason, & that of duty he must appeare at the time appointed him, they do not withflanding in the morning fend a trumpet to his house, to summon him to appeare, and moreouer the Indges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremony was performed: so carefull and respective were our predecessors, where it touched the life of any Romaine. Now Cains having first stirred up the people with these persuasions (for he had a maruellous loud voice) he preferred two lawes:

The first, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, should never after be ca- caius Grace pable of any other office.

Thesecond, that if any Confull had banished any citizen without lawfull accusation, the sen-

tence and hearing of the matter should pertaine to the people.

The first of these two lawes did plainely desame octanius, whom Tiberius his brother had by the people deposed from the Tribuneship. The second also touched Popilius, who being Prætor, had banished his brother Tiberius friends; whereupon he staid not the triall, but willingly exiled himselfe out of ITALY. And touching the first law, Cains himselfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people that he had faued Ottauius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were very glad of it, and confirmed it, honouring her no lesse for respect of her sons, then cornelia, also for Scipioes sake her father. For afterwardsthey cast her image in brasse, & set it vp with this the Gracinscription: Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi. Many common matters are found written touching Cornelia his mother, and eloquently pleaded inher behalfe, by Cains against her adversaries. of the peo As when he faid vnto one of them: How darest thou presume to speake euill of Cornelia, that had ple of Rome. Tiberius to her sonne? And the other partie also that flandered her, being sorely suspected for a Sodomite: And art thou so impudent, said he, to shew thy face before Cornelia? Hast thou brought forth children as she hath done? And yet it is well knowne to all men in Rome, that she being but a woman, hath lived longer without a man, then thou that art a man. Thus were Cains words sharpe and stinging, and many such like are to be gathered out of his writings. Fur- Other laws thermore, he made many other lawes afterwards to increase the peoples authority, and to imbase the Senates greatnesse.

The first was, for the restoring of the Colonies to Rome, in dividing the lands of the com.

mon-wealth vnto the poore citizens that should inhabit there.

The other, that they should apparell the souldiers at the charge of the common-wealth, and that it should not be deducted out of their pay; and also, that no citizen should be billed to serue in the wars, under feuenteene yeares of age at the leaft.

Another law was, for their confederates of ITALY, that through all ITALY they should have as free voices in the election of any Magistrate, as the naturall citizens of Rome it selfe.

Another, fetting a reasonable price of the corne that should be distributed vnto the poore

pcople.

Another touching judgement, whereby he did greatly minish the authority of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Judges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honoured and feared of the people, and the ROMAINE Kinghts; and now he ioyned three hundred Romaine Knights vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it so to passe, that all matters indiciall should be equally judged among those fixe hundred men. After he had pasfed this law, it is reported he was very curious in obseruing all other things, but this one thing specially, that where all other Orators speaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senatours fate, and to that fide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrary manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwards towards y other fide of the B b b b 4

Caiss Grae.

of his look only he removed a great matter. For he so transferred all the government of § commonwealth from the Senate vnto the judgement of the people, to teach the Orators by his exaple, that in their orations they shold behold the people, nor the Senate. Now, the people hauing chus power, not onely confirmed the law he made touching the Judges, but given him also full power and authority to chuse among the Romaine Knights such Judges as he liked of, he found thereby he had absolute power in his owne hands, insomuch as the Senators themselves did aske counsel of him. So did he euer giue good counsell, and did preferre matters meete for their honour. As other laws amongst others, the law he made touching certaine wheate that Fabius Vice-prætor had sent out of Spaine, which was a good and honourable act; he perswaded the Senate that the come might be fold, and so to send backe againe the money thereof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne came; and ther with all to punish Fabius for that he made the Empire of Rome hatefulland intollerable vnto the prouinces and fubiects of the same. This matter wan him great loue and commendation of all the prouinces subject to Rom E. Furthermore, he made lawes for the restoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high waies, for building of garners for prouission of corne. And to bring all these things to passe, he himselfe tooke vpon him the only care and enterprise, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of so great affaires. For, he followed all those things so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand infomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred much to see his diligence and quick dispatch in matters. The people also wondred much to behold him onely, seeing alwaies such a number of labourers, artificers, ambaffadors, officers, fouldiers, & learned men, whom he eafily fatisfied and dispatched, keeping still his estate, and yet vsing great courtesse and civility, entertaining cuery one of them prinatly: so that he made his accusers to be found liers, that said he was a stately man and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his converfation and deeds then he was otherwife in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke vpon him was, in seeing the high waics mended, the which he would have as well done, as profitably done. For he would caft the causics by the line in the fostest ground in the fields, and then would paue them with hard stone, and cast a great deale of grauell vpon it, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or watery places which the rivers had eaten into, he raifed them vp, or else made bridges over them, with an euen height equall to either fide of the causie; so that all his work caried a goodly leuell withall, euen by the line or plummet, which was a pleasure to behold. Furthermore, he deuided these high waies by miles, every mile containing eight fuvlongs, and at every miles end he fet vpa The Italian stone for a marke. At either end also of these high waies thus paued, he set certaine stones of conuenient height, a pretie way asunder, to help y trauellers by to take their horse backs again without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising & extolling him, and being ready to make shew of their loue & good will to him any maner of way, he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make vnto them, the which if it would please them to grant him, he would think they did him a maruellous pleasure: & if they denied him also, he cared not much. Then every manthought it was the Confulship he meant to aske, and that he would sue to be Tribune and Consult together. But when the day came to chuse the Consuls, eucry man

TIBERIUS AND CAIVS.

market place; & after that kept it constantly, and neuer failed. Thus by a little turning & altering

Eains Grace the second time chosen Tribune againe, not at his own suite, but by the good will of the people.

Linius Drufus one

Cains perceiving that the Senators were his open enemies, and that Fannins the Confull was but fecond time a flack friend vnto him, he began againe to curry fauour with the common people, and to prefer new laws, fetting forth the law of the Colonies, that they should fend of the poore citizens to replenish the cities of TARENTYM & CAPVA, and that they should grantall the LATINS the freedome of Kome. The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, and that in the end he would be fo frong that they could not withftand him, they denifed a new and ftrange way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in granting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with Caius called Liuius Drusus, a man nobly borne, and as well brought vp as any other Romaine: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferiour to the greatest men of estimation in RQME. The chiefest Senators went vnto him, and perswaded

looking attentiuely what he would doe, they maruelled when they faw him come downethe

field of Mars, and brought Caius Fannius with his friends, to further his fute for the Confulfhip.

Therein he ferued Fannius turne, for he was prefently chosen Consult: and Caius Gracchus was

him to take part with them against Caius, not to vse any force or violence against the people to withstand them in any thing, but contrarily to grant them those things which were more honeflie for them to deny them with their ill wil. Linius offering to pleasure y Senate with his autho- Lawes prerity, preferred lawes neither honourable nor profitable to the common-wealth, and were to no fand by other end, but contending with Caius who should most flatter the people of them two, as plaiers other end, but contending with Caius who should most flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their common playes, to shew the people pastime. Whereby the Senate shewed that they did not so much missike Cains doings, as for the desire they had to ouerthrow him and his great credit with the people. For where Caius preferred but the replenishing of the two ciries, & defired to fend the honestest citizens thither, they objected against him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other fide also they favoured Drusus, who preferred a law, that they should replenishtsvelue Colonies, and should fend to every one of them three thousand of the poorest cirizens. And where they hated Cains for that he had charged the poore citizens with an annuall rent for the lands that were deuided vnto them, Livius in contrary manner did please them by disburdening them of that rent and paiment, letting them have the lands scotfree. Furthermore also, where Cains did anger the people, because he gaue al ŷ LATINES the freedom of Rome to giue their voices in chufing of Magistrates as freely as the natural Romaines, when Drusson the other fide had preferred a law that thenceforth no Romain should whip any fouldier of the LATINS with rods to the wars, they liked the law, & past it. Linius also in every law he put forth faid in all his orations, that he did it by the counsel of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: & this was all the good he did in his office vinto the commonwealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleased with the Senate, & where they did before hate al the zimus noblemen of the Senate, Linius took away that malice, when the people faw that all that he pronoblemen of the Senate, Livius took away that malice, when the people law that all that he procifieth the
pounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the commonwealth, with the confent and furthepropletarance of the Senate. The only thing also that perswaded the people to thinkethat Drussas meant vprightly, and that he only respected the profit of the common people, was, that he never preferred any law for himself, or for his own benefit. For in the restoring of these Colonies which hepreferred, he alwaies sent other Commissioners, and gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any mony himselfe: where Caiustooke vpon him the charge and care of all things himselse, and specially of the greatest matters. Rubrius also another Tribune, having preferred a law for the reedifying and replenishing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which Seepio had razed & destroyed, it was Cains hap to be appointed one of the Commissioners for it: whereupon he took ship & failed into AFRIKE. Drustus in the meane time taking occasion of his absence, did as much as might be to feeke the fauour of the common people, and specially by accusing Fuluius who was one of the best friends Caius had, and whom they had also chosen Commissio-Fuluius nerwith him for the diuision of these lands among the citizens whom they sent to replenish these Colonies. This Fuluius was a seditious man, and therefore maruellously hated of the Sections, a vertex of the section of nate, and withall suspected also of them that took part with the people, that he secretly practised research to make their confederates of ITALY to rebell. But yetthey had no evident proofe of it to inftifie it against him, more then that which he himselse did verific, because he seemed to be offended with the peace and quietnes they enjoyed. And this was one of the chiefest causes of cains ouerthrow, because that Fuluius was partly hated for his sake. For when Scipio African was found The death dead one morning in his house, without any manifest cause how he should come to his death so fodainly, (fauing that there appeared certaine blind markes of stripes on his body, that had bene African giuen him, as we haue declared at large in his life) the most part of the suspition of his death was laidto Fuluius, being his mortall enemie, & because the same day they had bene at great words together in the pulpit for Oratios. So was Caius Gracchus also partly suspected for it. How socuer it was, fuch a horrible murther as this, of so famous and worthy a manas any was in Rome, was yet notwithstanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it, because the common people would not suffer the accusation to go forward, fearing lest Caius would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now Cains at that time being in Africk E about the reedifying and replenishing of the city of CARTHAGE again, the which he named Ivnonia, the voice goeth that he had many ill fignes & tokens appeared vnto him. For Valuelie the staffe of his ensigne was broken with a vehement blast of wind, and with the force of the enfigne bearer that held it fast on the other side. There came a flaw of wind also that caried away the facrifices vpon the altars, & blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the

besides these injurious words, in scorne and contempt he held out his naked arme to make them

Caius was very ferrie for it, and bitterly reproued them that were about him, faying, that they

had given their enemies the occasion they looked for, to set vpon them. opimius the Consull in contrarie manner, taking this occasion, rose vponit, & did stirre vp the people to be reuenged.

But there fell a showre of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Confull ha-

uing affembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was dispatching causes within, some had taken

the body of Antyllies, and laid it naked upon the beere, and fo caried it through the market place

(as it was agreed upon before amongst them) and brought it to the Senate doore, where they

began to make great mone and lamentation, Opimius knowing the meaning of it, but yet he

diffembled it, and feemed to wonder at it. Wherupon the Senatours went out to fee what it was.

and finding this Becre in the market place, fome fell a weeping for him that was dead, others

cryed out, that it was a shamefull act, and in no wise to be suffered. But on the other side, this did

reviue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednesse of the ambitious Noble-

men: who having themselues before slaine Tiberius Gracehus that was Tribune, and within the

Capitollit felfe, and had also cast his body into the river, did now make an honourable shew

openly in the market place, of the body of the Sergeant Antyllius (who though he were wrong-

fully flaine, yet had himself egiuen them the cause that flue him, to do that they did) and all the

whole Senate were about the Becreto bewaile his death, and to honor the funerals of a hireling,

to make the people also kill him that was only left the protector and defender of the people. Af-

ter this, they went againe into the Capitoll, and there made a decree; whereby they gaue the

should bring two of their men armed with them. Fuluius on the other side prepared his force

against them, and assembled the common people together. Caius also returning from the mar-

ket place, staid before the image of his father, and looked earnestly ypon it without euer a word

speaking, onely he burst out a weeping, and fetching a great sigh, went his way. This made the

people that faw him to pitie him: fo that they talked among themselves, that they were but beasts

that paffed away the night in guzling and drinking drunk, crying out, and making noife, Fuluius

himselfe being drunke first of all, who both spake and did many things sarre vnmeete for his

calling. For on the other fide, they that watched Cains were very forowfoll, and made no noife.

cuen as in a common calamity of their countrey, denifing with themselves what would fall out

vpon it, waking and fleeping one after another by turnes. When the day brake, they with Ful-

nius did awake him, who flept yet foundly for the wine he dranke ouer night, and they armed

themselves with the spoiles of the GAVLES that hung round about his house, whom he had o.

nercome in battell the fame yeare he was Confull; and with great cries, and thundering threats

they went to take the mount Auentine. But Cains would not arme himselfe, but went out of his

house in a long gowne, as if he would have gone simply into the market place according to his

wonted manner, fauing that he caried a fhort dagger at his girdle vnder his gowne. So as he was

This man is named afterwards Opimius,

Tribune

Sedition

Caius Grac

the Senate.

compasse of the city. Furthermore, the wolues came and tooke away the markes which they had fet downe to limit the bounds of their circuite, and caried them quite away. This not withftanding, Cains having dispatched all things in the space of threescore andten daies, he returned incontinently to Rome, understanding that Fuluius was oppressed by Drusus, and that those matters required his presence. For Lucius Hostilius that was all in all for the Nobility, and a man of great credite with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Confulship by Cains practife, who caused Fannius to be chosen, he had good hope this yeare to speed, for the great number of friends that furthered his suite. So that if he could obtain eit, he was fully bent to set Cains beside the saddle, and the rather, because his estimation and countenance he was wontto haucamong the people, began now to decay, for that they were full of fuch deuices as his were. because there were divers others that preferred the like to please the people withall, & yet with the Senates great good will and fauour. So Cains being returned to Rome, he removed from his house, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a house vider the market place, to flew himself thereby the lowlier and more popular, because many of the meaner fort of the people dwelt thereabouts. Then he purposed to go forward with the rest of his Jawes, & to make the people to establish them, a great number of people repairing to Rome out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. How beit the Senate counfelled the Confull Familia to make proclamation, that all those which were no naturall Romains, resident & abiding within the city felfe of Rome, that they should depart out of Rome. Besides all this there was a strange proclamation made, and never feene before: that none of all the friends and confederates of the ROMAINES for certaine daies should come into ROME. But Caius on the other side set yp bils on enery post-accusing the Conful for making so wicked a proclamation; and further promised the confederates of Roma to aide them, if they would remaine there against the Confuls proclamarion. But yet he performed it not, for when he faw one of Fannius fergeants carie a friend of his to prifon, he held on his way, and would fee nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelihood because he seared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or esse because he was Joth (as he faid) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which fought it of him. Furthermore, he chanced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occasion. The people were to fee the pastime of the sword-players or sencers at the sharpe, within the very market place, and there were divers of the officers that to fee the sport, did set up feaffolds round about, to take money for the fanding. Caius commanded them to take them downe againe, because the poore men might see the sport without any cost. But not a man of the would yeeld to it. Wherefore he staid till the night before the pastime should be, and then he tooke all his labourers he had under him, and went and ouerthrew the feaffolds enery one of them: fo that the next morning all the market place was cleare for the common people to fee the postime at their pleafure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruelloudly, and tooke him for a worthy man. Howbeithis brethrenthe Tribunes were very much offended with him, and rooke him for a bold prefumptuous man. This feemeth to be y chiefe cause why he was put from his third Tribuneship, where he had the most voices on his side: because his colleagues, to be renenged of the part he had played them, of malice and spite made false report of the voices. Howbeit there is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulse, and it is reported he ipake formewhat too proudly to his enemies that were merrie with the matter, and laughed himto fcorne: that they laughed a Sardonians laugh, not knowing how darkely his deedes were intangled. Furthermore, his enemies having chosen Opimius Consull, they began immediatly to renoke diners of Cains lawes: as among ft the reft, his doings at CARTHAGE for thereedifying of that citic, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, because they might haue infloccasion of anger to kill him. cains not with standing did patiently beare it at the first: but afterwards his friends, and specially Fuluius, did encourage him fo, that he began again to gather men to refift the Confull. And it is reported also, that Cornelia his mother did help him in it, fecretly hiring agreat number of strangers which she sent ynto Rome, as if they had bin reapers, or harueft men. And this is that she wrote secretly in her letter vnto her son in ciphers. And yet other write to the contrary, that she was very angry he did attempt those things. When the day came that they should proceed to the renocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitol. There when the Conful opimius had done facrifice, one of cains fergeants called Quintus Anylius, carying the intrailes of the beast sacrificed, said vnto Fuluins, and others of his

Calv. Grace Calus Grac

affiamed: whereupon they flue him presently in the field with great bodkins to write with. Anythings. which they had purposely made for that intent. So the common people were maruellously Sorgeans offended for this murther, and the chiefe men of both fides also were diversly affected. For fame.

Conful Opimius extraordinary power and authority by absolute power to provide for the safe. Anorditie of the commonwealth, to preferue the city, and to suppresse the tyrants. This decree being have made by the se established, the Consult presently commanded the Senators that were present there, to go arme nate acaim, themselves and appointed the ROMAINE Knights, that the next morning betimes every man c. Gracines

and cowards at such a straight to forsake so worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his house, The people descended flayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with Fulnius, C.Greebij

going out of his house, his wife staid him at the doore, and holding him by the one hand, and a The world little child of his in her other hand, she saidthus vnto him: Alas Cains, thou doest not now go as of Licinia thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to speake to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doest thou go vnto an honest warre, that if vnfortunately that should hap-

pen to thee that is common to al men, I might yet at the least mourne for thy death with honor. But thougoest to put thy selfe into bloudy butchers hands, who most cruelly have slainethy

brother Tiberius: and yet thou goest anaked man vnarmed, intending rather to suffer then to do hurt. Besides, thy death can bring no benefit to the Common-wealth. For the worser part hath

now the vpper hand, confidering that sentence passeth by force of sword. Had thy brother

bene slaine by his enemies, before the city of NVMANTIA, yet had they given vs his body to " have buried him. But fuch may be my misfortune, that I may presently go to pray the river or

TIBERIUS AND CAIVS.

seato giue methy body, when, asthy brothers, it shall likewise be throwne into the same. Alas. what hope or trust is left vs now in lawes or gods, sithence they have slaine Tiberius? As Licinia was making this pitifull mone vnto him, Caius faire and foftly pulled his hand from her, and lefher giving her never a word, but went on with his friends. But she reaching after him to pull him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, speaking neuer a word, vntil

Fuluius fent the Confull Heraulds rod to offer

The death of Fuluius

and hisel.

deft for.

at length her servants tooke her vp in a swoune; and caried her so vnto her brother Crassus, Now Fuluius, by the perswasion of Caius, when all their faction were met, sent his yonger son (which was a pretie faire boy) with an Heraulds rod in his hand for his safetie. This boy humbly presenting his duty, with the teares in his eyes, before the Consull and Senate, offered them peace. The most of them that were present thought very well of it. But opinius made answer, saying, that it became them not to fend messengers, thinking with faire words to win the Senate: but it was their duty to come themselues in person like subjects, and offenders to make their triall, and fo to craue pardon, and to seeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commanded the boy he should not returne againe to them, but with this condition he had prescribed. Casins (as in is reported) was ready to go and cleare himselfe vnto the Senate: but the residue would not suffer him to go. Whereupon Fuluius sent his sonne back againe vnto them, to speake for themas he had done before. But Opimius that was desirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and com. mitted him to safe custody, & then went presently against Fuluius with a great number of foormen well armed, and of CRETAN archers besides; who with their arrowes did more trouble and hurt their enemies, then with any thing else, that within a while they all began to flie. Fuluins on the other fide fled into an old hot-house that no body madereckoning of, and there being found shortly after, they sluchim and his eldest sonne. Now for caius, he fought not at all, but beind madde with himselfe, and grieued to see such bloudshed, he got him into the temple of Diana, where he would have killed himselfe, had not his very good friends Pomponius and Licinius faued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his sword from him, and counselled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, & holding vp both his hands vnto the goddesse, he besought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage, to be reuenged of this their ingratitude and treason. For the common people (or the most part of them) plainely turned their coates, when they heard proclamation made, that al men had pardon granted them that would returne. So Caius fled vpon it, and his enemies followed him so neare, that they ouertooke him vpon the woodden bridge, where two of his friends that were with him staid, to defend him against his pursuers, and bad him in the meane time make shift for himselfe, whilst they fought with them upon the bridge: and fo they did, and kept them that not a mangot the bridge of them vntil they were both flaine. Now there was none that fled with Caius, but one of his men called Philocrates: notwithstanding, every man did still encourage and counsell him, as they do men to win a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horse though he often required it, because he saw his enemics so neare vnto him. This notwithstanding, by their defence that were flaine upon the bridge, he got ground on them fo, that he had leifure to creepe into a litle groue of wood which was confecrated to the Furies. There his feruant Philocrates flue him, and then flue himselfe also, and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the master and servant were overtaken, and taken aliue; and that his servant did so straight embrace his mafter, that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was flaine himselfe. So one of the murtherers strake off Caius Gracehus head to earie to the Consult. Howbeit one of Opimius friends called Septimuleins, took the head from the other by the way, because proclamation was made by trumpet before they fought, that who focuer brought the heads of Fuluius and Cains, they should be paid the weight of them in gold. Wherefore this Septimuleius caried Caius head vpon the top of his speare vnto Opimius: whereupon the scales being brought to weigh it, it was found to weigh seuenteene pound weight and two third parts of a pound : because Septimuleius besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpenie with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in lieu thereof had filled his fcull with Lead. Now the other also that brought Fulnius head, because they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, Caius Gracchus and Fuluius, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thouland that were flaine) were all throwne into the river,

their goods confileate, and their widowes forbiddento mourne for their death. Furthermore, they took from Licinia Cains wife, her ioynter:butyetthey dealt more cruelly and beaftly with the young boy, Fuluius sonne; who had neither lift vp his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but onely came to them to make peace before they fought; whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battel ended they put him to death. But yet that which most of all grieued the people was the temple of Concord, the which Opinius caused to be built for it appeared The temple that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of Rome. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription of the temple these verses:

A furious fact and full of beastly shame This temple built, that beareth Concords name.

This Opimius was the first man at Rome, that being Confull, vsurped the absolute power of the Opimius Dictator: and that without law or instice condemned three thousand citizens of Rome, besides the street Fuluins Flaccus, (who had also bene Consul, and had received the honour of triumph) and Caius Consul, Gracehus a yong man in like case, who in vertue and reputation excelled althe men of his years. the power This notwithstanding could not keepe opinius from thecueric and extortion. For when he was of the Difent Ambassador vnto Iugurth king of Nv MIDIA, he was bribed with mony; and thereupon being accused, he was most shamefully connicted, and condemned, Wherefore he ended his daies bribed with with this reprochand infamy, hated and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the ouerthrow he dealtheastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But shortly after it appeared to condemned. the world how much they lamented the loffe of the two brethren of the Gracebi, For they made The Gracimages and statues of them, and caused them to be set up in an open and honourable place, confecrating the places where they had bene flaine: and many of them also came and offered to loafig dethem of their first fruites and flowers, according to the time of the yeare, and went thither to fired of the mem or their nruntes and nowers, according to the time or the years, and went timer to people make their prayers on their knees, as vnto y temples of the gods. Their mother Carnelia, as writering to the time or the years, and went timer to people make their prayers on their knees, as vnto y temples of the gods. Their mother Carnelia, as writering to the time or the years, and went timer to people make their prayers on their knees, as vnto y temples of the gods. ters report, did beare this calamity with a noble heart; and as for the chappels which they built maintain and confecrated vnto them in the place where they were flaine, fhe faid no more, but that they of cornelia the mother had fuch graves as they had deserved. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the mount of Mifene, and neuer changed her maner of life. She had many friends, and because she was a noble Ladie, and louedeuer to welcome strangers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwaies great repaire vnto her, of GRECIANS and learned men: befides, there was no king nor prince but both received gifts from her, & sent her again. They that frequented her company delighted maruelloufly to heare her report the deeds & maner of her fathers life, Seigio African: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the acts and death of her two fonnes, Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, without shedding teare, or making any shew of lamentation or griefe, no more then if she had told an history vnto them that had requested her. Insomuch as some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercome and taken her reason and sense from her to feele any forrow. But indeed they were fenflesse to say so, not vinderstanding how that to be The power nobly borne and vertuoufly brought vp, doth make mentemperatly to digeft forrow; and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue which regardeth honestie in all respects, but yet

with any aduerfity she cannot take away the temperance from them whereby they patiently beare it.

The end of the life of Tiberius and Cains Gracchi.

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THE COMPARISON OF

Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, with Agis and Cleomenes.



the Graceli

Ow that we be come to the end of this history, we are to compare the liues of these two menthe one with the other. First, as touching the two Gracchi, their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best given to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp as any Romaines that were in their time. But yet is appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in Agis and Cleomenes. For they having bene very ill brought vp both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men, were almost spoiled, yet did they not with standing make themselues the

first masters and example of sobriety, temperance, and simplicity of life. Furthermore, the two first having lived in that time when Rom B flourished most in honour and vertuous desires, they were more then ashamed to for sake the vertues inherited from their ancestors. These two last alfo being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrary disposition, & finding their country altogether without any order, & infected with diffolute life, were not therefore any whit the more flack in their defire to do well. Furthermore, the greatest praise they gaue vnto the two Gracehi, was, theirabstinence & integrity from taking of mony all the time they were in office, & dealt in matters of state, euer keeping their hands cleane, and tooke not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where Agis on the other fide was offended if any man praised him, for that he took nothing fro another man: seeing that he dispossessed himselfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in ready coyne to the value of fixe hundred talents. Whereby men may cafily iudge, how grieuous a finne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man, feeing that he thought it a kind of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruellous great difference in their alterations, and renewing of the state, which they did both preferre. For the acts of the two Romaines were to mend high waies and to reedificand replenish decayed townes: and the worthiest act Tiberius did, was the law Agraria, which he brought in for deuiding of the lands of the commonwealth amongst the poore citizens. And the best act his brother Cains also did, was the mingling of the Judges, adding to the three hundred Senators

TIBERIVS & CAIVS, AGIS & CLEOMENES. 843

three hundred ROMAINE Knights to be indifferent Judges with them. Whereas Acis and Cleamenes in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reforme small faults, and to redresse them by litle and litle, was (as Plato faid) to cut off one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards feuen in the place: and therefore they tooke vpon them a change and innovation, euen at once to root out all the mischieses of their country, (or to speake more truly, to take away the disorder which brought in all vice & mischiefe to the commonwealth,) and so to restore the city of Sparta againeto her former ancient honourable estate. Now this may be said againe for the government of the Gracchi, that the chiefest men of Rome were ever against their purposes. Where, in that Agis attempted, and Cleomenes ended, they had the noblest ground that could be. and that was the ancient lawes and ordinances of Sparta, touching temperance and equality: the first, instituted in old time by Lycurgus, the other confirmed by Apollo. Furthermore, by The acts of the alterations of the first, Rome became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which the Gracelli Cleomenes did, all GRECE in short time faw that Sparta commanded all the rest of Pelopon- profit Rome NESVS, and fought at that time against those that were of greatest power in all GRECE, so the figniorie thereof. Whereby their only markeand purpose was, to rid all GRECE from the wars of the GAYLES and ILLYRIANS, and to restore it agains to the honest gouernment of the race and line of Hercules. Their deaths (me thinkes) do shew great difference of their courages. For the Gracehi fighting with their owne citizens, were flaine flying. Of these two also, Agis, because The end of he would put neuer a citizen to death, was flaine in manner voluntarily; and Cleamenes receiving the Gracelis injurie food to his defence, and when he had no oportunity to do it, he ftoutly killed him felfe. And fo may it be faid on the other fide, that Agis did neuer any notable act of a Captaine or foldier, because he was slaine before he could come to it. And for the victories of Cleomenes on the other fide, may be opposed the scaling of the wals of CARTHAGE, where Tiberius was the first manthat at the affault got vp vpon the wall, which was no small exploit: and the peace which he made also at the siege of NVMANTIA, whereby he saued twenty thousand fighting men of the ROMAINE Sa the which had no meanes otherwise to faue their liues. And Cains also in the selfe fame war, at the fiege of NYMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feats of war; fothat there is no doubt, but if they had not bene flaine fo foone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excellentest Captainesthat euer were in Rome. Againe, touching their doings in civill policie, it appeareth that Agis dealt more flackly, being abused by Agesilans: who likewise deceined the poore citizens of the division of the lands which he had promifed them. In fine, for lacke of courage, because he was very yong, he left the things vndone which he had purposed to have performed. On the other side, Cleomenes went too roundly to work, to renue the ancient government of the common-wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much cruelty, whom he might eafily haue wonne, or otherwise by force haue gotten the vpper hand. For it is not the part of a wife Phisician, nor of a good gouernour of a common-wealth to vsethesword, but in great extremity, where there is no other helpe nor remedie; and there lacked judgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for injury is euer joyned with crueltie. The Gracchi on the other side, neither the one nor the other began to imbrue their hands in the bloud of their citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt Cains, yet he would never defend himselfe; and where it was knowne that he was very valiant in battell with his sword in his hand against the enemie, he shewed himselfe as cold againe in the vprore against his citizens. For he went out of his house vnarmed, & fled when he saw them fight, being more circumspect not to do hurt, then not to fuffer any. Therfore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearcfull to offend any man. For they were driven either to yeeld to them that followed them, or else if they stayed, to stand to their defence, because they might keepe themselues from hurt. And where they accuse Tiberius for the faults he committed, the grea- The faults test that euer hedid, was when he deposed Octanius his colleague from the Tribuneship, and of the Graethat he himself made suite for the second. And as for Caius, they fallly accused him for the death of Anyllius the Sergeant, who indeed was flaine vnknowneto him, and to his great griefe. Where Cleamenes on the other fide, though we should forget the murther he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he set slaues at liberty, and ruled the kingdome in maner himselfe alone: but yet for manners fake only he joyned his own brother with him, which was of the selfe same house. And when he had perswaded Archidamus, (who was next heire to the kingdome of the other royall house) to be bold to returne home from MESSINA vnto SPARTA, he suffered him to be Cccc2

fla ee; and because he did not revenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that though the was consenting to his death. Lycurgus on the other fide, whose example he did counterfeitto follow, because he did willingly resigne the kingdome vnto his brothers son Charilans, & being afraid also, that if the young child should chance to miscarie, they would suspect him for his death, he exiled himselfe out of his owne country along time, trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to Sparta againe, before Charilans had gotten a fon to succeed him in his kingdome. But we cannot fet another GRECIAN by Lycurgus comparable vnto him. We have declared also that among ft Cleomenes deeds, there were many other greater alterations then these, & also many other breaches of the law. So they that do condemne the manners of the one and the other. fay, that the two GRECIANS from the beginning had an afpiring mind to be tyrants, still practifing warres: whereas the two Romaines onely, even by their most mortall enemics, could be blamed for nothing else, but for an extreme ambition; and did confesse that they were too earnest & vehement about their nature, in any strife or contention they had with their aduersaries. and that they yeelded vnto their choler and paffion, as vnto ill winds, which brought them to do those things they did in the end. For what more iust and honest intent could they have had, then the first was: had not the rich men (cuen through stoutnesse and authority to ouerthrow the lawes) brought them against their wils into quarrell: the one to saue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was flaine without order, instice, or the authority of any Officer? Thus thou may est thy selse see the difference that was betwixt the GRECIANS and the ROMAINS and now to tell you plainely my opinion of both, I think that Tiberius was the stoutest of the source. that the yong king Agis offended least; and that for boldnesse and courage, Cains came nothing neare vnto Cleomenes.

THE LIFE OF



Gfeth in the manners of maninet in any place or countrej.

E that madethe litle booke of the praise of Alcibiades, touching the victory he wanne at the horse race of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet Euripides, as some thinke, or any other) my friend Sosius, said: that to make a man happie, he must of necessity be borne in some famous city. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, doubtlesse, true happings. nesse chiefly consisteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous city: no more then it is for one to be borne of a faire or foule mother. For it were a madnesse to thinke that the little village of

IVLIDE, being the least part of the Ile of Cao (the whole Iland of it selfe being but a smalthing)

DEMOSTHENES.

and that the Isle of ÆGINA (which is of so small a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might betaken away, because it was but as a straw in the fight of the hauen of Piraa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comedians: and not breed an honest, inst, and wife man, and of noble courage. For, as we have reason to think that arts and sciences which were first deussed and inuented to make somethings necessary for mens vse, or otherwise to win fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in litle poore villages; so are we to judge also, that vertue, like a strong and fruitfull plant, can take roote, and bring forth in enery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chance to offend, and live not as we should, we cannot accuse the meannesse of our countrie where we were borne, but we must justly accuse our selues. Surely he that hath taken vpon Expedient him to put forthany worke, or to write any history, in the which he is to thrust many strange fortigera. things vnknowne to his countrey, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, but difperfled abroad in diverse places, and to be gathered out of diverse books and authorities: first of all, in a famous he must needes remaine in some great and famous city throughly inhabited, where men do delight in good and vertuous things, because there are commonly plenty of all sorts of bookes: and that perufing them, and hearing talke also of many things besides, which other Historiographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will carie fo much more credit, because men that are aliue may presently speake of them as of their owne knowledge; whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery point, having many and diverse necessary things contained in it. But I my selfe that dwell in a poore litle towne, and yet do remaine there willingly lest it Platarchs should become leffe, whilest I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leysure to studie and exercisethe Latine tongue, aswell for the great businesse I had then to do, as also to satisfie them that came to learne Philosophie of me: so that even somewhat too late & now in my latter time, I began to take Latine bookes in hand. And thereby a strange thing to tell you, but yet true; Ilearned not, nor vnderstood matters so much by the words, as I came to vnderstand the words, by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to speake it readily, or to vnderstand the figures, translations, and fine ioyning of the simple words one with another, which do beautifie and fet forth the tongue, furely I judge it to be a maruellous pleafant and sweete thing; but withall it requireth a long and labour some studie, meete for those that haue better ley sure then I haue, and that have yong yeares on their backes to follow such pleasure. Therefore in this present booke, which is the fifth of this worke, where I have taken vpon me to compare the lives of Noble men one with another: vndertaking to write the lines of Demostheres and Cicero, we will confider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deeds in the gouernment of the common-wealth, not meaning otherwise to conferre their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were sharper or sweeter in his oration. For as the Poet Iohn faith:

In this behalfe a man may rightly say, The Dolphines in their proper soyle do play.

The which Cecilius litle vnderstanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath vnaduisedly Periossis written and set forth in print, a comparison of Demostheres eloquence with Ciceroes. But if it red with were an easie matter for euery man to know himselfe, then the gods indeed haue given vs no commandement, neither could men haue faid that it came from heaven. But for my opinion, me thinks Fortune even from the beginning hath framed, in maner, of one selfe mold Demosthenes and Cicero, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other as both of them to love the liberty of their country, & both of them very fearefull in any danger of wars. And Ikewise their fortunes feeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to find two Orators againe, that being so meanely borne as they, have come to be of fo great power and authority as they two; nor that have descrued the ill will of kings & noblemen so much as they have done, nor that have lost their daughters, nor that have bene banished their countries, and that have bene restored againe with honor, and that againe have sted, and have bene taken againe, nor that have ended their lives with the liberty of their country. So that it is hardto be judged, whether Nature haue made them liker in maners, or Fortune in their doings: as if they had both like cunning workmasters striued one with the other, to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

Cccc3

Tive paren tage of De-

The patrimony of De.

Demnfthe nes whyhe mas called Battalus.

Demofthe.

Calliffratus

The earnest desire of Demofthe-Res to learne eloquence.

Ifaus De-(choolemafler of Rhe

Demofile practife in and renning of Orations.

Demosthenes the father of this Orator Demosthenes, was (as Theopompus writeth) one of the chiefe men of the city, and they called him Macharopaus, to wit, a maker of sword blades, becausche had a great shop where he kept a number of slaues to forge them. But touching Afebines the Orators report of his mother, who faid that the was the daughter of one Gelon, (that fled from Athens being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother, I am not able to fay whether it be true, or deuised of malice to do him despite. How soeuer it was, it is true that his father died, leaving him but seuen yeares old, and left him reasonable well: for his goods came to little lesse then the value of fifteene talents. How beit his guardians did him great wrong, for they stole a great part of his goods themselves; and did let the rest runne to nought, as having litle care of it, for they would not pay his schoolemasters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learne the liberall sciences which are vsually taught vnto honest mens fons:and to further that wantalfo, he was but a weakling and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to schoole, neither also durst his masters keepe him too hard to it, because he was but a fickly child at the first, and very weake. And it is reported also, that the firname of Battalus was giuen him in mockery by other schoole boyes his companions, because of his weaknesse of body. This Battalus (as diverse men do report) was an esseminate player on the flute, against whom the Poet Antiphanes to mocke him, denised a litle play. Others also do write of one Battalin, a diffolite Orator, and that wrote Infeitious verses; and it seemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomely to be named, Battalus. Now for Argas (which sirname men say was also given him) he was so called, either for his rude and beaftly manners (because some Poets do call a snake Argas) or else for his manner of speech, which was very vnpleasant to the care; for Argas is § name of a Poet that made alwaies bawdy and il-fauoured fongs. But hereof enough, as Plato faid. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved him to give himselfe to eloquence, was this. Callistratus the Oratour was to defend the cause of one Oropus before the Ludges, & enery man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellency of the Oratoi, that then bare y bell for eloquence as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly knowne to all. Demosthenes hearing his schoolemasters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolmaster to be so good as to let him go with him. His mafter granted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hall doore where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated the, that they placed their scholer in a very good place, where being at his ease, he might both heare and see all that was done, and no man could see him. Thereupon when Demosthenes had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he saw how he was waited vpon home with such a traine of people after him: but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence, that could so turne and conuey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the studie of all other sciences, and all other exercises of wit and body, which other children are brought vp in: and began to labor continually, and to frame himselfe to make Orations, with intent one day to be an Orator among the rest. His master that taught him Rhetoricke was Isaus, notwithstanding that Isocrates also kept a schoole of Rhetoricke at that time: either because that being an orphane he was not able to pay the wages that Isocrates demanded of his scholers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he found Ifaus maner of speech more proper for the vie of the eloquence he defired, because it was more fine and subtil. Yet Hermippus writeth not withstanding, that he had read certaine bookes having no name of any author, which declared that Demosthenes had bene Platoes scholer, & that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation & eloquence. And he writeth also of one Ctesibius, who reporteth that Demostbenes had fecretly read ifocrates works of Rhetoricke, and also Alcidamus bookes, by meanes of one Callian Syracvsan, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardship, he began to put his guardians in suite, and to write Orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner dideuer vie delaies and excuses, to saue themselues for giuing vp any account vnto him, of his goods and patrimonie left him. And thus following this exercise (as Thueydides writeth)it prosperced so well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great paines and danger; and yet with all that he could do, he could not recover all that his father left him, by a good deale. So having now gotten some boldnesse, and being vsed also to speake in open presence, and withall, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading, afterwards he attempted to put forward himself, and to practise in matters of state. For, as there

cocth a tale of one Lanmedon an Or chomen ian, who having a grievous paine in the fplene, by adnice of the Phisitians was willed to runne long courses to helpe him: and that following their of the plane order, he became in the end fo lustie and nimble of body, that afterwards he would needs make one to run for games, and indeed grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Euen so the like chanced vnto Demosthenes. For at the first, beginning to practise Oratory for recourry of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade, he afterwards tooke upon him to speake to the people in assemblies, touching the government of the common wealth, eucn as he should have contended for some game or price, and at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for Orations:notwithstanding that when he first ventured to fpeake openly, the people made fuch a noise, that he could scant be heard; and befides they mocked him for his maner of speech that was so strange, because he vied so many long Demostre confused periods, and his matter he spake of was so intricate with arguments one vpon another, of the troop o that they were tedious, and made men weary to heare him. And furthermore, he had a very foft for his long voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he meant; for his long periods in his Oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at y end of his fentence. So that at length perceiuing he was thus rejected. ments of nas he gaue over to speake any more before the people, and halfe in despaire withdrew himselfe into the hauen of Piraa. There Eunomus the THESSALIAN being a very old man, found him, and fharply reproued him, and told him, that he did himfelfe great wrong, confidering, that having a maner of speech much like vnto Pericles, he drowned himselfe by his faint heart; because he did not feeke the way to be bold against the noise of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burthen of publike Orations, but fuffering it to grow teebler for lacke of vie and practife. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed & whitled at as he returned home hanging downe his head for shame, and vtterly discouraged, Satyrus an excellent player of comedics being his familiar friend, followed him, and went to speake with him. Demost benes made his complaint vnto him, that where he had taken more paines then all the Orators befides, and had almost euen worne himselfe to the bones with studie, yet he could by no meanes deuise to please the people whereas other Orators that did nothing but bib all the day long, & marriners that understood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with Orations: and on the other fide that they made no account of him. Satyrus then answered him, Thou fayest true Demosthenes, but care not for this, I wil helpe it straight, and take away the cause of all this, so thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verses of Euripides, or of Sophocles. Thereupon Demostheres prefently rehearfed fome vnto him, that came into his mind. Saturus repeating them after him, gaue them quite another grace, with such a pronunciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becoming the verses, that Demostheres thought them cleane changed. Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wir, the comely maner and gesture in his Oration) doth give grace and comlinesse in his pleading, he then thought it but a trisse, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to pleade well, vnlesse therewithall he did also studie to haue a good pronunciation and gefture. Thereupon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the nesseller. which was whole euen in my time, and he would daily go downe into it, to fashion his gesture and pronunciation, and also to exercise his voice; and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three moneths one after another, and did shaue his head of purpole, because he durst not go abroad in that fort, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declaime your, and to practile to pleade, of the matters he had had in hand before, or elfe vpon occasion of such talke as he had with them that came to see him, while he kept his house. For they were no sooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the first to the last all matters that had passed betweene him and his friends in talke together, and alledged also both his owne and their answers. And if peraduenture he had beneat the hearing of any long matter, he would repeate it by himself: and would finely coucly and conuey it into proper fentences, and thus change and alter every way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quieke capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreme labour. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reafon, that they never DemoRhefaw Demosthenes make any Oration on the sudden, and that oftentimes when her was set in restellance the affembly, the people would call him by his name, to fay his opinion touching the matter the fulden.

DEMOSTHENES of counfell then in hand: howbeit that he neuer rose vpon their call, vnlesse he had first studied

the matter well he would speake of. So that all the other Orators would many times give him a

taunt for it: as Pythias among other, that taunting him on a time, told him, his reasons smelled

of the lampe. Yea, replied Demosthenes sharply againe: so is there great difference Pythias, be-

twixt thy labour and mine by lamp-light. And himselfe also speaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told the plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length al that he would speake.

neither did he also offer to speake, before he had made briefes of that he would speake. He said

Studieth to please the

furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that would be carefull before what he would fay to them. For this preparative (quoth he) doth shew that he doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary maner also, he that passeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he despiseth their authority, and that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vie force against them rather then reason & perswasion. But yet further to enlarge the proofes, that Demosthenes had no hart to make any oration on the sudden, they do alleadge this reason: That Demades many times rose vp on the sudden to maintaine Demosthenes reasons, when the people otherwhile did reject him: and that Demosthenes on the other side, did neuer rise to make Demades words good, which he had spoken in his behalfe. But now might a man aske againe: If Demosthenes was so timorous to speake before the people vpon the sudden, what meant Aschines then to fay, that he was maruellous bold in his words? and how chanceth it, that he rifing vpon the sudden, did presently answer the Orator Python BIZANTINE in the field, that was very lufty in speech (and rough like a vehement running streame) against the Athenians and how chanced it that Lamachus Myrrhenian, having made an oration in the praise of Philipand A. lexander kings of Macedon, in the which he spake all the ill he could of the Thebans, and of the OLYNTHIANS: & when he had read and pronounced it in the open affembly of the Olympian games, Demosthenes vpon the instant rising vp on his feete, declared, as if he had read some history, and pointed as it were with his finger vnto all the whole assembly, the notable great seruice and worthy deeds the which the CHALCIDIAN'S had done in former times, for the benefit and honor of GRECE: And in contrary maner also, what mischiefe and inconvenience came by meanes of the flatterers that altogether gaue themselves to curry favour with the Macedoni-ANS: With these and such like perswasions, Demosthenes made such stirre amongst the people, that the Orator Lamachus being afraid of the sudden vprore, didsecretly conuey himselfe out of the affembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke; Demosthenes in my opinion fashioning himselse cuen from the beginning, to follow Pericles steps and examples, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not fo requisite for him; and that he would counterfeit his gravity and sober countenance, and to be wise, not to speake ouer-lightly to enery matter at all aduentures: iudging, that by that maner of wisedome he came to be great. And like as he would not let slip any good occasion to speake, where it might be for his credit: so would he not likewise ouerrashly hazard his credit and reputation to the mercy of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the fudden without premeditation before, do shew more boldnesse & courage then those which he had written and studied long before, if we may beleeue the re-

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dinine spirit, and faid:

By fea and land, by rivers, springs and ponds. There are also certaine comicall Poets that do call him Ropoperperethra, as who would say, a great babler that speakethall things that commeth to his tongues end. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rhetoricke called Antitheton: which is, opposition, with faying, sic recepit sicut cepit, which fignifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vie of this figure Demosthenes much pleased himselfe, vnlesse the Poet Antiphanes speaketh it of pleasure, deriding the counsell he gaue the people, notto take the Ile of HALONESVS of king Philip, as of gift, but to receiue it as their owne restored. And yet euery body did grant, that Demades of his owne naturall wit, without art, was inuincible: and that many times speaking vpon the sudden, he did vtterly ouerthrow Demosthenes long studied reasons. And Aristo of the Ilc of Chio, hath written Theophrassus indgement of the Orators of that time. Who being asked what manner of Orator he thought Demosthenes: he answered, worthie of this city. Then againe, how he

ports of Eratosthenes, Demetrius PHALERIAN, and of the other comicall Poets. For Eratosthenes

faid, that he would be often caried away with choler and fury. Demetrius also saith, that spea-

king one day to the people, he sware a great oath in rime, as if he had bene possessed with some

thought of Demades: about this city, faid he. The fame Philosopher writeth also, that Polyeuctus Spherman (one of those that practised at that time in the commonwealth) gaue this sentence: that Demosthenes indeed was a great Orator, but Phocions tongue had a sharper vinderstanding, because in few words he comprehended much matter. And to this purpose, they say that Demosthenes himselfe said also, that as oft as he saw Phocion get vp into the pulpit for Orations to speake against him, he was wont to say to his friends: See, the axe of my words riseth. And yet it Photom is hard to judge, whether he spake that in respect of histongue, or rather for y estimation he had gotten, because of his great wisdome: thinking (as indeed it is true) that one word onely, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the history his worthines had attained or the head, of such a man(that through his worthines had attained or the history his that credit) hathmore force to perswade then all the fine reasons and deuices of Rhetoricke, But now for his bodily defects of nature, Demetrius PHALERIAN Writeth, that he heard Demo- Demofihe-Wienes himselfe say, being very old, that he did helpethem by these meanes. First, touching the nesty inflammering of his tongue, which was very fat, & made him that he could not pronounce all fyllables distinctly, he did helpe it by putting of little pibble stones into his mouth, which he found defects of vponthe fands by the rivers fide, & fo pronounced with open mouth the Orations he had withoutbooke. And for his small and soft voice, he made that louder, by running vp steepe and high hils, vttering euch with full breath some Orations or verses that he had without book. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking-glasse in his house, and ever standing on his feet before it, he would learne & exercise himselfe to pronounce his Orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, & prayed his helpe to defend his cause, & told him that one had beaten him: and that Demosthenes faid againe vnto him, I do not beleeue this is true thou tellest me, for furely the other did neuer beate thee. The plaintife then thrusting out his voice aloud, said: What, hat inhe not beaten me? Yes indeed, quoth Demosthenes then: I beleeueit now, for I heare the voice of a man that was beaten indeed. Thus he thought that the found of the voice, the pronunciatio or gesture in one fort or other, were things of force to credit or discredit that a man faith. His countenance when he pleaded before the people, did marunto unterest that tall the common fort: but the noble men and men of vnderstanding, found it too nance and base and meane, as Demetrius Phalerius said, amongst others. And Hermippus writeth, that one gesture micalled Allow, being asked of the ancient orators, & of those of his time, answered; that every man holding. that had feene them, would have wondred with what honor, reverence and modesty, they spake vnto the people; howbeit that Demosthenes Orations (whosoeuer read them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therefore we may eafily hidge, that the Orations Demosthenes wrote are very seuere and sharpe. This notwithstanding, other whiles he would give many pleasant & witty answers vpon the sudden. As when Demades one day said vnto him, Demosthenes will teach me: Demosthenes after the common proucibe, the Sow will teach Minerus. He answered straight againe: This Mi-nes with nerus not long fince was in Collitus street taken in adultery. A certaine theese also called Chalens (as much to fay, as of copper) stepping forth to fay somewhat of Demosthenes late sitting vpa nights, and that he wrote & studied the most part of the night by lamp-light: Indeed, quoth Demosthenes, I know it gricues thee to see my lampe burne all night; and therefore my Lords of A-THENS, me thinks you shold not wonder to see such robberies in your city, considering we have thecues of copper, & the wals of our houses be but of clay. We could tell you of divers others of his like pleasant & witty answers, but these may suffice for this present and therfore we wil proceed to confider further of his nature and conditions, by his acts and deeds in the affaires of the The time of commonwealth. Now Demosthenes first beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the nestowing state, was in the time of the war made with the Phocians, as himselfe reportethand as appeareth further in his Orations which he made against Philip: of the which, the last were made after in the afthe war was ended, and the first do touch also some particular doings of the same. He made the faires of the same. Oration against Midias, when he was but 32 yeares old, and was of small countenance & reputation in the commonwealth: the want whereof was the chiefest cause (as I thinke) that induced him to take meny for the iniury he had done him, and to let his action fall against him:

He was not of a mild and gentle mind, But fierce and hastie to revenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no small enterprise, nor that could take effect by a man of so small power and authority as himselfe, to ouerthrow a man so wealthy, so befriended, and so cloquent as Midias, he therefore yeelded himselfe vnto those that did speake and intreate for him. Neither

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nes franke u Orațios. do I think that the three thousand Drachmaes which he received, could have bridled the bitternesse of his nature, if otherwise he had seene any hope or likelihood that he could have prevailed against him. Now at his first coming vnto the commonwealth, taking a noble matter in hand, to speake against Philip, for the defence and maintenance of the lawes and liberties of the GREGI-AN s, he behaued himself so worthily, that in short space he wa him maruellous same for his great eloquence and plaine manner of speech. Thereby he was maruellously honored also through all GRECE, and greatly esteemed with the king of PERSIA: and Philip himselfe made more account of him then of all the Orators in ATHENS; and his greatest foes which were most against him, were driven to confesse, that they had to do with a famous man. For, in the Orations which Eschines and Hyperides made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therfore I maruel what Theopompus meant, when he wrote that Demosthenes had a subtill vnconstant mind, and could nor long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of state. But in cotrary maner. in my judgement he continued confrant still to the end, in one selfe maner and order, vnto the which he had betaken himfelfe at the beginning and that not onely he neuer changed all his life time, but to the contrary, he loft his life, because he would be no changeling. For he did not like Demades, who to excuse himselfe for that he had oft turned coate in matters of government, said that he went oftentimes against his owne fayings, as matters fell out: but neuer against the benefit of the commonwealth. And Melanopus also, who was ever against Callifratus, having his mouth many times stopped with mony, he would vp to the pulpit for Orations, and tell the people, that indeed Callestratus, which maintaineth the contrarie opinion against me, is my enemy. and yet I yeeld vnto him for this time: for, the benefit of the commonwealth must cary it. And another alfo, Nicodemus Messenian, who being first of Cassanders side, tooke part afterwards with Demetrius & then faid, that he did not speake against himself, but that it was meet he should obey his superiors. They cannot detect Demostheres with the like, that he did ever halt or yeeld either in word or deed. For he euer continued firme and conftant in one mind in his Orations. Infomuch that Panatius the Philosopher faith, that the most part of all his Orations are grounded vpon this maxime and principle: that for it selfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the Oration of the crowne, the which he made against Aristogrates: that also which he made for the franches and freedome: and in fine, all his Orations against Philip of Macedon; in all those he doth not perswade his countrimento take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proueth that oftentimes honesty is to be preferred aboue fafety or health. So that, had he in al his Orations & doings to yned to his honestie, courtefie, and franke speech, valiantnesse in wars, and cleane hands from bribery, he might descruedly haue bene compared, not with Mirocles, Polyeuctus, Hyperides and other Orators: but even with the highest, with Cimon, Thucidides, and Pericles. For Phocion, who tooke the worst way in go. uernment of the commonwealth, because he was suspected that he tooke part with the Mace-DONIANS: yet for valiantnesse, wisedome and instice, he was euer thought as honest a manas Ephialtes and Aristides. But Demosthenes on the other side (as Demetrius saith) was no man to trust to for wars, neither had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For though he would neuer be corrupted by Philipking of Macedon, yet he was bribed with gold and filuer that was brought from the cities of Svsa and Ecbatana; and was very ready to praise and commend the deeds of their ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time, excepting Phocion. And befides, he did euer speake more boldly and plainly vnto the people then any man else, and would openly contrarie their minds, and sharply reproue the ATHENIANS for their faults, as appeareth by his orations. Theopompus also writeth, that the people on a time would have had him to accuse a man, whom they would need shave condemned. But he refusing to do it, the people were offended, and did mutine against him. Thereupon he rifing vp, faid openly vnto them: My Lords ATHENIANS, I will alwaics counfell you to that which I thinke best for the benefit of the common-wealth, although it be against your minds: but falfly to accuse one to sarisfie your minds, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against Antiphon, sheweth plainely, that he was no people-pleafer, and that he did leane more vnto the authority of the Senate. For when Antiphon was quit by the people in the affembly of the city, Demostheres notwithstanding tooke him, and called him againe into the court of the Areopagites, and did not passe for the peoples ill will, but there continced him for promiting Philip of MACEDON to burne the Arfenall of ATHENS:

to by fentence of that court he was condemned, and fuffered for it. He did also accuse the Nun Theorides for many lewed parts committed, and amongst others, for that she taught slaves to deceine their mallers; and fo following the matter against her, she was condemned to death, and executed. It is thought alfo, that he made the Oration Apollodorus spake against the Prætor Timotheres, and proued therby that he was a debtor to the commonwealth, and fo a naughty man; and necessions that he wrote those Orations also intituled to Formio and Stephanus, for the which he was justly reproued. For Formio pleaded against Apollodorus with the Oration which Demosthenes selfe had which falle. made for him; which was even alike, as if out of one felfe cutlers shop he had fold his enemies fwords one to kil another, and for his knowne Orations, those which he made against Androcion. Timecrates and Ariflocrates, he caused them to give them vnto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of state. For indeed when he did put them forth, he was not passing seuen or eight and twenty yeares old. The Oration which he had made against Aristogiton, and the other also of liberry against Cresipous the son of Chabrias, he spake the mas he saith himself (or as others write) openly vnto the people because he intended to marry Chabrias mother; howbeit he did not, but maried a Samian woma, as Demetrius Magnesian writeth in his book he made, intituled synonyma. But that he wrote against Africa, where he accuse th him that he dealt fallly when he was ambaffador, it is not known whether it was recited or not, although Idomeneus writeth, that there lacked but thirty voices only to have quit Aschines, But in this me thinks he spake not truly, and doth but coniccture it by that one and the other have faid in their Orations against the crowne, in the which neither the one nor the other do fay precifely, that this accufation proceeded to indgement. But let other that lift decide this doubt. Now before the war began, it was euident inough, to which part Demostheres would incline in the commonwealth. For, he would neuer leave to reproue and withstand Philips doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in Phi- Demosible. lips court then any manelle, he was fent vnto him y tenth person with nine others in ambassage. "" desings Philip gaue them all audience one after another; howbeit he was more carefull and circumfpect Fhilip. to answer Demoliberes Oration then all the rest. But other wife out of that place, he did not Demost benes fo much honor, nor gaue him so good entertainment, as to his other companions: for Philip shewed more kindnesse, and gaue better countenance vnto Aschines and Philocrates then vnto him. Wherfore when they did highly praise Philip, & faid that he was a wel spoken Prince, a faire man, and would drinke freely, and be pleasant in company, Demosthenes smiled at it, and turned all things to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For the first was a quality meet for a pleader, the second for a woman, & the third for a fponge. In fine, wars falling out betweene them, because Philip of the one side could not line in peace, & the Athenians on the other fide were still incensed & stirred vp by Demesthenes daily Orations, the ATHENIANS first sent into y lie of EVDOBA (the which by meanes of certaine private tyrants that had taken the townes, became fubicat againe vnto Philip) following a decree Demosibenes had preferred, and so went to expulse the MACEDONIAN'S againe. After that also he caused them to send aide vnto the BYZANTINE s, and to the PERINTHIANS, with whom Philip made war. For he fo perswaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto those two nations, and the faults which either of both the cities had comitted against them in the wars, touching the rebellion of their confederates; and he caused them to send them aide, which kept them from Philips force and power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto althe great cities of Grece as Ambassadour, he did so solicite and perswade them, that he brought them all in a maner to be against Philip. So that the armie which their tribe should find at their ness sirred.

1. So that the armie which their tribe should find at their ness sirred.

1. So that the armie which their tribe should find at their ness sirred. common charge, was 15000 footmen, all frangers, and 2000 horsemen, besides the citizens of against the cuery city which should also ferue in the warres at their charge; and the mony also leavied for Macedons. the maintenance of this war, was very willingly disbursed. Theophrastus writeth, that it was at ans. that time their confederates did pray that they would fet down a certaine fumme of mony, what enery city should pay: and that *Crobylus* an Orator should make answer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was infinite. Now all GRECE being in armes, attending what should happen, and all these people and cities being vnited in one league together, as the Eve o eians, the Athenians, the Corinthians, the MEGARIANS, the Leveadians, and those of Corfv: the greatest matter Demosthenes had to doe, was to perswade the THEBANES also to enter into this league, because their countrey confined and bordered with ATTICA; besides, their force and power

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was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all GRECE at that time, for the valiantest foldiers. But it was no trifling matter to winthe THEBANS, and to make them breake with Philip, who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them in the war of the PHOCIANS: besides also that betwixt ATHENS and THEBES. by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with enery little thing were foone renued. This notwithstanding Philip being proud of the victory he had won by the city of AMPHISSE, when hecame &inuaded the country of ELATIA, and was entred into Pho-CIDE, the ATHENIANS were then so amazed with it, that no man durst occupy the pulpit for Orations, neither could they tell what way totake. Thus the whole affembly standing in a doubt with great filence, Demosthenes onely stept vp, and did againe give them counsell to seeketo make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and fo did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwaies wont to do. Then with others he was sent Ambassadour VINO THEBES and Philipalfo for his part, fent Ambassadors vinto the Thebans, Amontas & Cleerchus, two gentlemen Mace DONIANS, and with them Daochus, Theffalus, and Thracydaus, to answer and withstand the perswasions of the Athenian Ambassadors. Thereupon the The-BAD'S began to adulfe themselues for the best, and laid before their eyes the miserable fruites and calamities of war, their wounds being yet greene and vncured, which they got by the wars of PHOCIDE. Notwithstanding, the great force of Demosthenes cloquence (as Theorem pus wri. teth) did fo inflame the THEBANS courage with defire of honour, that it trode vnder their feete all maner of confiderations, and did for anish them with the loue and defire of hone fty, that they caft at their heeles all feare of danger, all remembrance of pleafures received, & all reason perfivading the contrary. This act of an Orator was of logreat force, that Philip forthwith fent Ambaffadors virto the GRECTANS, to intreat for peace, and all GRECE was vp to fee what would become of this firre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of ATHEN's obeyed Demostly energeloing all that he commanded them, but the gouernours also of THERES and of all the country of Boso-TIA besides. And the assemblies also of the councell of THEBES were as well governed by him as the affemblies of Athens, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, & having alike authority to command both, and not vndeseruedly, as Theopompus saith, but by inst desert. But some fatall destinie, and the revolution of times had determined the finall end of the liberty of GRECE at that time, cleane contrarie to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes that did foreshew and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And amongst others, Apolloes Nunne gauethese dreadfull Oracles: and this old prophecy of the Sieves was commonly fungin enery bodies mouth: What time the blondy battell shall be fought at Thermoden,

God grant I may be farre away; or elfe (10 looke thereon) Haue Eagles wings to foare about, among the cloudes on hie: For there the vanquisht side shall weepe, and Conquerer shall die.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle river of the country of CHERONEA, which falleth into the river of Cephifus: howbeit at this present time there is never a river nor brooke in all our countrey, that I know, called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that river which we call now Hamon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of Heronles, where the GRB-CIANS lay in camp. And it may be, that because it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ranne bloudat the day of the battell, it changed her name, and was firnamed Hæmon, because Hæma in the Greeke tongue, fignifieth bloud. Yet Duris writeth notwithstanding that this Thermodon was no river, but that certaine men setting vp their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of stone, whereupon were engrauen these letters: whereby it appeareth that it was a man called Thermedon, who caried an AMAZON hurt in his armes; and that for this image of Therme; don, they do fing fuch another old Oracle as this:

Ye Ernes and Rauens tarry till the field of Thermodon: There will be fore of carkasses of men to feede vpon.

This not with standing, it is very hard to tell the troth of these things. But Demost benest trusting to the valiantnesse and power of the GRECIANS, and being maruellously incouraged to see such a great number of valiant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the enemie, he bad them be of good courage, and not to buzze about fuch Oracles, and to giue care to fuch prophecies. And furthermore he told them plainely, that hee did mistrust the Nunne Pythea did leane VIITO Philip, as fauouring him, and did put the THERANS in mind of their Captaine Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles; and perswaded them, that those two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that fuch prophecies were no other but a fine cloake for cowards, and that taking no heed to them, they did dispatch their matters according to their owne discretion. Vntill this present time, Demosthenes showed himselfe alwaies an honest man. But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act any thing answerable to the orations whereby he had perswaded the people. For he left his ranke, and cowardly cast away his weapons to from the runne the lighter, and was not ashamed at all (as Pythias said) of the words written vpon his banks. shield in golden letters, which were, Good fortune. Now Philip having won the battell, he was Demostheatthat present so joy full, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had drunke well net words atthat present so soyfull, that he zell to commit many rond parts. For after he had drunke well and deute with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was given, and there in mockerie ponhis beganto fing the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had preferred (by the which the field. ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres against him) rising and falling with his voice, and dancing it in measure with his foote:

Demosthenes the sonne of Demosthenes Peanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to waxe fober, and leaving his drunkennesse, when he had remembred himselfe what danger he had bene in, then his haire stood bolt vpright vpon his head, confidering the force and power of such an Orator, that in a peece of a day had enforced him to hazard his Realme and life at a battell. Now Demosthenes fame was so great, that it was caried even to the great king of PERSIAES court, who wrote vnto his Lieutenants and gouernors, that they should feed Demosthenes with mony, and should procure to entertaine him about all the men in GRECE, as he that could best withdraw Philip, and trouble him with the warres and tumults of GRECE. And this was afterwards proued by letters found of Demosthenes himselfe, the which money of cameroking Alexanders hands in the city of Sardis, and by other writings also of the gouernours and Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, in the which were named directly the expresse fummes of money which had bene fent and given vnto him. Now the GRECIAS being thus ouerthrowne by battel, the other Orators, aduerfaries vnto Demosthenes in the commonwealth, began to set vpon him, and to prepare to accuse him. But the people did not only cleare him of all the accusations objected against him, but did continue to honour him more then before, and to call him to affemblies, as one that loued the honour and benefit of his country. So that when the bones of their countrimen which were flaine at the battell of CH ÆR ON EA, were brought to be openly buried according to the custome, the people gaue him the honour to make the funerall Oration in praise of the dead, and made no shew of sorow or griefe for the losse they had receiued (as Theopompus witnesseth, and doth nobly declare, but rather in contrary maner shewed vere slains that they did not repent them in following of his counfell, but did honor him that gaue it. Demosthenes then did make the funerall Oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to round. the people, he would neuer subscribe any, to preuent the finister lucke and misfortune of his name, but did passe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew couragious againe, shortly after that he vinderstood of the death of Philip, who was slaine immediatly after the victory he wan at CHERONEA. And it feemeth this was the meaning of the prophecy or Oracle in the two last verses:

The vanquished bewailes his lucklesse lot, And he that winnes, with life escapeth not.

Now Demostheres hearing of Philips death, before the newes were openly knowne, to preuent them, he would put the people againe in good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he of his comwent with a chearefull countenance into the assembly of the councell, and told them there, that trey, before he had a certaine dreame that promised great good hap, and that out of hand vnto the ATHENI-ANS: and immediatly after, the messengers arrived, and brought certaine newes of king Philips daughter. death. Thereupon the ATHENIAN'S made facrifices of ioy to the gods for this happienewes, & appointed a crowne vnto Pausanias that had flainchim. Demosthenes also came abroad in his Pharch best gowne, and crowned with flowers, seuen daies after the death of his daughter, as Afchines forbisfond reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or charitie blubbering vnto his ownechildren. But indeed Æschines selfe deserueth more blame, to haue such a ten- and serowder womanissisheart, as to beleeue, that weeping and lamenting are signes of a genrle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and constancie doe passe away such mis-Dddd

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DEMOSTHENES

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Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens. Demofibenes tale of the Sheepe

fortunes. But now to the ATHENIAN's againe. I canneither thinke nor fay that they did wifely to shew such open signes of iou as to weare crownes and garlands vpon their heads, nor also, to facrifice vnto the gods for the death of a Prince, that behaued himselfe so princely and curteous ly vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For though indeed all crucky be subject to the reuenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base mind, to honor a man while he lived. and to make him free of their city; and now that another had flaine him, they to be in fuchan exceeding iolity withall, and to exceed the bounds of modesty so far, as to rampe in maner with both their fecte vpon the dead, and to fing fongs of victory, as if they themselues had bene the men that had valiantly flaine him. In contrary manner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of Demosthenes, that he leaving the teares and lamentation of his home trouble vnto women, did himselfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefit of the commonwealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a commonwealth, neuer to stoupe nor yeeld, but alwaies to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the commonwealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affer ctions, in respect of the service of his countrey; and to keepe his honour much more carefully. then common players vie to do, when they play the parts of Kings and Princes, whom we fee neither weepe nor laugh when they lift, though they be on the stage, but when the matter of the play falleth out to give them infloccation. But we omit those reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leave and forfake a man in his forrow and trouble, without giving him fome words of comfort, but rather to deuise some matter to allwage his forrow, & to withdraw his mind from that, to thinke vpon some pleasanter thing: euenas they should keepe sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefes at home, when the common wealth doth well, then to io yne their private griefes with common ioyes, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse. But thus farre I digressed from my history enlarging this matter, because Aschines in his oration touching this matter, did mouethe peoples hearts too much vnto womanish forow. But now to the rest. The cities of GRECE being againe ftirred up by Demosthenes, made a new league againe together: and the THEBANS also having armed themselues by his practise, did one day set upon the garrison of Macedonians within their city, and flue many of them. The ATHENTANS prepared also to maintaine warre on the THEBANS behalfe, and Demosthenes was daily at all the affembles of councell, in the pulpit, perfwading the people with his orations: and he wrote also into Asia vnto the king of Persiaes Lieutenants and Captaines, to make warre with Alexander on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to fay, as foole. But after that Alexanaer having fet all his things at stay within his Realme, came himselfe in person with his army, and inuaded the country of Bo E or 1A, then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, and Demostheres also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poore THEBAN'S being left vnto themselues forsaken of cuery man, they were compelled themselues alone to beare the brunt of this warre, and so came their city to vtter ruine and destruction. Thereby the Athenians being in a maruellous feare and perplexity, did suddenly chuse Ambassadors to send vnto this yong king, and Demostheres chiesly among others: who being afraid of Alexanders fury and wrath, durst not go to him, but returned from mount Cythæron, and gaue vp the Ambassade. But Alexander sent to summon the ATHENIANS, to fend vnto him ten of their Orators, as Idomeneus and Duru both do write: or eight, as the most writers and best historiographers do report, which were these: Demossheres, Polycuetus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callifthenes and Charidemus. At which time they write that Demosthenes told the people of ATHENS, the fable of the Sheepe and Wolues, how that the Woluescame on a time, and willed the Sheepe, if they would have peace with them, to deliuer them their mastines that kept them. And so he compared himselfe and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the people, vnto the dogges that keepe the flockes of sheepe, and called Alexander the Wolfe. Moreover, said he, like as you see these come mafters bringing a sample of their corne in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that little do sell all that they have: fo I thinke you will all wonder, that delivering of vs, you shall also deliver your sches into the hands of your enemies. Aristobulus of Cassandria reporteth this matterthus. Now the ATHENIANS being in consultation, not knowing how to resolue, Demades hauing taken fine talents of them whom Alexander demannded, did offer himselse, and promifed

promised to go in this Ambassage vnto Alexander, and to intreate for them; either because he trufted in the loue the king did beare him, or elfe for that he thought he hoped he should finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the bloud of beafts which he had flaine. How loeuer it happened, he perswaded the people to send him vnto Alexander, whom he so handled, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the city of ATHENS. Thereupon Alexander being retired, Demades and his fellowes bare all the fivay & authority, and Demosthenes was vnder foot. Indeed when Agisking of LACEDEMON, came with his armie into the field, he began a litle to rouze himselfe, and to lift vp his head: but he shrunke collar againe soone after, because the A-THENIANS Would not rife with the LACED EMONIANS, who were ouerthrowne, & Agis flaine in battell. At that time was the cause of the crowne pleaded against Ctesiphon, and the plea was The indee. written alitle before the battell of CHERONEA, in the yeare when Charondas was Prouoft of ment of the ATHENS: howbeit no fentence was giventill ten yeares after, when Ariflophon was Prouost. This was fuch an open judgement, and fo famous, as never was any, as well for the great fame (iphon. of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as also for the worthinesse of the Iudges that gaue sentence thereof: who did not leave Demosthenes to his enemics, although indeed they were of greater power then he, and were also supported with the fauour and good will of the MACEDONIANS: but they did not with standing so well quit him, that Aschines had not so much as the fift part of mens voices and opinions on his fide. Wherefore immediatly after the fentence given, hewent out of ATHENS for shame, and travelled into the country of longa, and vnto the KHODEs, where he didteach Rhetoricke. Shortly after, Harpalus flying out of Alex. Harpalus a anders scruice, came vnto Athens, being to be charged with many foule matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigality: and also because he feared Alexanders furie, who was same to growne seuere and cruell vnto his chiefest servants. He coming now amongst the Athens Athens, fly with flore of gold and filuer, the Orators being greedy and defirous of the gold & filuer he had decanders brought, began straight to speake for him, and did counsell the people to receive and protect a poore futter that came to them for fuccour. But Demostheres gave counsell to the contrary, and badthem rather drive him out of the city, and take heed they brought not warres upon their backes, for a matter that not onely was not necessarie, but furthermore meerely vinust. But within few daies after, an inuentorie being taken of all Harpalus goods, he perceining that Demost benes tooke great pleasure to see a cup of the kings, and considered very curiously the sathion and workmanship vpon it, he gaue it him in his hand, to judge what it weyed. Demesthenes peyzing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was so heavie: so he asked how many pound weightit weyed. Harpalus finiling, answered him: It will bring theetwenty talents. So when night was come, he fent him the cup, with the twenty talents. This Harpalus was a very wife man, and found straight by Demostheres countenance that he loued money, and could presently iudge his nature by feeing his pleasant countenance, and his eyes still vpon the cup. So Demost hence refused not his gift, and being ouercome withall, as if he had received a garrison into by Harratum his house, he took Harpalus part. The next morning, he went into the assembly of the people, ha with the my uing his necke bound vp with wooll and rolles. So when they called him by his name to step vp talents into the pulpit, to speake to the people as he had done before, he made a figne with his head, that he had an impediment in his voice, and that he could not speake. But wife then laughing at *The con: his fine excuse, told him, that it was no squinance that had stopped his westell that hight, as he ceit can would make them beleeue: but it was Harpalus money which he had received, that made him hardly be in that case. Afterwards when the people vinderstood that he was corrupted, Demosthenes going about to excuse himselfe, they would not abide to heare him, but made a noise and exclamation against him. Thereupon there rose vp a pleasant conceited man, and said: Why my mafters, do ye refuse to heare a man that hath * such a golden tongue? The people thereupon did immediatly banish Harpalus; and fearing lest king Alexander would require an account of the goldand filter which the Orators had robbed and pilfered away among them, they made very diligent fearch and inquiry in enery mans house, excepting Gallicles house, the sonne of Arrenidas; whose house they would by no meanes have searched, because he was but newly maried, and had his new spouse in his house, as Theopompus writeth. Now Demosthenes desiring to show thathe was inno fault, preferred a decree, that the court of the Areopagites should digit is hearethe matter, and punish them that were found faultie, and therewithall straight offered pleasant himselfe to betried. Howbeit he was one of the first whom the court condemned in the summe sound.

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of fiftic talents, and for lacke of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long both for shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his fickly bodie. So he brake prison, partly without the privity of his keepers, and partly also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some do report, that he fled not farre from the city: where it was told him, that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereupon he would haue hidden himselfe from them. But they themselues first called him by his name, and comming to him, praied him to take mony of them, which they had brought him from their houles to helpe him in his banishment wand that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, and perswaded him to be of good cheere, & not to despaire for the misfortune that was come to him. This did pierce his heart the more for forrow, that he answered them: Why, would you not have me be forie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forfake the city, where indeed I have so courteous enemies, that it is hard for me to find any where fo good friends: So he took his banishment vnmanly, and remained the most part of his banish. ment in the city of AGINA, or at the city of TTOEZEN, where oftentimes he would cast his eves towards the country of ATTICA, and weepe bitterly. And some have written certaine words he spake, which shewed no mind of a man of courage, nor were answerable to the noble things he was wont to perswade in his orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of Athens. he looked backe againe, and holding vp his hands to the Castle, said in this sort: O Lady Mi. merua, Lady patronesse of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischieuous beasts: the Owle, the Dragon, and the People: Besides, he perswaded the yong men that came to see him. & that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state; assuring them, that if they had offered him two waies at the first, the one to go into the assembly of the people, to make Orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death prefently; and that he had knowne as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the envie, the accusations, and troubles in the same, he would rather have chosen the way to have suffered death. So, Demosthenes continuing in his exile, king Alexander died, and all GRECE Wasyp againe: insomuch as Leosthenes being a man of great valour, had shut vp Antipater in the city of LAMEA, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then Pytheas and Callimedon, sirnamed Carabos, two Orators, and both of them banished from ATHENS, they tooke part with Antipater, and went from towne to towne with his Ambassad friends, perswading the Grecians not to flir, neither to take part with the ATHENIANS. But Demosthenes in contrary manner, joyning with the Ambassadors sent from ATHENS into every quarter to solicite v cities of GRECE, to feeke to recouer their liberty, he did aide them the best he could, to solicite the GRECIANS, to take armes with the ATHENIANS, to drive the MACEDONIANS out of GRECE. And Phylarchus writeth that Demosthenes encountered with Pytheas words in an open assembly of the people in a certaine towne of ARCADIA. Pytheas hauing spoken before him, had said: Like as we presume alwaies that there is some sicknes in the house whither we do see Asses milke brought: To must that towns of necessity be sicke, wherein the Ambassadors of Athens doenter. Demeshbenes answered him againe, turning his comparison against him: That indeed they brought Affes milke, where there was need to recouer health: and even so, the Ambassadours of A-THENS were fent to heale and cure them that were ficke. The people at ATHENS vnderstanding what Demostheres had done, they foreioyced at it, that presently they gaue order in the field, that his banishment should be reuoked. He that perswaded the decree of his reuocation, was called Damon P. EANIAN, that was his nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS sent him a galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the city of ÆGINA. So Demostheres being arriued at the hauen of Piraa, there was neither gouernour, Priest, nor almost any townes man left in the city, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that Demetrius MAGNE-SIAN Writeth, that Demostheres then lifting up his hands unto heaven, faid, that he thought himselse happie for the honour of that iourney, that the returne from his banishment was farre more honourablethen Alcibiades returne in the like case had bene. For Alcibiades was called home by force: and he was fent for with the good will of the cirizens. This notwithfanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not dispence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuised a way to deceive the law: for they had a manner to giue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and set out the Altar of lupiter sauiour, for the day of the solemnitie of the facrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him: fo they gaue him the charge to make this preparation for the fumme of fiftie talents, being the summe of the fine aforesaid wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the good hap of his restitution to his country and goods: for the affaires of the GRECIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of Cranon which they loft, was in the moneth Munychion (to wit, Iuly:) and in the moneth Bædromion nextenfuing (to wit, Au-

gust) the garrison of the MACEDONIANS entred into the fort of Munychia. And in the moneth Pyanepfion (to wit, the October following) Demosthenes died in this maner. When newes came to Athens, that Antipater and Graverus were coming thither with a great armic, Demostheres and his friends got out of the towne a litle before they entred; the people by Demades perswasion, hauing condemned them to die. So, euery man making shift for himselfe, Antipater sent soldi-

ers after them totake them: and of them Archias was Captaine, firnamed Phygadotheras, as Archias ers after them to take them: and of them Carbins was Captaine, in the strength of the banished men. It is reported that this Archias was borne in the theres, a city of THVRIES, and that he had bene fometimes a common player of tragedies; and that Poliss hunter of also who was borne in § city of ÆGINA(the excellentest craftsmaster in that faculty of al men) the baniford

was his scholer. Yet Hermippus doth place him amongst the number of the scholers of Lacritus men. the Orator. And Demetrius also writeth, that he hadbene at Anaximenes schoole. Now this Archias having found the Orator Hyperides in the city of EGINA, Iristenicus MARATHONIAN, & Hymeraus the brother of Demetrius the PHALERIAN, which had taken fanctuary in the tem-

pleof Aiax, he tooke them out of the temple by force, and fent them vnto Antipater, who was at that time in the city of CLEONES, where he did put them all to death: and some say, that he did cut off Hyperides tongue. Furthermore, hearing that Demosthenes had taken functuary in the

Ileof CALAVRIA, he tooke litle pinnaces, with a certaine number of THRACIAN fouldiers, and being comethither, he fought to perfwade Demosthenes to be contented to goe with him vnto Antipater, promiting him that he should have no hurt. Demosthenes had a strange dreame the Domosthe. night before, and thought that he had played a tragedy contending with Archias, and that he nesdreame,

handled himselfe so well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commend him, and gaue him the honour to be the best player showbeit that otherwise he was not so well furnished as Archias & his players, & that in all manner of furniture he did far exceed them. The next morning when Archias came to speake with him, and vsing gentle words vnto him, thinking thereby to winne

him by faire meanes to leave the fan Quarie, Demosthenes looking him full in the face, fitting still where he was, without remouing, faid vnto him: O Archias, thou diddest neuer perswade me when thou plaiedst a play, neither shalt thou now perswade me, though thou promise me. Then Archias beganto be angry with him, and to threaten him. O faid Demosthenes, now thou spea-

kest in good earnest, without dissimulation, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commanded thee: for before, thou spakest in the clouds, and farre from thy thought: but I pray thee stay a while, till I haue written somewhat to my friends. After he had said so, he went into the temple as though he would have dispatched some letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth

which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did vie to write any thing, and held persosthethe end of the quill in his mouth a prety while together then he cast his gowne ouer his head, & set taken layed him downe. Archias fouldiers feeing that, being at the doore of the temple, laughed him kill himselfe to scorne (thinking he had done so for that he was afraid to dye) calling him coward, and beast. in the ten-

Archins also coming to him, prayed him to rise, and began to vie the former perswasions to him, ple of Neppromising him that he would make Antipater his friend. Then Demosthenes feeling the poyson ite of caworke, cast open his gowne, and boldly looking Archias in the face, said vnto him: Now when lawria. thou wilt, play Greens part, and throw my body to the dogs, without further graue or buriall. For my part, o god Neptune, I do go out of thy temple being yet aliue, because I will not prophane

it with my death, but Antipater, and the MACEDONIANS, hauenot spared to defile thy fanctuary with bloud and cruell murther. Hauing spoken these words, he prayed them to stay him vp by his arme-holes, for his feete began already to faile him; and thinking to go forward, as he past by the Altar of Neptune, he fell downe, and giving one gaipe, gave vp the ghoft. Now touching of Demo-

the poylon, A iffereporteth, that he fucked and drew it vp into his mouth out of his quill, as we fibruer. haue said before. But one Pappus (from whom Hermippus hath taken his historie) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the Altar, they found the beginning of a letter which

faid: Demosthenes vnto Antipater, but no more. Now his death being thus sudden, the THRACIAN foldiers that were at the temple doore, reported that they faw him plucke the poy fon which he

Dddd3

nes death

The Atheniahsbono.

Antigonus, in the life of

Demades histreafon.

Phocion.

put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a peece of gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a maid of the house that served him, being examined about it, told them, that he had caried it about him a long time for a preservative for him. Eratosthenes writeth, that he kept this poyfon in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers also that do report his death diversly, but to recite them all were in vaine: fauing that there was one called Demochares (who was Demosthenes very friend) who faid, that he died not so suddenly by poyson, but that it was the speciall famour of the gods (to preserve him from the cruelty of the Macedonians) that sud-The time of denly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele fo litle paine. Demosthenes died the fixteenth day of the moneth Pynepfion(to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at ATHENS the feast of Ceres, called Tesmophoria, which is the dolefullest feast of al the yeare: on the which day also, the women remaine all day long in the temple of the goddesse, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honour him according to his deserts, did cast his image in braffe, and made a law befides, that the oldest man of his house should for ever be kept within the pullace, at the charge of the commonwealth: and ingraned these verses also vpon the ter bis death base of his image : Hadft thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy heart,

The Macedons should not have wrought the Greekes such woe and smart. For they that thinke that it was Demosthenes himselfe that made these verses in the Ile of Ca-LAVRIA, before he tooke his poylon, are greatly deceived. But yet a litle before my first comming to ATHENS, there went a report that fuch a thing happened: A certaine fouldier being fent for to come vnto the Captaine, did put such peeces of gold as he had into the hands of Demosthenes statue, which had both his hands iouned together; and there grew hard by it a great Plane tree, diuerfe leaues whereof either blowne off with wind by chance, or else put there of purpose by the foldier, couered so this gold, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: untill fuch time as the foldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereupon this matter running abroad in enery mans mouth, there were diverse men that tooke occasion of this subject, to make Epigrams in the praise of Demosthenes, as one who in his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, Demades did not long enjoy the honour he thought he had newly gotten. For the iustice of the gods, reuenger of the death of Demosthenes, brought him into MACEDON, to receiue iust punishment by death, of those whom he dishonestly flattered : being before growne hatefull to them, & afterwards committed a fault whereby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perswade and pray * Perdice as, to make himselfe king of MACEDON, and to deliuer GRECE from bondage, saying, that it hung but by a thred, and yet in was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, Antipater. Dinarchus Corinthian accused him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grieuously offended Cassander, that first he slue his owne some in his armes, & then commanded they should afterward kill Demades, making him feele then by those miseries (which are the cruellest that can happen vnto man) that traitors betraying their

owne countrey, do first of all betray themselues. Demosthenes had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleeue him. Thus, my friend sofius you have what we can deliner you, by reading or report, touching Demosthenes life and doings.

The end of Demosthenes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF Marcus Tullius Cicero.





S touching Ciceroes mother, whose name was Heluia, it is reported she cierropawas a Gentlewoman borne, and lined alwaies very honefuly: but for temage. his father, the reports of him are diversand infinite. For some say, that he was borne and brought vp in a Fullers shop: others report, that he came of Tullus Appius, who while he lived was honoured among the Volsces as king, and made very sharpe and cruell warres with the ROMAINES. But furely it seemes to me, that y first of that name called Cicero, was fome famous man, and that for his fake his of-spring continued still that firname, and were glad to keepe it; though many men feorned it, because Cicer in English signifieth a cich pease; and Cicero had athing vpon the tip focalled.

of his nose, as it had bene a litle wart, much like to a cich pease, whereupon they firnamed him Cicero. But this Cicero, whose life we write of now, nobly answered certaine of his friends on a timegiuing him counfell to change his name, when he first made suite for office and beganto practife in matters of flate: that he would endeuour himselfe to make the name of Ciceroes more noble and famous, then the Seauri or Catuli. After that, Cicero being made Treasurer in Sicila, for. he gaue an offering of certaine filter plate vnto the gods, and at large engraued on it his two first names, Marcus Tullius: and in place of his third name, he pleafantly commanded the workman to cut out the forme and fashion of a cich pease. Thus much they write of his name. Now for Gierres his birth, it was faid that his mother was brought to bed of him without any paine, the third birth. day of Ianuarie: on which day the Magistrates and Gouernours of Romb do vse at this prefear, yearely to make folemne prayers and facrifices vnto the gods, for the health and profeerity of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurse, that did di image prognosticate vnto her, she gaue a child sucke, which in time to come should doe great good deterois vnto all the ROMAINES. Now though such things may seeme but dreames and fables vnto mule. many, yet Cicero himselfe shortly after proued this Prophesie true: because that when he came of age to learne, he grew fo toward, and wanne fuch fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacity. For thereupon came the other boyes fathers themselues to the schoole to see his face, and to be eye-witnesses of the report that went of him, of his sharpe and quicke and wis.

notable

Cicero Philoes schuler, mick Philo. forher. Cicero a follawer of Mutiu

Cicero a weake man.

Cicero, An. (choler.

wit to learne. But others of the rude and baser sort of men were offended with their sonnes, because to honour Gicero, they did alwaies put him in the midst betweene them, as they went in the streetes. Cicero indeed had such a naturall wit and understanding as Plato thought meete for learning and apt for the studie of Philosophie. For he gaue himselfe to all kind of knowledge,& there was no Artnor any of the liberall sciences that he disdained: not with standing in his first vong yeares he was apter and better disposed to the studie of Poetrie then any other. There is a pretic Poem of his in verses of eight staues, called Pontius Glaucus, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being ginen more carneftly vnto this studie, he was not only thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the Romaines in his time; and yet doth the excellency of his cloquence, & commendation of his tongue continue cuen to this day, not with standing the great alteration and change of the Latine tongue. But his Poetric hath loft the name and estimation of it, because there were many after him that became far morecxcellent therein then he. After he had left his childish studies, he became then Philoes scholer, the Academicke Philosopher, the onely scholer of all Clitomachus scholers, whom the ROMAINES esteemed so much for his cloquence, & loued more for his gentle behaulour and conversation. He gaue himselfe also to be a follower of Mutius Scauola, who at that time was a great manin Rome, and Prince of the Senate, and who did also instruct Cicero in the lawes of Rome. Hedid also follow Sylla for a time, in the wars of the Marsian's. But when he saw that the Commonwealth of Rome fell to civill wars, and from civill wars to a Monarchie, then he returned agains to his book and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of GR E C E, and alwaies fludied with them, vntill \hat{S}_{γ} lla had gotten the vpper hand, and that he faw all the commonwealth againe at fome stay. About that time, Sylla causing the goods of one that was faid to be slaine, to be fold by the Crier, being one of the outlawes and profcripts, to wit, banified by bils fet up on postes, Chrysogenus, one of Syllaes freed bondmen, and in great fauour with his master, bought them for the fumme of two thousand Drachmaes. Therewithall the sonne and heire of the dead person called Roscius, being maruellously offended, he shewed that it was too shamefull an abuse: for his fathers goods amounted to the fumme of two hundred and fiftie talents. Sylla finding himselfe thus openly touched with publike fraud and deceit, for the only gratifying of his man, he procured Chrysogonus to accuse him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Oratour duist speake in Roseius behalfeto defend his cause, but shrunke backe, fearing Syllaes cruelty and feuerity. Wherefore poore Roscius the yong man, seeing euery man forsake him, had no other refuge but to go to Cicero, whom his friends did counfell and perswade boldly to take vpon him the defence of Roseins cause: for he should neuer haue a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring himselse into estimation, as this. Thereupon Cicero determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it fo wel, that he obtained the thing he fued for whereby he wan him great fame and credit. But yet being afraid of Syllaes displeasure, he absented himself from Rome, and went into Grece, gining it out that his tranell was for a disease he had vpon him. Indeed Cicero was dog-leane, a litle eater, and would also cate late, because of the great weaknesse of his stomacke: but yet he had a good loud voice, though it was somewhat harsh, and lacked grace and comelinesse. Furthermore, he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration, that he mounted still with his voice into the highest tunes; insomuch that men were afraid it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to ATHENS, he went to heare Antiochus of the city of As-CALON, and fell in great liking with his fweet tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he missiked new opinions in Philosophie. For Antiochus had then forsaken the opinions of the new Academicke Philosophers, and the sect of Carneades: being moued thereunto, either through the manifest proofe of things, or by his certaine judgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or diffention against the scholers and followers of Clitomachus and Philo, he had reproued the refolutions of the Academicks, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the most part to the Stoicks opinions. Howbeit Cicero had most affection vnto the Academickes, and did studie that seet more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he saw he were forbidden to practife in the commonwealth at Rome, he would then go to Athens (leauing all pleas and affaires of the common wealth) to bestow the rest of his time quietly in the studie of Philofophie. At length, when he heard newes of syllaes death, and faw that his bodie was growne to good state and health by exercise, and that his voice became daily more and more to fill mens cares with a fweet and pleafant found, and yet was loud enough for the constitution of his body: receining

CICERO.

receiving letters daily from his friends at Rome, that prayed him to returne home; and moreouer, Antiochus felfe also earnestly perswading him to practise in the common-wealth, he began againe to fall to the studie of Rhetoricke, and to frame himselfe to be eloquent, being a necessarything for an Oratour, and did continually exercise himselse in making Orations vpon any speech or proposition, and so frequented the chiefe Oratours and masters of cloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into Asia vnto Rhodes, and amongst the O- circo rent rators of Asia he frequented Xenocles Adrametrin, and Dionysius, Magnesian, and stu- into asia, rators of As I and requested Apollonius Molon, and the Philosopher and to died also with Menippus Carian: at R HO DE's he heard Apollonius Molon, and the Philosopher Rhodes. Politidenius. And it is reported also, that Apollonius wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray Cicero for exercise sake to declame in Grecke. Cicero was very well contented with it, thinking that cicero dethereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those Greeke. that were present were amazed to heare him, and every man praised him one after another. Howbeit Apollonius all the while Cicero spake, did neuer shew any glad countenance: and when he had ended, he stayed a great while, and said neuer a word. Cicero misliking withall, Apolloniwarlength said vnto him: As forme Cicero, I doe not onely praise thee, but more then that, I refirmanie wonder at thee: and yet I am forie for poore GR BCB, to fee that learning and eloquence (which of Citero. were the two onely gifts and honours left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the ROMAINES. Now Cicero being very well disposed to go with good hope to practise at Rome, Anorale he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was told him. For inquiring of the god Apollo DE L- ginen to PHIAN, how he might do to winne fame and estimation, the Nunne Pythias answered him, he fiere. should obtaine it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his owne nature then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to Rome, at the first he clifing in proceeded very warily, and discreetly, and did vnwillingly seeke for any Office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the GRECIAN, and scholer, which are two words which the Artificers (and fuch base Mechanicall people at Rome) haue euer ready at their tongues end. Now he being by nature ambitious of honor, and prickt forward also by the perswassion of his father &friends, in the end he began to pleade, and there obtained not the chiefest place by litle and litle, but so soone as he fell to practife, he was immediatly esteemed aboue all other Oratours and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported not with standing, that for his gesture and pronunciation, having the selfe same defects of nature at the beginning, which Demosthenes had, to reforme them, he carefully studied Roseins and to counterfeit Roseius, an excellent Comedian, and Alope also a player of Tragedies. Of this A- Alope fope men write, that he playing one day Atreus part vpon a stage (who determined with himfelfehow he might be reuenged of his brother Thyelles) a feruant by chance having occasion to runnefuddenly by him, he forgetting himselfe, striuing to shew the vehement passion and surie of this king, gaue him such a blow on his head with the scepter in his hand, that he slue him dead in the place. Euen so Ciceroes words were of great force to perswade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the Oratours that thrust out their heads, and cried in their Orations, was wont to say, that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ride, because they could not go on foote: euen so (said he) they crie out because they cannot speake. cicero, a fine Truly pleasant taunts do grace an Oratour, and sheweth a fine wit: but yet cicero vsed them so commonly, that they were offensive vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spitefull man. He was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, when there was great Giero chofcarcitic of corne at Rome: and the prouince of Sicile fell to his lot. At his first coming this ther, the Sicilians misliked him very much, because he compelled them to send corne vnto Rome: but after they had found his diligence, inflice, and lenity, they honoured him aboue any cieroes di-Gouernour that euer was fent from Rome. Now there were diuerse young Gentlemen of ligence, and Rome: of noble houses, who being accused for fundry faults committed in wars against their lening. honour and martiall discipline, had bene sent backe againe vnto the Prætor of Sicile; for whom Gicero pleaded, and did so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned enery man. Thereupon, thinking wellof himselfe, when his time was expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there hapned a prety iest vnto him. As he passed through the countrey of CAMPA-NIA (otherwise called the land of labour) he met by chance with one of the chiefest ROMAINES of all his friends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they faid of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all Roma had bene full of the glorie of his

Cicero am bitious, and desirous of

Cicero giuen names.their lands and friends.

Hespake it. Iewes doe Swines flesh.

Cicera cha-Sen AEdilis

Ciceroes ri-

name and deeds. His friend asked him againe: And where hast thou bene Cicero all this while, that we have not seene thee at Rome? This killed his heart straight, when he saw that the report of his name and doings, entring into the city of Rome as into an infinite fea, was fo fuddenly vanished away againe, without any other fame or speech. But after that, when he looked into himselfe, and saw that in reason he tooke an infinite labor in hand to attaine to glory, wherin he faw no certaine end wherby to attaine vnto it, it cut off a great part of the ambition he had inhis head: and yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare his owne praise, and to be ouermuch giuento defire of honour and estimation, these two things continued with him euen to his dying day, and dideftfoonesmake him fwarue from inftice. Furthermore, when he began throughly to practife in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that Artificers and crafts men should haue many forts of instruments and tools without life, to know the names of euery one of them, the places where they should take them, and the vse whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the helpe and service of men) should be flothfull and carelesse to learne to know the names of his citizens. Therefore he gaue himfelfe to know, not onely mens names of quality, but the streets also they dwelt in, what part of the city foeuer it was: their goodly houses in the countrey, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when he went abroad into ITALY, wherefocuer he became, Cicero could fliew and name his friends houses. He was not very rich, and yethe had enough to serue his turne: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loued him the better, because he tooke no fee nor gift for his pleading, what cause socuer he tooke in hand, but then specially, when he defended a matter against Verres. This Verres had bene Prætor of Si-CILIA, & had committed many lewd parts there, for the which the SICILIANS did accuse him. Cicero taking vpon him to defend their cause, made Verresto be condemned, not by pleading, but in maner without pleading, and in this fort. The Prators being his indges, and fauouring Verres, had made so many reiornements and delayes, that they had driven it off to the last day of hearing. Cicero perceiuing then he should not have time to speake all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing should be done and judged, he rose vp and said, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but only brought forth the witnesses before the Iudges; and hauing caused their depositions to betaken, he prayed they would proceed to sentence, according to their euidence giuen on that behalfe. Yet some doe report, that Gicero gaue many pleasant taunts and girds, in pleading the accusation of the Sicilians against Verres. The ROMAINES do call a Bore, Verres. There was one Cacilius, the fon of a freed bondman, who was suspected to hold with the superstition of the IEVVES. This Cacilius would have put by § SICILIANS from following the accusation of verres, and would have had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the profecuting of it against him. Cicero scorning his suite, said vnto him: What hatha I Evv B to do with a Bore? This Verres had a sonne somwhat about twenty yeares of age, who (as the report went) had a very ill name for his beauty. And therefore when Verres one day thoughtto mocke Cicero, faying, that he was too effeminate. Thy children (faid he) are to be reproued of that secretly at home. In this accusation, Hortensius the Oratour durst not directly defend Verres: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to answer for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuorie giuen him by Verres for his reward. Thereupon Cicero gaue him a pretie nip by the way: but Hortensius not vnderstanding him, said, he could not skill of dark speeches. Well faid Cicero, yet hast thou a Sphinx in thy house. In the end Verres being condemned, and a fine fet on his head to the value of threescore and fifteene Myriades, Cicero notwithstanding was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But yet when he came to be Ædilis, the Sicilians to flew themselves thankfull to him, both brought and sent him many presents out of Sicile. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vse, but only bestowed their liberality in bringing downey prices of victuals at Rome. He had a goodly house within the confines of the city of Arpos, a farmealso by Naples, & another about the city of Pomperisbut all these were no great things. Afterwards he had also the joynter of his wife Terentia, which amounted to the summe of twelue Myriades, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. Thereupon he liued very honeftly & foberly, without excesse, with his familiar friends that loued him, both GRECIANS and Romaines, and would neuer go to suppertillafter Sunne set, not so much for any great bufine Te he had, as for the weakenesse of his stomack. But otherwise he was very curious, & carefull of his person, and would be rubbed & announted, and he would vie also to walke a certaine number of turnes by proportion: and so exercifing his body in that fort, he was never sicke, and besides was also very strong and lustie of body, able to abide great paines and sorrowes which he fell into afterwards. He gaue his fathers chiefe mansion house to his brother, and went to dwell himselfe in the mount Palatine: because such as came to waite vpon him to do him honor, should Citeros not take the paines to go fo farre to fee him. For he had as many men daily at his gate enery refe and x morning, as either Crassus had for his wealth, or Pompey for his estimatio among & soldiers, both reserve of them being atthattime the chiefest men of Rome. Yea furthermore, Pompeys selfe came vnto Cicero, because his Orations stood him to great purpose, for the increase of his honor and authority. Now when Gicero came to make suite to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinary Judge) though he had many competitors, and fellow fuiters with him, yet was he first chosen afore the cierochoall; and he did so honestly behave himselfe in that Office, that they did not so much as once suf- fen Prator. pecthim of briberie or extortion. And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that Licinius Macer (a man that of himself was of great power, and yet fauoured and supported besides by Crassus accused before Cicere of theft and extortion in his Office: but he trusting much to his supposed credit, and the great suite and labour his friends made for him, went home to his house before fentence pronounced against him, (the Iudges being yet to give their opinions) and there speedily trimmed his beard, and put a new gowne vpon his backe, as though he had bene sure to haue bene quit of his accusation; and then returned againe into the market place. But Crassus went to meete him, and told him, all the Iudges had condemned him. Licinius Macer tooke such a griefe zinius and conceit vpon it, that he went home to his house againe, laid him downe on his bed, and neuer rose after. This iudgement wan Cicero great fame, for they praised him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to see instice duly executed. Another also called Vatinius, (a bedlem sellow, and one that behaued himself very vnreuerently to the magistrates in his pleading, and besides had a swollen neck) came very arrogantly one day vnto Cicero being in his Prætoriall seate; and asked him a thing which Gicero would not grant him there, but would thinke of it at better leyfure. Thereupon Vatinius told him, that he would not be scrupulous to grant that, if he were Prætor. Cicero turning to him, answered him againe: No more haue I (said he) such a swollen necke asthou hast. Towards the end of his Office, two or three daies before his time expired, there was one accused Manilius before him, that he also had robbed the commonwealth. This Manilius was very well beloued of the common people, who were perswaded that he was put in fuite, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to despite Pompey with, whose familiar friend he was. So he required certaine daies to answer the matter he was accused of: but Cicero would give him no further respite, but to answer it the next day. The people therewith were maruellously offended, because the other Prætors in such like cases, were wont to give ten daies respite vnto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and also accused him vnto them, he besought Cicero to heare him patiently. Cicero made him answer, that having alwaies vsed as much favour and courteste as he possibly might by law vnto those that were accused, he thought he should offer Manilius too great wrong, if he should not do the like to him: wherefore, because he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purposely giuen him that day to make his answer before him. For he said, that to leaue his accusation to the hearing of an other Prætor, he could not have bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and meant to pleasure him. These words did maruellously change the citer with peoples opinion and affection towards him, and euery man speaking well of him, they prayed him to defend Manilius cause. He willingly granted them: and coming from the bench, standing at the barre like an Oratour to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and spake Tribunes. both boldly and sharply against the chiefemen of the city, and those specially that did enuie Pompey. This not with standing, when he came to sue to be Confull, he found as great fauour a- cheero made mongst the Nobility, as he did with the communaltie. For they did further his suite, for the conful. common-wealths fake, vpon this occasion. The change and alteration of government the which sylla brought in, was thought strange at the first among the people: but now men by processe of time being vsed to it, it was throughly established, and no man misliked it. At that time many men practifed to subuert the gouernment, not for the benefit of the commonwealth, The confidence but to serve their owne couetous minds. For Pompey being then in the East parts, made warres racke of with the kings of Pontys and Armenia, and had not left sufficient force at Rome to refist cantion.

fo dead with his eloquence. For Cicero onely of all men in Rome made the Romaines know.

that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receive otho with clapping

of their hands, and contended with the knights which of them should do him greatest honour.

But now againe, the rebels of Catilines conspiracie (who were pretily cooled at the first for the

fearethey stood in) began to be lusty againe, and to gather together, boldly incouraging one a-

nother to broach their practife, before Pompey returned, who was said to be on the way towards

Romewith his army. But besides them, those souldiers that had served before in the wars vn-

fivading themselves that they should once againe have goods enough at home, to spoile and

ransacke at their pleasure. These fouldiers having one Manlius to their Captaine, that had borne

office in the field vnder Sylla, conspired with Cateline, and came to Rome to affist him in his suite:

who purposed once againe to demaund the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill

Cicero, in the tumult and hurly burly. The gods also did plainly shew by earth-quakes, lightning

and thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracie: besides

also, there fell out manifest coniectures and proofes by men that came to reucale them, how beit

they had no power sufficient to encounter so noble a man, and of so great power as Catiline was.

his conspiracie, he gaue Cicero a gentle answer, and said thus: What do I offend, said he, if that be-

ing two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, & hath a head; and

the other being great, strong, and of power, having no head, I do give it one? meaning vnder this

darke answer, to signifie the people and Senate. This answer being made, Cicero was more afraid

then before, infomuch that he put on a brigantine for the fafety of his body, & was accompanied

with the chiefest men of Rome, and a great number of yong men besides going with him from

his house into the field of Mars, where the elections were made; and had of purpose left open his

iacket loose at the coller, that his brigantine he had on might be seen; therby to let every mã that

faw him, know the danger he was in. Euery man misliked it when they saw it, and came about

him to defend him, if any offered to affaile him. But it so came to passe, that by voices of the peo-

Catiline, and the day appointed being at hand to broach their enterprise, about midnight, there

these seditious persons, that sought nothing but rebellion. These men had made Lucius Catilini their Captaine, a desperate man to attempt any great enterprise, subtill and malicious of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vile faults) for deslouring of his owne daughter, and killing his brother; and being afraid to be put in suite for it, he prayed Sylla to put his brothera. mongst the number of the outlawes (or proscripts) as if he had bene then aliue. These wicked rebels having chosen them such a Captaine, were sworne and bound one to another in this man. ner. They killed a man, and did eate of his flesh together, and had besides corrupted the most part of all the youth. For Cattline their Captaine suffered euery man to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined vnto, as to banquet, to follow harlots; and gaue them mony largely to beflow in these vaine expences. Furthermore, all THYSCAN began to rise, and the most partos GAVL Balfo, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALIE. The city of Rome it felfe was also ingreate danger of rifing, for the inequality of the goods of the inhabitants. For the Noblemen and of greatest courage, had spent all their lands in plaies and feasts, or in buildings & common works, which they built at their owne charge, to curry fauor with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: fo that thereby they became very poore, and their goods werein the hands of the meanemen and wretches. Thus the state of Rome stood in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might cafily have procured that durft have taken vpon him any change or alteration of gouernment, there was then such division among them in the state. Catiline notwithstanding, to prouide him of a strong bulwarketo prosecute his intent, came to sue Confull, hoping that he should be chosen with Carus Antonius, a manthat of himself was aptneither to do any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great strength and aide you him that would attempt any thing. Diverse noble & wise men foreseeing that, did procure Cheroto fue for the Consulfhip. The people accepted him, and rejected Catiline, Antonius and Cicero therupon were created Consuls, although that cicero of all the suiters for y Consulship was but only a Knights son, and not the son of a Senatour of Rome. Now, though the common people vnderstood not the secret practise and meaning of Catiline, yet at the beginning of Cicerots Confulship, there fell out great trouble and contention in the commonwealth. For they of the one fide, whom Sylla had by his ordinances deposed from their dignities and offices in Rome (who were no small men, neither few in number) began to creepe into the peoples good wil, alledging many true and iust reasons against the tyrannicall power of Sylla: howbeit spokenin ill time, when it was out of time to make any change or alteration in the commonwealth. The Tribunes on the other fide preferred lawes and ordinances to further this deuice. They preferred the law to choose the Decemuiri, with soueraigne power and authority through all ITALY and Syria, and alfothrough all the countries and provinces which Pompey had newly conquered to the Empire of Rome: to sell, and release all lands belonging to the state of Rome, to accuse any man whom they thought good, to banish any man, to restore y Colonies with people, to take what mony they would out of the Treasurie, to leavie men of warre, and to keepe them. in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many men of great account that fauoured this law, but Antonius chiefly, being colleague and fellow Confull with Cicero, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commission oners; and furthermore, it was thought that he was privile vnto Catilines conspiracie, and that he misliked it not, because he was so much in debt, And this was it that the Noblemen most feared of all other things. Thereupon Cicero, to prouide first to preuent this danger, granted to him the prouince of the Realme of MACEDON: and the prouince of GAVLE being offered vnto himselse, herefused it. By this good turne he wan Antonius like a hired player, making himto promise him that he would assist and aide him for the benefit of the commonwealth, and that he would say no more, then he should will him. When he had brought him to this, and had won him to his mind, he then began to be the bolder, and more stoutly to resist them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. Cicerotherefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reproue and inueigh against this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes would have established. And thereby he did so terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durse speake against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once againe to haue it to passe, and appointed the Consuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit Cicero being nothing abashed at it, he commanded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only overthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre, but furthermore they were veterly

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how much eloquence doth grace and beautifie that which is honest, & how inuincible right and inflice are, being eloquently fet forth; and also how that a man that will be counted a wise gouernour of a commonweale, should alwaies in his doings rather preferre profit, then seeke to currie fanour with the common people: yet fo to vse his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also vnpleasant. And to proue his sweet and pleasant tongue, may be alledged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the paftimes. For before, the knights of Rome did fit mingled one with another amongst the common people, & tooke their place as they came. The first that made the difference between them, was * others *Marcus Otho, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he appointed seuerall seates for dosar Luthe knights, where they might from thenceforth fee the pastimes. The people tooke this grie-

noufly, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that Otho comming afterwards into bune of the the Theater, althe common people fell a whistling at him, to shame him withal. The knights also people. in contrariwise made him roome among them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Rotati Therewith the people fell a whistling lowder then before, and the knights in like maner to clap- ding of the ping of their hands, and so grew to words one with another, that all the Theater was straight in vprore with it. Cicero vnderstanding it, went thither himselfe, and calling the people to the temple of the goddesse Bellona, he there so sharply reproued them, and therwith so perswaded them,

der Sylla, being dispersed up and downe ITALIE (but specially the best souldiers among them fired with dwelling in the good townes of THVSCAN) did stirre vp Catiline to hasten the enterprise, per- Catiline,

Cicerotherfore deferring the day of election, called Catiline into the Senate, & did there examine Cicero exhim of that which was reported of him. Catiline supposing there were many in the Senate that tiline in the

had good wils to rebell, and also because he would shew himselfe ready vnto them that were of senate.

ple, Catiline was againe rejected from the Confulship, and Syllanus and Murana chosen Confuls. Syllanus Shortly after this election, the fouldiers of THYSCAN being joyned, which should have come to na confuls.

camethree of the chiefest men of Rome to Giceroes house (Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellas, and Letters Scipio Metellus) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, & bad him wake his master presently, brought to and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter of importance. Craftings Arnight after supper, Crassus porter brought his master a packet of letters, deliucred him by a conspiration.

CICERO.

ftranger vnknown, which were directed vnto divers persons among the which, one of them had no name subscribed, but was onely directed vnto Crassus himselfe. The effect of the letter was that there should be made a great slaughter in Rome by Cariline, & therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to faue himselfe. Crassus having read his own letter, would not open the rest, but went forthwith vnto Cicero, partly for feare of the danger, & partly also to cleare himselfc of the suspition they had of him for the friendship that was betweet him and Catiline. Cicero counfelling with them what was to be done, the next morning affembled the Senate very early, and carying the letters with him, he did deliuer them according to their direction, & commanded they should reade them out aloud. All these letters, and every one of them particularly. did bewray the conspiracy. Furthermore, Quintus Arrius a man of authority, and that had bene Prætor, told openly the fouldiers and men of war that were leavied in Thysean. And it is reported alfo, that Manlius was in the field with a great number of fouldiers about the cities of THUSCAN, gaping dayly to heare newes of fome change at ROME. All these things being throughly confidered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the commonwealth vnto the Confuls, to the end that with absolute authority they might (as we las they could prouide for the fafety and preferuation thereof. Such manner of decree and authority, was not often feene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of prefent feare and danger. Now Cicero having this absolute power, he referred all forreine matters to Quintus Metellus charge, & did himfelfe take vpon him the care and gouerument of al civill affaires within Rome. On the day time when he went up and downe the towne, he had fuch a troupe of men after him. that when he came through y great market place, he almost filled it with his traine that followed him. Thereupon Cattline would no longer delay time, but refolued to go him felfe vnto Manlins, where their army lay. But before he departed, he had drawne into his confederacy one Marting, and another called Cethegus, whom he commanded betimes in the morning to goe to Ciceroes house with short daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morow. But there was a noble woman of Rome called Fuluia, who went our right vnto Cieero, and bad him beware of that Cethegus, who indeed came the next morning betimes vnto him and being denied to be let in, he began to chafe & raile before the gate. This made him the moreto be suspected. In the end cicero comming out of his house, called the Senate to the temple of Inpiter Stator, (as much to fay as, Stayer) which standeth at the upper end of the holy street as they go to the mount Palatine. There was Catiline with others, as though he meant to cleare him-Telfe of the suspition that went of him: how beit there was not a Senator that would fit downeby him, but they did all rife from the bench where Cattline had taken his place. And further, when he began to speake, he could have no audience for the great noise they made against him. So at length Cicero rose, and commanded him to avoid out of Rom H, saying, that there must needs be a feparation of wals betweene them two confidering that the one yfed but words, and the other force of armes, catiline therupon immediatly departing the city with three hundred armed men, was no fooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeants cary axes and bundels of rods before him, as if he had bene a Confull lawfully created; and did difplay his enfignes of warre, and so went in this order to seeke Manlins. When they were joyned, he had not much leffe then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the townes to rebell. Now open warre being thus proclaimed, Antonius, Ciccroes colleague and fellow Confull, was fent against him to fight with him. In the meane space, Cornelius Lentulus, sirnamed Sura (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put off the Scnate) affembled all the rest which were of Catilines conspiracie, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bad them be afraid of nothing. He was then Prator the second time, as the maner is when any man comes to recouer againe the dignity of a Senator which he had loft. It is reported, that this firname of Sura was given him vponthis occasion. He being Treasurer in Syllaes Dictarorship, did fondly wast and consume a maruellous summe of mony of the common treasure. Sylla being offended with him for it, and demanding an account of him before the Senate, he carelefly and contemptuoufly flepped forth, faying, he could make him no other account, but shewed him the calfe of his leg, as children do when they make a fault at tennis. And thereof it came, that ever after that they called him Sura, because Sura in Latine fignifieth the calfe of the leg. Another time also being accused for a leud part he had committed, he bribed some of the Judges with money; and being onely quit by two voices more which he had in his fauour, he

him to be cleared by one voice more. This mā being of this disposition, was first of all incensed by Catiline, and lastly marred by certaine wizards & false prognosticators that had mocked him with a vaine hope, singing verses vnto him which they had fained and deuised, and false prophecies also, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of Sybilles books of prophecic, which faid, that there should reigne three Cornelij at Rome, of the which, two had already fulfilled the neligibat prophecie, Cinna and Sylla, and for the third, fortune laid it vpon him, and therefore badhim goe found through withall, and not to dreame it out, losing oportunity as Catiline had done. Now this Lenthlus yndertook no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Senate, and Greattreas as many other citizens as they could murther, and to fet fire on Rome, sparing none but Pompeys on praction fonnes, whom they would referue for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with Pompey: for fed in Rome for new to the content of the conten the rumor was very great and certain also, that he returned from very great wars and conquests lus and Cewhich he had made in the East countries. So they layd a plot to put their treason in execution, in thegus. one of the nights of Saturnes feasts. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimstone, and a great number of armours and weapons into Cethegus house. Besides all this prouision, they had appointed a hundred men in an hundred parts of the city, to the end that fire being raised in many places at one time, it should the sooner runne through the whole city. Other men also were appointed to stop the pipes and water conduits which brought water to Rome, and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this stir, by chance there were two Ambassadors of the Allobroges, whose country at that time did much mislike of the Romaines, and were viwiling to be subject vinto them. Lentulus thought these men very fit instruments to cause all GAVLE to rebell. Thereupon practifing with them, he wanthem to be of their conspiracie, and gaue them letters directed to the Councell of their country, and in them did promise them freedome. He fent other letters also vnto Catiline, and perswaded him to proclaime liberty to all bondmen, and to come with all the speed he could to Rome : and sent with them one Titus of the city of Crotona, to carrie these letters. But all their counsels and purposes (like fooles that neuer met together but at feasts, drinking drunke with light women) were easily found out by Cicero, who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wifely and discreetly saw through them. For he had appointed men out of the city to spie their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore, he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also took to be of the conspiracie) and knew by them that Lentulus and Cethegus had practised with the Ambassadors of the Allogross, and drawne them into their conspiracie. At length he watched them one night fo narrowly, that he tooke the Ambassadors, and Titus CROTONIAN with rators apthe letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambassadors of the Allor Roges, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, Cicero assembled the Senate in \$ temple of Concord, and there openly read the letters, and heard the cuidence of the witnesses. Further, there was one Iunius Syllanus a Senator that gaue in euidence, that some heard Cethegus fay, that they should kill three Consuls and foure Prætors. Pife a Senator also, and that had bene Confull, told in maner the selfe same tale. And Caius Sulpitius a Prætor, that was sent into Cethegus house, reported that he had found great store of darts, armor, daggers, and swords new made. Lastly, the Senate having promised Titus CROTONIAN he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this confipracie, Lentulus thereby was conuinced, and driven to give vp his office of Prætor before the Senate, and changing his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miserable state. This being done, Lentulus and his conforts were committed to ward to the Prætors houses. Now growing towards evening, the people waiting about the place where the Scnate was affembled, Gicero at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Therupon he was conueyed by all the people vnto a friends house of his hard by: for that his owne house was occupied by the Ladies of the city, who were busie, solemnly celebrating a secret sacrifice in the honour of the goddesse, called of the Romaines the Good goddesse, and of the GRECIANS Gynecia, to wit, feminine: vnto her this yearly facrifice is done at the Cofuls house, by the wife or mother of the Consuli then being, the Vestall Nunnes being present at it. Now Cicero being come into his neighbors house, began to bethinke him what course he were best to take in this matter. For to punish the offenders with seuerity, according to their deserts, he was afraid to do it, both because he was of a courteous nature, as also for that he would not seeme to

be glad to haueoccasion to shew his absolute power and authority, to punish (as he might) with

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rigour, citizens that were of the noblest houses of the city, and that had besides many friends. And contrariwise also, being remisse in so weighty a matter as this, he was afraid of the danger that might enfuc of their raffines, mistrusting that if he should punish them with lesse then death. they would not amend for it, imagining they were wel rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate then everthey were, adding moreover the sting and spite of a new malice vnto their accustomed wickednesses that he himselfe should be thought acoward and timorous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. Cicero being perplexed thus with these doubts, there appeared a miracle to y Ladies, doing sacrifice at home in his house. For the fire being thought to be cleane out vpon the Altar where they had sacri. ficed, there suddenly rose out of the imbers of the rindes or barks which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amazed al the other Ladies. Howbeit the Vestall Nuns willed Terentia (Ci. cerees wife) to go straight vnto her husband, & to bid him not to be afraid to execute that boldly which he had confidered of for the benefit of the comonwealth, & that the goddeffe had raifed this great flame, to flew him that he should have great honor by doing of it. Terentia, that was no timorous nor faint hearted woman, but very ambitious, & furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affaires of the state, then otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewifery in the house, as cicero himselfe reporteth, she went to make report thereof ynto him & prayed him to do execution of those men. The like did Quintus Cicero his brother, & also Publius Nigidius his friend and fellow student with him in Philosophie and whose counsell also Cicere followed much in the gouernment of the commonwealth. The next morning the matter being propounded to the arbiterment of the Senate, how these male factors should be punished. Syllanus being asked his opinion first, said, that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewise that followed him were al of that mind, but Caius Casar, that afterwards came to be Dictator, & was then but a yong man, and began to come forward, but yet fuch a one, as by his behauior & the hope he had, took fuch a courfe, that afterwards he brought the commonwealth of Rome into an absolute Monarchie. For at that time Cicero had vehement fuspitions of Casar, but no apparent proofe to conuince him. And some say, that it was brought cefar tring fo neare, as he was almost connicted, but yet faued himself. Others write to the contrary, that ciconspiration. cero wittingly diffembled, that he either heard or knew any fignes which were told him against Cafar, being afraid indeed of his friends & estimation. For it was a cleare case, that if they had accufed Cafar with the rest, he vindoubtedly had sooner saued altheir lives then he should have lost his own. Now when Gafar came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of these prisoners, he flood vp & faid, that he did northink it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their goods; and as for their persons, that they should bestow them in prison, some in one place, some in another, in such cities of ITALY as pleased Cicero best, vntill the warre of Catiline were ended. This fentence being very mild, and the author thereof maruellous cloquent to make it good, Cicero himselse added thereunto a counterpoise, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of Casar. His friends thinking that Casars opinion was the fafest for Gicero, because therby he should deserve lesse blame for that he had not put the prisoners to death, they followed rather the second. Wherupon Syllanus also recanted that he had Ipoke, & expounded his opinio, faying, that when he spake they shold be put to death, he meant nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Rome could have, was the prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was Catalus Luctatius, and after him Cato, who with vehement words enforced Cafars suspicion, and furthermore filled al the Senate with wrath and outrage: fo that even you the instant it was decreed by most voices, that they should suffer death. But Cafar stept vp againe, and spake against the confiscation of their goods, misliking that they should reject the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should sticke vnto the feuerest onely: howbeit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to aid him, to the endthey should withstand it; but they would give no eare vnto him Cicero thereupon yeelding of himfelfe, did remit the confifcation of their goods, & went with the Senate to fetch the prisoners, who were not all in one house, but every Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take C. Lentulus, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy streete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefest men of the citic, who compassed him round about, and guarded his person. The people seeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, passed by, and said neuer a word: and specially the young men, who

thought it had bene some solemne mystery for the health of their country, that was so accompanied with the chiefe Magistrate, and the Noblemen of the city, with terrour and feare. So when he had passed through the market place, and was come to the prison, he deliuered Lentulus into the hands of the hang-man, and commanded him to do execution. Afterwards also Cetheous. and then all the rest, one after another, whom he brought to the prison himself, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing divers of their accomplices in a troupe together in the market place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched only till night were come, suppoling then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet aliue, he turned vnto them, and faid aloud, They liued. This is a phrase of speech a word which the ROMAINE's vie fometime, when they will finely conney the hardnesse of the speech. War ped for to say he is dead. When night was come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did waite vpon him no more with filence as before, but with great cries of his praise, and clapping of hands in enery place he went, and called him sauiour, and ciceroes fecond founder of Rome. Besides all this, at enery mans doore there were linkes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes as at noone dayes. The very women also did put lights out of the tops of their houses to do him honour, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with fuch along traine of the chiefest men of the city, (of the which many of them had ended great warres, for the which they had triumphed, and had obtained many famous conquests to the Empire of Rome, both by sea and land) confessing between themselves one to another, that the ROMAINES were greatly bound to many Captaines & Generals of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches and spoiles, and increase of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke Cicero onely for their health and preferuation, having faued them from so great and extreme a danger. Not for that they thought it so wonderfull an act to haue stricken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to haue punished the offenders by death; but because the conspiracy of Catiline, being so great and dangerous an insurrection as cuer was any, he had quenched it, & pluckt it vp by the roots, with fo finall hurt, and without vprore, trous le, or actuall feditio. For the most part of them that were gathered together about Catiline, when they heard that Leatulus and all the rest were put to death, they presently for sooke him: and Catiline himselfe also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against Antonius Catiline the other Confull with Cicero, he was flaine in the field, and all his army defeated. This not with standing there were many that spake ill of Cicero for this fact, and meant to make him repent it. hauing fortheir heads Cafar, (who was alreadie chosen Prætor for the yeare to come) Metellus and Bestia, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They so some as they were chosen Tribunes, for Prator. would not once suffer cicero to speake to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his office of Confull for certain daies. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speake vnto the bunes of the people, they did fet their benches vponthe pulpit for orations, which they call at Rome Roftra: people. and would neuer suffer him to set foot in it, but only to resigne his office, and that done, to come downeagaine immediatly. He granted thereunto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition. So filence being made him, he made an oth, not like vnto other Confuls othes when they refigne their office in like maner, but strange, and neuer heard of before, swearing that he had saued office. the city of Rome, and preserved all his countrey and the Empire of Rome from viter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present confirmed it, and sware the like oth. Wherewithall Cafar and the other Tribunes his enemies were so offended with him, that they deuised to breed him fome new ftir and trouble: and among ft others, they made a decree, that Pompey should be fent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of Cicero. Cato (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the comonwealth, opposing himself against al their practifes, with the like authority and power that they had being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not only easily breake all their deuices. but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised & extolled Ciceroes Confulfhip vnto them, and the things he did in his office, that they gave him the greatest honoursthat euer were decreed or granted unto any man lining. For by decree of the praised by people he was called, Father of the countrey, as Cato himfelfe had called him in his oration: the Given the which name was never given to any man, but onely vnto him; and also he bare greater sway in fift man Rome at that time then any man befide him. This not with standing, he made himselfeen used called, Faand missiked of many men not for any illact he did or meant to do, but only because he did too

Syllanus fentence of the conspi-

Celars opi-Spirators.

Cicero too much ginen to praife himfelfe.

Cisero friendly

Cicero faith, Demosthenes fleepeth in

Cicernes fubill and pleafant fajings.

The Stoickes of mion; A wise man is euer rich. A'E100 Keissu. Actius is a proper name of a Romaine & ağıce in Greeke fiznifictio, worthy: Sothegrace of the equinocation camor le expressed language.

much boast of himselfe. For heneuer was in any assembly of people, Senate, or judgement, but enery mans head was full still to heare the found of Catiline and Lentulus brought in for sport, & filling the bookes and workes he compiled befides full of his owne praises: the which made his fweet and pleasant stile tedious, and troublesome to those that heard him, as though this missor. tune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couctous defire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or enuicany others glory, but would very frankly praise excellent men, as well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They have writte also certaine notable words he spake of some ancient men in old time, as of Aristotle, that he was like a golden flowing river; and of Plato, that if Iupiter himselfe would speake, he would speake like him; and of Theophrastus, he was wont to call him his delight: and of Demosihenes Orations. when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: The longest, said he. There be divers writers also, who to shew that they were great followers of Demasthenes, do follow Cicerces saying in a certaine Epistlehe wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he said, that Demosthenes sleptin force of his Orations: but yet they forgot to tell how highly he praised him in that place; & that he calleth the Orations which he wrote against Antonius (in the which he took great paines, and fludied more then all the rest) PHILIPPIANS: to follow those which Demostheres wrote against Philip king of Macedon. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either incloquence or in learning, whose same he hath not comended in writing or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obtained of Cafar, when he had y Empire of Rome in his hands, that Gratippus the Periparetick Philosopher was made citize of Rome, Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Arcopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and infiruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament vnto their city. There are extat alfo of Ciceroes Epistles vnto Herodes, & others vnto his son, willing him to follow Cratippus in his fludy and knowledge. He wrote another letter also vnto Gorgias the Rhetoritian, and forbad him his fons company; because he understood he inticed him to drunkennesse, and to other great dishonesty. Of all his Epistles he wrote in Greeke, there is but that only written in choler, and another which he wrote vnto Pelops BY ZANTINE. And for that he wrote to Gorgias, he had great reafonto be offended with him, &to taunt him in his letter, because (as it seemed) he was a man of very leud life and conversation. But in contrary maner, writing as he did to Pelops, finding himfelfe grieued with him, forthat he was negliget in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordaine some publike honours in his behalfeithat, methinkes, proceeded of our much ambition, the which in many things made him too much forgetthe part of an honest man, and only because he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded Munatius cause before the Judges, who shortly after accused Sabinus a friend of his, it is reported, that he was so angry with him, that he told him, What Munatius, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine acculatio, not for thine innocency, but for a mist I cast before the Iudges eies, that made them they could not discerne the fault. Another time also, having openly praised Marcus Crassus in the pulpit, with good audience of the people, shortly after he spake to the contrary all the cuill he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, said crass, didst thou not thy selfe highly praise me in this place, the last day? I cannot deny it, said Cicero: but indeed I tooke an ill matter in hand to shew mine cloquence. Another time Crassus chanced to say in an open assembly, that none of all the Crasi of his house had euer lined aboue threescore yeares: and afterwards againe repenting himfelfe, he called it in againe, and faid, Sure I knew not what I did, when I faid fo. Gicero answered him againe: Thou knewest well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore thou spakest it to please them. Another time Crassus liking the opinion of the Stoick Philosophers, that said, the wife man was ener rich, Cicero answered him, and bad him consider whether they meant northereby, that the wife man had all things. Craffus conetonfiellewas defamed of enery man. Of Crassus some of them did much resemble Actius, and there fore his mother had an ill name by him: one day this sonne of Crassus made an Oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very much. "So, Cicero being asked how he liked it: Methinkes, faid he, it is * Attius of Crassus. About this time, Crassus being ready to take his journey into Syria, he defired to haue Cicero his friend rather then his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told Cicero that he would come and suppe withhim. Cicero said, he should be welcome. Shortly after, some of his friends toldhimof

Vatinitis,

Vatinius, how he was desirous to be made friends with him, for he was his enemy. What, quoth Cicero and will be come to supper too? Thus he vsed Crassus. Now this Vatinius having a swolne necke, one day pleading before Gicero, he called him the Iwolne Orator. Another time when he heard fay that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: A vengeance on him, faid he, that hath lyed fo shamefully. Another time when Cafar had made a law for the deciding of the lands of CAMPANIA vnto the fouldiers, diverse of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, Lucius Gellius (a very old man) faid, he would neuer grant it while he lived. Cicero pleafantly answered againe, Alas, tarie a litle, the good old man will not trouble you long, Another time there was one Octauius, supposed to be an * African borne: he when Cicero on a time * Record pleaded a matter, faid, that he heard him not: Cicero presently answered him againe, And yet hast thoughole bored through thine care. Another time Metellus Nepos told him, that he had ouerthrowne moe men by his witnesse then he had faued by his eloquence. I grant, said Gicero, for there are indeed I have more faith, then eloquence in me. So was there allo a young manthat was suspe- boated, cted to have poisoned his father with a tart, that boasted he would reuile Cicero: I had rather have that of thee, quoth Cicero, then thy tart. Publius Sextius also having a matter before the Judges, entertained Cicero, with other of his Counfellers: but yet he would speake all himselfe, and give none of the Oratours leave to fay any thing. In the end, when they faw plainly that the Judges would discharge him, being ready to give sentence, Cicero said vnto him, Bestirre thee hardly to day, for to morrow Sexious thou shalt be a private man. Another, one Publius Cotta, who would faine hauebene thought a wife Lawyer, and yet had little wit and viderstanding, Cicero appealed to him as a witnesse in a matter; and being examined, he answered he knew nothing of it. Cicero replied to him againe: Thou thinkeft peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. Againe, Metellus Nepos, in a certaine disputation he had with Cicero, did many times repeate. Who is thy father: Cicero answered him againe: Thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This Nepos mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as subtill witted and vnconstant. For he being Tribune left in a geere the exercise of his office, and went into Sy-RIA to Pompey vponno occasion: and as fondly againe he returned thence vpon a sodaine. His schoolemaster Philager also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and fer a crow of stone voponthe top of histombe. Cicero feeing it, told him, Thou haft done very wifely: for thy Mafter hath taught thee rather to flie, then to speake. Another time Appius Clodius pleading a matter, faid in his preamble, that his friend had earneftly requested him to imploy al his knowledge, diligence, and faith upon this matter. O gods, faid Gicero, and haft thou shewed thy felfe so hard hearted to thy friend, as to performe nothing of all that he requested thee? Now to yie these fine taunts and girds to his enemies, it was a part of a good Oratour: but so commonly to gird enery man to make the people laugh, that wanne him great ill-will of many, as shall appeare by some examples I will tell you. Marcus Aquinius had two sonnes in law, who were both banished: Gicerotherfore called him Adrastus-Lucius Cotta by chance also was Cenfor at that time, when Cicero fued to be Conful: and following his fuite at the day of election, he was athirft. and was driven to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friends stood about him, and after he had drunke, he faid vnto them: It is well done of ye (faid he) to be affrayd left the Cenfor should be angrie with me because I drinke water: for it was reported the Censor loued wine well. Anothertime Cicero meeting one Vocanius, with three fowle daughters of his with him, he cryed out aloud:

This man hath gotten children in despite of Phabus. It was thought in Rome that Marcus Gellius was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading certaine letters one day in the Senate very loude: Cicero faid vnto them that were about him, Wonder not at him, quoth he, for this man hath bene a Cryer in his daies. Faufus, the fonne of Sylla Dictator at Rome, which fet up billes outlawing diverse Romaines, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without danger where they found them, this man after he had spent the most part of his fathers goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to fell his houshold stuffe, by billes fet up on energy post. Cicero when he saw them, Yea marrie, faid he, these billes please me better, then those which his father set vp. These taunts and common quippes without purpose, made diverse men to malice him. The great ill-will that The malice Clodius bare him, beganne vpon this occasion. Clodius was of a noble house, a young man, betwist Cicero and and very wild and infolent; he being in loue with Pompeia Cafars wife, found the meanes clothin. Écec 4

Cicero gaue enidence a.

The wicked parts of Clo

* Some old zeade Ter

Clodius quis, and found not

Cafars words of the patting away his wife Pom. Clodius chosen Triburg of the pao; e. Canjuls.

fecretly to get into Cafars house, apparelled like a young finging wench, because on that day the Ladies of Rome did folemnly celebrate a secret sacrifice in Casars house, which is not lawfull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but Cledius, who thought be should not have bene knowne, because he was but a young man, without any haire on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to Pompeia amongst the other women. He being gotten into this great houseby night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it, there was one of Casars mothers maides of her chamber, called Aurelia, who feeing him wandring vp and downethe house in this fort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to answer, he faid he fought for Aura, one of Pompeiaes maides. The maide perceived straight it was no womans voice, and therewithall gaue agreat shrich, and called the other women, the which did fee the gates fast shut, and then fought every corner vp and downe, so that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blowne abroad in the city, whereupon Cefar put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused Clodins, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the facrifices. Cicero at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to guard him, if any man would have offered him injurie in the bufic time of the conspiracie of Catiline. Clodius stoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and said that he was not in Rome at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit Cicero gaue enidence against him, and deposed, that the selfe same day he came home to his house vnto him, to speake with him about certaine matters. This indeed was true, though it feemeth Cicero gaue not this euidence so much for the truthes sake, as to please his wife Terentia : for she hated Clodius to the death, because of his fifter Clodia that would have maried Cicero, and did secretly practise the mariage by one Tullius, who was Ciceroes very friend; and because he repaired very often to this Cloaia that dwelt hard by Cicero, Terentia began to suspect him. Terentia being a cruell woman, and wearing her husbands breeches, allured Cicero to fer vpon Clodius in his aduersity, and to wirnesse against him, as many other honest men of the city also did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thousand lewdparts, that he bribed the people with money, that he had enticed and deflowred many women. Lucullus also brought forth certaine maidens, which deposed that Clodius had deflowed the youngest of his owne fisters, she being in the house with him, and maried. And there went a great rumour also, that he knew his two other fifters, of the which the one was called * Terentia, and maried vnto king Martius: and the other Glodia, whom Metellus Celer had maried, and whom they commonly called Quadrantaria: because one of her paramours sent her a purse full of Quadrines (which are little peeces of copper money) in ftead of filier. Clodius was flandered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the people were very much offended with them that gaue enidence against him, and accused him. The Judges being affraid of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his indgement, for the fafety of their persons and in the tables where they wrote their fentences, their letters for the most part were confusedly set downe. This not with standing, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: and it was reported also that some of them were close fisted. Catalus therfore meeting with some of them going home, after they had given their fentence, told them: Surely ye had good reason to be well guarded for your safety, for you were afraid your mony should have bintaken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And Cicero said vnto Clodius, who reproued him that his witnesse was not true he gaue against him : Cleane contrary, quoth Cicero, for fine and twenty of the Indges have believed me, being fo many that have condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleeue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingred mony. Notwithstanding in this iudgement Cafar neuer gaue euidence against Cledius: and faid moreouer, that he did not thinke his wife had committed any adultery: howbeit that he had put her away, because he would that Casars wife should not only be cleane from any dishonestie, but also void of all suspition. Clodius being quit of this accusation and trouble, and hauing also found meanes to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to persecute Cicero, changing all things, and stirring vp all manner of people against him. First he wanne the goodwill of the common people by denifing of new lawes which he preferred for their benefit and commodity:to both the Confuls he granted great & large provinces: vnto Pifo, MACEDON, and to Gabinius, Syria. He made also many pooremen free Citizens, and had alwaies about him a great number of slaves armed. At that present time there were three notable men in Rome, which

carried all the sway: Crassus that shewed himselfe an open enemy vnto Cicero. Pompey the other, Pompey, made much both of the one and the other: the third was Cafar, who was prepared for his journy & Cafar into GAVLE with an army. Cicero did leane vnto him, (though he knew him no fast friend of his, three of the and that he mistrusted him for matters past in Catilines conspiracy) & prayed him that he might in Ryms. goto the wars with him, as one of his Lieutenants. C. efar granted him. Thereupon Clodius perceiuing that by thismeanes he got him out of the danger of his office of Tribuneship for that with clodiveare, he made faire weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himselfe vnto him) and Giero. told him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of Terentia, for that he had done against him, then of himselfe; and alwaies spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and said, he did think nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a little griene him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnesse by a friend. These sweet words made Cicero no more afraid. fo that he gaue vp his Lieutenancie vnto Cafar, & began againe to plead as he did before. Cafar took this in such disdain, that he hartened Clodius the more against him, and besides, made Pomper his enemy. And Cafar himselfe also said before all the people, that he thought Cicero had put Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest vniustly to death, and contrary to law, without lawfull triall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which Cicero was openly accused. Therupon Cicerolleging himicife accused for this sact, he changed his viuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and fo fuffering his beard and haire of his head to grow without any combing he went in this humble manner, and fued to the people. But clodius was euer about him in euerv place and street he went, having a fight of rascals and knaues with him, that shamefully mocked him for that he had changed his gowne and countenance in that fort, and oftentimes they cast dirt and ftones at him, breaking his talke and requests he made vnto the people. This not withstanding, all the Knights of Rome did in manner change their gownes with him for company, Theknights & of them there were commonly 20 thousand yong gentlement of noble house which followed of Rome of him with their haire about their cares, and were fuiters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate affembled to decree that the people should mourne in blacks, as in a common calamitie: for Citerous but the Confuls were against it. And Clodius on the other side was with a band of armed men a- fake. bout the Senate, fo that many of the Senatours ranne out of the Senate, crying and tearing their clothes for forrow. Howbeit, these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pitie and shame, but either Cicero must needs absent himselfe, or else determine to fight with Clodius. Then went Gicero to intreat Pompey to aide him, but he absented himselfe of purpose out of the city, because he would not be intreated, and lay at one of his houses in the country, neare ynto the city of ALEA. So he first of all sent Piso his sonne in law vnto him to intreate him, and afterwards went himselfe in person to him. But Pompey being told that he was come, had not the pompey would not heart to suffer him to come to him, to look him in the face: for he had benepast all shame to have fee ciero refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him such pleasure, & also done being accesand faid fo many things in his fauour. Howbeit Pompey being the fonne in law to C.e.far, did vnfortunally (at his request) for sake him at his need, vnto whom he was bound for so many infinite pleafures, as he had received of him afore and therefore when he heard fay he came to him, he went out at his back-gate, and would not speake with him. So Cicero seeing himselfe betraied of him, and now having no other refugeto whom he might repaire vnto, he put himfelfe into the hands of the two Confuls. Of them two, Gabinius was ever cruell and churlish vnto him, but Pife on the other fide spake alwaies very courteously vnto him, and prayed him to absent himselfe for a time, and to give place a litle to Clodius furie, and patiently to bearethechange of the time. For in fo doing, he might come againe another time to be the preserver of his countrey, which was now for his fake in tumult and fedition. Cicero vpon this answer of the Confull, confulted with his friends; among the which Lucullus gaue him advice to tarie, and faid that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrarie opinion, and would haue him to get him away with speed, for the people would shortly wish for him againe, when they had once bene beaten with Clodius furie and follie. Cicero liked best to follow this counsell. Whereupon having had a flatue of Minerua along time in his house, the which he greatly reverenced he carried her himselfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll, with this inscription: Vno Mi. nerua Protectour of Rome. So his friends having given him safe conduct, he went out of Rome Cherest about midnigh, and tooke his way through the countrey of LVKE by land, meaning to goe exite. into Sicile. When it was knowne in Rome that he was fled, Clodius did presently ba-

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A monder Shewed vn to Cicero in bis exile. Ciceraes faint heart in his exile.

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mish him by decree of the people, and caused billes of inhibition to be set vp, that no man should fecretly receive him within five hundred miles compasse of ITALIE. Howbeit, divers men reuerencing Cicero, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had vied him with all manner of courtesse possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, saving one city on ly in Lyke, called at that time Hipponium, and now Vibone: where a Sicilian called Vibins (vnto whom Gicero before had done many pleafures, and specially among others, had made him Master of the workes in the yeare that he was Confull) would not once receive him into his house, but promised him he would appoint him a place in the countrey that he might go vnto. And Cains Virgilius alfo, at that time Prator and Gouernour of Sicile, who before had shewed himselfe his very great friend, wrote then vnto him, that he should not come neare vnto Sigile. This gricued him to the heart. Thereupon he went directly vnto the city of BRVN-DVSIVM, and there imbarked to passe ouer the sea vnto DYRRACHIVM, & at the first had wind at will, but when he was in the maine sea, the wind turned, and brought him backe againeto the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoiffed faile againe, and the report went, that at his arrivall at Dyreachivm when he tooke land, the earth shooke under him, and the sea gaue backetogether: whereby the Soothfayers interpreted, that his exile should not belong because both the one and the other was a token of change. Yet Cicero, notwithstanding that many men came to fee him for the good will they bare him, and that the cities of GRECE contended who should most honour him, he was alwaies sadde, and could not be merry, but cast his eyes still towards ITALY, as passionate louers do towards the women they loue: shewing himielfe faint hearted, and tooke this adversity more basely then was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him Oratour, but rather Philosopher: saying, that Philosophie was his chiefest profession, and that for his cloquence he did not vseit, but as a necessary instrument to one that pleadeth in the Commonwealth. But glory and opinion hath great power to take mans reason from him, cuen like acolour, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of state, and to make them feele the felfe fame paffions that common people do, by daily frequenting their company: vnleffe they take great heed of them, and that they come to practife in the Commonwealth with this resolute mind, to haue to do with the like matters that the common people haue, but notto entangle themselues with the like passions and moodes, by the which their matters do rise. Now Clodins was not contented that he had banished Cicero out of ITALIE, but further, he burntall his houses in the country, and his house also in Rome standing in the market place, of the which he built a Temple of Liberty, and caused his goods to be fold by the Cryer: so that the Cryer was occupied all day long crying the goods to be fold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chiefest men of the city beginning to bee affraid of these violent parts, and having the common people at his commandement, whom he had made very bold and infolent, he began to inueigh against Pompey, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which every man else but himselse did commend. Pompey then was very angry with himselse that he had so forfaken Cicero, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his banishment. Clodius was against it all he could. The Senate notwithflanding with one full confent ordained, that nothing should be established for the Commonwealth, before Ciceroes banishment were first repealed. Lentulus was at that time Consull, and there grew such an vprore and stir vpon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and Quintus Cicero (the brother of Cicero) was beaten down and hidden under the dead bodies. Then the people began to change their mindes. And Annius Milo, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venture vpon clodius, and bring him by force to be tryed before the Judges. Pompey himselfe also having gotten a great number of men about him, aswell of the city of Rome as of other townes adiovning to it, being strongly guarded with them, he came out of his house, and compelled Clodius to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to give their voices for the calling home againe of Cicero. It is reported that the people neuer passed thing with so great goodwill, nor so wholly together, as the returne of Gicero, And the Senate for their parts also, in the behalfe of Cicero, ordained, that the cities which had honoured and received Cicero in his exile, should be greatly commended : and that his houfes which clodius had ouerthrowne and razed, should be reedified at the charge of the commonwealth. So Gicero returned the fixteenth moneth after his banishment, and the townes and cities became by, shewed themselues so ioy full of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honour him, with fo great loue and affection, that Ciceroes report thereof afterwards came indeed short of the very truth as it was. For he said, that I TALIE brought him into Rome vpon their floulders. Infomuch as Graffus himfelfe, who before his banishment was his enemie, went then with very goodwill vnto him, and became his friend, faying: That he did it for the loue of his fonne, who loued Cicero with all his heart. Now Cicero being returned, he found a time when Clodius was out of the city, and went with a good company of his friends vnto the Capi- ciero tatoll, and there took away the tables, and brake them, in the which Clodius had written all his acts that he had passed & done in the time of his Tribuneship. Clodius would afterwards have accufed Cicero for it, But Cicero answered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, because out of the he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuncship was voide, Capitell. and of none effect. Therewith Cato was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked of clodius doings, (buttothe contrarie, vtterly misliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate should cancell all those things which he had done and passed inhis Tribuneship, and specially, because amongst the rest, that was there which he himselfe had done in the Isle of CYPRVs, and in the city of BYZANTIVM. Hereupon there grew some strangenesse betwixt Cicero and Cato, the which notwithstanding brake not out to open enmitic: but onely to an abstinence of their wonted familiarity, and accesse one to another. Shortly after, Milo flue Clodius, Milo being accused of murther, prayed Cicero to pleade his cause. The Senate gaine by fearing that this accusation of Mile, (who was a hardie man, and of quality besides) would Mile. mone fome fedition and vprore in the city, they gave commission to Pompey to see instice executed as well in this cause as in other offences, that the city might be quiet, and judgement also executed with fafetie. Thereupon Pompey the night before tooke the highest places of the market place, by his fouldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. Mile fearing that Cicero would be affraid to fee fuch a number of harneffed men about him, being no vfuall matter. and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cause well, he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his Litter into the market place, and there to ftay the coming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For Cicero was not onely fearefull in warres, but timo- ciero rous also in pleading. For indeed he neuer beganne to speake, but it was in searc: and when his fearesfull its eloquence was come to the best proofe and perfection, he never lest his trembling and timo-timerous in rousnesse. Infomuch that pleading a case for Mutius Murana (accused by Cato) striuing to pleading. excell Hortenfing, whose pleading was very well thought of, he tooke no rest all night, and what through watching and the trouble of his mind, he was not very well, fo that he was not fo well liked for his pleading as Hortenfius. So, going to defend Miloes cause, when he came out of his delt Miloes Litter, and faw Pompey fet aloft as it had bene in a campe, and the market place compatied esfe. about with armed men, gliftering in every corner, it fo amated him, that he could feant fashion himselfe to speake; all the parts of him did so quake and tremble, and his voice could not come to him. But Milo on the other fide flood boldly by him himselfe, without any feare at all of theiudgement of his cause, neither did he let his haire grow, as other men accused did: neither did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it feemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timorousnesse of Cicero camerather of the good will he bare vnto his friends, then of any cowardly mind of himfelfe. He was also chofen one of the Priests of the Soothsayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of Public Cheero cho-Craffus the younger, who was flaine in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwards, the Province of Givens From Silicia being appointed to him, with an army of twelve thousand footmen, and two thouseful for the footment of landand fine hundred horsemen, he took the sea to go thither. So when he was arrived there, he Cilicia. brought CAPPADOCIA againe into the fubication and obedience of king Ariobar anes, according to his commission and commandement given by the Senate: moreover, both there and elswhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuifed, in reducing of things to quietneffe without wars. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIAN'S were growne fomewhat frout and vnruly, by the ouerthrow the Romaine's had of the Parthians, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in Syria, he brought them vnto reason by gentle perswasions: and neuer receiued gifts that were fent him, no not from Kings and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden reginfor the Provinces of the feaftes and banquets they were wont to make other Gouernours before the gournhim. On the other fide also, he would cuer haue the company of good and learned men at his promines.

Cicero feecifie the quarell be twist Pom per & Ca-

Ciceroes words of Posspey

table and would vsethem well, without curiosity and excesse. He had never porter to his safe. nor was feene by any man in his bed; for he would alwaies rife at the breake of day, and would walke or stand before his doore. He would courteously receive all them that came to salute and visit him. Further they report of him, that he neuer caused man to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reviled any man, neither did despitefully set fine vpon any mans head. Finding many things also belonging to the Commonwealth, which private men had stolne and imbezeled to their own vse, he restored again vnto the cities, where by they grew very rich and wealthie: and yet did faue their honourand credite that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt, but onely constrained them to restore that which was the Commonwealths. He made a little warre also, and draue away the theeues that kept about the mountaine Amanus, for the which exploit his fouldiers called him Imperator, to fay, chiefe Captain. About that time there was an orator called Cacilius, who wrote vnto him from Rome. to pray him to fend him fome Leopards or Panthers out of SILICIA, because he would shew the people some pastime with them. Cicero boasting of his doings, wrote to him again, that there were no more Leopards in SILICIA, but that they were all fled into CARIA for anger, that feeing all things quiet in Silicia, they had ley fure now to huntthem. So when he returned towards Rome, from the charge of his government, he came by Rhodes, & stayed a few dairs at ATHEN'S with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he lived there before, at what time he studied there. This her came to him the chiefest learned men of the city, and his friends also with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, having received all the honours ble intertainment in GRECE' that could be, he returned vnto ROME, where at his ariual he found great factions kindled, the which men faw plainly would grow in the end to civill war. Thereupon the Senate having decreed that he should enter in triumph into the city, he answered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow Cafars coach in triumph. So he trauelled very earneftly betweene Pompey and Cafar, eftfoones writing vnto Cafar, and also speaking vnto Pompey that was prefent, feeking all the meanes be could, to take vp the quarrell and misliking betwixt them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speech of agreement would take place. So Pompey hearing that Cafar was not farre from Rome, he durft no longer abide in Rome, but fled with divers of the greatest men in Rome. Cicero would not follow him whenhe fled, and therfore menthought he would take part with Cafar: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruellous perplexity, and could not eafily determine what way to take. Wherupon he wrote in his Epistles: What way should I take? Pompey hath the inster and honester cause of warre, but Cafar can better execute, and prouide for himselfe and his friends with better safetie: so that I haue meanes enough to flie, but none to whom I might repaire. In all this stirre, there was one of Cafars friends called Trebatius, which wrote a letter vnto Cicero, and told him that Cafar wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope & fortune he vndertooke: but if he excused himselfe by his age, that then he should get him into GRECE, and there to be quiet from them both. Cicero maruelling that Cafar wrote not to him himselfe, answered in anger, that he would do nothing vnworthy of his acts all the daies of his life thitherto: and to this effect he Wrote in his letters. Now Cafar being gon into Spain E, Cicero imbarked presently to go to Pompey. So when he came vnto him, euery man was very glad of his comming, but Cate. Howbeit Cato secretly reproued him for coming vnto Pompey, saying: that for himselfe he had bene without all honesty at that time to have forsaken that part the which he had alwaics taken and sollowed from the beginning of his first practise in the commonwealth; but for him, on the other fide, that it had bene better for the fafety of his country, & chiefly for all his friends, that he had bene a newterto both, and so to hauetaken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no maner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become Casars enemy, and by comming thither to put himselfinto so great perill. These perswasions of Cate ouerthrew all Ciceroes purpose and determination, besides that Pompey himselfe did notemploy him in any matter of service orimportance. But hereof himselse was more in fault then Pompey, because he confessed openly that it did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdained all Pompeys preparations and counsels, the which indeed made him to be had in icalousie and suspition. Also he would euer be fleering and gibing at those that tooke Pompeys part, though he had no list himselfeto be merrie. He would also go vp and downe the campe very sad and heavie, but yet he would euer haue one least or other to make men laugh, although they had as little

luft to be merie as he: and furely, it shall do no hurt to call some of them to mind in this place. Domitius being very defirous to preferre a Gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommend him, he faid, he was an honest, wife, and sober man, Whereto Ciecro presently answered: Why doest thou not keepe him then to bring up thy children. Another time when they commended Theophanes LESBIAN, (that was mafter of all the artificers of the campe) because he had notably comforted the Rhodians when they had received a great loffe of their nauie: Sec, faid Cicero, what a goodly thing it is to have a GRECIAN, mafter of artificers in the campe? When both battels came to ioyne together, and that c. fur had in manner all the aduantage, and kept them as good as befreged, Lentulus told him on a time, that he heard fay, all Cefars friends were mad, and melancholy men. Why quoth Ciceroto himagaine: docft thou fay that they do enuie Cefari Another called Martins, coming lately out of ITALY, faid, that there ran a rumour in Rome, that Pompey was besieged. What quoth Ciceroto him againe: and didst thou take ship to come and fee him thy selfe, because thou mightest beleeve it when thou hadst seene it? Pompey being ouerthrowne, one Nonius said, there was yet good hope left, because they had taken scuen Eagles within Pompeys campe. Thy persuasion were not ill, quoth Cicero, so we were to fight but with pies and dawes. Labienus reposed all his trust in certaine Oracles, that Pompey of necessity must haue the vpper hand. Yea faid Cicero, but for all this goodly stratageme of war, we have not long fince lost our whole campe. After the battell of Pharsalia, where Cicero was not by reason of his sicknesse: Pompey being sted, and Catoat that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a Catogana great number of inen of war, and had also prepared a great nauie, he praied Cicero to take charge of all this armie, as it pertained vnto him, having bene Confull. Gieero did not onely refuse it, but also told them, he would meddle no more with this war. But this was inough to have made him bin flaine: for the yonger Pempey and his friends called him traitor, and drew their fwords upon himto kill him, which they had done, had not Cato stepped between them and him; and yet had radium. he much adoto faue him, & to conuey him fafely out of the camp. When Gicero came to Bayn-DVSIVE, he flayed there a certaine time for Cafars coming, who came but flowly, by reason of histroubles he had in Asia, as also in Agypt. Howbeit newes was brought at length that Cafar was arrived at TARENTVM, & that he came by land vnto BRVNDVSIVM: Cicero departed thence to go meete him, not mistrusting that Casar would not pardon him, but rather being assumed to come to his enemie being a conquerour, before fuch a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to do or speake any thing vnscemely to his calling: for G.efar seeing him comming towards him farre before the rest that came with him, he lighted from his horseand imbraced him, and walked a great way on foot with him, still talking with him only; and ener after he did him great honour, and made much of him. Infomuch as Gicero having written a booke in praise of Caio, Cesar on the other side wrote another, and praised the cloquence and life of Cicero, matching it with the life of Pericles, and Theramines. Ciceroes booke was intituled, Cato and Cofarsbooke called Anticato, as much to fay, against Cato. They fay further, that Quintus Ligarius being accused to haue bene in the field against Casar, Cicero tooke vpon him to defend his eause: and that Cefar said vnto his friends about him, Whathurt is it for vs to heare Cicero speak, whom we have not heard of long time? for otherwise Ligarius (in my opinion) standeth alreadie a condemned man, for I know him to be a valiant man, and mine enemie. But when Cicero had begun his Oration, he moued Cafar maruellously, he had so sweete a grace, and such force Gieres in his words, that it is reported Cofur changed colour often, and shewed plainely by his countenance, that there was a maruellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the O. havit alter rator came to touch the battel of Pharsalia, then was Cafar fo troubled, that his body shooke withall, and besides, certaine bookes he had fell out of his hands, and he was driven against his will to fet Ligarius at liberty. Afterwards, when the common-wealth of Rome came to be a kingdome, Cicero leaning to practife any more in the state, he gaue himselfe to reade Philosophy tothe yong men that came to heare him: by whose accesse vnto him (because they were the chiefest of the nobility in Rome) he came againe to be are as great sway and authority in Rome Gierres as euer he had done before. His studie and endeuour was, to write matters of Philosophic His matters o dialogue wise, and to translate out of Greeke into Latine, taking paines to bring all the Greeke words, which are proper vnto Logicke and naturall causes, into Latine. For he was the first man by report, that gaue Latine names vnto these Greeke words, which are proper vnto Philosophers, as, entruola, he termed, Visio. Katuloisti, Assensus. Emogo, Assensus cobibitio. Katuloisti

CICERO. Comprehensio. To zaques, Corpus individuum. To appen, Corpus simplex. To zeros, Vacuum, and many other fuch like words. But though he were not the first, yet was it he that most did deuise and ye them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper termes: so that at length they came to be well taken, knowne, and vnderstood of enery man. And for his readinesse in writing of verses, he would vie them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that when source he took in hand to make any, he would dispatch 500 of them in a night. Now al that time of his recreation and pleasure, he would commonly be at some of his houses in the country, which he had neare vnto THV SCVLVM, fro whence he would write vnto his frieds, that he led Laertes life cither spoken merily as the maner was, or else pricked forward with ambitio, desiring to returne againe to be practifer in the commonwealth, being weary with the present time & state thereof, How societ it was, he came oftentimes to Rome, only to see Cofar to keepe him his friend; and would ever be the first man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, & was alwaies studious to vtter some new matter to praise him & his doings. As that was he said touching the statues of Pempey, the which being ouerthrowne, Cafar commanded them to be fer vp againe, and so they were. For Cicero faid, that by that courtefie in setting vp of Pompeys statues againe, he did establish his owne. So Cicero being determined to write all the Romains history, and to mingle withit many of the GRECIANS doings, adding therunto all the fables and deuices which they do write & report, he was hindred of his purpose against his will, by many open & private troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof not with standing he himself was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his wife Terentia, because she had made but small account of himin all the warres: so that he departed from Rome having no necessary thing with him to entertaine him out of his country; and yet when he came backe againe into ITALY, the neuer flewed any fparke of loue or goodwill towards him. For the neuer came to BRV NDV SIV M to him, where he remained a long time; and worse then that, his daughter having the heart to take so long a iorney in hand to go to him, the neither gaue her copany to conduct her, nor mony, nor other furniture convenient for her; but so handled the matter, that Cicero at his returne to Rome found bare wals in his house and nothing init, & yet greatly brought in debt besides. And these were the honesteft causes alledged for their diuorse. But besides that Terentia denied all these, Greero himselse gaue her a good occasion to cleare her self, because he shortly after maried a yong maide, being ried a jong fallen in fancie with her (as Terentia faid) for her beauty : or, as Tyro his servant wrote, for her riches, to the end that with her goods he might pay his debts. For the was very rich, and Cicero also was appointed her gardian, she being left sole heire. Now, because he ought a maruellous summe of mony, his parents and friends did counsell him to mary this yong maiden, notwithstanding he was too old for her, because that with her goods he might satisfie his creditors. But Antonius speaking of this mariage of Cicero, in his answers & Orations he made against y PHILIPPIANS, he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was growne old; being merry with him by the way, for that he had benean idle man, and neuer went from the imoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroad in the wars in any feruice of his countrey or common-wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his fecond wife, his daughter died in labour of child, in Lentulus house, whose second wife she was, being before maried vnto Piso, who was her first husband. So the Philosophers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he took her death so forowfully, that he put away his second wise, because he thought she did reioyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state etroubles of his house. Now touching the cofpiracie against Cafar, he was not made priny to it, although he was one of Brutun greatest frieds, and that it grieued him to fee things in that state they were brought vnto, & albeit also he wished for the times past, as much as any other man did. But indeed the conspirators were afraid of his nature, that lacked hardinesse: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the stoutest & most hardicst natures faint hearted and cowardly. Notwithstanding, the conspiracie being executed by Brutus and Casius, Casars friends being gathered together, every man was affraid that the city would againe fall into civill wars. And Antonius also, who was Consult at that time, did affemble the Senate, and made some speech and motion then to draw things againe vnto quietnesse. But Cicero having vsed diners perswasions sit for the time, in the end he moued the Senate to decree (following the exaple of the Athenians) ageneral oblinio of things done against Cafar, & to affigne vnto Brutus and Cassius some governments of provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themselues were sorie, when they saw Cafars body brought through the

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CICERO. market place. And when Antonius also did shew them his gowne all bebloudied, cut, and thrust through with fivords, then they were like mad men for anger, and fought vp and downe the market place if they could meete with any of them that had flaine him: and taking firebrands in their hands, they ranne to their houses to set them on fire. But the conspirators having preuented this danger, faued themselves; and fearing that if they taried at Rome, they should have many fuch alarmes, they for sooke the city. Then Antonius began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he meant to make himselfe King: but yet most of all vnto Cicero aboue all others. For Antonius perceiuing that Cicero began againe to increase in credit and authority, and Prinate knowing that he was Brutus very friend, he did mislike to see him come neare him; and besides gruige between was at that time some real substitute have the state of the second seed of the seed of th there was at that time some icalousie betwixt them, for the diner sity and difference of their maners and dispositions. Cicero being afraid of this, was first of all in mind to go with Dolabellato his pronince of Syria, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Confuls the next yeare following after Antonius, two noble Citizens, and Ciceroes great friends, Hirfius and Panfa, they intreated him not to for fake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouer-great power of Antonius, so he would remaine with them. But Cicero, neither beleeuing nor altogether mistrusting them, for sooke Dolabella, and promised Hircius and Pansa, that he would spend the sommer at ATHENS, & that he would return eagaine to Rome so soone as they were entred into their Confulfhip. With this determination Gierro tooke the sea alone, to go in- Gierro faito GRECE. But as it chanceth oftentimes, there was fome let that kept him he could not faile, & let into newes came to him daily from Rome, (as the manner is,) that Antonius was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authority and confent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing buthis person to make all things well. Then Cicerocondemning his dastardly feare, returned forthwith to Rome, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meete him, that he could do nothing all day long buttake them by the hands, and imbrace them, who to honour him, came to meete him at the gate of the city, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning Antonius assembled the Senate, and called for Cicero by name, Cicero refused to go, and kept his bed, faining that he was wearie with his journy and paines he had taken the day before:but indeed the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspition of an ambush that was laid for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. Antonius was maruelloufly offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying any ambush for him: and therfore sent souldiers to his house, & commanded them to bring him by force, or else to set his house on fire. Af- mwin beterthat time, Giaro and he were alwaies at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heed twins Giaro of another: vntill that young Cafar returning from the city of Apollonia, came as law- rand Anfull heire vnto Inlius Cafar Dictator, and had contention with Antonius for the summe of two thousand and five hundred Myriades, the which Amonius kept in his hands of his fathers goods. Thereupon Philip who had maried the mother of this young Cafar, and Marcellus who had alfo maried his fifter, went with yong Cafar vnto Cicero, and there agreed together, that Cicero should helpe yong Cafar with the fauour of his authority and eloquence, as well towards the cafaring-Senate, as also to the people: and that Cafar in recompence of his goodwill should stand by Cicero, with his money and fouldiers: for this yong Cafar had many of his fathers fouldiers about him, that had ferued vnder him. Now there was another cause that made Cicero glad to imbrace the friendship of this yong Casar, and that was this. Whilest Pompey and Iulius Casar were aliue and in good case, Cicero dreamed one night that the Senators sons were called into the Capitoll, Ciceroes because Inpiter had appointed to shew them him that one day should come to be Lord and King offaults of Rome, and that the Romaines being desirous to see who it should be, ran all vnto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntil that fodainly the dores of the temple were open; and then that althe children arose one after another, and went and passed by the image of supiter, who looked vpon them all, and sent them away discontented, sauing this yong C.ejar, vnto whom he put forth his hand as he passed by, and faid: My Lords of Rome, this child is he that shall end al your civill wars, when he commeth to be Lord of Rome. Some fay, that Cicero had this vision in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this child, how beit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of Mars, where these young boyes did exercise themfelues, who, when he came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home; and

Octavius 😙 Accia the parents of Oftanins Cefar.

Octanius Cefarwas ceroes Con-

great power at Rome.

Octavius Cafar for faketh Li. cero. Notethe fisklenesse of yourh. The meeting of the Triumuiri. Antonius Lopidus, Octanius Cicero ap bointed to

that among st them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and misfing at him the more, asked him whose fon he was. The boy answered, that he was y fon of one Octavius (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of Accia, the fifter of Inline Cafar: who having no child, he made him his heire by his last will and testament, and lest him al his lands & goods. After that time, it is reported, that Cicero was very glad to speake to him when he met with him and that the boy also liked Ciceroes friendship, and making of him: for by good hap the boy was borne the same yeare that Cicero was Consull. And these be the reasons alledged, why Cicero did fauour this yong Cafar. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare vnto Antonius, & second. ly his nature that was ambitious of honour, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why hebecame yong Casars friend: knowing that the force and power of his fouldiers would greatly ftrengthen his aurhority and countenance in managing the affaires of the state; besides that the yong man could flatter him to well, that he called him father. But Brutus being offended with him for it, in his Epiftles he wrote vnto Atticus, he sharply reproueth Cicero, faying, that for feare of Antonius he flattered this yong Cafar: whereby it appeared, he did not fo much feeke for the liberty of Rome, as he did procure himselfe a louing and gentle master. This notwithstanding Brutus brought with him Ciceroes fon that studied Philosophy at ATHENS, and gaue him charge of men vnder him, and employed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed himselfe very forward and valiant. Now Ciceroes authority & power grew againe to be as great in Rome, as euer it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed Antonius, that he draue him out of the city, and fent the two Confuls Hirrius and Panfa against him, to fight with him: and caufed the Senare also to decree, that young C.esar should have sergeants to carie rods & axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his country. After that Antomius had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were flaine, both the armies came vnto Cafar. The Senate then being afraid of this yong man that had so great good fortune, they practifed by honours and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and fo to minish the greatnesse of his power: saying, that their country now stood in no neede of force nor feare of defence, fith her enemy Antonius was fled and gone. Cafar fearing this, fent men fecretly vnto Cicero, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls; and that when they should be in office, he should do and appoint what he thought good, having the yong man at his commandement, who defired no more but the honour only of the name. Cafar himfelfe confesfed afterwards, that being afraid he should have bene vtterly cast away, to have bene left alone, he finely ferued his turne by Ciceroes ambition, having perswaded him to require the Consulship through the helpe and affistance that he would give him. But there was cicero finely colted, as old as he was, by a yong man, when he was corented to fue for the Confulship in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherfore his friends prefently reproued him for it, and shortly after he perceived he had vidone himfelfe, and together also lost the liberty of his country. For this young man Octavius Cafar being growne to be very great by his meanes and procurement, when he faw that he had the Confulship vpon him, he forsooke Cicero, and agreed with Antonius and Lepidus. Then ioyning his army with theirs, he deuided the Empire of Rome with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betweene them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be flaine. But the greatest difficulty and difference that fell out betweene them, was about the outlawing of Cicero. For Antonius would hearken to no peace betweene them, vileffe Cicero were flaine first of all: Lepidus was also in the same mind with Antonius: but Casar was against them both. Their meeting was by the city of Bolonia, where they continued three daies together, they three onely fecretly confulting in a place enuironed about with a little river. Some fay that Cafar stucke hard with Cicero the two first daies, but at the third, that he yeelded and for sooke him. The exchange they agreed vpon betweene them, was this. Cafar for sooke Cicero: Lepidus, his owne brother Paulus: and Antonius Lucius Cafar his vncle by the mothers fide. Such placetooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kindred nor bloud and to speake more properly, they shewed that no brute or sauage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licenciousnesse he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, Cicero was at a house of his in the country, by the city of Thus culum, having at home with him also his brother Q.Cicero. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine, they determined to goe to Astyra, a place by the fea fide where Cieero had another house, there to take

fea, and from thence to go into Macedon vnto Brutus. For there ran a rumour that Erutus was very strong, and had a great power. So they caused themselves to be conveyed thither in two Litters, both of them being fo weake with forow and griefe, that they could not otherwise haue gonetheir waies. As they were on their way, both the Litters going as neare to each other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but Quintus chiefly, who took it most grieuously. For remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his house, and that Gicero his brother also had very little for himselfe, he thought it best that Gicero should hold on his journey, whileft he himfelfe made an errand home to fetch fuch things as he lacked, and fo to make hastagaine to ouertake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly embracing one another, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leaue of each other. Within few daies after, Quintus Cicero being betrayed by his owne feruants, vnto them that made fearch for him, he was cruelly flaine, and his fonne with him. But Marcus Tullius Cicero being flaine. called vnto Astyra, and there finding a ship ready, imbarked immediatly, and sailed along the coast vnto Mount Circe, having a good gale of wind. There the Mariners determining forthwith to make faile againe, he came a shoare, either for feare of y sea, or for that he had some hope that Cafar had not altogether for faken him: and therewithall returning towards Rome by land, he had gone about an hundred furlongs thence. But then being at a straight how to resolue, and fodainly changing his mind, he would needs be caried backe againe to the fea, where he continucd all night maruellous forowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in mind to go fecretly vnto Octavius Cafars house, and to kill himselfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to reuenge his bloud: but being afraid to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himfelfe againe into his feruants hands, to be conceved by sea unto another place called * CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleasant somer house, * some do where the North winds, called Etchia, do giue a trimme fresh aire in the sommer scason. In that reade Caiplace also there is a little temple dedicated vnto Apollo, not farre from the sea side. From thence therecame a great shole of crowes, making a maruellous noise, that came slying towards Ciceroes ship, which rowed upon the shore. This shole of crowes came and lighted upon the yard of Awondrone their faile, iome crying, and fome pecking the cords with their billes: fo that every man judged foreshaved ftraight, that this was a figne of ill lucke at hand. Cicero not with standing this, came a shore, and by crower went into his house, and laied him downe to fee if he could fleepe. But the most part of these crowes came and lighted vpon the chamber window where he lay, making a wonderfull great noise: and some of them got vnto Ciceroes bed where he lay, the clothes being cast ouer his head. and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their billes pluckt off the clothes that couered his face. His men feeing that, and faying to themselves that they were too vile beastes. if they would tary to fee their mafter flaine before their eyes, (confidering that bruite beafts had careto faue his life, feeing him fo vn worthily intreated) and that they should not do the best they could to fauc his life: partly by intreaty, and partly by force, they put him againe into his Litter to cary him to the sea. But in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kill him. Herenniusa Centurion, and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and Populius Lana, Tribune of the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand and thousand and the fouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a men, whose cause Cicero had once pleaded before the Judges, when he was accused for the murther of his owne father) having foldiers attending vpon them. So Ciceroes gate being flut, they kill M.T. entred the house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They answered they could not tell. Howbeit, there was a yong boy in the house called Philologus, a flaue infranchised by Quintus Cicero, whom Tullius Cicero had brought vp in the Latine tongue, and had taught him the liberall sciences: he told this Herennius that his servants carried him in a Litter towards the sea, through dark narrow lanes, shadowed with wood on either side. Popilius the Colonell taking fome foldiers with him, ranne about on the outfide of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them; and Herennius on the other fide entred the lanes. Cicero hea- M.T cicero ring him coming, commanded his men to fet downe his Litter, and taking his beard in his left fiane by hand, as his manner was, he frontly looked the murtherers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for the extreme forrowes he had taken: diuerfe of them that were by held their hands before their eyes, whilest Herennius did cruelly murther him. So Cicero being threescore and foure yeares of age, thrust his necke out of the Litter, and had his head cut off by Antonius commandement, and his hands also, which wrote the Ora-Ffffa

Ciceroes bead and hands fet vp ouer the pulpit for Orations. A strange and cruell punishment saken by Pomponia, (Quintus Liceroes wife) of Philologus for betraying of his mafter. Augustas Cafars tefinon; of Cicero. Cicernes fonne Can. (all with Augustus Cæfar. The decree of the Se nate against Antonius

being dead.

tions (called the Philippians) against him. For so did Cicero call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him and they do yet continue the same name untill this present time. When these poore dismembred members were brought to Rome, Antonius by chance was bufily occupied at that time about the election of certaine Officers: who when he heard of them and faw them, he cryed out aloud, that now all his outlawries and proferiptions were executed. and thereupon commanded his head and his hands flould straight be set vp ouer the pulpit for Orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearefull & horrible fight vnto the Romaines. who thought they faw not Ciceroes face, but an image of Antonius life and disposition: whoamong so many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act onely that had some shewof goodnesse, which was this. He deliuered Philologus into the hands of Pomponia, the wife of Quintus Cicero: and when she had him, besides other cruell torments she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne flesh off by litle morsels, and to broile them, and then to cate them. Some Historiographers do thus report it: but Tyro who was a flaue infranchised by Gicero, made no mention of the treason of this Philologus. Howbeit I understand that Cafar Auguflus long time after that, went one day to secone of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hand of Ciceroes: and he fearing left his vncle would be angry to find that booke in his hands, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. Cafar faw it, and tooke it from him, and read the most part of it standing, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and faid vnto him: He was a wife man indeed, my child, and loued his country well. After he had flaine Antonius, being Confull, he made Ciceroes fonne his colleague and fellow Confull with him, in whose time the Senate ordained that the images of Artonius should be throwne downe, and deprined his memoric of all other honours: adding further vnto this decree, that from thenceforth none of the house and familie of the Antonij should cuerafter beare the name of Marcus. So Gods instice made the extreme reuenge and punishment of Antonius to fall into the house of Cicero.

THE COMPARISON OF

Cicero with Demosthenes.





His is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes and deedes worthic of memorie, written of Cicero and Demosthenes. Furthermore, leaving the comparison aside of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations, me thinkes I may fay thus much of them: That Demosthenes did wholly employ all his wir and learning(naturall or artificiall) vnto the Art of Rhetoricke; and that in force and vertue of eloquence he did excell all the Oratours in his time: and for grauitic and magnificent style, all those also that onely write for shew or oftentation; and for sharpenesse and art, all the Sophi-

sters, and masters of Rhetoricke. And that Cicero was a man generally learned in all sciences, and

that had fludied diverse books, as appeareth plainely by the sundry books of Philosophy of his owne making, written after the manner of the Academicke Philosophers. Furthermore, they may fee in his Orations he wrote in certaine causes to serue him when he pleaded, that he sought Gierosi may fee in his Orations ne wrote in certaine cames to ferue infin when he pleaded, the rought occasions in his by-talke to shew men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by diverse dotheir phrases a man may discerne some sparke of their maners and conditions. For Demostheres chines. phrase hath no maner of finenesse, iests, nor grace in it, but is alrogether graue and harsh, and not orly finelleth of the lampe, as Pythias faid when he mocked him, but sheweth a great drinker of error manwater, extreme paines, and there with also a sharpe and sowre nature. But Cicero oftentimes fell ners. from pleafant taunts vnto plaine fcurrility, and turning all his pleadings of matters of importance to sport and laughter, having a grace in it, many times he did forget the comelinesse that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for Calius, where he faith, It is no maruell if in fo greatabundance of wealth and finenesse he giue himselfe a litle to take his pleasure; and that it was a folly not to vse pleasures lawfull and tolerable, sith the samouscst Philosophers that ener were, did place the chiefe felicity of man, to be in pleasure. And it is reported also that Marcus Cato having accused Murana, Cicero being Conful, defended his cause, and in his Oration pleafantly girded all the feet of the Stoick Philosophers for Catoes fake, for the strange opinions they held, which they call Paradoxes: in fo much as he made all the people and Iudges also fall on Jaughing a good. And Cato himselfe also smiling a litle, said vnto them that sate by him: What alaughing and mocking Confull have we, my Lords: But letting that passe, it seemeth that Cicerowas of a pleasant and merry nature: for his face shewed euer great life and mirth in it. Whereas in Demostheres countenance on the other fide, they might differne a maruellous diligence and care, and a penfiue man, neuer weary with paine: infomuch that his enemies (as he reporteth himleste called him a peruerse & froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is discerned, that the one speaketh modestly in his own praise, so as no man can justly be offended with him: and yet not alwaies, but when necessity enforceth him for some matter of great importance, but otherwise very discreet and modest to speake of himselfe. Cicero in contrary maner, vsing too often repetition of one selfe thing in all his Orations, shewed an extreme ambition of glory, when taston. inceffantly he cried out:

Let speare and shield give place to gowne, And give the tongue the lawrell crowne.

Yetfurthermore, he did not only praise his own acts and deeds, but the Orations also which he had written or pleaded, as if he should have contended against I forates, or Anaximenes a master that taught Rhetoricke, and not to go about to reforme the people of Rom :

Which were both fierce and fout in armes, And fit to worke their enemies harmes.

For, as it is requifite for the gouernor of a common wealth to feeke authority by his eloquence: fo, to couet the praise of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that sheweth a base mind. And therefore in this point we must confesse that Demosthenes is farre grauer, and of a nobler mind, who declared himself, that al his eloquence came only but by practife, the which also required the fauor of his auditory: and further, he thought them fooles and mad men (as indeed they beno lesse) that therefore would make any boast of themselues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit & authority in their Orations to the people, and for obtaining that they would propound infomuch as Captains, & they that had armes in their hands, their orastood in need of their cloquence. As Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, they all were holpen of De-tions in the mosthenes: and Pompey, and Octavius Cefar the yong man, of Gicero: as Cefar himselfe confesseth in common his Commentaries he wrote vnto Agrippa and Macenas, But nothing sheweth a mans nature and condition more (asit is reported, & fo is it true) then when one is in authority for that bewraieth Authority his humor, and the affections of his mind, and layeth open also all the secret vices in him. De- showeth moss could neuer deliuer any such proofe of himselfe, because he neuer bare any office, nor tues and was called forward: for he was not Generall of the army which he himself had prepared against view. king Philip. Cicero on the other fide being sent Treasurer into Sicil E and Proconsull into Ci-LICIA and CAPPADOCIA, in such a time as couctonshelle reigned most, (in so much that the from money Captaines and governours whom they fent to governe their provinces, thinking it villanie and dastardlines to rob, did violently take things by force, at what time also to take bribes was reckoned no shame, but to handle it discreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it:) Ffff4

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The diffe. mosthenes & Ciceroes

he shewed plainly that he regarded not mony, and gaue forth many proofes of his courtesteand goodnesse. Furthermore, Cicero being created Consull by name, but Dictator in deed, having absolute power and authority ouer all things to suppresse the rebellion and conspiracie of Cast. line, he proued Platoes prophecy true, which was: That cities are fafe from danger, when the chiefe Magistrates and Gouernors (by some good divine fortune) do gouerne with wisdome & inflice. Demosthenes was reproued for his corruption, and selling of his eloquence: because se cretly he wrote one Oration for Phormio, & another in the felfe fame matter for Apollodorus, they being both aduerfaries. Further, he was defamed also for receiving mony of y king of Persia, and therewithall condemned for the mony which he had taken of Harpalus. And though some peraduenture would obiect, that the reports thereof (which are many) do lie: yet they cannot possibly denie this, that Demosthenes had no power to refraine fro looking on the presents which dinerse kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their sakes: neither was that the part of a man, that did take vfury by trafficke on the fea, the extremest yet of al other. In contrary maner (as we haue said before) it is certaine that Cicero being Treasurer, refused the gifts which the Sicilians offered him there; and the presents also which the king of the Cap. PADOCIANS offered him whilest he was Proconfullin Calicia, and those especially which his friends pressed vpon him to take of them, being a great summe of mony, when he went as a bani. fhed man out of Rome. Furthermore, the banishment of the one was infamous to him, because by judgement he was banished as a theefe. The banishment of the other was for as honourable an act as euer he did, being banished for ridding his countrey of wicked men. And therefore of Demosthenes, there was no speech after he was gone : but for Cicero, all the Senate changed their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would passeno decree by their authority, before Ciceroes banishment was renoked by the people. Indeed Cicero idly passed his time of banishmer. and did nothing all the while he was in Macedon: and one of the chiefest acts that Demostheres did, in all the time that he dealt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his banishment, For he went into enery city, and did affift the Ambassador of the GRECIANS, and refused the Ambassadors of the Macedonians. In the which he shewed himself a better citizen, then either Themisiocles, or Alcibiades, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell against o his old trade which he practifed before, and was ever against Antipater, and the MACEDONIANS. Where Lalius in open Senate sharpely tooke vp Cicero, for that he fate still and said nothing, when that Octavius Cafar the yong man made perition against the law, that he might sue for the Consulship, being so young, that he had neuer a haire on his face. And Brutus himselfe also doth greatly reproue Cicero in his letters, for that he had maintained and nourished a more gricuous and greater tyrannie, then that which they had put downe. And last of all, methinketh the death of Cicero most pirifull, to see an old man caried up and downe(with tender loue of his fernants) feeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall course: and in the end, old as he was, to see his head so pitifully cut off. Whereas Demosthenes, though he yeelded a little, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyfon long before, that he had kept it long, and also vfed it as he did, he cannot but be maruellously commended for it. For fith the god Nep-

tune denied him the benefit of his fanctuary, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he faued himselfe out of the foldiers hands of the tyrant, and also scorned the bloudie cruelty of Antipater.

The end of Ciceroes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF

Demetrius.



HO first likened arts to our senses, seemeth to have respected especially How senses that one property of them both, in receiving objects of contrary quality: for, in the vie and end of their operation, there is great difference. differ. The fenses receive indifferently, without discretion and judgement, white and black, sweet and sowre, soft and hard: for their office is only to admit their seuerall obiects, and to carie and referre the judgement thereof to the common sense. But arts being the perfection of reason, receive and allow those things only which make for their operation, regarding and eschuing the contraries. The one chiefly, and for vie: the

other by the way, and with intent to avoide them. So Philick dealeth with difeases, Musick with discords, to the end to remoue them, and work their contraries. And the great Ladies of al other arts, temperance, inflice, and wisdom, do not only consider honesty, vprightnes, and profit but examine withal, the nature & effects of leudnes, corruption and damage. And innocency, which vaunteth her want of experience in vidue practifes, men call fimplicity, and ignorance of things that be necessary and good to be knowne. And therfore the ancient LACED ÆMONIANS in their folemne feasts forced their ILOTEs the bondmen, to ouercharge themselues with wine; and such to make they shewed them vnto their youth, by their apparent beastlinesse of drunken men, to worke in their stances them an abhorring of so lothsome vice. Wherin although I cannot much praise them for humanity or wisdome, that corrupt and spoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime another: yet (as I hope) it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongst the rest I put in one or two paire of such, as living in great place and account, have increased their same with infamy. Which in truth, I do not, to please and draw on the Reader with variety of report, but as Ismenias the THEBAN Musician shewed his scholers, both those that strake a cleane stroke, with, Do so: & such The canse of as bungled it, with Do not so; and Antigenidas thought men should like better, and with greater describing desirecontend for skill, if they heard and discerned vntunable notes: so thinke I, we shall be the the lines of forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the lines, and fee the deformity of the wicked. wicked. This treaty cotaineth the lives of Demetrius, furnamed the Fort-gainer, & M. Anthony the Plate of Triumuir, & great examples to confirme the faying of Plato: That from great minds both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both given over to women & wine, both valiant vertues and great vices do proceed. and liberall, both sumptuous and high minded: fortune served them both alike, not onely in the course of their lines, in attempting great matters, somtimes with good, somtime with il successe, ingetting and lofing things of great consequence, overthrowing both when they feared not refloring both when they hoped not: but also in their end there was no great difference, the one

Demetrius

The death of Philip the yonger beauty.

Demetriza

The Sport of the Baff kings was to kill their emie chil. dren, wines, and methers. Demetrius courtefts.

Antigonsus

brought to his death by his mortall enemies, and the others fortune not fo much valike. But now to our history. Antigonus had two sonnes by his wife Stratonice, the daughter of Corraus, the one of them he named Demetrius, and the other Philip after his fathers name, Thus far the most writers do agree: howbeit some hold opinion, that Demetrius was not the sonne of Antigonus, but his nephew. But because his father died leaving him achild, and that his mother was straight maried againe vnto Antigonus, thereupon came the report that he was Antigonus sonne. Howfocuer it was, Philip, that was not much yonger then Demetrius, died. Now for Demetrius, though he was a very biggeman, he was nothing so high as his father, but yet so passing and wonderfull faire, that no painter could possibly draw his picture & counterfeit to his likenesse. For they saw a sweet countenance, mixed with a kind of granity in his face, a feare with courtesse, and an incomparable princely maiefty accompanied with a liuely spirit and youth; and his wit and man. ners were such, that they were both fearefull, and pleasant vnto men that frequented him. For as he was most pleasant in company having leisure, & most given to banquetting, pleasant life, and more wantonly given to follow lust and pleasure, then any king that ever was: so was healwaies very carefull and diligent in dispatching matters of importance. And therfore he maruelloufly commended, and also endeuoured to follow Dionysius (as much to fay, as Bacchus) aboue all the other gods, as he that had bene a wife and valiant Captaine in war, and that in peace inuented and vsed all the pleasure that might be. He maruellously loued & reuerenced his father, and it scemeth that the dutifulnesse he shewed vnto his mother, was more to discharge the due obedience and duty of a son, then otherwise to entertaine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for proofe hereof we reade, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his father Antigonus, giving audience to certaine Ambassadors; and after he had done his duty to him, and kiffed him, he fate downe by him cuen as he came from hunting, hauing his darts in his hand, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then Antigonus calling the Ambaffadors aloud as they went their way, having received their answer: My Lords, said he, you shall carie home this report of my sonne and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we line one with another. As meaning to shew therby that the agreement betwixt the father and the sonne together, is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as also a manifest proofe of his greatnesses is a great safety to the affaires of a king, as a great safe is a king to haue a companion, befides the hate and mistrust it should breed. So that the greatest Prince and most ancientest of all the successiours of Alexander, boasted, that he stood not in search of his sonne, but did suffer him to sit by him, having a dart in his band. So was this house onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kings, least defiled with such villany, many successions after; and to confesse a troth, in all Antigonus race there was not one but Philip onely, that slue his owne fonne. But we have many examples of diverse other houses of kings, that have put their sonnes, wines, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kil them, and neuer sticke at it. For like as Geometricians would have men grant them certaine propositions which they suppose, without proofe: eucn so was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the fafety of their estate. But further, to shew you more plainly that Demetrius was of a noble and courteous nature, and that he dearely loued his friends, we may alledge this example. Mithridates the sonne of Ariobarzanes, was his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed Antigonus court, and neuer practifed any villany or treason to him, neither was he thought such a man; yet Antigonus did somewhat suspect him, because of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he fowed of the ferapings of gold, and that of that feede, first of all came up goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that shortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the straw, and the cares of the wheate cut off, and that he being very angry and sory for it, some told him, that Mithridates had cut offthese golden eares, and had caried themwith him into the Realine of Pont. Antigonus being maruelloufly troubled with this dreame, after he had made his sonne sweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue privie to that he would tell him, he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this yong man Mithridates to death. Demetrius was maruellous forie for it, and therfore the next morning, this yong noble Prince going as he was wont, to passe the time away with Mithridates, he durst not by word of mouth vtter that he knew, because of his oath: howbeit, taking him aside from his other familiars when they were both together by themselues, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, Mithridates looking on him: Flic Mithridates. Mithridates

Mithridates found fraight what he meant, and fled thevery fame night into CAPPADOCIA: Demetrius and shortly after it was his destinie to fulfill Antigonus dreame. For he conquered many goodly thridates countries, and it was he onely that established the house of the kingdome of Pont, the which the ROMAINES afterwards ouerthrew, about the eight fuccession. By these examples we may easily conjecture the good nature and curtefic of Demetrius. For like as the elements (according to Emnedocles opinion) are ener at trife together, but specially those that are nearest each to other: emenfo, though all the fucceffors of Alexander were at continuall warres together, yet was it foonestkindled, and most cruel betweene them which bordered nearest vnto each other, & that by discord being neare neighbors had alwaies occasion of brawle together, as fel out at that time betweene Antigonus and Ptolomie. This Antigonus lay most commonly in the countrie of Phrygia: who having intelligence that Ptolomie was gone into Cyprvs, and that he ouerranne all Syria, winning by force, or faire meanes, all the townes and cities subject vnto him, he sent his sonne Demetrius thither, being at that time but two and twenty years of age; and it was the first time that euer he took charge, as generall to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a yong man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battel with an old fouldier (trained vp in the difeipline of warres vnder Alexander the great, & that through him, and in his name, had fought many greatbattels) was soone ouerthrowne, and his army put to flight, by the city of GAZA. At which ouerthrow were flaine flue thousand men, and almost eight thousand taken; and besides, Demetrius lost his tents and pauilions, his gold and filuer, and to be short, all his whole cariage. But Prolomy fent him all his things againe, and his friends also that were taken after the battell, Demetries with great courteous words: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but only outsthown for honor and Empire, Demetrius receiving them at his hands, befought the gods that he might in batted by Pelalam not long live a debter vnto Ptolomie for this great courtefie, but that he might quickly require it The bear with the like againe. Now Demetrius tooke not this overthrow like a yong man, thoughit was tifulnes of his first souldier-fare: but like an old & wise Captaine that had abidden many overthrowes, he enqueror, vied great diligence to gather men againe, to make new armors, & to keepe the cities and countries in his hands vnder obedience, and did traine and exercise his souldiers in armes, whom he had gathered together. Antigonus having newes of the overthrow of his fon Demetrius, faid no more, but that Ptolomic had ouercome beardlesse men: and that afterwards he should fight with bearded men. But now, because he would not discourage his sonnealtogether, who craued leave once againe to fight a battell with Ptolomie, he granted him. So, shortly after came Cilles Ptolomies Generall, with a great puissant army, to drive him altogether out of Syria: for they made no great account of Demetrius, because he had bene once ouerthrowne before, Howbeit Demetrius ftole vpon him, gaue him charge on the fodaine, and made him fo afraid, that he tooke both the Demetring campeand the Generall, with scuenthousand prisoners besides, and wanne a maruellous treafure of money: which made him a glad man, not so much for the gaine he should have by it, as for the oportunity he had thereby to come out of Ptolomies debt; nothing regarding the treasure nor the honour he had gotten by this victory, but onely the benefit of his requitall of Prolomies courtefie towards him. But yet he did nothing of his own head, before he had written to his father; and then receiving full grant and commission from him to dispose of all things as he thought good, he fent backe Cilles vnto Ptolomie, and all his other friends besides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully bestowed on them. This misfortune and ouerthrow did vt- Demotring terly put Ptolomie out of all Syria, and brought Antigonus also from the city of CELENES, for thankfulnes the exceeding joy he had of this victory, as also for the great desire he had to see his son. After lomic. that, he fent Demetrius into ARABIA, against a people called y NABATH ÆNIANS, to coquer the: but there he was in great danger and diffresse in the deserts for lacke of water, how beit be never shewed any figne that he was afraid. Therby he so assonied & barbarous people, that he had leifure inough to retire with fafetie, & with a great booty of a thousand camels, which he brought away with him. About that time Seleucus (whom Antigonus had driven from BABYLON) retur- Demetrius ning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other aid then of himselfe: & went with a great army against the people and nations confining upon the INDIEs, and the prouinces adioyning vnto mount Caucasus, to conquer them. Thereupon Demetrius hoping to find Meso- Demetrius POTAMIA, without any guard or defence, sodainly passed ouer the river of Euphrates, and came imade in the river of Euphrates, and came imade in the river of Euphrates, and came in the river of Euphrates, and ca vnlooked for vnto BARYLON, and there diffressed the garrison of Seleucus, that kept one of the Mesoporar castles or citadels of the city, being two of them: and then putting in seuen thousand souldiers

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to keepethem, he commanded the rest of his men to get what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towards the sea to returne home, leaning thereby the Realme and kingdome of Sclenens in better flate and fafetie, then it was when he inuaded it. For it appeared that he had taken al the country from Selences, leaving him nothing in it, by fpoiling and forraging all that was there. At this returne home, newes was brought him that Ptolomie lay at the fiege of the citie of HALICARNASSVS: wherepon he drew thither with speed to make him rife the fiege, & therby faued the city from him. Now because by this exploit they wan great fame. both of them (Antigonus and Demetrius) fell into a maruellous defire to fet all GRECE at liberty. the which Ptolomie and Cassander kept in servirude and bondage. Neuer King tooke in hand a more honourable nor infect warre and enterprife, then that was. For, what power or richeshe could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people, he bestowed it all in restoring the GRECIANS to their liberty; and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in confidtation what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to passe, and having taken order to begin first at ATHENS, one of Antigones chiefest friends about him, told him, that he should take the city, and place a good garrifon there for themselves, if they could once win it : for (faid he)it will be a good bridge to palle further into all GRECE. Antigones would not hearken to that but faid, that the love and good will of men was a ferer bridge, and that the city of ATHENS Was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings shine through the world. as a creffet light, vpon the top of a keepe or watch tower. Thus Demetrius hoifed faile, having fine thousand filter talents, and a ficete of two hundred and fiftie faile, and failed towards the city of ATHER SI in the which Demerries PHALERIAN was Gouernour in the behalfe of Caffander, and kept a strong garrison there within the hauen & castle of Mynichia. He had an excellent good wind to further his journey, so that with this good forefight and speed he made, he arrived in the hauen of Perzea, the fine & twentieth day of the moneth Thargelion (now called May) before any man knew of his coming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the city, and leste, that they might eafily fee them from thence, enery man prepared himfelfe to receive them, taking them to be Ptolomies ships. But in fine, the Captaines and Gouernours understanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe themselves but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemics from landing, and to repulse them, coming fo fodainly vpon them. Demetrius having found the barre of the hauen open, launched in presently. Then being come to the view of them all, and standing upon the harches of his galley, he made fignes with his hand that he prayed filence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimedaloud by one of his Heraulds, that his father had fent him in a happy houre to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garrifons, and to restore them againe to their ancient liberty and freedome, ro enioy their lawes and ancient gouernment of their forefathers. After the proclamation made, all the common people straight threw downe their weapon's and targets at their feete, to clap their hands with greatshours of ioy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud, their Sauiour, and benefactor. Now for them that were with Demetrius PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sem Ambaffadours vnto him to treate of peace. Demetrius received them very courteoufly, and fent with them for pledge, one of the dearest friends his father had, Aristodemus MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not carelesse of the health and safety of Demetrius PHALERIAN, who by reason of the change and alteration of the gouernment of the common-wealth of ATHERS, flood more in fcare of the people of Athens, then of his enemies. Therefore Demetrius regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conueyed (according to his defire) vinto THEBES, With good and sufficient safeconduct. And for Demetrius himselfe, although he was very desirous to see the city, he said he would not come into it, before he had first restored it vnto her ancient liberty and freedome, and also driven away the garrison thence; and thereupon he cast trenches round about ŷ castle of Munychta. In the meane season because he would not be idle, he hoifed faile, and coafted towards the city of MEGARA, within the which Caffander also kept a ftrong garrison. Demetrius bufily following these matters, was aduertised that Cratesipolis, furnamed Polyporchon, (who had bene Alexanders wife) a Ladie of paffing fame and beautic, and lay arthat time in the city of PATRAS, would be gladto fee him, he leaving his army within the territorie of y ME GAR IANS, took his journy prefently vnto her, with a few of his lightest armed men; and yet he stole fro them, and made his tent to be set vpagoca way fro them, because this Ladie

Ladie might not be seene when she came vnto him. Some of his enemies having present intelligence thereof, came and set vpon him before he knew it. Demetrius was so scared, that he had no further leyfure, but to cast an ill-fauoured cloke about him, the first that came to hand, and difguifing himself to flie for life, and scaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they missed him, they tooke his tent and all his mony init. After that, the city of MEGARA was taken and won from Cassanders men, where Demetrius fouldiers would have facked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoiled. Demetrius thereupon, after that he had driven out Cassander garrison, he restored it agains to her former liberty. Indoing that, he called to mind the Philosopher Stilpo, a famous man in ME GARA, though he lived a quiet and contemplative life. He Stilpo, a fafent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. Stilpo answered him, they had not : for (quoth he) I saw no manthat tooke my learning from me. This not with standing, all the slaues of the city were in manner caried away. Another time, Demetrius making much of him, as he was going his way, faid vnto him. Well, Stilpo, I leaue you your city free. It to Demeistrue, ô King (quoth he) for thou hast left vs neuer a slaue. Shortly after, he returned againe vnto ATHENS, and laid fiege to the castell of Munychia, the which he took, and draue out the garrison, and afterwards razed it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earnest desire of the Athenians, who prayed him to come and refresh himselfe in their city, he made his entrie into it, and caused all the people to assemble, & then restored vnto them their ancient lawes the Abbeand liberty of their countrey; promifing them besides, that he would procure his father to send them an hundred and fiftiethousand bulhels of wheat, and as much wood and timber as should ferueto make them an hundred and fiftie galleys. Thus the Athenians, through Demetrius Demetrius meanes, recouered the Democratia againe, (to wit, their popular gouernment) fifteene yeares after they had lost it; and lived all the time betweene their losse and restitution from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that was fought by the city of CRANON, in the state of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a few gouernours in fight, but intruth a Monar oligarchia, chicor kingdome, because they were under the gouernment of one man Demetrius PHALERI-An that had absolute authority ouer them. But by this meanes they made their sauiour & preseruerof their country, Demetrius (who feemed to have obtained such honour and glory through Too much his goodnes & liberaltiy) hatefull and odious to al men, for the ouergreat and vnmcafurable honors which they gaue him. For first of all, they called Antigonus & Demetrius kings, who before Demetrius that time had alwaies refused the name, and the which (among all other princely honors & prc- by the Arogatiues granted) they that had deuided betweene them the Empire of Philip and Alexander, durst neuer once presume to chalenge nor to take vpon them. So vnto them onely they gaue the stile and names of the gods sauiours, and took away their yearely Maior, whom they called Fponymos, because they did shew the yeares of old time by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordained in the councel of the city, that there should yearely bechosen one by voices of the people, whom they should name y Priest of their sauiors, whose namethey should write and subscribe in al publike grants and couenants, to shew the yeare; and besides all this, that they should cause their pictures to be drawne in the veile or holy banner, in the which were fet out the images of their gods, the patrons & protectors of their city. And furthermore they did confecrate the place where Demetrius first came out of his coach, & there did fet vpanaltar, & called it Demetrius altar coming out of his coach: and vnto their tribes they added two other, y Antigonides & the Demetriades. Their great councell at large, which they created yearely of 500 men, was then first of al brought vnto 600, because enery tribe must needs furnish of themselves fiftie Counsellers. But yet the strangest act, and most new-found inuention of flattery, was that of Stratocles, (being the common flatterer and people-pleafer) who 7he boldput foorth this decree, by the which it was ordained: That those whom the Common-wealth nesse of should send vnto Antigonus and Demetrius, should in stead of ambassadors becalled Theori, as Stratisles much to fay, as, Ministers of § facrifices. For fo were they called, whom they sent to Delphes to Apollo Pythias, or vnto ELIDE to Iupiter Olympias, at the common and solemne feasts of all GRECE, to do the ordinary facrifices and oblations for the health and prefernation of the ciries. This Stratocles in all things else was a desperate man, and one that had alwaics led a wicked and diffolute life: and for his shamelesse boldnesse, he seemed wholly to defend the steps of Cleans foole hardines and old infolencie, which (when he lived) he shewed vnto the people. He openly

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kept a harlot in his house, called Phylacion. One day she having bought for his supper, beasts heads and neckes commonly eaten, he faid vnto her: Why, how now? thou hast bought me acates which we toffe like bals, that have to do in the commonwealth. Another time when the armie of the Athenians was ouerthrowneby sea, by the He of Amor Gos, he would needs preuent the newes of this ouerthrow, and came through the street of Ceranicus crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the Athenians had won the battell: and was also the author of a decree whereby they did facrifice vnto the gods, to give them thankes for the victory; and meate was giuen amongst euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But shortly after the messengers arrived which brought report of the shipwracke and ouerthrow. The people were in an vprore withall and sent for Stratocles in a maruellous rage. But he with a face of brasse came vnto them, and ar. rogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: Well, and what hurt have I done you, if I haue made you merrie these two daies? Such was Stratocles impudencie and rashnesse. But, as the Poet Aristophanes faith:

Then fire that wasteth both by sea and land.

For there was another that passed Stratocles in knauerie, who procured a decree, that as often as Demetrius came into the city of Athens, he should be received with all ceremonies and like solemnitie, as they vse in the feasts of Ceres and Bacchus: and further, that they should give vnto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnesse and riches at such time as Demetrius made his entry into the city, so much mony out of the common treasure as should serve to make an image or other offering, which should be consecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And last of all, they changed the name of the moneth Munichion, (to wit, the moneth of Ianuarie) and called it Demetrion: and the last day of the moneth, which they called before Thenew and old Moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feasts of Bacchus also, called then Dionysia, red, or calthey presently named Demetria. But the gods by divers figures and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these changes and alterations. For the holy banner, in the which (according to the order set downe) they had painted the images of Antigonus and Demetrius, with the pictures of Iupiter and Minerua, as they caried it a proceffion through the street Ceranicus, it was torne asunder in the middest by a tempest of wind. And furthermore, about y altars which were set vp in the honor of Demetrius and Antigonus, there grew a great deale of Hemlocke, the which otherwise was unpossible to grow there. On the feast day also of Bacchus, they were compelled to leaue the pompe or procession for that day, it was such an extreme hard frost out of all feason: and besides, there fell such a mil-dew and great frost vpon it, that not only their vines and oliues were killed with it, but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprung vp. And therefore the Poet Philippides (an enemie of the foresaid Stratecles) in one of his Comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect:

The partie for whose wickednesse the veile was rent intwaine, Which with the bonor due to God did worship men most vaine, Is he for whom our budding vines were blafted with the froft, Those things and not our Comedies have us so dearely cost.

This Philippides was very well beloued of king Lysimachus, insomuch that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the Commonwealth of Athens. For he loued him so dearely, that as often as he taw him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance, he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For indeed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellencie of his art, but he was much more to be beloued and esteemed for his vertuous and honest conditions. He was no troublesome man, neither was he infected with the finenesse of courts, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giving him good countenance, said vnto him: What wilt thou have me give thee of my things Philippides? Euen what it shall please thee, ô king, so it be none of thy secrets. Thus much we thought good to speake of him in by-talke, because an honest player of Comedies should match with a shamelesse and impudent Oratour of the people. But yet there was another Democlides, of the village of Spherrys, that dreamed out a more strange kind of honour, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of Apollo in DELPHES, that is to fay, that they should go and aske the oracle of Demetrius. But I will shew you the very effect and forme of the law, as it was fet downe. In good houre, the people ordaine that he should be chosen one of the

But hoter matters were that time in hand,

Citizens of ATHENS, which shall go vnto our fauiour: and after that he hath done due sacrifice vnto him, he shall aske Demetrius our fauiour, after what fort the people shall with greatest holinesse and denotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest gifts and offerings; and according to the Oracle it shall please him to give them, the people shall duly execute it. Thus laying you Demetrius all these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wife man, they made him avery foole. Demetrius being at that time at ley fure in ATHENS, he maried a widow called Demetrius Eurydice, which came of that noble and ancient house of Militades, and had bene maried before maried ruvnto one Opheltas Prince of the Cyrenians, and after his death returned againe to Athens. The ATHENIANS were very glad of this mariage, and thought it the greatest honour that came to their city, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was soone won to be maried, Demetrius for he had many wives, but amongst them all he loued Phila best, and gave her most honor and preheminence aboue them all, partly for the respect of her father Antipater; and partly also for gether. that she had bene first maried vnto Craterus, whom the MACEDONIANS loued best when he liued, and most lamented after his death aboue all the other successors of Alexander. His father, I fuppose, made him to marrie her by force, although indeed her yeares was not meete for him: for paters he was maruellous young, and she very old. And when Demetrius seemed not to be contented withall, his father rounded him foftly in the eare with this faying:

Refuseno woman nere fo old, Whole mariage bringeth flore of gold. Wherein he cunningly alluded to these verses of Europides:

Refuse not to become a thrall, Where lucre may enfue withall. daughter, and Craterus widew The indge. ment of mariage, and obedi .

had many

wines to-

wife Anti.

But so much did Demetrius honour his wife Phila, and all his other wives he maried, that he was not ashamed to keepea number of Curtizans, and other mens wines besides: so that he only of all other Kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lecherie. While these things passed on in this fort, he was commanded by his father to fight with Ptolomie for the Realme of CYPRYS. So there was no remedy but he must needs obey him, although otherwise he was very fory to leaue the warre he had begun, to fet the GRECIANS at liberty, the which had bene far more honorable and famous. Howbeir, before he departed from ATHENS, he fent vnto Cleonides Ptolomies Generall, that kept thecities of Corinth and Sicyone, to offer him money if he would fet their cities at liberty. But Cleonides would not be dealt with all that way. Thereupon Demetrius straightway tooke sea, and sayled with all his army towards Cyprvs, where at his first comming he overcame Menelaus Ptolomies brother. But shortly after, Ptolomie went thither in person with a great army both by sea and land, and there passed betwixt them sicrce threatnings and proud words to each other. For Ptolomic fent to Demotrius to bid him depart if he were wife, beforeall his armie came together: which would tread him vnder their feer, and march vpo his belly if he taried their comming. Demetrius on the other fide fent him word, that he would do him this fauor to let him escape, if he would sweare and promise vnto him to withdraw his garrifons which he had in the cities of Corinth and Sycione. So the expectation of this battel made these two Princes not only very pensine to fight one with the other, but also al the other Lords, Princes, & kings: because the successe thereof was vncertain, which of them two should prenaile. But every man judged this, that which of them obtained the victory, he should not only be Lord of the realme of Cypro & Syria, but therewith also of greater power then all the rest. Ptolomy in person with fiftie saile began to row against his enemy Demetrius, & com- Battell by manded his brother Menelaus, that when he faw them fast grapled in fight together, he should Heofey. launch out of the hauen of SALAMINA, and give charge vpon the rereward of Demetrius ships, prus beto breake their order, with the threescore galleyshe had in charge. Demetrius on the other fide metrius and prepared tengalleys against these threescore, thinking the enow to choke vp the hauens mouth Peolomie. being but narrow, fo that none of the galleys that were within could come out: and furthermore, he dispersed his army by land vpon the foreland points which reach vnto the sea, and went himselse into the maine sea with nine score galleys, and gaue such a fierce charge vpon Ptolomie, that he valiantly made him flie. Who when he faw his army broken, fled as speedily as he Demetrius could with eight galleys onely: for all the rest were either broken or sunke in fight, and those victory of eight only escaped, besides threescore and ten which were taken, and all their souldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends, his officers and houshold fernants, his wines,

notable anmachus, not

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famous Curtizan taken by Demetrius. feating of reelded po to Deme. trius.

Arifode. mus a notarions flat-

The first time Antigonus and Demetrius were called

Note the force of flattirie by Ariftodemus Mile-Antigonus and Demetrius iorney Prolomy.

his gold and filter, his armour, engines of battery, and all fuch other warlike furniture & munition as was conveyed aboord hs cariets & great ships riding at ankers of all these things nothing escaped Demetrius hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among those spoiles also wastaken that famous curtizan Lamia, who at the first had her name only for her passing playing vpon the flute: but after she fell to curtizan trade, her countenance and credit increased the more. So that even then when her beauty through years fell to decay, and that she found Demetrius much younger then her felfe, yet she so wan him with her sweet conversation and good grace, that he onely liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victory by fea, Menelaus made no more refistance, but yeelded vp SALAMINA and his ships vnto Demetrius and put into his hands also twelve hundred horsemen, and 12 thousand footmen well armed. This so famous & trium. phant victory was yet much more beautified by Demetrius great bounty and goodnes, which he shewed in giving his enemies slaine in battell honorable funerals, setting the prisoners at libertie without ransome paying, & giving moreover twelve hundred complete armors vnto the ATHE NIANS. After this Demetrius fent Aristodemus MILESIAN Unto his father Antigorus, to tellhim by word of mouth the newes of this victory . Aristodemus was the greatest flatterer in al Antigonus court, who deuised then (as it seemeth to me) to adde vnto this exploit the greatest slattery possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of § Ile of Cyprvs, he would in no wife haue the ship he came in to come neare the shore, but commanded them to ride at anker, and no man so hardy to leave the ship:but he himselfgot into a litle boat, and went vnto Antigonus, who all this while was in a maruellous feare and perplexity for the successe of this battel, as men may eafily judge they are which hope after fo great vncertainties. Now when word was brought him that Aristodemus was coming to him all alone, then was he worsetroubled then afore, insomuch that he could scant keepe within doores himselfe, but sent his servants and friends one after another to meet Aristodemus, to aske him what newes, and to bring him word presently againshow the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on ftill faire and foftly with a fad countenance, and very demurely, speaking neuer a word. Wherefore Antigonus heart being cold in his belly, he could flay no longer, but would himself go and meet with Aristodemus at the gate, who had a maruellous preasse of people following of him, besides those of the court which ranne out to heare his answer. At length when he came neare vnto Antiegmis, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cried out aloud: God faue thee, ô King Antiquous: we have overcomeking Ptolomy in battel by sea, and have won the realme of Cyprvs, with sixteene thousand and eight hundred prisoners. Then answered Antigonus: And God saue theetoo. Truly Aristodemus thou hast kept vs in atrance a good while, but to punish thee for the paine thou hast put vs to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good newes. Then was the sirst time that the people with a loud voice called Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Now for Antigonus, his friends and familiars did at that instant put on the royall band or Diademe vpon his head; but for Demetrius, his father sent it vnto him, and by his letters called him King. They also that were in ÆGYPT with Ptolomy, vnderstanding that, did call and salute him by the name of King: because it shold not seeme that for one overthrow received, their harts were dead. Thus this ambition by icalousie & emulation went from manto man to all Alexanders successors. For Lysima. chus then also began to weare the Diademe, and likewise Seleucus, as often as he spake with the GRECIANS: for before that time, he dealt in matters with § barbarous people as a king. But Caffander, though others wrote themselues kings, he only subscribed after his wonted maner. Now this was not only an increase of a new name, or changing of apparell, but it was such an honor, as it lift vp their hearts, and made them stand vpon themselves: and besides, it so framed their maner of life and conuer fation with men, that they grew more proud and stately then ener they were before: like vnto common players of Tragedies, who apparelling themselues to play their parts vpon the stage, do change their gate, their countenance, their voice, their manner of sitting at the table, and their talke also. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commanding their subiects, when they had once taken away the vizer and diffimulation of their absolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought fuch a wonderfull change in the world. Antigonus therefore puffed vp with the glory of the victory of his sonne Demetrius, for the conquest of Cyprvs, he determined forthwith to set vpon Ptolomy. Himselfe led the army by land, hauing his sonne Demetrius still rowing by the shore side with a great sleete of ships. But one of

his familiars called Medius, being affeepe, had a vision one night that told him, what should be Medius the end and successe of this journey. He thought he saw Antigonus runne with all his armie, who should have the vpperhand; and that at the first he ranne with great force and swiftnesse, but that afterwards his strength and breath failed him so much, that when he should returne, he had feant any pulse or breath, and with much ado retired againe. And even so it chanced vnto him. For Antigonus by land was eftioones in great danger; and Demetrius also by sea was often in hazard to leaue the coast, and by storme and weather to be cast into places where was neither hauen, creekes, nor harborough for shippes. And at length hauing lost a great number of his shippes, he was driven to returne without any attempt given. Now Antigonus was at that time litle lesse then fourescore yeares old, but yet his fat and corpulent body was more combersome to him then his yeares: therefore being growne vnmeet for wars, he vled his sonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as also skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wisely gouerne the weightiest matters. His father besides did not passe for his youthfull parts, lauish expences and common drunkennesse he gaue himselfe vnto. For in time of peace, he was given ouer to all these vices: but in time of warre, he was as sober and continent as any man so borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that Lamia being manifestly knowne to be mistresse ouer him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiffe his father: and that Antigonus smiling youn him, said: What, how now some, doest thou thinke thou art Antigonus kissing of Lamia? Another time Demetrius was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and ninh with faw not his father: and then to excuse himselfe vnto him, he told him he had gotten a rheume Demetrius that made him keepe his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard, faid Antigonus: but was it of Thas os or Chios that rheume? He spake it, because that in either of those two Ilands, there were excellent good wines. Another time Demetrius fent his father word, that he was not well: thereupon Antigonus went to fee him, and comming thither, he met a faire young boy at his doore. So he went up to his chamber, and fitting downe by his beds fide, he tooke him by the hand to feele his pulfe. Demetrius cold him that his feauer had left him but a litle before. I know it well, (faid Antigonus) for I met the young boy euen at the doore as I come in So Antigonus did gently beare with his fonnes faults, in respect of the many other vertues he had. The voice goeth, that the Scythians, when they are disposed to drinke drunketogether, do di- Afrange uerstimes twang the strings of their bowes, as though that would serue to keepe the strength of the Scythitheir courage and hardinesse, which otherwise the pleasantnesse of the wine wold take fro them. and in their But Demetrius gauchimselfe to one thing onely at one selfe time: sometime to take his pleasure, fometime to deale in matters of weight; & in all extremity he cuer vsed but one of them, & wold neuer mingle the one with the other; and yet this notwithstanding, he was no lesse politicke and circumspect to prepare all maner of munition for wars. For as he was a wife Captain to leade an Demetrius armie, so was he also very carefull to prouide all things meet for their furniture, & would rather askilfull capitains hauctoo much then too litle. But about all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of ships, and framing of all forts of engines of battery, and specially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuise sellent ships them. For he had an excellent naturall wit to deuise such works as are made by wit & hand, and did not bestow his wit and inuention in handi-crafts, intriffing toyes and bables: as many other kings that have given themselves to play on flutes, others to paint and draw, and others also to sundrieder Turners craft. As Aropus king of Macedon, who delighted to make fine tables & prety lamps. And Attalus, firnamed Philometer (to fay, louer of his mother) that would plant and fet Physicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingwort, or Beares foote, Hoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Wolfebaine, and Doryenium: for the which we have no English word: all these would be set himself with his owne hands in the gardens of his owne pallace, and also gather them in time of the yeare, to know the vertue and power of them. Or as Arfaces the kings of PARTHIA, that boasted they could themselves make their arrowes heads, and sharpen them. But the Artificers workes which Demetrius practifed, shewed that they came from a King. For his manner of workmanship had a certaine greatnesse in it, the which euen Demetrine with the fubrilitie and finencile of his workes, shewed the trimine handling of the workman: workes. fo that they appeared not only worthy the viderstanding and riches of a King, but also the forging and making by the hands of a great King. For his friends did not onely wonder at their greatnesse, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true then meete to be spoken: the enemies could not but maruell when they saw his

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the straight of THERMOPYLES, and there ours threw him in set battell, and received the city of

& PANACTOS, in the frontiers & confines of ATTICA, in the which Cassander had left garrisons

to keepe the country in Subjection: and after he had driven them out of the country, he rendred

the forts again vnto y ATHENIANS. Therfore though it feemed y ATHENIANS had before be-

flowed to their yttermost power al kinds of honors that could be offered him, every masterining

for life to preferre the same, yet they found out new deuices to flatter & please him, For they or-

dained that the place behind the temple of Minerna called Parthenon(as who would fay, the te-

ple of the virgin) should be prepared for his house to lye in: and they said, that the goddesse Mi-

nerua did lodge him with her. But to fay truly, he was too vnchast a guest, to think that a maiden

faid nothing to Philip him felfe, but before him he fent for the harbinger, and faid vnto him: wilt

thou not remove my fonne out of this straight lodging, and provide him of a better? And Deme-

trus, that should have reverenced the goddesse Minerua, though for no other respect but because

yong boyes of honest houses, as also vnto yong women of the city. So that this place seemed to

and condigne remembrance. This Democles was a young boy that had no haire on his face of

whose beauty Demetrius being informed by the sirname he had, as comonly called through the

city. Democles the faire, he fought diverse waies to intice him, both by faire meanes, large pro-

mises and gifts, and also with threats besides. But when he saw no man could bring him to the

bent of his bow, and that the yong boy in the end feeing him fo importunate vpon him, came no

more to the common places of exercife, where other children yield to recreate themselves, and

that to avoid the common flowers, he went to wash himselfe in another secret flow: Demetrius

watching his time and howre of going thither, followed him, and got into him being alone. The

boy seeing himselfe alone, and that he could not resist Demetrius, took e off the couer of the ket-

tle or cauldron where the water was boiling & leaping into it drowned himfelfe. Truly he was

vnworthy of fo lamentable an end, but yet shewed anoble heart, worthy of his beauty and

country. But he did not as another called Cleanetus, the fonne of Cleanedon, who brought fetters

from Demetrius directed to the people, whereby through Demetrius intercession and request, his

fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained pri-

foner) was clearly remitted and forgiuen. But by this act, he not onely shamed and dishonoured

himfelfe, but also troubled all the city. For the people thereupon released Cleemedon of his fine,

but therwith they made a decree that no citizen should thence forth bring any more letters from

Demetrius. But afterwards understanding that Demetrius was maruellously offended with this

decree, they did not only reaoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death,

which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further

they made a law, that the people of ATHEN'S should account all religious to the gods, & inst vn-

to men, what focuer it pleased Demetrius to order and appoint. At that time there was one of the

chiefest men of the city, that faid Stratocles was a madde man to preferre fuch matters. Indeed

quoth Demochares firnamed LACONIAN, he were a mad man if he were otherwise; and he spake

it, because this Stratoiles had many great pleasures at Demetrius hands for this slattery. Howbeit,

Demochares being accused and condemned upon these words, he was banished Athens. See

the ATHENIANS how they vied themselves, who seemed to be delivered from the garrison

Demetrius besteged Roades.

feription of Demetrius greateft en . gine of batterie called Elepalis.

The armours made of notable temper by Zoilas an armorer_

Alcimus Albanian, wore an ar mour of fixfeore pound weight.

The difcourtefie of the Khots. The great curtefic of the Athenians vnto king Phi-Protegenes

borne in the city of Caucellent pain-Protegenes

by Arelles

Derceerine constudeth

galleys rowing along the coast, with fifteene or fixteene banks of oares; and his engines of batterie which they called Elepolis, (as much to fay, engines to take cities) were a spectacle of great admiration vnto those whom he befieged, as the euents following did throughly witnesse. For Lysimachus, who of all other kings did malice Demetrius most, coming to raise the siege from the citie of Solli in Cilicia, the which Demetrius besieged, he sent vnto him to pray him tolet him see his engines of batterie, and his galleys rowing vpon the sea. Demetrius granting him, Lysimachus returning with wonderful admiration. The Rhodians also having long time defen. ded his fiege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leave some one of his engines with them, for a perpetual testimony & remembrance both of his power, and also of their conrage and valiantheffe. The cause why Demetrius made warre with the Rhodian's was because they were confederates with king Piolomie: he brought against their wals the greatest engine he had, the foote whereof was like atile, more long then broad, and at the base on either side it was eight and for ie cubits long, and threescore and fixe high, rifing stil narrow cuen to the very top. fo that the vpper parts were narrower then the nether, and within it were many prety rooms and places conneyed for fouldiers. The forepart of it was open towards the enemy, & cuery roome or partition had windowes out of which they bestowed all kind of shot, because they were full of armed men fighting with all forts of weapons. But now, because it was so well framed and counterpoifed, that it gaue no way, nor reeled on either fide, which way focuer they remoued it. but that it flood fast and vpright vpon her foundation, making a terrible noise and sound, that made the worke as wonderful to behold, as it was a maruellous pleasure for men to see it. In this war were brought vnto Demetrius two notable armors weighing fortie pounds a peeces made by one Zorlas an armorer, who to shew the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, suffered the to be proudd and fhor at at fixefcore paces, with the engines of their batterie; and albeit the armors were shot at and hit, yet were they neuer pierced, and but only a litle race or scratch seene, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hort. Demetrius alwayes wore one of them in these warres, and Aleimus Albanian the other, the strongest & valiantes man he had in all his hoaft, and that only caried a complete armour weighing fix fcore pounds, where all other fouldiers were none about threefcore. This Alcimis was flaine at RHODES, valiantly fighting by the Theater, In this fiege the RHODIANS did valiatly defend themselves, that Demetrius could do no act worthy memory. This not with standing, although he saw he could not prenaile, but lose his time, yet was hethe more obstinatly bent against them, to be euen with them, because they had taken a ship of his, in the which his wife Phila had sent vnto him certain hangings of tapestry, linnen, apparel, and letters, and because they had sent them all vnto Ptolomie as soone as they had taken the. But therein they did not follow the honest curtesie of the ATHENIANS, who having intercepted certain currers of king Philips that made war against them, they opened all the letters they caried, & read them, fauing only his wife Olympiaes letters she fent him, the which they sent vnto king Philip fealed, as they were when they received them. Now though this part did much grieue and offend him, yet he could not find in his hart to serue them in that fort, when he might haue done it not long after. For by chance at that time Protogenes an excellent Painter, borne in Cavnvs, did paint the the draught of the city of Ialys vs. Demetrius found this table in a house in the suburbes of the city, being almost ended. The RHODIAN's theruposending an herald vnto him, to befeech him to spare the defacing of lo goodly a work, he returned them answer, that he would rather fuffer his fathers images to be burnt, the foexcellent & paffing a work as that to be lost, & brought to nothing. For it is reported, that Protogenes was 7 yeares drawing of the same: table of the and it is faid also that Apelles himselfe when he saw it, did so wonder at it, that his speech failed him, and he stood mute a long time, and at last said: Surely this is a wonderfull peece of worke, and of great labour, yet doth it want those graces and ornaments whereby those that I paint do reach unto heauen. This table afterwards being brought to Rome, and hanged vp with others, was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the Rhodians were desirous to be rid of this warre, and that Demetrius also was willing to take an honest occasion to do it, the Ambassadours of the Athenians came happily to serue both their desires, who made peace between them with these conditions: that the RHODIAN's should be confederates with Antigonus and Demetrius against all men, but Ptolomy only. The Athenians sent for Demetrius, vpon Cassanders comming to lay siege to their city: whereupon Demetrius immediatly hoised fayle towards ATHEMS, with three hundred and thirty galleys, and a great number of aren of warre besides:

HERACLEA, which willingly yeelded vnto him, and 6000 MACEBONIANS that came vnto him totake his part. So in his returne back, he fet all the GRECIANS at liberty on this fide y straight: ristories be made league with the Bosofians, & tooke the city of Ceneres, & the castles of Phyle in Greek

goddeffe would be content he should lye with her. And yet his father Antigonus perceiuing that Antigonus they had lodged his sonne Philip on a time in a house, where there were three young women, he frames after

he called her his eldeft fifter (for fo he would fhe should be called) he defiled all the castell where perceive wasthetemple of these holy virgins, with horrible and abhominable insolencies, both towards wantones.

be most pure and holy, at fuch times as he lay with his common curtifans, Chrysis, Lamia, Demo. The names and Anticyra. It shall not be greatly for the honor of the city of ATHENS, to tell particularly all of Demethe abhominable parts he committed there. But Democles vertue and honesty deserveth worthy

they had before, and to be restored vnto their former liberty and freedome. From thence Demetrim went into Peloponnesvs, and neuer an enemy of his durft tary his coming, but all fled Dometrins. before him, and left him their castles and townes. Thus Demetrius wan vnto himselfe all the eloponnsDemetrius maried Deidamia king Pyr-bus lister & changed the city of called it Demetrine chofen Ge neral of all Greece.

Demetrius pride.

CORINTH, from the garrifons that lay among st them. About that time fell out the great feast of Iuno in AR GOs, called Herwa. Therefore Demetrius, to honour this feast with the GRECIANS. maried Deidamia (the daughter of Eacides, king of the Molossians, and lifter of Pyrrhus) and perswaded the Sicyonians, to leauetheircity, and to come and build in another goodly place neare vnto it, where they now do dwell: and so with the place and situation, he changed also the name of the city. For in stead of STCYONE, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then atage. neral affembly of the states of GRECE, which was kept in the straight of PELOPONNESVS, called Is THMOS. Demetrius was chosen Lieutenant generall of all the GRECIANS, as Philip and A. lexander (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only compare himselse, but thought himselse greater then they, because fortune smiled on him, and for thathe had so good successe in al his affaires. Whereas Alexander did neuer take away the title and name of king from any other kings, neither did euer call himselfe king of kings, although he had given vnto diuerse of them the name and power of a king: & in contrary maneralso, Demetrius laughed them to scorne which called any other Princes kings but his father and himselfe. Moreour he tooke great pleasure to heare his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drinketo king Demetrius, and then to Seleucus master of the Elephants, to Piolomy Admirall, to Lysimachus keeper of the treasure, & to Agathocles SILICIAN, gouernor of the Iles. Althe kings, but Lylima. chus, laughed at these toyes when they were reported to them: but Lysimachus was very angry. & thought great scorne that Demetrius should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custome commonly to give an Eunuchthe charge of keeping the treasure. So Lysimachus of al other Princes did beare him most malice; and because he would finely taunt him for that he euer kept L4mia his curtifan with him: Vntill this present time, said he, I neuer saw harlot play in a Tragedy before. Demetrius answered him againe, that his harlot was chafter the Penelope his wife. So De. metrius departing for that time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his journey towards ATHENS, and wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be received into the fraternity of the holy mysteries, and that he meant they should shew him at one selfe time, althat was to be seene, euen from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, because they made the brethren of the fraternity see them long time after that they had benefiss received into the leffer ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was cuer heard of before. For these smaller mysteries, in old time were relebrated in the moneth of November, and the greater in the moneth of August: and besides it was not lawfull to celebrate or vse these ceremonies within the space of a yeare one of the other. When these letters were opely read, no. mandurst speake against them, but Pythodorus the Priest, who carried the torch lighted when they shewed thele mysteries. Howbeit his words prenailed not, for by the deuice of Stratocles it was enacted at an affembly of the city, that the moneth of March in the which they were at that time, should becalled and reputed November. And so as they could best helpe it, by their ordinances of the city they did receiue Demetrius into the fraternity of the mysteries: & afterwards again, this selse moneth of March which they had translated into Nouember, became suddenly August: and in the selfe same yeare was celebrated the other ceremony of these great mysteries, whereby Demetrius was admitted to feethe most straight and secret ceremonies. Therfore Philippides the Poet inueighing against the facriledge and impiety of religion prophaned by Stratocles, made these verses of him: Into one moneth his coming hither,

verfes a gainft Stra. toclesthe boaster.

Demetrius

prodigall

his curei-

fans to buy

And afterwards because Stratocles was the procurer that Demetrius was lodged in the temple of Minerna within the castell:

Of chast Mineruaes holy Church he makes a filthy stewes. And in that virgins very fight his harlor's doth abuse.

But yet of al the infolent parts done at that time in ATHENS (although many were committed) none of all the rest griened the Athenians more, then this did: that Demetrius commanded them they should presently furnish him with two hundred and fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very hard vnto them, both for the shortnesse of the time appointed them, as also for the impossibility of abating any part of it. When he had seene all this masse of money laide on a heape before him, he commanded it should be given to Lamia, & among his other curtifans,

of an hundred talents given amongst them, he delivered the cities of Argos, Sicrone, and of Hath thrust up all the yeare together.

to buy them fope. The shame the ATHENIANS received by this gift, grieved them more then the loffe of their mony and the words he spake to the great contempt of them and their city, did more trouble them then the payment they made. Some fay notwith standing, that Demetrius did not alone vie the Athenians thus shamefully but the Thessalians also in the same maner. But passing this ouer, Lamia of her selfe and through her owne countenance did get a great sum of money together of diverse persons for one supper she made vnto Demetrius, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that Lycans borne in the Ile of Samos, did set downe the metrica order thereof in writing. And therfore a certaine Poet no lesse pleasantly, then truly, called this furper of her owner Lamia, Elepolis: to wit, an engine to take cities. And Demochares also borne in the city of Solis, con. called Demetrius a fable, because he had Lamia ever with him : as in the fables which old wo- Lamia Eles mentell litle children, there is ever lightly a Lamia, as much to fay, as a witch, or forcereffe, So that the great credit and authority this Lamia had, and the loue which Demetrius bare her. did not onely cause his wives to suspect and enuy him, but made him hated also of all his friends and familiars. And therefore certaine gentlemen, whom Demetrius fent in Ambassade vnto king Lyfimachus, he talking familiarly with them, and passing the time away, shewed them great wounds of the clawes of a Lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them also how he was forced to fight with a Lyon, when through king Alexanders fury he was shur vp in his den with him: they smiling to heare him, told him that the king their master had also certaine markes and bitings on his necke, of a wild beaft called Lamia. And to fay truly, it was a wonderfull thing, that marying (as he did) his wife Phila fo much against his will, because she was too old for him, how he was fo rauished with Lamia, and did so constantly loue her so long together, confidering also that she was very old, and past the best. Therefore Demo, sirnamed Mama (as Tin faying much to fay, the madde woman) pleasantly answered Demetrius, asking her one night when of Demotion, asking her one night when Lamia had played on the flute all support ime, what she thought of Lamia? An old woman, O testing king, quoth she. Another time when fruite was serued in after the boord was taken vp: Do you see said Demetrius, how many prety fine knackes Lamia sendeth me : My mother, answered Demo againe, will send you more then these, if you please to lye with her. It is reported of this Lamia, that she ouerthrew Bocchoris indgement in a matter. In AGYFT there was a young manthat had a maruellous fancie vnto a famous curtifan called Thonis: who did aske him such a greatsumme of money to lye with her, that it was vnpossible for him to giue it her. At length, and the this amorous youth being so deepe in soue with her, dreamed one night he lay with her, and enioyedher: for that for the pleasure he tooke by his conceipt and imagination, when he awaked, reserved by his earnest loue was fatisfied. This curtifan whom he had cast fancy to hearing of this his dream, curtifan. didputhim in suite before the Iudges, to be payed her hire for the pleasure the yong man had taken of her by imagination. Bocchoris hearing the fumme of her complaint, commanded the young man to bring before him in some vessell, at a certaine day appointed, as much monv as shedidaske him fortolye with her. Then he bad him to tosse it too & fro in his hand before the curtifan, that she might onely have the shadow and sight of it: for quoth he, imagination The sabelites and opinion is but a shadow of truth. Lamia said, this was no equal indgement: for said she, of Lamia, the shadow onely or the fight of money, did not satisfie the couetousnelle of the curtisan, as renerging the young mans lust was quenched by his dreame. Thus inough spoken of Lamia. But now the misfortunes and gests of him we presently write of, do transport the historie, as from a comicallinto a tragicall theater, that is to fay, from pleafant and light matter, into lamentable and bitter teares. For all the Princes and Kings conspired generally against Antigonus, and ioyned The constiall their force and armies together. Therefore Demetrius departed forthwith out of GRECE, racy of the

did lift up his heart the more. And yet it seemeth to me, that if Antigonus would but have yeel-

ded vp a few trifling things, or that either he could or would have bridled his over immoderate

couetous desire to reigne, he had both kept for himselfe all the time of his life, and also lest

after his death vnto his fonne, the supremest dignity and power, aboue all the other kings

and fuccessours of Alexander. But he was so cruell and so rash of nature, and as infolent and

brane in his doings, as in his words: that thereby he stirred vp and brought vpon him as his

enemics, many great and mighty Princes. For even at that prefent time he faid, that he would

as cafily disperse and scatter asunder that conspiracy against him, as choughs or other little

and came to loyne with his father, whose courage he found more linely and better given to gainst an this warrethen his yeares required: besides that Demetrius coming made him the bolder, and igonus.

birds coming to pecke vp the corne newly fowne, are eafily feared away with a stone or ma king any little noise. So he caried to the field with him, about threescore and ten thousand foot. men, ten thousand horsemen, and threescore and fifteene Elephants. His enemies had three score and foure thousand footmen, and fine hundred horsemen more then he, with foure hun dred Elephants, and fix score carts of war. When the two armies were one neare vnto the other. me thinkes he had some imagination in his head that changed his hope, but not his courage. For in all other battels & conflicts, having comonly vsed to looke big on the matter, to have a lowd high voice, and to vie braue words, and sometime also even in the chiefest of all the battel to give fome pleafant mocke or other, shewing a certaine trust he had in himselfe, and contempt of his c. nemy; then they faw him oftentimes alone and very penfine, without ener a word to any man One day he called all his army together, and prefented his fonne vnto the fouldiers, recommen ding him vnto them, as his heire and fucceffour, and talked with him alone in his tens. Whereat men maruelled the more, because that he never ysed before to impart to any man the secrets of his counfell and determination, no not to his owne fon, but did all things of himfelfe; and then commanded that thing openly to be done which he had fecretly purposed. For proofe hereofit is faid. Demetrius being but a yong man, asked him on a time when the campe should remoue: and that Antigonus in anger answered him, art thou affraid thou shalt not heare the sound of the trumpet: Furthermore, there fell out many ill fignes & tokens that killed their harts. For Dem. trius dreamed that Alexander the Great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and that he asked him what word or fignall of battel they were determined to give at the day of battel; he answer red that they were determined to give Iupiter and Victorie. Then faid Alexander, I will go to thine enemies that shall receive me : and afterwards at the very day of the overthrow, when all their army were fet in battell ray, Antigones coming out of his tent, had fuch a great fall, that he fell flat on his face to the ground, and hurt himfelfevery forely. So when he was taken up, then life ting vp his hands to heaven, he made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would pleafe them to grant him victory, or fudden death without great paine, before he should fee himselfe vanquished and his army overthrowne. When both armies came to joyne, and that they fought hand to hand Demetrius that had the most part of the horsemen with him, went & gaue charge vpon Antiochus the fonne of Seleucus, and fought it out fo valiantly on his fide, that he ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. Buttoo fondly following the chase of them that fled, and out of time, he marred al, and was the occasion of the losse of his victory. For when he returned from the chase, he could not joyne againe with their footmen, because the Elephants were betweene both. Then Selencus perceiving Antigonus battel was naked of horfemen, he did not presently set upon them, but turned at one fide as though he would enuirone them behind, and made them affraid; yet making head as he would charge them, onely to give them leifure to come on their fide, as they did. For the most part of Antigonus hoast did for sake him and yeelded vnto his enemies: the rest of them fled every man. And when a great troupe of me together went with a great fury to give charge on that fide where Antigonus was, one of them that were about him faid vnto him: Your grace had need to take heed, for these men come to charge vs. He answered agains: but how fhould they know me? and if they did, my fon Demetrius will come and helpe me. This was his last hope, and still he looked enery way, if he could see his sonne coming towards him: till at length he was flaine with arrowes, darts and pikes. For of all his friends & fouldiers, there taried not one man by his body, but Thorax of the city of LARISSA in THE SSALY. Now & battel hauing fuch successed as you have heard, the Kings and Princes that had won so noble a victory, as if they had cut a great body into fundry peeces, they deuided Antigonus kingdom among them, and every man had his part of all the provinces and countries which Antigonus kept, adding that vnto their other dominions which they possessed before. Now Demetrius slying with al possible speed that might be, with five thousand footmen, and foure thousand horsemen, he got to the city of Eph B sv s: where every man mistrusted, that being needy of money as he was, he would not sparethe temple of Diana in Ephesys, but would rife all the gold and filter in it. And in contrary manneral fo Demetrius being afraid of his fouldiers, lest they would spoile it against his will, he fuddenly departed thence, and failed towards GRECE, putting his greatest confidence and affiance in the Athenians, because he had left his wife Deidamia at Athens, with ships

and fome money; supposing he could go no whither with better safety in his aduersity, then to

ATHENS, of whose good wils he thought himselfe assured. Wherefore when Ambassadours of

Demetrius first onfet, made Anticchies the Jonne of Seleuces, five. Over rathly chafing the loft bis vi-Hory, and was overceme.

The death of king An-tigonus.

flight.

the Athenian's came vitto him, and found him not far from the He of Cyclades, ashe failed with great speed towards ATTICA, & that they had declared vnto him, he shold for bear to come who their city, because the people had made an ordinance to suffer no mockings to come into The was ATHENS, and that they had fent Deidamia his wife honourably accompained vnto the city of faithfulter MEGARA: then was Demetrius for very anger and passion of mind, cleane out of countenance, although vntill that time he had patiently borne his advertitie, and his heart had never failed ward Dehim. But this nipped him to the heart, when he faw (that contrary to expectation) the ATHE-NIANS had deceived and failed him in his greatest need, and that in his adversitie he found their former friendship counterfeit, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainely appeareth, that the most vicertaine and deceiveable proofe of peoples good-wils and cities towards over great Kings and Princes, are the immeasurable and extreme honours they do vnto them. For fith it is fo. that the truth and certaintie of honour proceedeth from the good-will of those that give it, meonstant the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause friendship. for them to mistrust that the people do it not with good will and from their hearts, considering that for feare they do the felfe same things, which they will also do for loue. Therefore graue and wise Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set up for them, or the tables or divine honours they do decree vnto them, as to regard their owne workes and deeds. and weighing them truly, fo to beleeue and receive their honours for true, or otherwife to reject and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they do accept these immeasurable and extreme honours done vnto them: but those forts chiefly hate them most, that against their wils are forced to do them those honours. Demetrius seeing then how injuriously the ATHENIANS had vied him, and at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them, he modelly fent vnto them onely to make his complaints, and to demand his thips, among the which was that galley of fixteene banckes of oares. The which when he had received, he hoifed faile immediatly towards the straight of PELOPONNESUS, and therefound all things to go against him. For in enery place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or else revolted, and kept them against him. Therefore leaving Pyrrhus his Lieutenant in GRECE, he tooke fea againe, and failed towards CHERRONESVS, and there with the mischieucs he did, and with the spoiles he got in king Lysimachus land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increase, and to be dreadfull to his encmies. But now for Lysimachus, the other kings made no great account of him, neither did they stirre to give him aide, because he was nothing inferiour vnto Demetrius: and for that he was of greater power and possessions then themselves, they therefore were the more affraid of him. Shortly after, seleucus sent unto Demetrius, to require his daughter Stratonice in mariage, notwithstanding that he had a sonne already called Antiochus, by his wife Apama a Persian. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnesse of his estate and kingdome, was able inough to maintaine many successours after him. And furthermore, he considered with himselfe that he should have need of Demetrius alliance, because he saw Lysimachus himselfe match with one of Prolomies daughters, and his sonne: Agathoeles with his other daughter. Demetrius seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, prefently tooke his daughter with him, and failed withall his ships directly towards Syria. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessity to land sometimes, and specially in CILICIA, the which Plistarchus the brother of Cassander kept at that time, being given him by the other kings for his part and portion of the spoile of of cassan-Antigonus, after he was overthrowne. This Plistarchus thinking that Demetrius landed notto der, at that refresh himselfe, but to forrage and spoile, because he would complaine of Seleucus for the alliance he made with their common enemy, without the confent and privity of all the other civia. Kings and Princes confederates, he went purposely vnto his brother Cassander. Demetrius hauing intelligence thereof, suddenly invaded the land, and spoiled as farre as the city of CYNDES, Demetrins and caried away (which he had leavied) twelve hundred talents, which he found yet left of his inadetli fathers treasure: and then with all the speed he could possible he returned to his ships, and hoifed faile. Shortly after his wife Phila also came vnto him. So Seleucus received them all neare vnto the city of OROSSVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without forow or suspition oncof the other. First of all Selencus did feast Demerrius in his tent, in the middest of his campe: and afterwards Demetrius feasted him againe in his galley, with thirteene banckes of oares.

Seleveus maried Stratonice. Demetrins daughter.

The death of Deida mia Demetrius wife. Demetrius marieth Etolomaide, Ptolomies Diffention betwiet De. metrius & Seleucus.

Platost faying of ri-

gainst the

The Ache. nians do reeld voto Demetrius nice of Epifinge of dthen sto keepe ha

Thus they passed many daies together, feasting and rejoycing each with other, being vnarmed and having no fouldiers to waite vpon them; vntill at length Seleucus with his wife Stratonice departed, and took his way with great pompe towards the city of Antioch. Now for Demetring. he kept the prouince of CILICIA, and fent his wife Phila vnto her brother Caffander, to answer the complaints and accusations of Plistarchus against him. In the meane time Deidamia his wife departed out of GRECE to come vnto him: who after she had remained with him a few dayes, died of a sicknesse. Afterwards Demetrius coming againe in fauour with Ptolomy, by Selencus his fon in lawes meanes, he maried his daughter Ptolemaide. Hitherunto Seleucus vied Demetrius very courteoufly, but afterwards he prayed him to deliuer him CILICIA againe, for a fum of mony that he offered him: but Demetrius plainly denied him. Then did Seleucus shew acruell and tyrannicall conetous field: for in anger, and with sierce threats & countenance he asked him the cities of Tyre, and Sidon. But therin me thinks he lacked honesty &civility: as though he that had vnder his obedience and subjection all that which lay betwixt the Indies, & the sease Syria, was in such need and pouerty, that for two cities onely, he should drive his father in law from him, who had sustained so hard and bitter change. But therby he rightly confirmed Platoes faying that he that will be rich indeed, must indeuor himself not to increase his riches, but rather to diminish his couetonsnesse. For he shall neuer be but a begger and needy, whose couetous defire hath no end. This notwithstanding, Demetrius yeelded not for scare, but prouided to replenish the cities with good garrisons to keepe them against him: faying, that though he had bene ouercome ten thousand times more in battell, yet it should never sincke into his head that he should be contented, and thinke himselfe happy to buy Seleucus alliance so deare. On the other fide, being aduertised that one Lachares having spied oportunity when the ATHENIAN'S werein cinill wars one against the other, & that he had ouercome the, & did tyrannically vsurpethego. nernment, he then perswaded himselfe that he might easily win it againe, if he came thither yppon the sudden. Thereupon he croffed the seas with a great sleete of ships, without any dangers but he had fuch a great storme and tempest vpon the coast of ATTICA, that he lost the most part of his ships, and a great number of his men besides. But for himselfe he scaped, & began to make a little warre with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but lost his time, he sent some of his men to gather a number of his ships againe together, and he himselfeinthe meane time went into Peloponnesvs, to lay fiege to the city of Messina, where his person was in great danger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blow with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ran through his cheeke. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subjection againe certaine towns that had rebelled against him. After that, he returned againe into Attica, & took the cities of Elevsin, and of Rhamnus and then spoiled all the country, and took a ship fraught with corne, and hung vp the merchant, that ought it, and the master of the ship that brought it: thereby to terrifie all other merchants, that they should be afraid to bring any more come thither, and so to famish the city, by keeping them from all things necessary for their sustenance; and so it happened. For a bushell of salt was fold at Athens for forty filuer Drachmaes, and a bushell of wheat for three hundred Drach-*30:rowns. mas. In this extreme necessity, the ATHENIANS had but a short ioy for the hundred & fifty galleys they faw neare vnto ÆGINA, the which Ptolomy fent to aide them: for when the fouldiers that were in them faw that they brought vnto Demetrius a great number of ships out of Pelo-PONNESUS, out of CYPRVS, and diverse other parts, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred saile, they weyed their ankers, & fled presently. Then Lachares for sook the city, & fecretly faued himfelf. Now the Athenians, who before had commanded vpon paine of death, that no man should make any motion to the councell, to treate of any peace with Demetrius, they did then vpon Lachares flying, presently open the gates next vnto Demetrius campe, and fent Ambassadors vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but because necessity draue them to it. During this fo hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderfull and strange curus, at the things; but among others, this one is of speciall note. It is reported that the father and son sitting in their house, voide of all hope of life, there fell a dead rat before them from the top of the house, and that the father and sonne fought who should have it to eate. Moreover, that at the felfe same siege the Philosopher Epicurus maintained himselfe and his scholers, by giving them a portion of beanes enery day, by the which they lined. Thus the city of ATHENS being brought vnto this extremitie, Demetrius made his entrie into it, and gaue commandement to

all the citizens, that they should assemble every man within the Theater: where he made them to be compassed in with armed souldiers, and then placed all his guard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came downe himfelf into the Theater, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players vsed to come to play their parts in tragedics, insomuch as § ATHE-NIAN'S were then worse afraid then before: howbeit Demetrius presently pacified their feare, as foone as he began to speake vnto them. For he did not fashion his Oration with a hastie angrie voice, neither did he vse any sharpe or bitter words but only after he had courteously told them their faults & discourtesie towards him, he said he forgaue them, & that he would be their friend Demetrius againe; and furthermore, he caused ten millions of bush: Is of wheat to be given voto them, and stablished such gouernors there, as the people missiked not of. Then Democles the Orator, seeing Athenians, that the people gaue out great shouts of joy in the praise of Demetrius, and that the Orators daily contended in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceed other in preferring new honours for Demetrius, he caused an order to be made, that the hances of Pirkevs and MVNYCHIA should be put into De netrius hands, to vie at his pleasure. This being established by voices of § people, Demetrius of his own prinate authority did place a great garrison within the fort called Mv s Ævm, because the people should rebell no more against him, nor divert him from his other enterprifes. Thus when he had taken Athens, he went to fet vpothe Laced Emonians. But Archidamus king of LACED & MON, came against him with a puissant armie, whom hediscomfited in gainst the battell, and put to flight, by the city of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his Lacedamoarmy, and made an inrode to the city of Sparta, where he once againe ouerthrew the Lace-DEMONIANS in set battell, took 500 of them prisoners, and flue 200: in so much as every man thought he might euen then go to Sparta without any danger to take it, the which had neuer yetbene taken afore by any. But there was neuer king that had so often and sudden changes of Demetrius fortune as Demetrius, nor that in other affaires was ever so often litle, and then great: so suddenfortune. ly downe, and vp againe : so weake, and straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduer sities when fortune turned so contrarie against him, he was wont to cry out vpon fortune, that which Æfchylus speaketh in a place:

Thou feem'st to have begotten me, of purpose for to show Thy force in lifting of me up, me downe againe to throw.

Now againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force Demoirius &kingdome, newes were brought him, first that Lysimachus had taken all his townes from him, which he heldin As IA: and on the other fide, that Ptolomy had won from him all the Realme of CYPRVS, the city of SALAMINA only excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightly befieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman Archilocus speaketh of, who

Didinthe one hand water show,

And in the other fire bestow. For taking him away, and (as it were) the city of Sparta also out of his hands by these dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue won it, she presently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occasion following. After the death of Cassander, Philip who was the cldeft of all his other fonnes, and left his heire and fuccessor in the kingdome of MACEDON, Great diff. reigned no long time oner the MACEDONIANS, but deceassed soone after his father was dead. Gention and The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and wars together; so that the one called An- first for The two other brethren also reli at great variance, and wars together to aid the other named Alexander, called in to aide him the Realme of Macedo, Demetrius and Parrhus, the one out of the Realme of Epirvs, and the other out of Pelopon-after the NEBVS. Pyrrhus came first before Demetrius, and kept agreat part of MACEDON for recom- death of pence of his paines, coming to aide him at his defire: fo that he became a dreadfull neighbour vnto Alexander himselfe, that had sent for him into his countrey. Furthermore, when he was and alexaduertifed that Demetrius did presently vpon the receipt of his letters, set forward with al his army to come to aide him, the yong Prince Alexander was twice as much more amazed and afraid, for the great estate and estimation of Demetrius. So he went to him notwithstanding, and Demetrius received him at a place called DE10N, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were now in so good estate, that praised be the gods he wiles beshould not now need his presence to aide him. After these words the one began to mistrust the other. So it chanced one day, that as Demetrius went to Alexanders lodging where the feast was Demetrius. Hhhh

Demetrius lexander the fon of

Demetrius proclained

Antiochus. the fonne of Selenens maried his sucher in law Strate nice, with good will.

prepared, there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was laid for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should thinke to be merrie at the banket. But Demetrius was nothing abashed at the newes, and onely went a little softlier, not making such hast as he did before, and in the meane time fent to command his Captaines to armetheir men, and to have them in readinesse; and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him (which were a greater number by many then those of Alexanders side) cuery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he arose from the table. By this meanes the men whom Alexander had appointed to affault him, durst not, being afraid of the great trainche had brought with him. Furthermore, Demetrius faining that he was not well at eafe at that time to make merry, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleeue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importance; and prayed Alexander to pardon him, that he could no longer keepe him company, for that he was driven of necessity to depart from him; and that another time they would meete together, with better leifure and liberty. Alexander was very glad to fee that Demetrius went his way out of Mac E-DON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereupon he brought him into THESSALIE, and when they were come to the city of LARISSA, they began againe to feast one another, to intrap each other: the which offered Denetrius occasion to haue Alexander in his hand as he would wish himselfe. For Alexander of purpose would not have his guard about him, fearing lest thereby he should teach Demetrius also to stand upon his guard. Thus Alexander turned his practife for another, vpon himselse: and he was determined not to suffer Demetrius to scape his hands, if he once againe came within danger. So Alexander being bidden to supper to Demetrius, he came accordingly. Demetrius riling from the boord in the middest of supper, Alexander rose also, being afraid of that strange manner, and followed him soote by soote to the very doore. Then Demessias faid but to his warders at the gate, Kill him that followeth me. With those words he went our of the dores, and Alexander that followed him was slaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him said, that Demetrize had preuented them but one day. All that night (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the Macedonians being maruelloufly troubled and afraid of Demetrius great power, when they faw that no man came to affaile them, but that Demetrius in contrarie manner fent vnto them to tell them that he would speake wich them, and deliuer them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be boild againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Now Demetrius needed not to vse many words, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto him: for, because they hated Antipater, as a horrible manqueller and murtherer of his mother, and because they had no better man to preferre, they easily chose Demetrius king of MACEDON, and thereupon brought him backe into MACEDON, to take possession of the kingdome. This change was not misliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their country, for that they yet remembred the traiterous and wicked fact of Cassander against Alexander the Great: for which canse they veterly hated & detelled all his issue & posterity. And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remebrance in their hearts, of the bounty and goodnesse of their grandfather Antipater, Demetrius received the fruit and benefit, for his wife Philaes fake; by whom he had a fon that should succeed him in the kingdome, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. Demetrius having this great good hap and fortune come vnto him, he received newes also that Ptolomy had not onely raised his fiege from the city of SALAMINA where he kept his mother & children straightly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honor, and bestowed great gifts vpon them. On theother fide also he was aduertised, that his daughter Stratonice, who had before bene maried vnto Seleucus, was now maried againe vnto Antiochus, the fonne of the faid Seleucus, and how that she was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high provinces of Asia: and that came to passe in this maner. It chanced that this yong Prince Antiochus (as ione ouercometh all men) became in loue with his mother in law Stratonice, who already had a fonne by Selencus his father. She being yong and paffing faire, he was fo rauished with her, that though he proued all the wayes possible to master his furie and passion that way, yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himselfe to death because he found his desire abhominable, his passion incurable, and his reason vtterly ouercome, he resolued to kill himselfe by litle and litle, with abstinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedie

his griefe, faining to have some secret inward disease in his bodie. Yet could he not so finely cloake it, but that Erafifiratus the Phyfitian eafily found his griefe, that loue, not ficknesse, was Erafifiratus his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. Erafistratus to veleucus, being earnestly bent to find out the partie he loued, he sate by this yong Prince alday long in his chamber; & when any faire yong boy or wife came to fee him, he earneftly looked Antiochus in the face, and carefully observed all the parts of the body, and outward movings, which do commonly betray the fecret passions and affections of the mind. So having marked him diverse times, that whe others came to fee him, what focuer they were, he still remained in one felf state. and that when Stratonice his nother in law came alone or in company of her husband Seleucus to vifite him, he commonly perceived those fignes in him, which Sappho writeth to be in lovers berb fig. (to wir, that his words and speech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rolled to an eare, to and fro, and then a fudden fweat would take him, his pulse would beat fast and rise high, & in the yong prince end, that after the force & power of his heart had failed him, & shewed althese signes, he became Antiothus like a man in an extafie & trance, and white as a kercher:) he then gathering a true coniecture by but these so manifest signes and declarations, that it was only Stratonice whom this yong Prince sancied and the which he forced himselfe to keepe secret to the death, thought that to bewray it to figures and the king it would offend him much, but yettrusting to his great affection & fatherly louche bare tokens of a to his fonce, he ventured one day to tell him, that his fonces ficknesses was no other but love, and latter. withell, that his loue was impossible to be enjoyed, and therfore that he must of necessity die for it was incurable. Seleucus was cold at the heart to heare these newes: so he asked him, What, is he incurable: Yea, Sir, answered the Physician, because he is in love with my wife. Then replied Seleneus againe; Alas Erafifiratus, I have alwaies loved thee as one of my deareft friends, and wouldefithou not now do me this pleasure, to let my son many thy wife, sith thou knowest it well that I have no moe formes but he and that I fee he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not do it your felfe, faid Brafistratus, if he were in love with Stratonice. O, faid Selencusto him again, that it were the wil of the gods, fome god or man could turne his love that way: for mine owne part, I would not onely leave him the thing he loued, but I would give my kingdome also to faue his life. Then Erafifiratus feeing that the king spake the word from his heart, & with abundance of teares, he took him by the right hand, & told him plainly, your grace necdethnot Erafifranis helpe in this. For being father, husband, and king, your felfe also may only bethe Phyfitian, to cure your fons difease. When Selenons heard that, he called an affembly of the people, and declared before them all, that he was determined to crowne his fon Antiochas king of the high provinces of Asia, and Stratonice Queene, to marry them together: and that he was Seleucus perswaded, that his son (who had alwaies shewed himselfe obedient to his fathers will) would business not disobey him in this mariage. And as for Stratonice, if she misliked this mariage, & would not ansieting. consent vnto it because it was no comon matter, then he praied that his friends would persuade her, the fhould think all good and comely that thould pleafe the king; and with all that concerned the generall benefit of the realme and commonwealth. Hercupon Antiochus and Stratonice were maried together. But now to return againe to history of Demetrius Demetrius came by hing. dome of MACEDON & THESSALY by this meanes as you have heard, & did moreover possesses the best part of Peloponnesvs, & on this side the streight, the cities of Megara & Athens. Furthermore heled his army against the Bobotians, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that Cleonymus king of Sparta was come into the city of THEEES with his army, the BOEOTIAN'S encouraged by the faire words & allurement of one Pilis, borne in the city of THESPIS (who at that time bare al the Iway & chiefe authority among (Ithe) they gaue vp their treaty of peace they had begun with Demetrius, & determined to make war. Thereupon Demetrins Went to befrege the city of THERES, & laid his enfignes of battery vnto it in fo much as Cleonymus for feare, stole secretly out of the city. Thereupon the Thebans being also afraid, yeelded themselves vnto Demetrius mercy; who putting great garrisons into the cities, The elay and having leavied a great summe of money of the province, left them Hieronymus the historio- gelded rn. grapher, his Lieutenant and gouernor there. So it appeared that he vied them very courteoufly, to Demeand did them many pleasures, and specially vnto Pisis. For when he had taken him prisoner, he Hierontomus did him no hurt, but received him very courteoufly, and vfed him well: and furthermore, he distributions made him Polemarchus (to wit, campe-master) in the city of The spis. Shortly after these grapher, things were thus brought to paffe, king Lysimachus by chance was taken by another barbarous Lieutenant,

monethly distributed to the foul their wages

Demetrius

gainst Pyr.

Demetrius

Prince, called Dromichetes. Therupon Demetrius, to take fuch a noble occasion offered him, wene with a great army to inuade the country of THRACIA, supposing he should find no man to with. ffand him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soone as Demetrius back was turned, the Boeotians revolted againe from him, & therwithall newes was brought him, that Lysimachus was deliuered out of prison. Then he returned backe with all speed, maruellously offended with the Borotians, whom he found already discomfitted in battell by his son Antigonns, and went againe to lay siege to the city of THEBES, being the chiefe city of all that prouince of Bosotia. But at that present time, Pyrrhus came and forraged all Thessaly, and entred euento the straight of THERMOPILES. Therefore Demetring was constrained to leaue his fonne to continue the fiege at THEBES, whilest he himselfe went against Pyrrbus, who suddenly returned againe into his Realme. So Demetrius lest 10000 footmen, & 1000 horsemen in THES-SALY to defend the country, and returned with the rest of his army to win THERES. Therupon he brought his great engine of battery called Elepolis, against the wal, as you have heard before, the which was thrust forward by litle and litle, with great labor, by reason of the weight & heauines of it: so that it could scant be driven forward two surlongs in two moneths. But the Boso-TIAN'S and the THEEAN'S did valiantly defend themselues: & Demetrius of a malicious mind & desire of reuenge(more oftner then needfull, or to any purpose) compelled his mento go to the assault, and to hazard themselues: so that there were daily a great number of them slaine. Artigonus his son perceiuing it: Alas, said he, why do we thus suffer our men to be slaine and cast away to no purpose: Wherfore Demetrius angrily answered him againe: What needest thou to caree is there any * corne to be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, because men should not thinke he still meant to put others in danger, & durst not venture himselfe, he fought with them, til at length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe arrow-head, that was shot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very ficke, but yet raifed not his fiege, nor remoued his campe, but took the city of THEBES againe by affault: the which being not long before againe replenished with people, was inten yeares spacetwise won & taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a maruellous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his coming in to THEBES: fo that they looked to have received the extremest punishment the vanquished could have, through the iust wrath and anger of the conquerour. Howbeit after Demetrius had put thirteene of themto death, and banished some, he pardoned al the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called Pythia, in the honor of Apollo: and because the Atolians kept all the high waies to bring them vnto the city of DELPHES, in the which of old time they did vie to celebrate those tports aforesaid, he caused them to be kept and solemnized at ATHENS, as in a place where this god in reason should be best honored & reuerenced, because he was patron of the city, & forthat the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. Frothence he returned into Mace-DON, & knowing that it was against his nature to line idly, & in peace, & seeing on the other side also that the Macedonians did him more service, and were more obedient to him in wars,& that in time of peace they grew feditious, full of vanity and quarrels, he went to make war with y ÆTOLIANS: & after he had spoiled & destroyed their country, he left Pantauchus his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. Demetrius himselfe went in the meane time with the rest of his army against Pyrrhus, & Pyrrhus also against him ; but they missed of meeting each with other. Wherupon Demetrius passed further vnto the Realme of Epiros, the which he spoiled & forraged. Pyrrhus on the other fide went on fo far that he met with Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenat, with who he fought a battell, & came to the fword with him: so that he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end Pyrrhus had the vpper hand, put Pantauchus to flight, & flue a great number of his men, and tooke 5000 prisoners: the which was the chiefe ouerthrow of Demetrins, For Pyrrhus wan not the Macedonians ill will fo much for the mischieues and hurts he had done vnto the, as he got himself great fame & renowne with the, because himselfe alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of war in that iourny: for the which he was afterwards had in great estimation among the MACE DONIANS. Now many of them began to fay, that he was the only king of al others, in whom the lively image of the hardines & valiatnesse of Alexander the Great was to be seene: & that all the rest (but specially Demetrius) did but counterfeit his grauity & Princely countenance, like players vp6 a stage, that would counterfeit his countenance & gesture. And to say truly, there was much finenesse & curiosity about Demetrins, to make him a playing stocke in common playes. For some say, that he did not only weare

a great hat with his diademe vpon his head, and was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but also that he did vie to weare certaine wollen shooes on his feete died in purple colour, not woue, but fashioned together like a felt, & guilt vpon it. And Furthermore, he had long hefore caused a cloake to be made of a maruellous rich & sumptuous peece of worke. For youn it was drawn the figure of the world, with flars & circles of headen, the which was not through-It was drawning in Garcon the world, with the second as never king of Macedon after him that durft weare it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant kings that succeeded him. Now the with the MACEDONIANS were not only fory, & offended to fee fuch things as they were not wont to be figure of acquainted withall: but they much more misliked his curious maner of life, and specially because he was ill to come to, & worse to be spoken with. For he gaue no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, & would sharply take them vp that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambasfadors of the Athenians two yeares, and would give the no answer & yet made as though he loued them better then any other people of GRECE. Another time also he was offended, because VLACED EMONIANS had fent but one man only Ambassador vnto him, taking it that they had doncitin despite of him. And so did the Ambatsador of the LACED EMONIAN'S answer him verygallantly, after the LACONIAN maner. For when Demetrius asked him, how chanceth it that v LACED EMONIANS do send but one man vnto me? No more but one, said he, ô king, vnto one. The plaine On a time he came abroad more plainly & popular like, then he was wont to do: wherby he put answer of the people in good hope that they might the cafilier speake with him, and that he would more the Ambascurreously heare their complaints. Therupon many came, and put vp their humble supplications Sparta, ruto and bils of petition vnto him. He received them, and put them vp in the lap of his cloake. The Demotrius. poore futers were glad of that, and waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they should quickly be dispatched: but whe he was voon the bridge of the river of Axius, he opened his cloake, and cast with f. them all into the river. This went to the hearts of the Macedonians, who then thought they wereno more gouerned by a king, but oppressed by atyrant; and it grieued them so much the more, because they did yet remember (either for that they had seene themselves, or otherwise heard their forefathers fay) how courteous king *Philip* was in all flich matters, and how that one day as he paffed through the freet, a poore old woman pluckthim by the gowne, and effoones humbly befought him to heare her, but he answered her he was not then at leisure. Whereupon himseourse. the poore woman plainly cried out to him, Leaue thento be king. This word fo needed him, and the bold he tooke fuch a conceit of it, that he returned prefently to his pallace, and fetting all other mattersapart, did nothing else many daies but gaue himselse to heare all sutes, and began with this poore old woman. For truly nothing becometh a Prince better, then to minister instices for Mars Public (as Timetheus faith) fignifieth force, and is a tyrant: but inflice and law, according to Pindarus, is The chie-Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wife Poet Homer faith not that Princes and Kings have felf office of received the custody of engines, and of munition, neither also strong & mighty ships of lipiter, a king. to keepe them to destroy townes withall; but with them to maintaine law & instice. And therefore he calleth northe cruell and bloudy king, but the inft & mercifull Prince, Jupiters friend and scholer. And Demetrius boasted that he had a name and title cotrary to Inpiter, whom they called Policus, or Poliouchos, fignifying protector and preferuer of cities: and that he was called Poliorcetes, a Fort-gainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, and vice preferred for vertue: because he Demerius could not differn the truth from falshood, which turned his iniuftice to glory, & iniquity to honor. But now to returne where we left: Demetrius fell into a great and dangerous ficknesse in the city of Pella, during which time he almost lost all Macedon, by a sudden inuasion Pyrrbus made, who in maner rode it all ouer, and came as farre as the city of Edessa. Howbeit so sone as he recoucred health againe, he easily draue him out, and afterwards made peace with him, because he would not fighting with him (whom he should have daily at his doores still skirmifling fometime here, fometime there) lose the oportunity, and weaken himselfe to bring that to passe which he had determined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the Realmeshis father had; and befides, the preparation he made was no leffe fufficient then the purpose of such an imagination required. For he had leauied & assembled an army of source Demotrius fcore and eighteene thousand footmen: and vnto them he had also well neare 12000 horsemen, preparation & had befieles gotten aboue 500 ships together, which were built part in the hauen of PIR EVS, for there part at Corinth, part in the city of Chalcis, and partabout Pella. He himselfe in person, bis Realine went through their worke-houses, and shewed the artificers how they should make them, and agains. Hhhhh3

Ptolemies

Three kings Ptolomy, & Lyfimachus conspired against L'einetrins.

did helpe to deuise them: so that every man wondered not only at his infinite preparation, but at the greatnesse and sumptuousnesse of his works. For at that time there was no man lining thateuer saw agalley of fifteene or sixteene bankes of oares. But this is true, that afterwards Ptolomy, furnamed Philapater, built a galley of fortie bankes of oares, the which was 280 cubits long, and from the keele in height to the top of the poope, 48 cubits: and to looke to the tackle and guide her, did require 400 mariners, and 4000 watermen to row her, and befides all that, she could yet cary about the hatches, wel-neare 3000 fighting men. Howbeit this galley neuer ferued to other purpose but for shew, and was like to a house that neuer stirred; and it was neuer remoued out of the place where it was built but with maruellous ado, and great danger, more to make men wonder at, then for any seruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now the beauty of Demetrius ships did nothing hinder their swiftnesse & goodnesse for fight, neither did the huge. nesse of their building take away the vse of them; but their swiftnesse and nimblenesse described more commendation, then their sumptuousnesse and statelinesse. Thus as this great power and preparation was in hand, being fuch as neuer king before fince the time of Alexander the Great) had affembled a greater to inuade As 1A, these three kings, Ptolomy, Selencus, and Lysimachus, did all ioyne together against him. And afterwards also, they sent Ambassadors vnto Pyrrhus in the name of them all, to draw him to their fide, alluring him to come into Macedon, perfivading him not to repose any trust in the peace Demetrius had made with him, to make account of it as a good and fure peace : for, they faid that Demetrius did not give him pledge that he would neuer make warre with him, but rather first tooke oportunity himselfe to make warre with whom he thought good. Pyrrhus confidering fo much, and finding their words true, there rofe a sharpe and cruell warre on enery side against Demetrius, who tracted him, and stayed yet to begin. For at one selfe time, Piolomic with a great fleere of ships came downe into GRECE, and made all GRECE revolt from him and Lylimachus allo on THRACIAES fide, and Pyrrhus vpon the borders of Epirvs, confining with the realme of Macedon, they entred with a great army, and spoiled and sacked all as they went. Thereupon Demetrius leaving his son Antigonus in GRECE, he returned with all possible speed into Macedon, to go first against Lysimachus. But as he was preparing to go against him, newes were brought him that Pyrrhus had already taken the city of BERBHOEA. This newes being blowne abroad amongst the Macedonians, all Demetrius doings were turned top sieturuie. For all his campe was straight full of teares and complaints, and his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him, so that they would tary no longer, but enery one prayed leane to depart, pretending to looke to their businesseathome, but in truth to go and yeeld theinselves vnto Lysimachus. Wherefore Demetrius thought it best for him to get him as far from Lysimachus as he could, and to bendall his armic against Pyrrhus: because the other was their countreyman, and familiarly knowne among the most of them, for that they had served rogether under Alexander the Great, and that as he thought, the Macedonians would not preferre Pyrrhus a stranger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him: for as soone as Pyrrbus had pitched his campe hard by him, the Mace-DON IANS that had euer loued valiantnes, and had of ancient time efteemed him worthier to be king that was the best soldier and valiantest in the field; and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency and courtefie he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they having had goodwill of long time, fought but good occasion to forsake Demetrius, and to yeeld themselves vnto Pyrrbus, or to any other Prince what socuer he were. Then they secretly began to steale away oneafter another, by small companies at the first: but afterwards there rose such a generall tumult against him throughout all the campe, that some of them were so desperate to go into his tent to bid him flie, and faue himselse, because the Macedonians were too wearie with fighting for his curiofity. And yet Demetrius found these words more gentle, and modest, in respect of the vile and cruell words which others gave him. So he went into his tent, and cast a blacke cloake about his face, in stead of his rich and stately cloake he was wont to weare, not like vnto a king, but like a common player when the play is done; and then secretly stole away. When this was knowne in the campe, many of his fouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and cuery man tooke fuch hold of it to have his part, that they tare it in peeces, and drew their swords to fight for it. But Pyrrhus comming in the middest of the tumult, pacified this stirre, and presently without blow giuen, wan all Demetrius campe: and afterwards he deuided the Realme of Mace Don with Lysimachus, in the which Demesrius had quietly reigned the space of seuen yeares. Now Demetrius

Demetrius ar ay for a. and goeth

Demetrius being thus miserably ouerthrowne, and turned out of his realme, he fied vnto the city of CASSANDRIA. There he found his wife Phila, who tooke it maruellous heavily, and could notabide to fee him againe a private man, driven out of his kingdome, and the most miserable king that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, and detefling the fortune of her husband, the being more constant in calamitie then in prosperity, killed Phila, Deher selfe with poy son she tooke. Demetrius went from thence into GRECE, purposing to gather metrius together the rest of his shipwracks: and there assembled all his Captains and friends that he had. Soit seemeth to me, the comparison Menelaus maketh of his fortune, in one of the Tragedies of selfe. Sophocles, in these verses:

Demetrius firange fore

My state doth turne continually about on Fortunes wheele, Whose double dealing diverse times enforc't I am to feele: Resembling right the Moone whose face abideth at no stay Two nights together but doth change in shape from day to day. At first sherifeth (mall with hornes; and as in age she growes, With fuller cheekes and bigger light a greater face the thewes. And when she cometh to the full, and shineth faire and bright, Among the goodly glistering stars the goodliest in the night: She fades and fals away againe, and runnes a counter-pace, Vntill she have foregone the light, and figure of her face.

This comparison might (I say) much better be applied vnto Demetrius fortune, to his rising and falling, and to his ouerthrow and reliefe againe. For when every man thought his force & power vtterly ouerthrowne, then began he to rife againe by repaire of foldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and straight reuiued him with good hope. This was the first time that he was euer feene meanely apparelled, like a private man vp and downe the country, without fome shew ortokens of a king. And there was one that feeing him in this estate at THEBES, pleasantly applied these verses of Eurypides vnto him:

Of god immortall now become a mortall wight:

Ismênus bankes and Dirces streames he haunteth in our sight.

Now when he began to have fome hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high buspingle. way of kings, and had gotten foldiers about him, which made a body and thew of royall power, hereftored the THEBANS their liberty and government againe. But the ATHENIANS once more revolted from him, and did revoke the dignity and Priesthood of Diphilus, who had bene that yeare created Priest of the fautours, in stead of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we have told you before; and made a law, that from thenceforth the ancient and common Gouernours of their city should be restored against to their ancient maner: and they fent also into MACEDON vnto king Pyrrhus, rather to terrifie Demetrius (whom they faw begin to rife againe) then for any hope they had he would come and helpe them. Howbeit Demotrius came against them with great fury, and did straightly besiege the city of ATHENS. Then the ATHENTAN'S fent Crates the Philosopher to him, (aman of great estimation & authority,) who fo handled him, partly by intreatic, and partly also through his wife perswasions and delinerate counfels he gaughing for his profit, that Demetrius prefently raifed his fiege. Wherefore, after Aidis from he had gathered together fo many ships as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thousand Demotrius footmen, and a small number of horsemen, he presently tooke sea, and failed towards As 1A, meaning to take the provinces of Caria and Lydia from Lyfinachus, and to make them to rebell against him. There Euridice, sister to his wife Phila, received him by the city of MILETVM, having with her one of Ptolomies daughters and hers, called Ptolemeide; the which had bene afore affianced to him by Seleucus meanes. So he maried Prolemaide there, with the good will and Prolemaide. consent of her mother Euridice. After his mariage he presently went into the field againe, and did fet forwards to winne fome cities, whereof many willingly received him, and others he tooke by force. Amongs them he tooke the city of Sandis, whither came diverse Captaines vnto him of king Lysimachus, who ycelded themselues, and brought him a great number of men and much money befides. But Demetrius receiving advertisement that Agathocles, Lysimachus fonne, followed him with a great army, he went thence into Phryota, making account, and also hoping, that if he could win Ar MENIA, he might easily make MEDIA rebell, & then that he would fee if he could conquer the high provinces of Asia, where he might have many places Hhhhh4

Demetrius troubles in of refuge, if fortune turned against him. Agathocles followed him very nearc, and yet skirmish. ing diverse times with him, Demetrius alway had the better: howbeit Agathocles did cut off his victuals from him eucry way, and kept him at fuch a streight, that his men durst no more stray from the campe to forrage: wherefore they fustained great want of victuals, and then began his men to be afraid, and to mistrust that he would make them follow him into ARMENIA and ME-DIA. The famine daily increased more and more in his army, and it chanced besides, that mis fing his way, and failing to gage the foord well as he passed ouer the river of Lycus, the fury and force of the river caried his men downe the streame, and drowned a great number of them; and yetnotwithstanding these great troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entrie and coming in to his tent, the first verse of the Tragedy of Oedipus Colonian, written by Sophocles, changing onely fome word:

Plazue,by

Patrocles firrethup against Demetring.

Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus, To what a point hast thou now caried vs? But in the end, the plague began also in the middest of this famine (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessity it should be so) because that men being driven to need and necessity, doe framethemselues to eate all that comes to hand; whereupon he was driven to bring backethose few men that remained, having loft of all forts (good and bad) not fo few as eight thousandfully told. When he came into the province of TARSVS, he commanded his men in no cafe to meddle with any thing, because the countrey was subject vnto king Selencus, whom he would in no wife displease. But when he saw it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to fuch extremity and need, and that Agathoeles had bard up the streights and passages of mount Taurus against him, he wrote a letter vnto Seleucus, first declaring his miserable state & hard fortune: and then presenting his humble petition and request vnto him, prayed him to take pitie vpon his friend, whom spitefull fortune had throwne into such miserie and calamity that could not but moue his greatest enemies to have compassion of him. These letters somewhat softened Seleucus heart, infomuch that he wrote to his Gouernours and Lieutenants of those parts, to furnish Demetrius person with all things needfull for a Princes house, and victuals sufficient to maintaine his men. But one Patrocles, a grave wife man accounted, and Seleveus faithfull friend alfo, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine Demetrius foldiers, was not the greatest fault he made therein, and most to be accounted of: but that he did not wisely looke into his affaires, to fuffer Demetrius to remaine in his country, confidering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprife any matters of great importance; and now he was brought to fuch despaire and extremity, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowards, (contrarie to their nature) to be most desperate and hardie in greatest dangers. Selenens being moued with these perswasions, presently took his journy into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius being aftonied with this fodaine change, and dreading fo great an army, got. him to the strongest places of mount Taurus. Then he sent vnto Selencus, first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereabours, who lived according to their own lawes, and neuer had king: to the end that he might yet there with safety end the rest of his life and exile, fraying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly, if that liked him not, then that it would yet please him to victuall his men for the winter time onely, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard hearted vnto him as to drive him thence, lacking all needfull things, and fo to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall enemies. But Seleucus mistrusting his demand, sent vnto him that he should winter if he thought good, two moneths, but no more, in the country of CATAONIA, fo he gaue him the chiefest of his friends for hostages: howbeit in the meane time he stopped vp all the waies and passages going from thence into Synia. Demeirius now feeing himselfe kept in of all sides, like a beast to be taken in the toyle, he was driven to trust to his owne strength. Thereupon he overranne the country thereabouts, and so often as it was his chance to have any skirmish or conslict with Scleucus, he had euer the better of him: and fometime also when they draue the armed carts with fithes against him, he ouercame them, and put the rest to slight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the passages to keepe him that he should not goe into Syria, and so kept them himselse. In fine, sinding his mens hearts lift up againe, and pretily encouraged, his heart also grew so bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with Selenens, and to fer all at fixe and feuen. So that Seleucus was at a straight with himselfe, and wish not what rodo. For he had returned backe the aide which Lysimachus sent vnto him, beca use he was afraid of him, & mistrusted him. On the other side also he durst not fight with Demetrius alone. being afraid to venture himselfe with a desperate man and also mistrusting much his vnconstant Deserate fortune, the which having brought him to great extremity, raifed him vp againe to great prof.

The meane force Demetrius fell into a great ficknesses the which becomes to be found, as the found, as petity. But in the meane space Demetrius fell into a great sicknesse, the which brought his body with very weake and low, and had almost veerly ouerthrowne his affaires. For his soldiers, some of them yeelded themselues to his enemies, and others stole away without leaue, and went where they lifted. Afterwards when he had hardly recoursed his health, and within forty daies space was pretily growneto strength againe, with those few soldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his enemies, that he would go and invade CILICIA: but then suddenly in the night without founding any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went another way; and having paffed ouer mount Amanus, he spoiled the countrey under it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTI- Amanus ca. But Selencus followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereupon Demetrius fodaincly armed his men, and went out by night to affault Seleucus, and to take him fleeping when he mi- Demerius frusted nothing. So that Selencus knew nothing of his stealing on him, but late enough, vntil that of his real certaine traitors of Demetrius campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertife him, finding him afleepe, and brought him newes of the danger he was in. Then Seleucus in a maze and feare withall, got vp, and founded the alarme; and as he was putting on his hofe and making him ready, he seless by cried out, (speaking to his friends and familiars about him) We have now a cruell & dangerous sight. beast to deale with. Demetrius on the other side perceining by the great stir and noise he heard in the enemies camp, that his enterprise was discouered, he retired againe with speed, and the next morning by breake of day, Seleneus went and offered him battel. Demetrius prepared himselfe to ioune with him, and having given one of his faithfull friends the leading of one of the wings of his army himselfe led the other, and ouerthrew some of his enemies on his side. But Seleucus in the midst of the battell lighted from his horse, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, & went to the first rankes of his army, to make himself knowne vnto Demetrius men: perswading them to yeeld themselues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that hehad fo long time deferred to give them battell, rather to faue them, then to ipare Demetrius. Demetrius foldiers hearing him fay fo, they did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him Demetrius for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. Demetrius having fundry times before proved fo many fookehim, changes and ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to escape this last also, and to passe it ouer, he and resided fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certain straights of y mount Amanus. There he found themselves certaine litle thick groups, where he determined to fray all hight with certaine gentlemen of his house, and a few other of his houshold servants and officers which had followed him: meaning, freeliften if he could possible to take his way towards the city of CAVNVs, to go to that sea coast, hoping to heare of his ships there. But when it was told him, he had no victuals nor provision left but only to serue him that day, he began then to deuise some other way. At length one of his familiar friends Sofigenes came vnto him, that had foure hundred pecces of gold about him in his girdle. So hoping that with the same money he might flie to the sea, they tooke their way by night directly to the top of the mountaine. But when they perceived that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them, they then despaired to passe any farther, lest they should be seene. So they turned to the selfe same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remained also any life in them, as before. So one amongst the rest tooke vpon him to say, that there was no other way to escape, but to put Demetrius into Selencus hands. Demetrius therewithall drew out his fword, & would have flaine him felfe: but his friends about him would not fuffer him, but perfwaded him to yeeld Demerius himselse vnto Selencus. Thereupon he sent vnto Selencus, to tell him that he yeelded himselse vnto him. Selenens was fo joyfull of the newes, that he faid, it was not Demetrius good fortune misselest that faued him, but his owne: who besides many other happie good turnes she had done him, gaue him yet fo honourable occasion and good hap, as to make the world to know his elemencie and courtefie. Thereupon immediatly he called for his Officers of houshold, and commanded them to fet up his richest paulion, & to prepare althings meet to receive him honorably. There was one Appolonides a gentleman in Selencus court, who fometime had bene very familiar with Demetrius: him Seleucus fent immediatly vnto Demetrius, to will him to be of good cheare, and not to be affraid to come vnto the king his master, for he should find him his very good friend.

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rall loue of Antigonus to his father

Demetrius captinity into pleas

The death of Denie-Cherrone-

So soone as the kings pleasure was knowne, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meet him but afterwards, enery man strined who should go meete him first, because they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of, and grow in credit with Selencus. But hereby they turned Seleucus pitic into enuie, and gaue occasion also to Demetrius enemies and spitefull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and dangers, faying, that certainly fo foone as the fouldiers faw him, there would grow great stirre and change in their campe. And therefore, shortly after that Apollonides was comeynro Demetrius, being glad to bring him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good newes from Selencus; & that Demetrus himselfe after so great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to have yeelded his body into his enemies hands) changed his mind at that time, and beganthento grow bold, and to haue good hope to recouer his state againe: behold there came one of Seleucus Captaines called Paufanias, accompanied with a thousand footmen and horsemen in all, who compassed in Demetrius with them, and made the rest depart that were come vnto him before; having charge given him not to bring him to the Court, but to convey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whither he was brought, & cuer after had a strong garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwife, Selencus fent him officers, mony, and all things else meete for a Princes house; and his ordinary fare was so delicate, that he could wish for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of liberty and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his horse in, and also pleasant walkes. and goodly arbours to walke or fit in, and fine parkes full of beafts where he might hunt: moreoner, the king suffered his owne houshold servants that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other vnto him from Seleucus, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that fo foone as Antiochus and Stratonice were come, they would make fome good agreement and peace between them. Demetrius remaining in this state, wrote vnto his son Antigonus, and to his friends and Lieurenants which he had at CORINTH and ATHENS, that they should give no credite to any letters written in his name, though his scale were to them: but that they should keepe the townes they had in charge for his fon Antigonus, and all the rest of his forces, as if he himselfe were dead. When Antigonus heard the pitifull captinity of his father, he marnellous grieuously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for forrow, & wrote vnto all the other kings, but vnto Scleucus specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, & that he was ready to yeeld vp al that he kept, to hauchis fathers liberty. The like request did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but Lysmachus: who promised Selencus a great summe of mony to put Demetrius to death. But Seleneus, who of long time had no great fancie to Lysimachus, but rather vtterly despised him, did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made vnto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, because he would have Demetrius delivered by his some Antiochus and Stratonices meanes, for that Demetrius should be bound to them for his deliucrie, and for euer should acknowledge it to them. Now for Demetrius, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, To did he daily more and more forget the misery he was in. For first of all, he gaue himselfe to riding and hunting, as far as the place gaue him liberty. Then by litle and litle be grew to be very groffe, and to giue ouer such pastimes, and therewithall he fell vnto drunkennesse and dicing: so that in that fort he passed away the most part of his time (as it should seeme) cither to avoide the grieuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was sober; or else vnder colour of drunkennes and eating, to shadow the thoughts he had: or else finding in himselfe that it was that manner of life he had long defired, and that through his vaine ambition and folly till that time he could neuer attaine vnto; greatly turmoyling and troubling himselfe and others, supposing to find in warres, by sea and land, the selicity and delight which he had found in case and idlenesse, when he neither thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better end can cuill and vnaduised kings and princes looke for, of all their troubles, dangers, and warres? who indeed deceine themselues greatly, not onely for that they sollow their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicity, in stead of vertue and honest life: but also, because that intruth they cannot be mery and take their pleasure as they would. So Demetrius after he had bene shut vp in Cherronesvs three yearestogether, by ease, grossenesse, and drunkennes, fell fick of a disease whereof he died, when he was foure & fiftie yeares old. Therfore was Seleneus greatly blamed, and he himselfe also did much repent him that he so suspected

himas he did, and that he followed not Dromichetes curtesie; a barbarous man borne in Thra-CIA, who had fo royally and courteoufly intreated Lysimachus, whom he had taken prisoner in the warres. But yet there was some tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his son An- The fanetigonus vnderstanding that they brought him the ashes of his body, he took sea with all his ships, rale of Deand went to meete them, to receive them in the Ifles: and when he had received them, he fet vo the funerall pot of gold (in the which were his embers) vpon the poope of his Admirall galley. So all the cities and townes whereby they passed or harboured, some of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others also sent a number of menthither in mourning apparell, to accompany and honour the conuoy, to the very folemnity of his funerals. In this fort failed all the whole fleet towards the city of Corinth, the pot being plainely seene farre off, standing on the top of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged with purple; and ouer it, the Diademe or royall band; and about it, also were goodly young men armed, which were as Pensioners to Demetrius. Furthermore, Xenophantus the famousest Mustian in that time, being set hard Xenophantus by it, played a fweet and lamentable fong on the flute, wherewithall the oares keeping stroke mounts. and measure, the found did meete with a gallant grace, as in a control where the mourners doe Gian. knock their breasts at the foot of every verse. But that which most made & people of Corinth to weepe and lament, which ran to the peere, and all along st the shore side to see it, was Antigomus, whom they faw all beblubbered with teares, apparelled as a mourner in blacks. Now after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and no legayes, and cast them ypon the funcrall pot, and had solemnized al the honours possible for the funerals at Corinth, Antigonus caried away the pot to burie it in the city of Demetrize the which bare the name of Demetrize that was dead, and was a new city, that had bene replenished with people, and built of little townes which are about Io Loos, Demetrius left two children by his first wife Phila, to wit, Antigonus and Stratonice: and two other fonnes, both of them named Demetrius, the one furnamed Demetrius the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, & the other, king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife Ptolemaide: policity. and another by Deidamia called Alexander, who lived in Egypt. And it is reported also, that he had another fonne called Corrhebus, by his wife Euridice, and that his posterity reigned by succession from the father to the sonne, vntill the time of Perfers: who was the left king of MACE- Perfern the DON, whom the ROMAINE'S OUCTCAME by P.ulus Amylius, and wan all the realme

of Macedon unto the Empire of Rome. Now that the Macedon 1-An hath played his part, gine the Romaine also leave to come vpon the stage.

The end of Demetrius life.

laft king of came of the 16 Sterity of Demetrius



THE LIFE OF Marcus Antonius.



Actonics parentage. Because that by his death be ended the war which hee nfortunat. ly made a gamft thofe of Creta. The libera litte of An. tonius fa-

NTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whom Maringflue because he tooke Syllaes part. His father was another Antenius surna. med*CRETAN, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthic, and therefore his wife would not let him vie his liberality and franke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to pray him to helpe him to fome money, bauing great need, Antonius by chance had no money to give him, but he

commanded one of his men to bring him fome water in a filuer bafin; and after hee had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an arrand for his man to fend him out, and gaue his friend the filuer basin, and bade him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great stirre in the house among the servants, seeking our of this filter baffer. Informuch as Antonius feeing his wife maruelloufly offended for it, and that the would examine all her feruants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it, at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Inlia, of the noble house and family of Iulius Casar: who for her vertue and chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. Marcus Antonius was brought vp vnder her, being maried after her first husbands death, vnto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Gethegus and others, for that he was of Catilines confpiracie against the Commonwealth. And this feemeth to be the original cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate Antonius bare vnto Cicero. For Antonius selfe saith, that he would never give him the body of his sather in law to burie him, before his mother went first to intreate Gierroes wife: the which vindoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied buriall to none of them whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth, he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a dissolute man, giuen ouer to all lust and insolencie, who to have Antonius the better at his commandement, trained him on into great follies, and vaine expenses ypon women, in rioting and banquetting: fo that in short time, he brought Antonius into a martiellous great debt, and too great for one of his yeares, to wit, of two hundred and fiftie talents, for all which fumme Cario was lds furctie. His father hearing of it, did put his fonne from him, and forbad him his house.

by Cario.

Tuliathe

mother of

M Ante

ANTONIVS.

Then he fell in with Clodins, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in ROME. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stirre & mischiefe in Rome: but at length he for fooke him, being wearie of his rashnesse and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left ITALY, and went into GRECE, and there bestowed the most part of his time, somtime in wars, and otherwhile in the findie of eloquence. He vied a maner of phrase in his speech, called Asiaticke, which caried the beft grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners & life; for it was full of oftentation, foolish brauery, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there fome time, Gabinius Proconfull going into Syria, perswaded him to go with him; Antonius told him he would not go as a private man: wherefore Gabinius gave him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him fratenius with him. So, first of all he sent him against Aristobulus, who had made the IE vv Es to rebell, and wasthe first man himselfethat got up to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue Aristobulus out rader Gaof all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he ouercame all the IEVVE's infet battell, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the fivord; and furthermore, ing install tooke Aristobulus himselfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards Ptolomy king of Agypr, that had bene driven out of his country, went vnto Gabinius to intreat him to go with his army with him afti against into AGYPT, to puthim again into his kingdome; and promifed him if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to go thither, and Gabinius himselfe made it dainty to enter into this warre, although the couetous fresse of these 10000 talents fluck forcly with him. But Antonius that fought but for oportunity and good occasion to dobling pri attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratiste Ptolomies request, he went about to perswade Gabinius to gothis voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go to come to the city of Perverva, then they feared any danger of the war belides: because they were to passe through deepe sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marishes through, which are called the marishes Serbonides, which the AGTPTIANS call the exhalations or fume, by the which the giant Typhon breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red fea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So Antonius was sent before into A Gyp T Antonius with his horfemen, who did not onely win that passage, but also tooke the city of PELVSIVM adding. (which is a great citie) with all the fouldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it Gabinus. fafe for all the rest of the army, and the hope of the victory also certaine for his Captaine. Now did the enemies themselves seele the fruites of Antonius courtesie, and the defire he had to winne honour: for when Ptolomy (after he had entred into the city of PELVSIVM) for the malice he bare vnto the city, would have put all the ÆGYPTIANS in it to the fword, Intenius with stood him, and by no meanes would fuffer him to do it. And in all other great battels and skirmifles which they fought, being many in number, Amonius did many noble acts of a valiant and wife Capiaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giving them the victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had fuch honorable reward, as his valiantnesse descrued. So was his great courtesse also much commended of all, the which he curtesse you flewed vnto Archelans: for having bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will to drebelan while he lined; but after his death he fought for his body, & gaue it honorable burial. For these respects he wan himselfe great same of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the fouldiers in the Romains camp. But befides all this, he had a noble prefence, Actorius and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house; he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooked nofed, and there appeared fuch a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly feene in Hercules pictures, stamped or grauen in mettall. Now it had bene a speech of old time, The house of that the family of the Aniony were descended from one Anion the son of Hercules, whereof the Aniony the family tooke name. This opinion did Antonins seeke to confirme in all his doings: not only refembling him in the likenesse of his body, as we have said before, but also in the wearing of sules. his garments. For when he would openly shew himselfe abroad before many people, he would alwaies weare his caffockegirt downelow vpon his hippes, with a great fword hanging by his fide, and vpon that, some ill-fauored cloake. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in othermen, as to boalt commonly, to ieft with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to fit with the fouldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them fouldierlike, it is incredible what wonderfull loueit wan him amongst them. And furthermore, being

of hortemen

giuen to loue, that made him the more defired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should mer. rily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advancement, was his liberality, who gaue all to the fouldiers, and kept nothing for himfelfe. and when he was growne to great credite, then was his authority and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himselfe did ouerthrow by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example only of his wonderfull liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer that kept his mony, to give a friend of his five audtwenty Myriades, which the Romaines call in their tongue, Decies. His cofferer maruelling at it, and being angry withall in his mind brought him all this money in a heape together, to shew him what a maruellous masse of mo. ny it was. Antonius feeing it as he went by, asked what it was: the cofferer answered him. It was the mony he willed him to give vnto his friend. Then Antonius perceiving the spite of his man, I thought (faid he) that Decies had bene a greater fumme of money then it is, for this is bur atrifle: and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the Romains maintaining two factions at Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate did joyne with Pompey being then in Rom E and the cotrary fide taking part with the people, fent for Cafar to aide them, who made wars in Gay L B: then Curio, Antonius friend, that had changed his garments, and at that time tooke part with Cafar, whose enemy he had bene before, he wanne Antonius; and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit & fway he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent tongue, and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which Cafar gaue him: that Ann. nius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtherance to Cafars practifes. For so soone as Antonius became Tribune, he sid oppose himselfeagainst those things which the Consull Marcellus preferred (who ordained that certaine legions which had bin already leavied and billed, should be given vnto Cneus Pompey, with further commiffion and authority to leavie others vnto them) and fet downe an order, that the fouldiers which were already leauied and affembled, should be fent into Syria for a new supply vito Marcus Bibulus, who made warre at that time against the PARTHIANS. And further, gaue a prohibition that Pompey should leavy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompeys friends and followers would not fuffer C.e fars letters to be received, and openly read in the Senate, Antonius having power and warrant by his person, through the holinesse of his Tribuneship, did reade them openly, and made diverse men change their, minds: for it appeared to them that Cafar by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of confideration vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Cafar should leave their army, there were few of the Senators that thought it meete Pompey should leave his army, but they all in manner commaunded Calar to do it. Then Antonius rifing vp, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Cafar, both, should leaue their armies. Thereupon all the Senators iountly together gaue their whole consent, and with a great crie commending Antonius, they prayed him to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Confuls would not allow of that. Therfore Cafars friends preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Confuls draue Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grieuous curses against him. After that, he tooke a slaues gowne, and speedily fled to Casar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hired coach, When they came to Casar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand ouer head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their mindes; and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as stood with law and instice. Hercupon Cafar went incontinently into ITALY with his army, which made Cicero fay in his Philippides: That as Hellen was cause of the warre of Troy, so was Antonius the author of the ciuill wars; which indeed was a starke lie. For Cafar was not so fickle headed, nor so casily cariedaway with anger, that he would fo suddenly have gone and made warre with his countrey, vpon the fight onely of Antonius and Casiius, being fled to him in miserable apparell, and in a hired coach, had he not long before determined it with himselfe. But fith indeed Casar looked of long time but for fome colour, this came as he wished, and gaue him inst occasion of warre. But to fay truly, nothing else moved him to make war with all the world as he did, but one selse cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him, to wit, an insatiable desire

Air tanias Tribune o the people, dittonius acts for Ca-

Antonius flieth from Rome vato

Citero reproued for lying.

Alexander. Carus, and to reigize.

ANTONIVS. 915 torcigne, with a senslesse couetousnesse to be the best man in the world; the which he could not celars and come vnto before he had first put downe Pompey, and veterly overthrowne him. Now after that bition the Cafar had gotten Rome at his commandement, & had driven Pompey out of ITALY, he purposed of the of the of the of the first to go into Spain against the legions Pompey had there and in the meanetime to make prouisson for ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Prætor, gouernor of Rom E and Antonius that was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the fouldiers. & of ITALY. Then was Antonius straight maruellously commended & beloued of the souldiers, because he commonly exercised himself among them, and would oftentimes cate and drink of staly no. with them, and also be liberall vnto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary maner, to Antonius he burchased diversother menseuill wils, because that through negligence he would not doe them inflice that were injured, and dealt very churlifhly with them that had any fuite vnto him; view. and besides all this, he had an ill name to intice mens wives. To conclude, Casars friends that gouerned vnder him, were cause why they hated Casars gouernment (which indeed in respect of himself was no lesse then a tyranny) by reason of the great insolencies and outragious parts that were committed; amongst whom Antonius that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faults, described most blame. But Casar notwithstanding, when he returned from v wars of Spain, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardie man, and a valiant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefest affaires, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the Ionian sea vnto BRYNDY SIVM, being but flenderly accompanied, and fent vnto Antonius and Gabinius, that they should imbarke their men as sooneas they could, and passe them ouer into Macedon, Gabinius was afraid to take the sea, because it was very rough, and in the wintertime; and therfore fetched agreat compasse about by land. But Antonius fearing some danger might come vnto Casar, becanse he was compassed in with a great number of enemies, first of all he draue away Libo, who rode at anker with a great armie before the hauen of BRVNDVSIVM. For he manned out fuch a number of pinnaces, barkes, and other small boates about euery one of his galleys, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into ships 20000 footmen, and 800 horsemen, and with Antonius this army he hoised saile. When the enemies saw him, they made out to follow him: but the sea rose so high, that the billowes put back their galleys that they could not come neare him, and so my at Brithescaped that danger. But withall he fell vpon therockes with his whole fleete, where the sea dusum, and wrought very high, fo that he was out of all hope to faue himselfe. Yet by good fortune, suddenly the wind turned South-west, and blew from the gulfe, driving the waves of the river into the maine sea. Thus Antonius loofing from the land, and failing with safety at his pleasure, boneafter he saw all the coasts full of shipwracks. For the force and boisterous nesses wind did cast away the galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splitted, and divers also cast away; and Antonius tooke a great number of them prisoners, with a great fumme of money also. Besides all these, he tooke the city of Lyssys, and brought Cesara great supply of men, and made him couragious, comming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot skirmishes and encounters, in the which Antonius fought so Antonius valiantly, that he caried the praise from them all:but specially at two seucral times, when C. esars manhoed in menturned their backes, and fled for life. For he stepped beforethem, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: fo that the victory fell on Cafars fide. For this cause he had the second place in the campe among the fouldiers, and they spake of no other man vnto Cafar, but of him: who shewed plainely what opinion he had of him, when at the last battell of PHARSALIA (which indeed was the last triall of all, to give the conquerour the whole Empire of the world) hehimselfe did leade the right wing of his army, and gaue Antonius the leading of the left wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest fouldier of all those he had about him. After Casar had won led the less the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey steppe by steppe: howbeit, before he named Antonius Generall of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. The Generall of 41 Phatsa. the horsemen is the second office of dignity, when the Dictator is in the city: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefest man, and almost the onely man that remaineth, and all the other officers and magistrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dola- The dignity bella being at that time Tribune, and a young man defirous of change and innovation, hepre-of the Gensferred a law which the Romaines call Nouas tabulas (as much to fay, as a cutting off and can-

Diffention betwixt Antonina

Antonius ble life.

Antonius laid up his Gomacke before the whole af. fembly. Antonius infolencie.

Celarand Confuls. Antonius buyeth Popeys honfe.

Antonius maried Ful-Bia, Clodius widdow. Fuluia ruled Antoniand abroad.

then to make bookes of daily receipt and expence, and perswaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common people) to aide him to passe this law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissiwaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his wife, and tooke such a conceit of it, that he thrust his wife out of his house, being his cosin germane, and the daughter of C. Antonius. who was Confull with Cicero; and ioyning with Afinius, he refifted Dolabella, and fought with him. Dolahella had gotten the market place, where the people do affemble in councell, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this law of the New tables to patle by force. Antonius by commandement of the Senate, who had given him authority to leavie men, and to vie force against Dolabella, went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slaine on both fides. But by this meanes he got the ill will of the common people; and on the other fide, the noble men (as Cicero faith) did not onely mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feasts he made at vnseasonable times, and his extreme wastfull expences vpon vaine light huswines; and then in the day time he would sleepe or walke out his drunkennesse, thinking to weare away the fume of the abundance of wine which heliad taken ouer night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and maske; and himselfe passed away the time in hearing of foolish playes, and in marrying these players, tumblers, iesters, and fuch fort of people. As for proofeher of it is reported, that at Hippias mariage, one of his iefters, he drank wine fo lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people affembled in councell, who had fent for him, he being quafie stomacked with his surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay vpall before them, and one of his friends held him his gover in stead of a basin. He had another pleasant player called Sergius, that was one of y chiefest men about him, and a woman also called Cytheride, of the same profession, whom he loued dearly; he caried her vp and downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, and had as many men waiting vpo her litter (she being but a player) as were attending vpon his own mother. It grieued honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the country he caried with him a great number of cupboords full of filuer and gold plate openly in the face of the world, as it had benethe pompe or shew of some triumph: & that eftsoones in the middest of his journy he would set up his hals and tents hard by some greenegroue or pleasant river, & therehis cooks should prepare him a sumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lions were harnessed in trases to draw his carts; and besides also, in honest mens houses in the cities where hecame, he would have common harlots, curtizans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieued men much, to see that Casar should be out of ITALY following of his enemies, to end this great war with such great perill & danger, and that others in the meane time abufing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outragious parts vpon their citizens. This methinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against Casar increase more and more, and layed the reines of the bridle vpon the souldiers neckes, whereby they durst more boldly commit many extortions, cruckies & robberies. And therfore Cafar after his returne pardoned Dolabella, and being created Confull the thirdtime, he tooke not Intenius, but chose Lepidus his colleague and fellow Confull. Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to openfale, Antonius bought it : but when they asked him mony for it, he made it very strange, and was offended with them, and writeth himselfe that he would not go with Cefar into the warres of Africks, because he was not well recompenced for the service he had done him before. Yet Cafar did somewhat bridle his madnesse and insolencie, not suffering him to passe his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therfore he left his dissolute maner of life, and maried Fuluia that was Clodius widow, a woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and housewivery; and was not contented to master her husband at home, but would also rule him in his office abroad, and commanded him that commanded legions and great armies: fo that Cleopatra was to give Falmathankes for that she had taught Antonius this obedience to women, that learned so well to be at their commandement. Now, because Fuluia was somewhat sowre and crooked of condition, Antonius deuised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed : and therefore he would play her many pretie youthfull parts to make her merry. As he did once, when Cafar returned the last time of all conquerour out of Spaine, every man went out to meete him, and so did Antonius with the rest. But on the sudden there ranne a rumour through ITALIE, that Casar was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereupon he returned with speed to

 R_{OME} and tooke one of his mens gownes, and fo apparelled came home to his houle in a darke night, faying, that he had brought Fuluia letters from Antonius. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowne; but fhe taking the matter heavily, asked him if Antonius were well. Antonius gaue her the letters, and faid neuer a word. So when she had opened the letters, and began to reade them, Antonius ramped on her neck, & kiffed her. We hauetold you this tale for examples fake only, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Now when Cafar was returned from his last warre in Spain Ball the chiefest nobility of the city rode many daies journy from Rome to meete him, where C. far made maruellous much of Antonius aboue all the menthat came vnto him. For he alwaies tooke him into his coach with him throughout al ITALY, and behind him Brutus Albinus and Octavius the fonof his Neece, who afterwards was called Cafar, and became Emperor of Rom = long time after. So Cafar being afterwards cliosen Confull the fift time, he immediatly chose Antonius his colleague and companion: & defired by deposing himselfe of his Consulship, to make Dolabella Consuls in his roome, and had already streams, moued it to the Senate. But Antonius did froutly withfrand it, and openly reuiled Dolabella in conjuts. the Senate, and Dolabella also spared him as litle. Thereupon Casar being assamed of the matter. he let it alone. Another time also when Cafar attempted againe to substitute Dolabella Consull in his place, Antonius cried out, that the fignes of the birds were against it: so that at length Cafar was compelled to give him place, and to let Dolabella alone, who was marvelloufly offended with him. Now in truth, Cafar made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that Celar answered one that did accuse Antonius and Dolabella unto him for some matter of conspiracie: Tush said he, they be not those fat fellowes and fine combed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by Brutus and Casius, who afterwards conspired his death, and flue him. Antonius vnwares afterwards gaue Cefars enemies infloccation and colour surviving todo as they did: as you shall heare. The ROMAINE s by chance celebrated the feast called Lupercalia, and C.ofar being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was fet in the Tribune where they vie to make their Orations to the people, and from thence did behold the fport of the runners. The maner of this running was thus: On that day there are many yong men of noble house, and thosespecially that be chiefe officers for that yeare, who running naked vp & down the city, annointed with the oile of olive, for pleasure do strike them they meet in their way, with white leather though they have in their hands. Antonius being one among therest that was to run, leaving the ancient ceremonies and old customes of that followinity, he ran to the Tribune where Custar was set, & caried a laurell crowne in his hand, having a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient marke and token of a king. When he was come to Cafar, he made his fellow runners with him lift him vp, and so he did put his laurel crowne vpon his head, Antonias fignifying thereby that he had deferued to be king. But Cafar making as though he retufed it turned away his head. The people were foreioyced atit, that they al clapped their hads for ioy, An. dixime tonius againe did put it on his head: Cafar again refused it; and thus they were strining off & on a programming did put his lawel grown with him a few of his following bead. great while rogether. As oft as Antonius did put this laurel crown vnto him, a few of his followers reioyced at it: and as oft also as Casar refused it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they suffered all things subjects should do by commandement of their kings; and yet they could not abide the name of a king, detesting it as the vtter destruction of their liberty. C. far in a rage arose out of his seate, and plucking downe the coller of his gown from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This laurell crowne was afterwards put upon the head of one of C. clars statues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt off. The people liked his doing therin fo wel, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit Casar did turne them out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for Brutus and Cassus to conspire his death, who fell into a co- Brutus and fort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprise, but yet stood doubtfull whether they frie Cesare should make Antonius pring to it or not. Althe rest liked of it, fauing Trebonius only. He toldthe, death. that when they rode to meet Cafar at his returne out of Spaine, Antonius & he alwaies keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind a far off-but Antonius finding his meaning, would hearken no more vnto it, & yet not with standing neuer made Cefar acquainted with consultation this talke, but had faithfully kept it to himselfe. After that they consulted whether they should about the kill Antonius with Cafar, But Brutus would in no wife confent to it, faying, that venturing on fuch murther of an enterprise as that, for the maintenance of law and instice, it ought to be cleare from al villany. with cefar:

gainft best

Antonius ma'cub rp vere among the people, for the mutther of Ce.

Cafais wife

Charenites. why so cal-

Lif . Antonius Confull. Cains Antomas Pre-Lucius Antonies Tribune, all.

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Variance betwiet Antonius and Offa. uius Cafars beire voto Jains Cafar

Yet they fearing Antonius power, & the authority of his office, appointed certaine of the confoin racy, that when Cafar were gone into the Senate, & while others shold execute their enterprise they should keep Antonius in a talke out of the Senate house. Euen as they had deuised these marters, so were they executed; and Casar was flaine in the middest of the Senate. Antonius being pur in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, & hid himselfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers flue no man els, & that they went only into the Capitoll, he fent his son vnto them for a pledge, and bade them boldly come down vpon his word. The felf fame day he did bid Cassius to supper, and Lepidus also bad Brutus. The next morning the Senate was affembled, and Antonius himself preferred a law, that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint provinces vnto Cassius and Brutus: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancell none of Cafars lawes. Thus went Antonius out of the Senate more praised & better esteemed then euer man was, because it seemed to euery man that he had cut off all occasion of civill wars, & that he had shewed himself a maruellous wise governour of the commonwealth, for the appearing of these matters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceiued of himfelfe after he had a little felt the good wil of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himselfe the chiefest man if he might ouercome Brutus, did cafily make him after his first mind. And therefore when Cafars body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funerall Oration in comendation of Cofar, according to the ancient custome of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad & defirous also to heare Cafar spoken of, & his praises vetered, he mingled his Oration with lamentable words; & by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their hearts & affections vnto pitie & compassion. In fine to conclude his Oration, he vnfolded before the whole assembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their fwords, & called the malefactors, cruell and curfed murtherers. With thefe words he put the people into fuch a fury, that they presently tooke Casarsbody, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables & formes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke firebrands, and ran to the murtherers houses to set them on fire, & to make them come out to fight. Brutus therfore & his accomplices, for fafety of their persons were driven to slie the city. Then came all Calars triends vnto Autonius, & specially his wife Calpurnia putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her mony into his house, which amounted to § sum of 4000 talents; & furthermore brought him all Cafars books and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done & ordained. Antonius did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, & by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were prisoners: and then he faid, that all those things were so appointed and ordained by Cafar. Therefore the ROMAINES mocking them that were so moned, they called them CHARO-NITES, because that whethey were ourcome, they had no other help but to say, that thus they were found in Cafars memorials, who had failed in Charons boate, and was departed. Thus Antonius ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consull, and Caius one of his brethren Prætor, and Lucius the other, Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, Octauius Cafar the yonger came to Rom E, who was the fon of Iulius Cafars Neece, as you have heard before, & was left his lawfull heire by will, remaining at the time of the death of his great volle that was flainc, in the city of Apollonia. This yong man at his first arrivall went to salute Antonius, as one of his late dead father Cafars friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire:and withall, he was prefently in hand with him for mony and other things which were left of trust in his hands; because Cafar had by will bequeathed vnto the people of Rome threescore and fifteene filuer Drachmaes to be given to every man, the which he as heire stood charged withall. Antonius at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very yong, and faid, he lacked wit, and good friends to aduife him, if he looked to take fuch a charge in hand, as to vndertake to be Cafars heire. But when Antonius saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the ready money, then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when Octavius Cafar began to meddle with the dedicating of the chaire of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour Cafar with, he threatned to fend him to prison, and moreover defisted not to put the people in an vprore. This young Cafar feeing his doings, went vnto Cicero and others, which were

Matonius

Antonius enemies, and by them crept into fanour with the Senate: and he himselfe sought the Ottomius peoples good will cuery manner of way gathering together the old fouldiers of the late deceafed C.efar, which were dispersed in diners cities and colonies. Antonius being affraid of it, talked friendship with Octavius in the Capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night Antonius had a with cuere. frange dreame, who thought that lightning fell ypon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that Cafar lay in waite to kill him. Cafar cleared himselfe vnto him and told him there was no fuch matter: but he could not make Antonius beleeue the contrarie. friends. Whereupon they became further enemies then euer they were: infomuch that both of them drame. made friends of either fide to gather together all the old fouldiers through ITALY, that were difoersed in divers townes: and made them large promises, and soughtalso to win the legions on their fide, which were already in armes. cicero on the other fide being at that time the chiefeft man of authority and estimation in the city, he stirred up all men against Autonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young Cafar Anionial Screeants to cary axes before him, and fuch other figns as were incident to the dignity of a Cofull or Prætor: and moreouer, sent Hircius and Pansa, then Confuls, to drive Antonius out of ITA - the Senate. LIE. Thefe two Confuls together with Cafar, who also had an army, went against Antonius that Hirdin and belieged the city of ModenA, and there overthrew him in battell: but both the Confuls were fail. flain there. Antonius flying vpon this ouerthrow, fell into great mifery alatonice but the chiefest Antonius want of alother, & that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, energing was famine. that by patience he would ouercome any aductifity, and the heatier fortune lay vpon him, the bythe city more constant showed he himself. Every manthat feeleth want or adversity, knoweth by vertue of Medena. and discretion what he should do:but when indeed they are overlaid, with extremity, and be fore patient in oppreffed, few haue the hearts to follow that which they praife and commend, and much leffe to advertise. anoid that they reproue & mislike: but rather to § contrary, they yeeld to their accustomed eafielife, and through faint heart. & lacke of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the fouldiers, to fee Antonius that was brought vp in al bardnesse in bardnesse in finenefic & superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to cate wild fruits & roots: & more-adversity, over it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barkes of trees, and such mounts that a constant of the superfluity. beafts as neuer man tasted of their stell before. Now their intent was to joyne with the legions ding his first beinging up that were on the other fide of the mountains, vnder Lepidus charge: whom Antonius tooke to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Castars hand, through his meanes. When hewas come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him : and when he faw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter himselfe, and to go vnto Levidu. Since the ouerthrow he had at Modena, he fuffered his beard to grow at length and neuer clipt it, that it was maruellous long, & the haire of his head also without combing and besides al this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this fort came hard to the trenches of Lepides camp. Then he beganto speake vnto the fouldiers, & many of them their hearts yerned for pity to see himfo poorely arrayed, and fome also through his words began to piry him: infomuch that Lepidas began to be affraid, and therefore commanded all the trumpers to found together to ftop the fouldiers eares, that they should not hearken to Autonius. This notwith standing, the fouldiers tooke the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius and Lelius meanes, whom they fent vnto him difguifed in womens apparell, and gaue him counfell that he should not be affraid to enter into their camp, for there were a great number of fouldiers that would receiue him, and kill Lepidus, if he would fay the word. Antonins wold not fuffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a foord, at a litle river that ran betweene them; and himfelfe was the formost manthat tooke the river to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus campe that gaue him their hands, plucked vp the stakes, and layed slat the bancke of their trench to let him into their camp. When he was come into their camp, and that he had al the army at his commandement, he vsed Lepidus very courteously, imbraced him, and called him fa- Antonius ther and though indeed Intonius did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue Lepidus pidus amis the name and honor of the Captaine. Munacius Planeus, lying also in campe hard by with an ar- from him. my, vnderstanding the report of Antonius curtesic, he also came and joyned with him. Thus Antonius being a foot againe, and growne of great power, repassed ouer the Alpes, leading into IT A-Lie with him seuenteene legions, & ten thousand horsemen, besides sixe legions he lest in gar- Variansarrison among the Gavies, vider the charge of one Varius, a companion of his that would then. Tiii4

The confpiracie and

The profeription of

cruelty vn.

Lucius Casars life sa ned by his Ofter. Antonius riot in his Triumai -The praise of Pompey the Great.

drinke lustily with him, and therefore in mockerie was firnamed Cocylon, to wit, a bibber. So o. Etauius Cafar would not leane to Cicero, when he faw that his whole trauell and indeuor was on. ly to restore the commonwealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to Antonins, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together (to wit, Cafar, Antonius, and Lepidus) in an Iland enuironed round about with a litle river, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were eafily agreed, and did deuide tonius, and all the Empire of Rome betweene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yetthey could hardly agree whom they would put to death; for enery one of them would kill their enemies, and faue their kinsemen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy defire to be reuenged of their enemies, they spurned all reuerence of bloud, and holinesse of friendships their feet. For Cefar left Cicero to Antonius will, Antonius also for sooke Lucius Cefar, who was his vncle by his mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own brother Panlus. Yet some writers affirme, that Cafar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slaine, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnaturall, and crueller change then this was. For thus changing murther for murther, they did as well kill those whom they did for sake and leaue vnto others, as those also which others left vnto them to killbut so much more was their wickednesse and cruelty great vntotheir friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After this plot was agreed vpon betweene them, the fouldiers that were thereabouts, would have his friendship & league betwixt them confirmed by mariage, and that Cafar should mary Claudia, the daughter of Fuluia Antonius wife. This mariage also being agreed upon, they condemned 300 of the chiefest citizens of Rome, to be put to death by profeription. And Antonius also comanded the to whom he had given commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the inucctive Orations (called Philippides) against Antonius. So when the murtherers brought him Ciceroes head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with greatioy, and laughed hartily, & that oftentimes for the greatioy he felt. Then when he hadtaken his pleasure of the fight of them, he caused them to be set up in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations (where when he was aline, he had ofte spoken to the people,) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his own fortune, shewing himselfe (to his great shame and infamy) a cruell man, and vnworthy the office and authority he bare. His vncle Lucius Cafar alfo, as they fought for him to kill him, & followed him hard, fled vnto his fifter. The murderers coming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, she stood at her chamber doore with her armes abroad, crying out fill: You shal not kill Lucius Cafar, before you first kill me, that bare your captaine in my wombe. By this meanes she saued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of these Triumuiri grew odious & hatefull to the Romaines, for divers respects; but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder then Cesar, & of more power and force then Lepidus, gaue himfelf againe to his former riot & excesse, whe he left to deale in the affaires of the comonwealth. But fetting afide the ill name he had for his infolency, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, & ciuill life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieued them to see the gates comonly shut against the Captains, Magistrates of the city, & also Ambassadors of strange nations which were fometimes thrust from the gate with violence; and that the house within was full of tumblers, anticke dancers, iuglers, players, iesters, and drunkards, quasfing and guzling; and that on them he bestowed the most part of his mony he got by alkind of possible extortions, bribery & policy. For they did not only fell by the cryer the goods of those whom they had outlawed and appointed to murder, flander oufly deceived the poore widowes & yong orphanes, & also raifed alkinds of imposts, subsidies and taxes: but vnderstanding also that the holy Vestall Nuns had certain goods and mony put in their custody to keep, both of mens in the city, & those also that were abroad, they went thither, and tooke them away by force. Octavius Cafar perceiving that no mony would ferue Antonius turne, he prayed that they might deuide the mony between them, and so did they also denide the army, for them both to go into MACEDON to make war against Brutus and Casius: and in the meane time they left the gouernment of the city of Rome vnto Lepidus. When they had paffed ouer the feas, and that they began to make war, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius, and Casar against Brutus, Cosar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the first battell

Cefar was overthrowne by Brutes, and loft his campe, and very hardly faued himselfe by flying The rabate from them that followed him. Howbeithe writeth himselse in his Commentaries, that he fled remiss as before the charge was given, because of a dreame one of his friends had. Antonius on the other gainst Bru. fide ouerthrew Cassus in battel, though some write that he was not there himselfe at the battel. but that he came after the ouerthrow, whileft his men had the enemies in chafe. So Cassius at his The death of earnest request was slaine by a faithfull servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had infranrhifed: because he knew not in time that Brutus had ouercome Casar; Shortly after they fought another battel againe, in the which Brutus was overthrowne, who afterwards also slue himselfe. Thus Antonins had the chiefest glory of this victory, specially because Casar was sicke at that rime. Antonius having found Bratus body after this battell, blaming him much for the murtheret Brunn flat of his brother Caiul, who he had put to death in MACE DON for revenge of Ciceroes cruel death. bimfly. and vet laying the fault more in Hortensius then in him, he made Hortensius to be flaine on his brothers tombe. Furthermore he cast his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and sumptu- Antonius ous) vpon Brutus body, and gaue commandement to one of his flaues infranchifed, to defray vcharge of his buriall. But afterwards Antonius hearing that his infranchifed bondman had not mie Brusst burnt his coat-armour with his body because it was very rich, and worth a great summe of money, and that he had also kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall and tombe, he also put him to death. After that, Casar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor escape the ficknessehe had: Antonius on the other fide went towards the East provinces and regions to leavie money; and first of all he went into GR B B C B, and caried an infinite number of foldiers with him. Now, because enery fouldier was promised fine thousand filuer Drachmaes, he was driven of necessity to impose extreme tallages & taxations. At his first coming into GREECE, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the GRECIANS, but gaue himselfe only to heare wife men diffute, to fee playes, & also to note the ceremonies & facrifices of GRBCE, ministring instice to enery man; and it pleased him maruellously to heare themcall him Philellen. Automis (as much to fay, Alouer of the GRECIANS) and specially the ATHENIANS, to who he did ma- great court nygreat pleasures. Wherfore the MEGARIANS, toexceedy ATHENIANS, thinking to shew An- Greet. tonius a goodly fight, they prayed him to come and fee their Senate house, and councel hall. Antonius went thither to fee it. So whe he had feene it at his pleafure, they asked him: My Lord, how like you our hall. Me thinkes (quoth he)it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore he tooke measure of the temple of Apollo Pythias, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into As I A having left Lucius Cenforinus Gouernor in GREECH, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to wait at his gate for his coming out; and that Queenes and Princelles to excell one another, gaue him very rich prefents, and came to fee him, curioufly fetting forth themfelues, and vfing all are that might be to shew their beauty, to win his fauour the more: (Cafar in the meane space turmoiling his wits and body in civill wars at home, Antonius living merily and quietly abroad) he eafily fell again to his old licentious life. For straight, one Anaxerora player of the citherne Xoutus a player of the flute, Metrodorus a tumbler, and Tuch a rabble of ministrels and fit ministers for the pleasures of As IA (who in finenesse & flatteric passed at the other plagues he brought with The plagues him out of ITALY) all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway; and after that, all went of nations awry. For enery one gaue themselves to riot and excesse, when they saw he delighted in it; and all Asia was like to the city Sophocles speaketh of in one of his Tragedies:

> Was full of sweet perfumes, and pleasant songs; Wish wofull weeping mingled there amongs.

For in the city of EpHESVS, women attired as they go in the feafts & facrifice of Bacchus, came out to meete him with fuch folemnities and ceremonies, as are then yied: with men and children difguifed like Fawnes and Satyres Moreouer, the city was full of Juie, and darts wreathed about with Iuie, platterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their fongs they called him Bacchus father of mirth, courteous and gentle: and so was he vnto some, but to the most part of men, cruell and extreme. For he robbed Noblemen and Gentlemen of their goods, to give it vnto vile flat- Antonia terers: who oftentimes begged living mens goods, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gaue a citizens house of MAGNESIA vnto a cooke, because (as it is reported) he dreffed him a fine supper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and imposed a second vpon As 1 A. But then Hybras the Orator fent from the estates of As 1 A, to tel him the state

Hybreas words veto Antonius touching their great of mony vis to him.

Antonius fimplicity.

Antonise

Antonia patra whom he fent for

The man. derfull fiep tuous nesse of Cleopatra, Queene of AEgypt, going onto Antonius. Cyanus fl.

of their country, boldly faid vnto him : If thou wilt have power to lay two tributes in one years vpon vs. thou shouldest also have power to give vs two Sommers, two Autumnes, and two Har. uests. This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken vnto Antonius by the Orator, and it pleased him well to heare it: but afterwards amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: As 1A hath payed thee two hundred thousand talents. If all this mony be not come to the coffers, then ask account of them that leavied it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we veterly vndone. Hybreas words netled Antonius roundly. For he vnderstood not of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authority, in his treasure and affairs:not so much because he was carelesse, as for that he over simply trusted his men in al things. For he was a plaine man, without fubrilty, and therfore ouer late found out the foule faults they committed against him but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confesse it vnto them whom his officers had done iniurie vnto by countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceed more in giuing, then in punishing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly v. fed, mocking and flouring of every man, that was remedied by it felfe: for a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was as wel contented to be mocked, as to mocke others. but yet it oftentimes marredall. For he thought that those which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, wold neuer flatter him in good carnest in any matters of weight. But thus he was easily abused by the praises they gaue him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flatterievnder this familiar & plain maner of speech vnto him, as a fine deuice to make difference of meats with sharpe & tart fauce; and also to keepe him by this frantick leasting & bourding with himse the table, that their common flatterie should not be troublesome vnto him, as men do easily mislike to haue too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely therby, when they would giue him place in any matter of weight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and vinderstood not so much as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extremest mischiefe of all other (to wir. the lone of Cleopatra) lighted on him, who did waken and stirvp many vices yet hidden in him. & were neuer seene to any : and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, Cleapatra quenched it straight, and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. Antonius going to make war with the PARTHIANS, sent to command Cleopatrato appeare personally before him when he came into CILICIA, to answer vnto such accusations as were laid against her, being this: that she had aided Cassius and Brutus in their war against him. The messenger sent vnto Cleopatra to make this summons vnto her, was called Dellius, who when he had throughly confidered her beauty, the excellent grace and fweetnesse of her tong, henothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a Lady, but rather assured himself, that within few daies she should be ingreat fauour with him. Therupon he did her great honor, and perfwaded her to come into CILICIA, as honourably furnished as she could possible; and bad her not to be affraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that she had ener feene. Cleopatra on the other fide beleening Dellius words, and gueffing by the former accesse and credit she had with Iulius Casar, and C. Pompey (the son of Pompey the Great) only for her beauty, she began to have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For Casarand Pompey knew her when she was but a yong thing, and knew not then what the world meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a womans beauty is at the prime, and she also of best iudgement. So she furnished her selfe with a world of gifts, store of gold & silver, and of riches and other sumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring fro so great a house, and from so wealthy & rich a realme as Æ GYPT was. But yet she caried nothing with her wherin she trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and inchantment of her passing beauty and grace. Therefore when she was sent vnto by diverse letters, both from Antonius himselfe, and also from his friends, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus; the poope whereof was ofgold, the failes of purple, and the oares of filuer, which kept stroke in rowing after the found of the musicke of stutes, howboyes, eithernes, vials, and such other instruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the person of her selfe, she was layed under a paulion of cloth of gold of tiffue, apparelled and attired like the goddeffe Venus, commonly drawne in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as Painters do set foorth

god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind voon her. Her Ladies and Gentlewomen alfo, the fairest of them were apparelled like the Nimphes Nereides (which are the Myrmaides of the waters) & like the Graces, some stearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweet sauour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes fide, peftered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all along the river fide others also ranne out of the city to see her coming in So that in the end, there ranne fuch multirudes of people one after another to fee her, that Antonius was left post alone in the market place, in his Imperiall seate to give audience: and there went a rumour in the peoples mouthes, that the goddeffe Venus was come to play with the god Bacchus for the generall good of all Asia. When Cleopatra landed, Antonius sent to inuite her to supper to him. But she fent him word againe he should do better rather to come and Suppe with her, Antonius therefore to shew himselfe courteous vnto her at her arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to support o her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that The sump no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinit number of lights and torches hanged on the toppe of the house, giving light in every place, so artificially the suppers fer and ordered by deuices, some round some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that of Cleopatra eye could discerne, or that euer bookes could mention. The next night, Antonius feasting her, nins. contended to paffe her in magnificence and fineneffe : but she ouercame him in both. So that he himselfe began to scorne the grosse service of his house, in respect of Cleopatraes sumptuousnesse and finenesse. And when Cleopatra found Antonins icasts and flents to be but groffe, and fouldier like, in plaine maner, she gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet such as y- cleepatraes pon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweet was her company and conversation. that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her curteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a spur that prickedto the quick. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were maruellous pleasant: forher tong was an instrument of musick to divers sports and pastimes, the which she casily turned into any language that pleased her. She spake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter but made them answer her felf, or at the least the most part of them: as the ÆTHIOPIANS, the ARA-BIANS, the Troglodytes, the HEBREVVES, the Syrians, the MEDES, & the PARTHIANS, &to many others also, whose languages she had learned. Wheras divers of her progenitors, the kings of ÆGYPT, could scarce learne the ÆGYPTIAN tongue only, and many of them forgot to speake the MACEDONIAN. Now Antonius was so rauished with the love of Cleopatra, that though his wife Fuluia had great wars, and much ado with Cafar for his affaires, and that the army of the PARTHIANS (the which the kings Lieutenants had given to the onely leading of Labienus) was now affembled in Mesopotamia, ready to inuade Syria: yet (asthough all this had nothing touched him) he yeelded himselfe to go with Cleopatra vnto ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and loss in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle passimes, the most precious thing a man can spend, (as Antiphon saith) and that is, Time. For they made an order betweenethem, which for pp by they called Amimetobion, (as much to fay, No life comparable and matchable with it) one fea- antonius sting each other by turnes, and in cost, exceeding all measure and reason. And for proofe hereof, Thaue heard my grandfather Lampryas report, that one Philotas a Physitian, borne in the city of Amonius Amphissa, told him, that he was at that present time in Alexandria, and studied Phisicke: and Cleopaand that having acquaintance with one of Antonius cookes, he tooke him with him to Antonius gypt. house, (being a yong man desirous to seethings) to shew him the wonderfull sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchin, and faw a world of diversities of meats, and amongst others, eight wild bores rosted whole, he began to wonder at it, and said: Eight wild Sure you have a great number of guests to supper. The cooke fell a laughing, and answered him: boares roa-No (quoth he) not many guests, nor aboue twelue in all: but yet all that is boiled or roasted must be served in whole, or esse it would be marred straight; for Antonius peraduenture will sup presently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath drunke well today, or else hath had some other great matters in hand: and therefore we Philitian do not dreffe one supper only, but many suppers, because we are vncertaine of the house he will borne in suppein. Philotas the Physician rold my grandfather this tale, and faid moreouer, that it was Amphissa. his chance shortly after to serve the eldest sonne of the said Antonias, whom he had by his thin sail.

Philozes. Phisitian to the yonger aturanias. Philotas Cubtill pro posttion.

Plate wri. tesh of foure Antterie. Cleopatra Sucene of all flatte -

AEZYPE.

The wars of Lucias Antonisa, and Zainft Octa-

wife Fuluia; and that he fate commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chanced one day there came a Physitian that was so full of words that he made every man wearie of him at the boord: but Philotas to stoppe his mouth, put on this subtill proposition to him: It is good in some fort to let a man drinke cold water that hath an ague: But enery man that hath an ague, hath it in some fort: Ergo, it is good for every man that hath an ague to drink cold water. The Physitian was fo grauelled & amated with all that he had not a word more to fay. Yong Antonius burft out into fuch a laughing at him, and was fo glad of it, that he faid vnto him: Philotas, take all that, I giue it thee: shewing him his cupboord full of plate, with great pottes of gold and filuer. Philolas thanked him, and told him he thought him selfe greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would never have thought that he had had power to hauegiuen fo many things, and offogreat value. But much more he maruelled, when fhortly after one of yong Antonius men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him fet his marke and stampe vponthem, and to lock them vp. Philoias returned the bringer of them fearing to be reproued if he tooke them. Then the young Gentleman Antonius faid vnto him. Alas poore man, why doeft thou make it nice to take them; knoweft thou not that it is the some of Antonius that gives them thee, and is able to do it! if thou wilt not beleeve me, take rather the ready mony they come to: because my father peraduenture may aske for some of the plate. for the anticke & excellent workmanship of them. This I have heard my grandsather tell often. times. But now againeto Cleopatra, Plato writeth that there are four kinds of flatterie: but Cleo. pura deuided it into many kinds. For the (were it in sport, or in matters of earnest) still deuised fundry new delights to have Antonius at commandement, never leaving him night norday, nor once letting him go out of her fight. For the would play at dice with him, drinke with him. and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or activitie of body. And sometime also, when he would go vp and downethe city disguised like a slauein the night, and would peere into poore mens windowes and their shops, and scold and braule with them within the house, Gleopatra would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble vp and downe the fireets with him, so that oftentimes Antonius bare away both mocks and blowes, Now though most men misliked this maner, yet the ALEXANDRIAN'S were commonly glad of this iolitic, and liked it well, saying very gallantly & wifely: that Antonius shewed them a comicall face to wit, a meric countenance; and the Romaines a tragical face, to fay, a grimmelook, But to reckon up all the foolish sports they made, reuelling in this fort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will onely tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, because Cleopatra stood by. Whereforc he fecretly commanded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight dive under the water, and put a fish on his hooke which they had taken before; and so snatched vp his angling rod, & brought vp a fifth twife or thrife. Cleopatra found it ftraight, yet she seemed not to fee it, but wondered at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her owne people, she told them how it was, & bad them the next morning to be on the water to feethe fishing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fisher boates to feethis fishing. Antonius then threw in his line, and Cleopatra straight commanded one of her mento dive vnder water before Antonius men, & to put some old salt-fish vpon his bait, like vnto those that are brought out of the country of Pont. When he had hung the fifth on his hooke, Amowins thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. Cleopatra laughing alfo, said vnto him: Leaue vs (my Lord) ÆGYPTIANS (which dwell in the country of Pharvs and Canobus) your angling rod: this is not thy profession, thou must hunt after conquering of Realmes and countries. Now Antonius delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from Roms, that his brother Lucius and Fuluia his wife, fell out first betweene themselues, and afterwards fell to open warre with Cafar, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driven to flie out of ITALY. The second newes, as bad as the first: that Labienus conquered all Asia with the army of the PARTHIANS, from the river of Euphrates, and from Syria, vnto the country of Lydia and Ionia. Then began Intenius with muchado, a litle to rouze himselfe, as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe fleepe, and as a man may fay, coming out of a great drunkenneffe. So, first of all he bent himselfe against the Parthians, and went as farre as the country of Phoe-NICIA: but there he received lamentable letters fro his wife Fuluia. Wherupo he straight retur-

ned towards ITALIE, with two hundred faile: and as he went, tooke up his friends by the way that fled out of ITALIE to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife Fulnia was the only cause of this war, who being of a pecuish, crooked, & troblesome nature, had purposely raifed this vprore in Italie, inhope therby to withdraw him from Cleopatra, But by good fortune his wife Fuluia going to meet with Antonius, fickned by the way, and died in the city of Sier- The death ON E and therefore Octavius Cafar and he were the cafilier made friends againe. For when An of Fuluia. tonius landed in ITALIE, and that men faw Cafar asked nothing of him, and that Antonius on the Antonius other fide laid all the fault and burden on his wife Fuluia: the friends of both parties would not fuffer them to vnrip any old matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters worse between them: but they made them friends together, and deuided the Empire of Rome between them, making the fea Ionium the bounds of their division. For they gave all the Pounces Eastward vnto Antonius, press' and the countries Westward vnto Cafar, and left Africke vnto Lipidis: and made a law, that they three, one after another, should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be three the themselves. This seemed to be a found counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter Triumwis. bond, which fortune offered thus. There was Offania the eldeft fifter of Cafar, not by one mo- offania the ther, for the came of Ancharia, and Cafar himselfe afterwards of Accia. It is reported, that he dearely loued his fifter Octavia, for indeed she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband Caius Marcellus, who died not long before and it feemed also that Anionius had bene widower euerfince the death of his wife Fuluia. For he denied norther he kept Cleopatra, neither which was did he confesse that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the love he bare vnto this AGYPTIAN Cleopatra. Thereupon enery man did fetforward this mariage hoping there- mother. by that this Lady octania, having an excellent grace, wildome and honefty, joyned vnto fo rare a beauty, when she were with Antonius (he louing her as so worthy a Lady deserueth) fhe should be a good meane to keepe good love and amity betwixt her brother and him. So when G. efar and he had made the match between them, they both went to Rome about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widow should be maried within ten moneths after Alay at her husbands death. How beit the Senate differifed with the law, and fo the mariage proceeded Rome for accordingly. Sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inrode into I- marying of medical sextus Pompeius at that time kept in Sicilia, and so made many an inrode into Iraty with a great number of pinnaces and other pirates shippes, of the which were Captaines Automias two notable pirates, Menas and Menecrates, who fo foured all the fea thereabours, that none meridan durst peepe out with a faile. Furthermore, Sextus Pompeius had dealt very friendly with Antonius, mis elers for he had courteously received his mother when she fled out of Ir ALY with Fuluia and there- hair fire. forethey thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, upon a hill that runneth farre into the fea: Pompey having his flippes riding hard by end offer atanker, and Antonius and Cafar their armies vponthe shore side, directly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that Sextus Pompeius should have Sicile and Sardinia, with this have mith condition, that he should ridde the sea of all theenes and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, sexual and withall, that he should send a certaine of wheat to Rome of them did seast another, and drew cuts who should begin. It was Pompeius chance to inuite them first. Whereupon Antonius asked him: And where shall we supper. There, faid Pompey, and shewed him his Admirall gallie which had fixe bankes of oares: That (faid he) is my fathers house they have left me. He spake it totaunt Antonius, because he had his fathers house, that was Pompey the Great. So he cast ankers Sextus enow into the fea, to make his gally fast, and then built a bridge of wood to contrey them to his Pembius galley, from the head of mount Mifena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great tauns to cheare. Now in the midft of the feaft, when they fell to be mery with Antonius lone vnto Cleepa. tra, Menas the pirate came to Pompey, and whifpering in his care, faid vnto him: Shall I cut the cables of the ankers, & make thee Lord not only of Sigile & Sardinia, but of the whole Empire Pompting of Rom e befides: Pompey having payfed a while vpon it, at length answered him: Thou shouldest bems off. haue done it, and neuer haue told it me; but now we must content vs with that we haue: as for derival. my selfe, I was never taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted atraitor. The other two also great for did likewise feast him in their camp, & then he returned into Sicile. Antonius after this agreement made, fent Ventidius before into As IA to stay the PARTHIANS, & to keep them they shold faith falls come no further: and he himselse in the meane time, to graitsie Casar, was contented to be cho-resission sen Iulius Cefars priest & facrificer, and so they iointly together dispatched al great matters con-

Antonies told by a footbfater that his farto Octanius Cafars.

Antonius Pofortu male in Sport and earnell, a-

Ventidies

cerning the state of the Empire. But in all other maner of sports and exercises, wherin they past fed the time away the one with the other, Antonius was ever inferior vnto Cafar, and alway loft which grieucd him much. With Antonius there was a Soothfayer or Aftronomer of ÆGYPT, that could cast a figure, and judge of mens nativities, to tell them what should happen to them. He either to please Cleopatra, or else for that he found it so by his art, told Antonius plainly, that his fortune (which of it felfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemished and obfeured by Calars fortune: and therefore he counselled him vtterly to leave his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. For thy Demon, faid he, (that is to fay, the good angell and fpirit that keepeth thee) is afraid of his and being couragious and high when he is alone, becommeth fearfull and timorous when he cometh neare vnto the other. How focuer it was, the cuents enshing proued the AGYPTIAN's words true: for it is faid, that as often as they two drew cuts for pastime, who shold have any thing, or whether they plaid at dice, Antonius alway lost. Oftetimes when they were disposed to see cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another. Cafers cocks or quales did euer ouercome. The which spited Antonius in his mind, although he made no outward shew of it and therfore he beleeved the ÆGYPTIAN the better. In fine, herecommended the affaires of his house vnto C.esar, and went out of ITALY with Octavia his wife who he caried into Grece after he had had a daughter by her. So Antonius lying all the winter at ATHENS, news came vnto him of § victories of Ventidius, who had ouercome the PARTHIANS brods king in battell, in thewhich also were flaine Labienus and Pharnabates, the chiefest Captains king Orodes had. For the legood news he feasted all ATHENS, & kept open house for all the GRECIANS. and many games of price were plaid at Athens, of the which he himself wold be judge. Wherfore leauing his guard, his exes, and tokens of his Empireat his house, he came into the slewplace or lifts (where these games were plaid) in a long gown and slippers after the GRECIAN fashion, and they caried tipstanes before him, as Marshals men do carie before the Judges, to make place: and he himselfe in person was a stickler to part the young men, when they had foughtenough. After that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him agarland of the holy Olive, and caried a vessell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepsydra, because of an Oracle he hadreceiued, that so commanded him. In the meane time, Ventidius once againe ouercame Pacorus(0. motable vi- rodes lon, king of PARTHIA) in a battell fought in the country of CYRRESTICA, he being come Gory of the again with a great army to inuade Syria at which battell was flaine a great number of the Par-The death THIANS, and among them Pacorus the kings owne forme. This noble exploit as famous as ever of Paterus, any was, was a full revenge to the ROMAINES of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of Marcus Crassus: and he made the PARTHIANS flie, and glad to keepe themselves within the confines & territories of MESOPOTAMIA & MEDIA, after they had thrice together bene ouercome in seuerall battels. Howbeit Ventidius durst not vndertake to follow them any farther, fearing left he should have gotten Antonius displeasure by it. Notwithstanding he led his armie against them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongst whom he besieged Antiochus king of Commagena, who offered him to give a thousand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised euer after to be at Antonius commandement. But Ventidius madehim answer, that he should send vnto Antonius; who was not farre off, and would not suffer Ventidius to make any peace with Antiochus, to the end that yet this litle exploit should passe in his name, and that they should not think he did any thing but by his Lieutenant Ventidius. The siege grew very long, because they that were in the towne, seeing they could not be received vpon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus Antonius did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at the last he was glad to make truce with Antiochus, and to take three hundred talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the state & affaires of Syria, he returned againe to Athens: and having given Ventidius such honours as he deserved, he sent him to KOME, to triumph for the PARTHIANS. Ventideus was the only man that ever triumphed of the PARTHIAN'S VINILL this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble house or family: who onely came to that he attained vnto, through Antonius friendship, the which deliuered him happy occasion to archieue great matters, and yet to fay truly, he did so well quit himselfe in all his enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of Antonius and Galar, to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by themselues. For Sosius one of Antonius Lieutenanes in Syria, did notable good feruice: and Canidius whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he candidate blfo ouercome the kings of the IBBRIANS & ALBANIANS, & went on with his conquests vnto mount Caucasus. By these conquests, the same of Antonius power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But Antonius notwithstanding, grew to be maruellously offended with Cofar, vpon certaine reports that had bene brought vnto him; and so tooke fea to go towards ITALY with three hundred faile. And because those of BRVNDVSIVM would not receive his army into their hauen, he went farther vnto TARENTVM. There his wife betwise Octavia that came out of GRECE with him, befought him to fend her vnto her brother, the Antonius which he did. O Et ania at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a fecond daughter by hiss celer. him, and yet she puther self in iourny, and met with her brother Octavius Casar by the way, who brought his two chiefe friends, Mecenas and Agrippa with him. She tooke them afide, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happies The words woman of the world, to become now the most wretched & vnfortunatest creature of all other. The Mee For now, faid the enery mans eyes do gaze on me, that am the fifter of one of the Emperours, ends and and wife of the other. And if the worst counsel take place (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to warres: for your felues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the gods have affigned the victorie or ouerthrow. But for me, on which fide focuer the victory fall, my flate can be but most miserable still. These words of Octania so softened Casars heart, that he went quickly vnto Octanias TAR ENTYM. But it was a noble fight for them that were prefent, to fee fo great an army by land the quarrel notto stirre; and so many shippes afloate in the roade, quietly and safe; and furthermore, the between meeting and kindnesse of friends, louingly embracing one another. First, Antonius feasted Ca- amonius far, which hegranted vnto for his fifters fake. Afterwards they agreed together, that Cofar brother Oring should give Anionius two legions to go against the PARTHIANS; and that Antonius should let tamin Ca-Cafar have an hundred gallies armed with brazen spurres at the prooes. Besides all this, O Etania far. obtained of her husband, twenty Brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her husband, a thousand armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, Casar went immediatly to make warre with Sextus Pompeius, to get Sicilia into his hands. Antonius alfo leaving his wife Ostauia and litle children begotten of her, with Cafar, and his other children which he had by Fuluia, went directly into Asia. Then beganne this peftilent plague and mischiefe of Cleoparaes loue (whichhad flept a long time, and feemed to have beneviterly forgotten, and that Antonius had given place to better counfell) again to kindle, and to be in force, to foone as Antonius camencare vnto Syria. And in the end, the horse of the mind, as Plato termeth it, that is Plato ealfo hard of reine (I means the vnreined luft of concupifcence) did put out of Antonius head al honeft and commendable thoughts: for he fent Fonteius Capito to bring Cleopatra into Syria: Vnto baje of the whom, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things; but vnto that the had already, he added the mind promines of Phenicia, those of the nethermost Syria, the He of Cypres, and a great part of fent for cle. Cilicia, and that country of Ivny where the true balm is, and that part of Anabia where the opairs into NABATH EIANS do dwell, which stretcheth outtoward the Ocean. These great gifts much misliked the ROMAINS. But now, though Anionius did eafily give away great feguiories, realines, gave great and mighty nations vnto some private men, and that also he took from other kings their lawfull provinces realms, (as from Antigonus king of the Ievves, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had fuffered like death; yet all this did not so much offend the Romains, as the vnmeafurable honours which he did vnto Cleopatra. But yet he did much more aggrauate their malice lung of 14. and ill will towards him, because that Cleopatra having brought him two twinnes, a sonne and a king betea. daughter, he named his fonne Alexander, and his daughter Cleopatra; and gaue them to their fur- dead by An. names, the Sunne to the one, and the Moone to the other. This not with standing, he that could described finely cloke his shamefull deeds with fine words, faid, that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared most, not where the Romain's tooke, but where they gave much: clepatra, and Nobilitie was multiplied amongst men by the posteritie of Kings, when they left off their feed in divers places; and that by this means his first ancestor was begotten of Hercules, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and posteritie in the wombe of one onely woman, fearing Solons lawes, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: Phraortes but that he gaueit vnto nature, and established the foundation of many noble races and families Ine bis fa. in divers places. Now when Phraortes had flaine his father Orodes, and possessed the kingdome, king of many Gentlemen of PARTHIA for sooke him, and fled from him, Amongst them was Moneses parities.

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Antonics great and puissant ar .

Antonius

Antonius beflege:b

The Parthiani teobe Antonias

a Nobleman, and of great authority among his countrimen, who came vnto Antonius that recei ued him, & compared his fortune vnto Themifocles, and his own riches and magnificence vnto kings of Persia. For he gaue Monefes 3. cities, Larissa, Arethysa, & Hierapolis, which was called before Bombice. Howbeit the king of Parthia shortly after called him home again. vpon his faith & word. Antonius was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale vpon Phragrees vnprouided. For he fent vnto him, and told him that they would remaine good friends, & have peace together, so he would but only redeliuer the standards and ensignes of the Romaines. (which the PARTHIANS had won in the battel where M. Crassus was slain) and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he fent Cleopaira back into AGYPT and tooke his way towards Arabia and Armenia, and there took a generall mufter of all his army he had together, and of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandement to aid him, being a maruellous number: of the which, the chiefest was Artanasdes king of ARME. NIA, who did furnish him with 6000. horsmen, and 7000. footmen. There were also of the Ro. MAINES about threescore thousand footmen, and of horsinen (Spaniar Ds and Gavles rec. kened for Romanes) to the number of 10000. & of other nations thirty thousand men, recke. ning together the horfmen & light armed footmen. This fo great & puitfant army (which made the Indians quake for feare, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, and all Asia alfo to tremble) served him to no purpose, & all for the love he bare to Cleopatra. For the earnest great defire he had to lie all winter with her, made him begin this war out of due time, and for halt to put all in hazardibeing fo rauished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne again, more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in Armenia to refresh his men, wearied with the long iourney they had made, having come eight thousand furlongs, and y then at the beginning of the ipring to go and inuade Media before the Parthians should fir out of their houses and garrifons the could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith vnto the protince of Arropatene, leaving Armenia on the left hand, and for raged all the country. Furthermore, making all the hast he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ram four escore foot long) being things most necessary for him, and the which he could not get againe for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high provinces of Asia have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of batterie. This notwithfranding, he left them all behind him, as an hinderance to bring his matters and intent freedily to passe; and left a certain number of men to keepe them, and gaues them in charge vnto one Tatianus. Then he went to beliege the city of PHRAATA, being the chiefest and greatest city the king of MEDIA had, where his wife & children were. Then he straight found out his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was faine for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the fword with their enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hardto y wals of the city, the which by litle and litle with great labor, rose to some height. In the meanetime king Phraories came down with a great army, who vnderstanding that Antonius had left his engines of battery behind him, he fent a great number of horfinen before, which enuironed Tatianus with all his cariage, & flue him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this the barbarous people tooke these engines of battery and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they tookeasso king Polemon. This discomfiture maruelloufly troubled al Antonius army, to receive fo great an overthrow (bey od their expectation) at the beginning of their iourney: infomuch that Artaba Zus king of the Armenians, defpairing of the good successe of the Romains, departed with his men, not with standing that he was himself the first procurer of this war and journy. On the other side, the PARTHIANS came couragiously vnto Antonius campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. Antonius therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them, he took ten legions, with three cohorts or enfignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the guard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a daies journy from his campe, he faw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to giue him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he fet out his fignall of battell, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be truffed

vo.asthough he meant not to fight, but onely to leade his men backe againe. Then he marched heforethe armie of the barbarous people, the which was martialled like a creffant or halfe Moone; and commanded his horfemen, that as as foone as they thought the legions were neare enough vnto their enemies to fet vpon the voward, they should set spurres to their horses, and begin the charge. The PARTHIANS stood in battell ray, and beholding the countenance of the Battell betwies ROMANES as they marched, tooke them for fouldiers indeed, for that they marched in as and Antonius, good array as was possible. For in their march they kept their rankes a litle space one from an The Romans good other, not straigling out of order, and shaking their pikes, speaking neuer a word. But so some as order in their the alarme was given the horse men suddenly turned head your the Division of the march. the alarme was given, the horse-men suddenly turned head vpon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the first received their charge couragiously, for they were joyned nearer then within an arrowes shoote. But when the legions also came to joyne with them, shouting out aloud, and ratling of their armours, the Parthians horses and themselues were so afraid and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the Ro-MANES could come to the fword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chafe, being ingreat hope by this conflict to haue brought to end all or the most part of this warre. But after that his footmen had chased them fiftie furlongs off, and the horsemen also thrise as far, they found in all but thirtie persons taken, and about fourescore men onely slaine: which did much discourage them, when they confidered with themselves, that obtaining the victorie, they had flaine fo few of their enemies: and when they were ouercome, they loft fo many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when their cariage was taken. The next morning Antonius armietrussed up their carriage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the first a few of the Parthians; then going on further, they met a few more. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, and troubled them on every fide, as freshly and couragiously as if they had not bene ouerthrowne: so that the Romanes very hardly got to their campe with safetie. The Medes on the other side, that were besieged in their chiefe Citie of Phraata, made a fally out upon them that kept the mount which they had forced and castagainst the wall of the city, and draue them for search fro the mount they kept. Antonius was to offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he divided his men by ten legions, martial punishment of them he put the rough legion to death on whom the legions of them he put the rough legion to death on whom the legions of them. and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fel; and for the other nine, he ment. caused them to have barley given them in stead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troublesome vnto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearfull: for Antonius could looke for no other of his fide but famine, because he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loffe of his men: and on the other fide, Phraortes knew well enough that the PARTHIANS would do any thing rather then lie in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was afraid, that if the ROMANES continued their fiege all winter long, and made war with him still, that his men wold for fake him, and specially because the time of the yeare went away apace, and the aire waxed cloudie and cold in the equinoctiall Autumne. Thereupon he called to mind this deuice: He gaue the chiefest of his Gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the Ro- The graft of the HANES out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horse, or for some other prouisio, Parthians athat they should not distresse them too much, but should suffer them to carrie somewhat away, sains the Roand greatly commend their valiantnesse and hardinesse, for which their king did esteeme them the more, and not without cause. After these first allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer vnto them, and to talke with them on horsebacke, greatly blaming Antonius selfewill, that did not give their king Phraortes occasion to make a good peace, who defired nothing more then to faue the lines of fo goodly a companie of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadful enemies he could have, to wit, winter and samine, the which they could hardly away withall, though the Parthians did the best they could to aid & accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a litle pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he would not fend vnto the king of PARTHIA before they had first asked these barbarous people that spake so courteously vnto his men, whether they spake it of themselves, or that they were their masters words. When they told them, the king himselfe said so, and did perswade them further not to seare or mistrust them, then Antonius sent some of his friends vnto the king, to make demand for the deliuery of the enfignes and prisoners he had of the Romans fince the ouerthrow of Crassing, to the end it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they should thinke he were glad that he might only scape with Kkkk 3

ANTONIVS.

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nesh from the Parthians.

fafetic out of the danger he was in. The king of PARTHIA answered him, that for the enfignes and prisoners he demanded, he should not breake his head about it, but if he would depart presently and without delay, he might do it peaceably, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius after he had given his men fome time to truffe vp their cariage, he raifed his campe. and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very proper to entertaine his fouldiers and men of warre, and that he could paffingly well do it, as well or better then any Captaine in his time: yet for shame he would not speake vnto them at his remouing but gaue the charge thereof to Domitius Anobarbus. Many of them tooke this in vervill part, and thought that he did it in disdaine of them: but the most part of them presently vn. derftood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therfore they thought it their duties to cary the like respect ynto their Captain that their Captaine did ynto them: and so they became the more obedient vnto him. So Antonius was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren countrey without wood. But there came a fouldier to him, borne in the countrey of the MAR DIANS, who having bene long familiar with the PAR THIANS, knew their fashions very wel and had also shewed himselfe very true & faithfull to the ROMANES in the battell where Antonius engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came vnto Antonius, to counfell him to beware how he went that way, &to make his army a prey (being heavily armed) vnto fo great a number of horfmen, all archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to let them to compass. him round about & that this was Phraortes fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions & courteous words, to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meet him as he would in the plaines: howbeit, if he thought good he would guide him another way on the right hand. through woods & mountains, a far nearer way, & where he should find great plenty of all things needfull for his armie, Antonius hearing what he faid, called his counfell together to confelt voon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to give them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on the other file also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places well inhabited, where he might be prouided of all things necessary therefore he asked the MAR. DIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promifed. The MARDIAN gaue himselfe to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the countrey of Armenia. So he guided his army thus bound, two daies together, without any trouble or fight of enemy. But the third day Antonius thinking the PARTHIANS would no more fo'low him, and trufting thereto. furfered his foldiers to march in diforder as every man lifted. The MARDIAN perceiving that the dams of a river were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, & that the river had overflowne the banks & drowned all the way they should have gone, he guessed straight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the ROMANES for getting too far before them. Therfore he had Antonios looke to himfelf, and told him that his enemies were not farre off, Antonius having fet his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and flingmen to refift the enemies, and to drive them backe, they descried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round dolar pon An. about the army to compasse them in on enery side, & to breake their ranks, and their light armed really in lare- men gaue charge vpon them. So after they had hurt many of the Roman Es with their arrowes. and that they them elues were also hurt by them with their darts & plummets of lead, they retired a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge, vntill that the horfinen of the GAV LBS turned their horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Hereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not only frengthen the rereward of his armie, but bot's the flankes also with darts and fling-men, and made his armie march in a square battell: commanding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to affaile them, they should drive them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the PARTHIANS fouredayes after, feeing they did no more hurt to the Romanes then they also received of them, they were not so hote vpon them as they were accustomed, but excusing themselues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day Flauius The bold of Galles, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the army, came vnto Antonius to pray him to let him have some moe of his light armed men then were already in the rereward, and some of the horsementhat were in the voward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to fet vpon the taile of the armie, and to skirmith with them, Flauius couragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and joyne presently with their armie; for he ouer rashly

thrust in among them to fight it out at the sword. The Captains that had the leading of the rereward, seeing Flauius stray too farre from the army, sent vnto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himselfe the Treasurer, tooke the enfignes, & did what he could to make the enfigne-bearers returne backe, reuiling Flavius Gallin, hecause through his folly and desperatnesse he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and flaine to no purpose. Gillus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to flav. Wherefore Tities returned agains into the army, and Galless fill overthrowing and driving the enemies back whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compaffed in : and feeing himselfe environed on all fides, he sent vnto the army, that they should come and aide him. where the Captains that led the legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation canidius fault, about Antonius made one) committed many faults. For where they should have made head with Antonius Cat. the whole army upon the Parthians, they fent him aide by small companies; and when they taine. were flaine, they fent him others also. So that by their beafflinefle and lacke of confideration, they had like to have made all the army flie, if Antonius himselfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the midft of them that fled, vntill they came to affront the enemies, and stayed them from chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were flaine no leffe then 3000 men, and 5000, befides brought fore hurt into the campo, and amongst them also Flanius Gallus, whose body was shot through in source places, Flanius Gallus, whereo he died, Antonius went to the tents to vifit and comfort the ficke and wounded, and for Antonius care n'ties fake he could not refraine from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenance of them that they could, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be drefted, and not to trouble him- were wounded. felfe for them, mostreuerently calling him their Emperor and Captaine: & that for themselves: they were whole and fafe, to that he had his health. For indeed to fay truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captaine that had so great and puilfant an army as his together, both for lufty youths and courage of fouldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great paines and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience & reuerence they shewed vnto their Captaine, with a maruellous carnest loue and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently (as well great as small, uerence of the the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines as fouldiers) fo earneftly bent to effect Matonius fouldiers mio good will and fauor, about their owne life and fafety, that in this point of martiall discipline, the Anioniss. ancient Rom ANES could not have done any more. But diverse things were cause thereof, as we There and finhaue told you before: Antonius nobility and ancient house, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his li- gular gifts of betality and magnificence, and familiarity to sport and to be merry in companie: but specially difference. the care he tooke at that time to helpe, vifite, and lament those that were ficke and wounded, seeing enery man to have that which was meet for him, was of fuch force and effect, as it made them that were ficke and wounded to loue him better, & were more defirous to do him feruice then those that were whole and found. This victory so incouraged the enemies (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night long they kept the fields. & houered about the Romanes camp, thinking that they would prefently flie, and that then they should take the spoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the PART HI ANS then they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then 40000, horse, because their king sent thither even the very guard about his person, as vinto a most certaine and assured victory, that they might be partners of the spoile and booty they hoped to have had for as touching the king himselfe, he was never in any conflict or The king of Paris battel. Then Antonius desirous to speak to his souldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to the but his friends did disswade him from it. Therfore he put on his coat armor, fully & being so apparelled, made an Oration to his army: in the which he highly comended the that had ouercome & driven backe their enemies, & greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that those which had ouercome, prayed him to be of good cheare: the other also to cleare themselves, williagly offered to take the lot of Decimation if he thought good, or otherwife to receive what kind of punishment should please him to lay vponthem, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift up his hands to heauen, and made his prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former victories, they wold now fend him fome bitter a duerfity, then that all might light on himselfe alone, and that they Antonius charis would give the vistorie to the rest of his army. The next morning, they gave better order on the rest for his enery fide of the armie, and so marched forward: so that when the PARTHIANS thought to armie.

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The Romanes conering against

Great famine in Antonius ormie.

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Mithridates a Parthian, be wrayeth vato

returne agains to affaile them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to spoile and make hauocke of all, when they came neare them, they were fore hurt with their flings and darts, and fuch other lauelins as the ROMANES darted at them, and the PARTHIAMS found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had bene fresh men they had dealt withall. Wherupon their hearts began againe to faile them. But yet when the Romans came to go downe any steepe hils or mountaines, they would fet on them with their arrowes. because the Romanes could go downe but faire and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed in the middeft among them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and fo fet downe their shields before them: and they of the second ranke also covered them of the first ranke, and the third also covered the second, and so from ranke to ranke all were covered. Insomuch that this manner of courring and fluading themselves with shields, was denised after the fashion of laving tyles upon houses, and to fight was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most strong defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth upon it. When the PARTHIANS saw this countenance of the Romane fouldiers of the legion which kneeled on the ground in that fort upon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with trauell, they layed downe their bowes, and tooke their fpeares and lances, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMANS fuddenly rose vpon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them, they sluce the foremose, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these dangers and lets, Antonius army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they fuffered great famine: for they could have but litle corne, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it and befides that, they had no inftruments to grind it to make bread of it. For the most part of them had bene left behind, because the beasts that caried them were either dead, or else employed to cary them that were fore and wounded. For the famine was fo extreme great, that the eight part of a bushell of wheat was fold for fifty Drachmaes, and they fold barley breadby the weight of filter. In the end they were compelled to live of hearbs and foots, but they found few of them that men do commonly eate of, and were enforced to tast of them that were ne uer eaten before: among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits, For he that had once eaten of it, his memory went from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but onely bufied himfelfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible speed. All the camp ouer, men were builty stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one placeto another: but at the last, they cast up a great deale of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked wine, which was the only four raigne remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius feeing fuch a number of his men die daily, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, neither would The valiant reffe fuffer them to be at reft, he often times cried out fighing, and faid: Oten thousand! He had the of tenthousand valiantnesse of 1000. GRECIANS in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the Transparage overthrow of Cyrus: became they had come a farther journey from Barrion, and had also away after the fought against much more enemies many times told, then themselves and yet came home with fafety. The PART HI ANS therefore feeing that they could not breake the good order of the army of the Romans, & contrarily, that they themselves were often times put to flight, and welfauo-The Parthians redly beaten, they fell against to their old crafty fubtilities. For when they found any of the Ro-MAN'S feattered from the army to go forrage, to feeke fome corne, or other victuals, they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and flew them their bowes vibent, faving, that themselves also did returne home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther: howbeit that they should yet have certaine Medes that would follow them a dayes iourney or two, to keepe them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the high-wayes; and fo holding them with this talke, they gently took their leave of them, and bad them farewell, To that the ROMANES began against to thinke themselves safe. Antonius also vinderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine countrey, because also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his hoast one Mithridates, a gentleman from the enemies camp, who was cofin vnto Mone (es that fled vnto Antonius, and vnto whom he had given three cities. conspiracie of his When he came to Antonius campe, he prayed them to bring him one that could speake the Par-THIAN OF STRIAN tongue. So one Alexander An TIOCHIAN, a familiar of Antonius, was brought

brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and faid that Monefes had fent himto Antonius, to require the honour and courtefie he had shewed vnto him. After he had yfed this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high mountaines a fair off, which he nointed vnto with his finger. Alexander answered he did. The Parthinas (faid he) doly in ambuth at the foot of those mountaines, under the which lieth a goodly plaine champion country: and they thinke that you being deceived with their crafty fubtill words, will leave the way of the mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painful, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted with all but if Antonius take the lower way, let him affure himselfe to runne the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did. So Mithridates having faid, he departed. Antonius was maruelloufly troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therfore called for his friends, to heare what they would fay to it. The Mar DIAN alfo that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered, that he thought as much as the gentleman Mithridates had faid. For, faid he, admitthatthere were no ambush of enemics in the valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the mountaine way, though it be flony and painfull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole daies trauelling without any water. So Antonius changing his first mind and determination, removed that night, and tooke the mountaine way, commanding every man to provide himselfe of water. But the most part of the lacking veffels to cary water in, some were driven to fill their fallets & murrians with water, and others also filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought vnto the PARTHIAN's that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the selfe same night, so that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the Romains, who were fo lame and wearied with going, and lacke of fleepe, that they were euen done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlongs, and further, to fee their enemies fo fodainly at their backs, that made them veterly despaire: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their enemies backe, yet creeping on still. The voward of the army by chancemet with a river that was very cleare and cold water; but it was falt and venimous todrinke: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunke it, and made them maruellousdry, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the Man-DIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would have kept them from drinking, and fo dranke. But Antonius going vp and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard by there was another riuerthat the water was excellent good to drinke, and that from thenceforth the way was flony and ill for horsemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the retrain to befounded to call them backe that fought, and commanded the tents to be fet vp, that the fouldiers might yet haue shadow to refresh them with. So when the tents were set vp, and the PAR-THIAN'S also retired according to their manner, the gentleman Muthridates before named, returned againe as before, and Alexander in like maner againe was brought vnto him for interpreter. Then Mithridates aduised him, that after the army had reposed a little, the Romaines should remoue forthwith, and with all speed possible get to the river: because the PARTHIANS would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander caried the reportthereof vnto Antonius, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to bestow vpon Authri-Antonius dates. Mithridates took as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and fo departed great libe. with speed. So Antonius raised his camp being yet day light, & cansed all his army to march and saley amo the PARTHIAN'S neuer troubled any of them by the way: but among it themselves it was as ill tei, for the and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were villaines of their owne company, who cut one had their fellowes throats for the mony they had, and befides that, robbed the fumpters and carriage of his falty. of fuch money as they caried, and at length, they fet vpon Antenius flaues that draue his owne of Antenius fumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and rich plate in peeces, and divided it among themselves. themselues. Thereupon all the campe was straight in tumult and vprores for the residue of them uston, nesses, were afraid it had bene the PARTHIANS that had given them this alarme, and had put all the army out of order. Infomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his flaues enfranchifed that was of his guard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his fwordthrough Antonius him when he would bid him, and cut off his head, because he might not be taken aline of his desperate enemies, nor knowne when he were dead. This griened his friends to the heart, that they burst

amongst the fouldiers in her owne name, as if she had given it them. In the meane time it chan-

ced that the king of the MEDES, and Phraortes king of the PARTHIANS, fell at great wars toge-

ther, the which began (as it is reported) for the spoyles of the Romains: and grew to be so hote

between them, that the king of MEDES was no lefte afraid, then also in danger to lose his whole

Realme. Thereupon he fent vnto Antonius, to pray him to come and make warre with the PAR-

could not ouercome the PARTHIANS, meaning that he had not brought horfmen, and men with

darts and flings inough) was offered him in that fort, that it did him more pleafure to accept it.

then it was pleasure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had spoken with the king of

MEDES at the river of Araxes, he prepared himfelf once more to go through ARMENIA, and to

make more cruell warre with the Parthians, then he had done before. Now whilest Antonius

wasbufy in this preparation, Octavia his wife, who he had left at Rome, would need take feato

come vnto him. Her brother o clauses Cafar was willing to it, not for his respect at all (as most

authors do report) as for that he might have an honest colour to make warre with Antonius if he

ers, agreat number of horse, summes of mony and gifts, to bestow on his friends and Captaines

hehad about him: and befides all hofe, she had 2000 fouldiers chosen men, all well armed like

who the Pretors bands. When Niger, one of Antonius friends whom he had fent vnto ATHENS.

had brought these newes from his wife Ottania, & withall did greatly praise her, as she was wor-

thy, and well deferued, Cleopatra knowing that Octania would have Antonius from her, and fea-

ring also that if with her vertue and honest behaviour (besides the great power of her brother

cafar) she did adde thereunto her modest kind loue to please her husband, that she would then

betoo ftrong for her, and in the end win him away: The fubtilly feemed to languish for the loue

of Antonius, pining her body for lacke of meat. Furthermore, the every way to framed her

countenance, that when Antonius came to fee her, the caft her eyes vpon him, like a woman ra-

uilled for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, she fell a weeping and blubbering

looking rufully on the matter, and still found the meanes that Antonius should oftentimes find

ahard natured man, and that he had fmall loue in him, that would fee a poore Ladie in fuch tor-

ment for his fake, whose life depended onely vpon him alone. For Offania, fayd they, that

was maried vnto him as it were of necessary, because her brother Cafars affaires so required it,

hath the honour to be called Antonius lawfull spouse and wife: and Cleopatra, being bornea

Queene of so many thousands of men, is onely named Antonius Leman; and yet that she dis-

dained not fo to be called, if it might please him she might enion his company, & line with him:

but if he once leave her, that then it is vnp offible she should live. To be short, by these their flat-

teries and inticements, they so wrought Antonius effeminate mind, that fearing less she would

make her felfe away, he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, and referred the king of MEDES

to the next yeare following; although he received newes that the PARTHIANS at that time

out a weeping for forow. The Mardian also did comforthim, and affured him that the riverha fought for was hard by & that he did guesse it by a sweet moist wind that breathed vpon them. and by the aire which they found fresher then they were wont, and also, for that they fetched their wind more at liberty; & moreouer, because that since they did set forward, he thought they were neare their journeys end, not lacking much of day. On the other fide also Antonius was informed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetousnesse and villany of certaine of his souldiers. Therfore Antonius to set his army againg in order, and to pacifie this vprore; founded the trumpet that every man should lodge. Now day began to break, and the army to fal again into good order, and all the hurly burly to ceafe, when the PARTHIANS drew neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereupon the fignall of battell was given to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer themselves as they had done before with their shields, with the which they received and defended the force of the Parthians arrowes, who never durft any more come to handy ftrokes with them; and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by little and little, till at length they espied the river. There Antonius placed his armed men upon the lands to receive and drive back the enemies, and first of all, got over his menthat were fick and hurt, and afterwards all the reft. And those also that were left to refist the enemies, had leisure inough to drink fafely. and at their pleafure. For when the Parthians faw the river, they vinbent their bowes, and bad the ROMAINS passe ouer without any searc, and greatly commended their valiantnesse. When they had all passed ouer the river at their ease, they tooke a litle breath, and so marched forward again, not greatly trusting the PARTHIANS. The fixt day after this last battell, they came to the river of Araxes, which divide the countrey of Armenia from Media, the which appeared vnto them very dangerous to passe, for the depth & swiftnesse of the streame. And furthermore there ran a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIAN's lay in ambush thereabouts, and that they would come and fet vpon them whilest they were troubled in passing ouer the river. But now, after they were all come fafely ouer without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other fide, into the prouince of ARMENIA, then they worshipped that land, as if it had benethe first land they had seene after a long and dangerous voyage by sea, being now arrived in a lafe and happy hauen: and the teares ran downe their cheekes, and enery man imbraced each other for the great ioy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitfull country so plentifull of all things, after fo great a famine and want of all things, they fo crommed themselues with such plenty of victuals, that many of them were cast into fluxes & dropsies. There Antonins mustring his whole army, found that he had loft 20000 footmen, and 4000 horsemen, which had not all bene flaine by their enemies: for the most part of them died of sicknesse, making seuen and twenty dayes iourney, coming from the city of Phraata into Armenia, and having overcome the PARTHIANS in eighteene feuerall battels. But thefe victories were not throughly perfineral bat. formed nor accomplished because they followed no long chase: and thereby it easily appeared, that Artabazus king of ARMENIA, had kept Antonius from ending this warre. For if the fixteene Parishians, thousand horsemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at these battels (con-The triche fidering that they were armed and apparelled much after the PARTHIAN maner, and acquainted bazus king also with their fight, when the Romaine's had put them to flight that had fought a battell with of armonia them, and that there ARMENIAN's had followed the chase of them that fled) they had not gathered themselves againe in force neither durst they also have returned to fight with them so often after they had bene so many times ouerthrowne. Therefore, all those that were of any credit and countenance in the army, did perswade and egge Antonius to be reuenged of this ARME-NIAN king:but Antonius wilely diffembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gaue him the worse countenance, nor did him lesse honour then he did before: because he knew his army was weak, & lacked things necessary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into Arme-NIA with a great army, and so with faire words, and sweete promises of messengers, he allured Artabazus to come to him: whom he then kept prisoner, and led in triumph in the city of A-LEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the Romaines, and made them much to mislike it, when they faw that for Cleopatraes fake he deprined his country of her due honor and glory, onely to zu king of gratifie the Æ GYPTIAN'S. Butthis was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great half he made to returne vnto Cleopatra, caused him to put his men to so great paines, forcing them to lie in the field all winter long when it fnew vnreafonably, that by the way he lost eight thousand of his

roys g; which standeth betwixt the cities of Berry's and Sidon, and there taried for Cleona. tra. And because she taried longer then he would have had her, he pined away for love and so- date mines row: To that he was at fuch a straight, that he wist not what to do, and therfore to we are it out, he pined away gaue himself to quaffing and feasting. But he was so drowned with the loue of her, that he could Glenhatra. notabide to fit at the table till the feaft was ended but many times while others banquetted, he Clepara ran to the fea fide to fee if the were coming. At length the came, and brought with her a world Blaceburg of apparell and money to give vnto the fouldiers. But fome fay notwithstanding, that she brought apparell and no money, and that she tooke of Antonius mony, and caused it to be given must

THIAN'S, promising him that he would aid him to his vitermost power. This put Autonitis usaine Partitions in good comfort, confidering that vnlooked for, the only thing he lacked (which made him he and Mides.

did misuse her, and not esteeme of her as she ought to be. But when she was come to ATHENS, Offanis, the received letters from Antonius, willing her to ftay there vntill his coming, and did advertife her of his iourny and determination. The which though it grieued her much, and that flie knew to state the it was but an excuse: yet by her letters to him of answer, she asked him whether he would have to meet those things fent vnto him which she had brought him, being great store of apparell for fouldi. with him.

her weeping; and then when he came fuddenly upon her, the made as though the dried her The flitte. eyes, and turned her face away, as if she were vnwilling that he should see her weepe. All these ring entire tricks she vsed Antonius being in readines to go into Syria to speake with the king of MEDES. Glebbara Then the flatterers that furthered Cleopatraes mind, blamed Antonius, and told him that he was The Anto-

The occase on of centle war be tones and Cefar vato Antomiss ber basbend. and ber wife and

Artories Herle pro buchil. Calarion . theiuses

were at civill warres among themselves. This not with standing, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he maried his daughter which was very yong, vnto one of the fons that cle opatra had by him: and then returned being fully bent to make warre with Cafar. When Ottania was returned to Rome from Athens, Cafar commanded her to go out of Antonius house, and print An to dwell by her self, because he had abused her. Obtania answered him again, that she would not for lake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for faid she, it were too shamefull a thing, that two fo famous Captaines should bring in civill warres among the Romains, the one for the love of of a woman, and the other for the lealousie betwixt one another. Now as she spake the word so did she also performe the deed: for she kept still in Antonius house, as if ne had bene there, and very honeftly, and honourably kept his children, not onely those she had by him, but the other which her husband had by Fulusa. Furthermore, when Antonius fent any of his men to Rome to she for any office in the commonwealth, she received the very curreously, and so vsed her self vnto her brother, that she obtained the things she requested. Howbeit therby, thinking no hurt. the did Antonius great hurt. For her honest lone & regard to her husband, made enery man have him, when they faw he did fo vnkindly vfe fo noble a Lady: but the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the division of lands he made among his children in the city of ALEX-ANDRIA. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolenta part, and done (as a man would fay) in derifion and contempt of the ROMAINES. For heaffembled all the people in the shew place, where yong men do exercise themselves, and there you a high tribunal silvered he fer two chaires of gold, the one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, and lower chaires for his drabyele. children, then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish cleapage Queene of Agypt, of Cyprus, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria; and at that time also cell. rean king of the fame Realmes. This Cafarion was supposed to be the fon of Iulius Cafar, who had feetenment left cleopatragreat with child. Secondly, he called the fons he had by her, the kings of kings, and gaue Alexander for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered the country; and vnto Ptolomy for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, and CILICIA. And therewithall he brought out Alexander in a long gowne after the fashion of the MEDES with a high cop-tanke hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the MEDEs and ARMENIANS do vieto weare them: & Piolomy apparelled in a clockeafter the Macedonian maner, with Aippers on his feet and a broad har, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attire of the ancient kings and fuccessors of Alexander the Great. So after his tons had done their humble duties. and killed their father and mother, prefently a company of Armenian fouldiers fer there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of MACEDONIANS the other. Now for Class patra the did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times else when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddeffe Isis, and so gave audience vnro all her subjects, as a new Isis. Octavius Ca. far reporting all these things voto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people on between and affembly in Rome, he thereby ftirred vp all the Romains against him. Antonius on the other fide fent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations hecharged him with, were thefe. First, that having spoiled Sextus Pompeius in Sicile, he did not give him his part of the Ile. Secondly, that he did detaine in his hands the ships he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that having put Lepidus their companion and triumuerate out of his part of the Empire, and having depriued him of all honours, he retained for himselfe the lands and reuenues thereof, which had bene affigned ynto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in maner divided all ITALY amongst his owne fouldiers, and had left no part of it for his foldiers. Octavius Cafar answered him againe: that for Lepidus, he had indeed deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did ouer cruelly vse his authoritie. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented Antonius should have his part of them, so that he would likewise lethim have his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his fouldiers, they should seeke for nothing in ITALY, because they possessed MEDIA and PARTHIA, the which provinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperour and Captaine. Antonius hearing these newes, being yet in ARMENIA, commanded Canideus to go presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had: and he him-Iclfe with Cleopatra, went vnto the city of EPHESVS, and there gathered together his galleyes and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships

of burthen; and of those Cleopatra furnished him with two hundred and twenty thousand ta- Antonias lents befides, and prouision of victuals also to maintaine all the whole army in this war. So Antonius, through the perswasion of Domitius, commanded Cleopatra to return again into A- dredsale Gypt, and there to vinderstand the successe of this warre. But Cleotatra fearing lest Antonius against stanting for the first with Octavins Cofar, by the meanes of his wife Octavia, she so Cafar. plied Canidius with money, and filled his purfe, that he became her spokes-man vnto Antonius, and told him, there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defrayed so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because thereby the ÆGYPTIANS would then be viterly difcouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates, that Cleopatra was inferiour vnto, either for wildome or indgement, seeing that long before she had wiscly gouerned so great a realme as A gyp Tand befides that, the had bene fo long acquainted with him, by whom the had learned to manage great affaires. These faire perswasions wan him: for it was predestinated that the government of all the world should fall into Octavius Cafars hands. Thus, all their forces being joyned together, they cleopatra hoised faile towards the Ile of Samos, and there gaue themselves to feasts and solace. For as all with him the Kings, Princes, and communalties, people, and cities from Syria, vnto the marrifles Macotides. & from the ARMENIANS to the ILLYRIANS were fent voto to fend & being all munition offenties and warlike preparation they could: even so all players, minst els, tumblers, fooles, and icusters, were commaunded to affemble in the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in feature a enery place was full of lamentations, fighes and teares, only in this Ile of Samos there was no- the lle of thing for many daies space but singing and piping, and all the Theater full of these common gether. players, minstrels, and finging-men. Befides all this, every city fent an one thither to facrifice, & kings did ftring one with another who should make the noblest feasts, and give the richest gifes. Sothar cuery manfaid, What canthey do more for ioy of victory, if they winne the battell, when they make already fuch fumptuous feafts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done he gaue the whole rabble of these minstrels, and such kind of people, the city of Prinning to keepe them withall, during this warre. Then he went vuto the city of ATHENS, and here gaue himselfe againe to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. Chopatra on the other fide, being icalous of the honours which offania had received in this city, where indeed fle was maruelloufly honoured and beloued of the Athenians: to winne the peoples goodwill also at ATHENS, the gaue them great gifts; and they likewise gaue her many great honours, and appointed certaine Ambassadors to carry the decree to her house, among the which Antonius was one, who (as a citizen of ATHENS) reported the matter vnto her, and made an Oration in the behalfe of the city. Afterwards he fent to Rome to put his wife Offaula out of his Antonius house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all Antonius children, saving the eldest of training the of them he had by Fuluia, who was with his father: bewailing & lamenting her curied hap, that of bishouse had brought her to this, that she was accounted one of the chiefest causes of this civil war. The at Rome ROMAINE'S did pitieher, but much more Antonius, and those specially that had seene Cleopatra. who neither excelled Octavia in beauty, nor yet in young yeares. Octavius Cafar understanding the fudden and wonderfull great preparation of Antonius, he was not a little aftonied at it (fearing he should be driven to fight that sommer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grieuous exactions of money did fore oppresse the people. For all manner of menelle were "". "Traines driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenew, but the Libertines (to wit, those afterbyriewhose fathers or other predecessors had sometime bene bond-men) were seissed to pay the moutpai eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon there arose a wonderfull exclamation ments of the Romainess. and great vprore all ITALY ouer, fothat amongst the greatest faults that euer Antonius committed, they blamed him most for that he delayed to give Cesar battell. For he gave Cesar leifure to make his preparations, and also to appeale the complaints of the people. When such a great fumme of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutinic vpon it: but when they had once payed it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, Titius and Plancus (two of Antonius chiefest friends, and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great iniuries Cleopatra did them, because they hindered all they could that she should not come to this warre, they went and yeelded themselues vnto Casar, and told him where the testament was that Antonius had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes: of whom Cesar demanded it. They answered him, that they would not give

Titles and Planchus revolt from Antonius, and do yeeld to cefar.

A famous Librarie in the city of Pergamum.

Farnies, an eloguent Orator a. mong the Kawaines.

Geninius fent from Kome to Ameenius, to bid birs take heed to himself.

Many of dutonius friends do forfakelim

Antesias Empire taken from Signer and foretheci. will wars Lerwist

and Odla. west Caffer

it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon Cafar went this ther, and having read it first to himselfe, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch: so affembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon diuers were maruelloufly offended and thought it a strange matter, that he being aliue, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. Cafar chiefly took hold of this, that he ordained touching his buriall : for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middeft of the market place, and that it should be sent into ALEXANDRIA VIIto Cleopatra. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith Antonius was to be charged for Cleopatraes fake, Caluifus one of Cafars friends reproued him, because he had frankly given Cleopatra al the Libraries of the royall city of Pergamy m, in the which she had about two hundred thousand seucrall bookes. Againe also, that being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the board and trode vpon Cleopatraes foot, which was a figne given between them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra their sourraigne Ladie. That divers times sitting in his tribunall and chaire of state, giving audience to all Kings and Princes, he had received love letters from Cleopatra, written in tables of Onyx or Christall, & that he had read them, fitting in his Imperiall feat. That one day when Furmus a man of great account, & the cloquentest man of al the Romains, pleaded a matter before him, Cleopatra by chance coming through § market place in her litter where Furnius was a pleading, Antonins straight rose out of his seat, & left his audience to follow her litter. This not withstanding, it was thought Caluifus denifed the most part of all these accusations of his own head. Neuerth-leffe they that loued Antonius were interceffors to the people for him, and amongst them they fent one Geminius vnto Antonius, to pray him he would take heed that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of Rome. This Geminius being arrived in Grece, made Cleopatra icalous flraight of his coming, because she surmised that he came not but to speake for Ottania. Therfore she spared not to taunt him all supportine; and moreover to spite him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the boordishe which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speake with Antonius. Now Intenius commanding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither, he answered, That it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morow morning fasting; but drunke or fasting, howfoeuer it were, he was fure of one thing, that all would not go well on his fide, vnleffe Cleepatra were fent backe into AGYPT. Antonius tooke these words in very ill part. Cleopatra on the other side answered him, Thou does well Geminius, said she, to tell the truth beforethou becompelled by torments: but within few daies after, Geminius stole away, and fled to Rome. The flatterers alfo to please Gleopatra, did make her drine many other of Antonius faithful fernants & friends fro him, who could not abide the injuries done vnto them: among the which these two were chiefe, Marcus Syllanus, and Dellius the Historiographer, who wrote that he sled because her Phisitian Glaucus told him, that Cleopatra had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had Cleopatraes displeasure, because he faid one night at supper, that they made them drinke fowre wine, where Sarmentus at Rome dranke good wine of FALERNA. This Sarmentus was a pleasant yong boy, such as the Lords of Rome are wont to have about them to make the pastime, which they call their joyes, and he was Ottanius Casars boy. Now after that Casar had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open warre against Cleopatra, and made the people to abolish the power and Empire of Antonius, because he had before given it vp vnto a woman. And C.efar faid furthermore, that Antonius was not master of himselfe, but that Cleopatra had brought him befide himselseby her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them, should be Mardian the Eunuch, Photinus, and Iras (a woman of Cleopatraes bed-chamber, that frizeled her haire, and dreffed her head) and Charmion, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of Antonius Empire. Before this warre, as it is reported, many fignes and wonders fell out. First of all, the city of PISAVRVM which was made a Colonie to Rome, and replenished with people by Antonius, standing upon the shore side of the sea Adriaticke, was by a terrible earth-quake funke into the ground. One of the images of stone which was fet vp in the honour of Intenius in the city of ALBA, did sweate many daies together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the city of PATRAS whilest Antonius was there, the temple of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the city of ATHENS also, in a place where the warre of the Giants against the gods is set out in Imagerie,

the statue of Bacchue with a terrible wind was throwne downe in the Theater. It was faid, that Antonius came of the race of Hercules (as you have heard before,) and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus, and therfore he was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the fame bluftering forme of wind ouerthrew the great monftrous images at ATHENS, that were made in v honor of Eumenes and Attalus, the which men had named & intituled, The Astonians, and yet did they fourt none of the other images, which were many befides. The Admirall galley of Cleanatra was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a maruellous ill figne: Swallowes had bredynder A the poope of her ship, and there came others after them that draue away the first, and plucked downe their neafts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight, it was found, that Antonius had no leffe then 500 good ships of war, among which there were many gallies that had eight and ten banks of oares, the which were fumptuoufly furnished, not so meet for fight, as for triumph: an hundred thousand footmen, and 12000 horsemen; and had with him to sower a aid him these kings & subjects following: Bocchus king of Lynin, Tarcondemus king of high C1- Sain Octa-LICIA, Archelans king of CAPPADOCIA, Philadelphus king of PAPHLAGONIA, Milbridgies king of Comage sa, and Adallas king of Thracia. Al which were there every main perfo. The re- had sight fidue that were abfent, fent their armies: as Polemon king of Pont, Manchus king of Anaria, Herodes king of Ivry; and furthermore Amyntas king of Lycaonia & of the Galatians: & be-the adding sides all there, he had aly aid the king of MEDEs fent vnto him. Now for Cefar, he had 250 ships of war, 80000 footmen, & well neare as many horsemen as his enemy Antonius, Antonius for his part had all under his dominion from Armenia & the river of Euphrases, unto the fea Ioniun & ILLYRICYM. Offenius C.efar had also for his part, all that which was in our Hemispher e or halfe part of the world, from Illyria unto the Ocean fea vpon the West; then all from the Ocean unto mare Siculum and from Africk E, all that which is against Italy, as Gavil and assument SPAINE. Furthermore, al from the province of Cyrenia to Ethiopia, was subject vnto Antonius, Now Antonius was made fo fubicct to a womans wil, that though he was a great deale the momen. ftronger by land, yet for Cleopatraes fake he would needs have this battell tried by feathough he faw beforehis eyes, that for lacke of water-men, his captaines did preft by force al forts of men raid by out of GREGE that they could take up in the field, as travellers, muletters, reapers, harveft-men, Clepatra, and yong boyes; and ver could they not fufficiently furnish his galleys; for that the most part of them were empty, and could feant row, because they lacked water-menenough. But on the contrary fide, C. afars ships were not built for pompe, high and great, onely for a fight and brauerie. but they were light of yarage, armed and fornished with water men as many as they needed, and had them all in readinesse in the banens of Tarentym and Bryndysiym. So Octanius C.e. keratile far fent vnto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his armic into bed of ITALY: and that for his owne part he would give him fafe harbour to land without any trouble; and that he would withdraw his army from the fea, as farre as one horse could runne, vntill dry of Nihe had put his army afhore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other fide brauely fent him egolia ha word again, and challenged the combat of him, man for man, though he were the elder and that * The grate ifhe refused him so, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of Pharsal I a as Inline of the safe Cefar and Pompey had done before. Now whilest Amonius rode at anker, lying idly in harbour at the head of Activm in the place where the city of Nicopolis standeth at this present, Cofar had quickly passed the sea Ionium, and taken a place called Tony stable fore Antonius under- ing other stood that he hadtaken ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his army by land-was left behind. But Clopatra making light of it; And what danger I pray you, faid the, if C. efar keepe equipments at * TORYNE: The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of of this word oares in battell against him, Antonius was afraid, that if they came to ioyne, they would take which from and carry away his ships that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water-men, and man a afet them in order of battell vponthe fore-castell of their ships, and then lift vp all his rankes of to of alla. oares towards the element, as well on the one fide as on the other, with the prooes against the enemies, at the entrie and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of Activ M: and fo to fear more kept them in order of battell, as if they had benearmed and furnished with water-men and fouldiers. Thus Octanins Cafar being finely deceined by this stratageme, retired presently, and therewithall Antonius very wifely and fuddenly did out him offfrom fresh water. For vnderstanding far fair by that the places where Octanius Cafar landed had very litle store of water, and yet very bad, he forming flutthem in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from failing out at their of the por.

3 10

Domitius forfaketh Antonius, and goeth vato Octawith Cafar. Amin: as rus, do bosts revolt from Antonius

pleasure, and so to go seeke water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and course. oufly with Domitius, and against Cleopatraes mind. For he being sicke of an ague when he went and tooke a little boate to go vnto Cafars campe, Antonius was very forie for it, but yet he fent after him all his cariage, traine, and men; and the fame Domitius, as though he gaue him to vnderstand that he repented his open treason, died immediatly after. There were certaine kings and Deiota- also that for sooke him, and turned on Cafars side, as Amyntas and Deiotarus. Furthermore, his fleete and nauie that was vnfortunate in all things, and vnready for seruice, compelled himto change his mind, and to hazard battell by land. And Canidius also, who had charge of his army by land, when time came to follow Antonius determination, he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to fend Cleopatra backe againe, and himselfe to retire into MACEDON, to fight there on the maineland. And furthermore told him, that Dicomes king of the Garre promifed to aide him with a great power: and that it should be no shame nor dishonour to him to let Cafar have the fea, because himselfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in battels by sea, in the warre of Sicilia against Sextus Pompeius: but rather that he should do against all reason (he having so great skill and experience of battels by land as he had if he should not imploy the force and valiantnesse of so many lustic armed foor-men as he had readie, but would weaken his army by deuiding them into ships. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, Cleopaira forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by sea: confidering with her selfe how she might flie and prouide for her safety, not to helpe him to winne the victory, but to flie more easily after the battell lost. Betwixt Antonius campe and his fleete of ships, there was a great high point of firme land that ranne a good way into the sea, the which Antonius vsed often for a walke, without mistrust of feare or danger. One of Casars men perceiued it, and told his master that he would laugh if they could take vp Antonius in the middest of his walke. Thereupon Cafar fent some of his men to lie in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking him (forthey tooke him that came before him) because they discovered too foone, and fo Antonius feaped very hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by fea, he fet all the other ships on fire, but threescore ships of ÆGYPT, and reserved onely the best and greatest galleys, from three bankes vnto tenbankes of oares. Into them he put two and twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battell, there was a Captaine, a valiant man, that had ferued Antonius in many battels and conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who, as Antonius paffed by him, cried out vnto him, and faid: O noble Emperour, how commeth it to paffe that you trust to these vile brittle ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine, and this sword? let the ÆGYPTIANS and PHOENICIANS fight by sea, and set vs on the maine land, where we vseto conquer, or to be flaine on our feete. Antonius paffed by him and faid neuera word, but onely beckened to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himfelfe. For when the masters of the galleys and pilots would have let their failes alone, he made them clap them on; faying to colour i matter withal, that not one of his enemics should scape. All that day and the three daies following, the sea rose fo high, and was fo boisterous, that the battell was put off. The fift day the storme ceassed, & the fea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of oares in battell one against the other: Antonius leading the right wing with Publicola, and Calius the left, and Marcus Octavius, and Marcus Insteins the midst. Octavius Casar on the other side had placed Agrippa in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himselse. For the armies by land, Canidius was Generall of Antonius side, and Taurus of Casars side: who kept their men in battell ray, the one before the other, vpon the sea side, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaines: Antonius being in a swift pinnace, was caried vp and downe by force of oares through his army, & spake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on maine land, because of the steadinesse and heavinesse of their shippes: and commanded the pilots and masters of the galleys, that they should not stirre, none otherwise then if they were at anker, and so to receive the first charge of their enemies, and that they should not go out of the streight of the gulfe. Cefar betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to fee his shippes throughout, met a man by chance that draue an Asse before him: Casar asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him that his name was Eutychus, to say Fortunate: and his Asses name Nicon, to fay Conquerour. Therefore Cafar after he had wonne the battell, setting out the

in danzer

of taking at

Antonius regardeth not the good counsell of his fouldiers

Battell by fea at Atti. um betwint and Cefar.

A luckle Octavias Celar. Eutychus Nicon,for tunate con querour.

market place with the spurres of the galleys he had taken, for a signe of his victory, he caused also the man and his Affe to be fet up in braffe. When he had visited the order of his armie throughout he tooke a litle pinnace; and went to the right wing, and wondered when he faw his enemies lie stil in the streight, & stirred not. For discerning them a far off, men would have thought they had bene ships riding at anker: and a good while he was so perswaded. So, he kept his galleys eight furlongs from his enemies. About noone there arose a litle gale of wind from the sea, and then Antonius men waxing angry with tarying follong, and trufting to the greatnesse and height of their ships, as if they had bene inuincible, they began to march forward with their left wing. Cafar feeing that, was a glad man, and began a litle to give backe from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the streight and gulfe, to the end that he might with his light ships well manned with water-men, turne and enuirone the galleys of the enemies, the which were heavie of yarage, both for their bignesse, as also for lacke of water-men to row them. When the skirmish began, and that they came to joyne, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by sea. For on the other fide, Antonius ships for their heavinesse could not have the strength and swiftnesses make their blowes of any force: and Cafars ships on the other side tooke great heed not to rush and shocke with the forecastels of Antonius ships, whose prowes were armed with great brazen fources. Furthermore they durft not flanke them, because their points were easily broken, which way focuer they came to fet vpon his ships, that were made of great maine square pecces of timber, bound together with great yron pins: fo that the battell was much like vnto a battell by land, or to speake more properly, to the affault of a city. For there were alwaies three or foure of Cafars thips about one of Antonius slips, and the fouldiers fought with their pikes, halbards and darts, and threw halbards and darts with fire. Antonius ships on the other side beflowed among them, with their crosbowes and engines of battery, great flore of flot from their high towers of wood that were fet upon their ships. Now Publicala seeing Agrippa put forth his left wing of Gefars army, to compaffe in Antonias ships that fought, he was driven also to loofe off to have more roome, and to go a litle at one fide, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the middest of the battell: for they were fore distressed by Arruntius. Howbeit the battell was yet of even hand, and the victory doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they faw thethreescore ships of Cleopatra busily about their yard-masts, and hoising saile to flie. So they fled through the middest of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great ships, and did maruellously diforder the other ships. For the enemies themfelues wondered much to fee them faile in that fort, with full faile towards PELOPONNESVS. There Antonius shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the courage and heart of an Emperour, but also of a valiant man; and that he was not his owneman (prouing that true which an old man spake in mirth, That the soule of a louer lived in another body, and not in his owne;)he The soule of was focaried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, and that action with in and she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw Cleopatraes ship vn. sher body. der faile, he forgot, for sook, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked vpon a galley distance. with five bankes of oares, to follow her that had already begun to overthrow him, and would in cleopard, the end be his veter destruction. When she knew his galley a farre off, she lift up a signe in the poope of her ship; and so Antonius comming to it, was pluckt vp where Cleopatra was: howbeit he saw her not at his first comming, nor she him, but went and sate downe alone in the prow of his ship, and faid neuer a word, clapping his head betweene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantines of Cafars, that followed him hard. So Antonius straight turned the prow of his flip, and prefently put the rest to flight, saving one Eurycles a LACED AMONIAN, that followed him neare, and preffed upon him with great courage, fliaking a dart in his hand ouerthe prow, as though he would have throwne it vnto Antonius feeing him, came to the fore-castell of his ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow Antonius so neare ? I am, answered he, Eurycles the son of Lachares, who through Casars good fortune seeketh to revenge the death of my father. This Lachares was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by Antonius. But yet Eurycles durst not venture vpon Antonius ship, but set vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two:) and fell vpon him with fuch a blow of his brazen fourre that was so heavy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very rich stuffe and carriage. After Eurycles had left Antonius, he turned againe to his place, and sate downe,

Lilla

Antonius licenceth his friendsto depart, and with gold and filner.

Antonius many ouerthrowne by

Antonius legions doe Octaviss Cefar.

Lucilius Spoken of in Brutus life.

The fidelity of Lucilius Pato An. tonius.

The won. derfull at. Cleopatra.

fpeaking neuer a word, as he did before: and fo lived three dayes alone, without speaking to a. ny man. But when he arrived at the head of Tanarus, there Cleopatraes women first brought Antonius and Cleopatra to speake together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there againe a great number of merchants ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this ouerthrow, who brought newes, that his army by sea was ouerthrowne, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then Antonius sent vnto Canidins, to returne with his army into Asia by Macedon. Nowfor himselfe, he determined to crosse ouer into Africke, and tooke one of his carects or hulkes loden with gold and filuer,& other rich cariage, & gaue it vnto his friends, comanding them to depart, and feeke to faue themfelues. They answered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then Antonius very courteously and louingly did comfort them, & prayed them to depart; and wrote VIITO Theophilus gouernour of Corinth, that he would feethem fafe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, vntill they had made their way and peace with Cafar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who was had in great estimation about Antonius. He was the first of all his enfranchifed bondmen that revolted from him, and yeelded vnto Gafar, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it flood with Antonius. Now for his army by sea, that fought before the head or foreland of Activm, they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more then a great boisterous wind that rose full in the prowes of their ships; and yet with much ado his nauic was at length ouerthrowne, flue houres within night. There were not flaine aboue fine thousandmen: but yerthere were three hundred shippestaken, as Octavius Casar writeth himselfe in his Commentaries. Many plainly saw Antonius flie, and yet could very hardlybeleeue it, that he that had nineteene legions whole by land, and twelue thouland horsemen voor the sea side, would so have for saken them, and have fled so cowardly, as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one & the other fortune, and that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the diverse changes and fortunes of battels. And yet his fouldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by fome meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they frewed themselues so valiant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainely knew he was fled, they kept themselues whole together seuen daies. In the end Canidius, Antonius Lieutenant, flying by night, and forfaking his campe, when they faw themselues thus destitute of their heads and leaders, they yeelded themselues vnto the stronger. This done, Casar sailed towards ATHENS, and there made peace with the GRECIANS, and denided the rest of the corne that was taken up for Antonins army, vnto the townes and cities of GRECE, the which had bene brought to extreme misery and pouerty, cleane without money, slaues, horse, and other beasts of carriage. So that my grandfather Nicarchus told, that all the citizens of our city of CHERONEA (not one excepted) were driven themselves to cary a certaine measure of corne on their shoulders to § sea side, that lieth directly ouer against the Ile of Anticyra, & yet were they drive thither with whips, They caried it thus but once: for the second time that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that Antonius had Iost the battell, and fo scaped our poorecity. For Antonius souldiers & deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the corne amongst them. Antonius being arrived in Lybia, he sent Cleopatra before into A-GYPT from the city of PAR ATONIVM; & he himselferemained very solitary, having onely two of his friends with him, with whom he wandered vp and downe both of them Orators, the one Aristocratesa GRECIAN, & the other Lucilius a Romaine of whom we have written in another place, that at the battel where Brutus was overthrowne, by the city of PHILIPPES, he came and willingly put himself into the hands of those that followed Brutus, saying that it was he; because Brutus in the meane time might have liberty to save himselfe. And afterwards, because Antonius faued his life, he still remained with him, & was very faithfull & friendly vnto him till his death. But when Antonius heard, that he whom he had trusted with the gouernment of Lybia, and vntowhom he had given the charge of his army there, had yeelded vnto Cafar, he was fo mad withall, that he would have flaine himfelfe for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, & kept him from it. So he went vnto Alexandria, and there found Cleopatra about a woderfull enterprise, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red sea, and the sea betweene the lands that point vpon the coast of Ægypr, there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the seas, and separateth Aprick E from Asia: the which streight is so narrow at the end where the two seas are narrowest, that it is not about three hundred furlongs ouer. Cleopatra went about to lift her

thips out of the one sea, and to hale them ouer the banke into the other sea: that when her ships were come into the gulfe of ARABIA, she might then carie all her gold and siluer away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the Ocean sea, farre from the fea Mediterraneum, to scape the danger and bondage of this warre. But now, because the A-RABIANS dwelling about the city of PETRA, did burne the first shippes that were brought to land, and that Antonius thought, that his army by land which heleft at Activm was yet whole, the left off her enterprise, and determined to keepe all the ports & passages of her realme. Antonius, he for sooke the city and company of his friends, and built him a house in the sea, by the Ile of Pharos, vpon certaine forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the sea, & dwelt there, Antonius as a man that banished himselfe from all mens company: saying that he would leade Timons life. followell hecause he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered vnto Timon and that for the the life am vnthankfulnesse of those he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his friends, he was Temon Miangry with all men, and would trust no man. This Timon was a citizen of ATHENS, that lived fantingpos about v war of Peloponnesvs, as appeareth by Plato and Aristophanes comedies; in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man vnto mankind, to shun all other mens Tlato and companies, but the company of young Alcibiades, a bold and infolent youth, whom he would greatly feast and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. Apemantus wondering at it, asked ny of Timen him the cause whathe meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: Misanthro minte cause what he meant to make so much of that young man about, and to hate all others.

For, what he was to the ATHENIANS. This Timon fomtimes would have Apemantus in his company, because he wasmuch like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they folemnly celebrated the feast called Chox at ATHENS, (to wit, the feasts of the dead where they make sprinklings and sacrifices for the dead and that they two then feasted together by themselves, Apemantus said vnto the other: O here is a trim banquet Timon. Timon answered againe: Yea, said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this Timon on a time (the people being affembled in the market place about dispatch of some affaires) got vp into the pulpit for Orations, where the Oratours commonly vse to speake vnto y people: and silence being made, enery man liftening to heare what he would fay, because it was a wonder to see him in that place, at length he beganto speake in this manner: My Lords of ATHENS, I have a little yardat my house where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens have hanged themselues; and because I meane to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all vnderstand it, that before the figgetree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang your felues. He died in the city of HALES, and was buried vpon the sea side. Now it chanced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tombe round about, that no man could come to it: and vpon the same was written this Epitaph:

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soule bereft : Seeke not my name: a plague consume you wicked wretches left.

Itis reported that Timon himselfe, when he lived, made this Epitaph: for that which is common-

ly rehearsed, was not this, but made by the Poet Callimachus:

Here lye I Timon, who aline all lining men did hate: Passe by and curfe thy fill : but passe, and stay not here thy gaie.

Many other things could we tell you of this Timon, but this little shall suffice at this present. But now to returne to Antonius againe. Canidius himselfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his army by land at Activm: on the other fide he was aduertifed also, that Herodes king of Ivare, who had also certaine legions and bands with him, was revolted vnto Casar, and al the other kings in like maner: fo that fauing those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him: and it feemed that he was contented to forgo all his Alexandria hope, and so to be rid of all his cares and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built by the sea which he called Timoneon, and Cleopaira received him into her royall pallace. He was no foonercome thither, but he ftraight fet all the city on rioting & banquetting againe, throw. and himselfe to liberalitie and gifts. He caused the son of Iulius Casar and Cleopaira, to be enrol- Toga viris led (according to the manner of the ROMAINES) amongst the number of young men; and gaue Antyllus the Anyllus, his eldeft son he had by Fuluia, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne without eldeft son of gard or embroderie, of purple. For these things, there was kept great feasting, banquetting and by his wife dancing in ALEXANDRIA many daies together. Indeed they did break their first order they had Faluis. LILLA

The Eritation Mijambié.

Eros, Antonius feruant flue himfelfe. Antonius did thruft his sword felfe, but dued not presently. Antonius

A lamenta. us and (leo-

The death of Antoni.

Offauius Cafar la. menteth einionius death.

Proculeius fent by Octavius Cafar to bring Cleapatra alines

turning his head at one fide, he thrust his sword into himselfe, and fell downe dead at his masters foote, Then faid Antonius: ô noble Eros, I thanke thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to my selfe, which thou couldest not doc for me. Therewithall he tooke his fword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell downey ponalittle bed. The wound he had, killed him not presently, for the bloud stinted a litle when he was laide; and when he came fomewhat to himselfe againe, he prayed them that were about him, to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out tormenting himselfe: vntill at the last there came a Secretarie vnto him(called Diomedes) who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where Cleopatra was. When he heard that she was aliue, he very earnestly prayed his men to carie his body thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed: and Cleonara her owne selfe, with two women onely, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, trifed Antonius vp. They that were present to behold it, said they never saw so pitiful a fight. For they plucked vp poore Antonius all bloudy as he was, and drawing on with panes of death:who holding up his hands to Cleopatra, raifed up himfelfe as well as he could It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him vp:but Cleopatra stooping down with her head, putting too all her strength to her vetermost power, did lift him vp with much ado, and neuer let go her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage, & were as foryto fee her labour so, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that fort, and laid him on a bed, she rent her garments vpon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomacke. Then she dried up his bloud that had bewrayed his face, & called him her Lord, her husband, & Emperor, forgetting her own misery and calamity, for the pity and compassion she took of him. Antonius made her ceasse her lamenting, & called for wine, either because he was a thirst, orese for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunke, he earnestly prayed her. and perswaded her, that she would seeke to saue her life, if she could possible, without reproch& dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust Proculeius aboue any man else about Casar. And as for himselfe, that she should not lament nor sorow for the miserable change of his fortuneat the end of his daies; but rather that the should thinke him the more fortunate, for the formertriumplies and honors he had received; confidering that while he lived, he was the noblest & greatest Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMAINE by another ROMAINE. As Antoniess gaue the last gaspe, Proculeius came that was sent from Cafare For after Antonius had thrust his fword in himself, as they caried him into the combs and monuments of Cleopatra, one of his guard (called Dercetaus) took his fword with the which he had ftriken himselfe, and hid it: then he secretly stole away, and brought Ottanius Casar the first newes of his death, and showed him his sword that was bloudied. Cafar hearing this newes, straight withdrew himselfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his friend and brother in law, his equal in the Empire, and companion with him in fundry great exploits and battels. Then he called for all his friends and shewed them the letters Amonius had written to him, and his answers also fent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to alliust and reasonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he sent Proculeius, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get Cleopatra aliue, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost:and furthermore, he thought that if he could take Cleopatra, and bring her aliue to Rome, she would maruellously beautifie and set out his triumph. But Cleopatra would never put her selse into Proculeius hands, although they spake together. For Proculeius came to the gates that were thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes, through the which her voice might be heard, and so they without vnderstood, that Cleopatra demanded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her fonnes: and that Proculeius answered her: That she should be of good cheare, and not be affraid to referre all vnto Cafar. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer vnto Casar . who immediatly sent Gallus to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her in talke, whilest Proculeius did set vp a ladder against that high window by the which Antonius was trifed vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where Cleopatra stood to heare what Gallus said vnto her. One of her women which was thut vp in her monuments with her, faw Processleius by chance

as herame downe, and skreeked out : O poore Cleopatra, thou artitaken. Then when the faw Proculeius behind her as the came from the gate, the thought to have stabbed her felfe in with a fhortdagger she wore of purpose by her side. But Proculeius came sodainly vpon her, and taking clopaira her by both the hands, faid vnto her: Cleopatra, first, thou shalt do thy selfe great wrong, and secondly, vnto Cafar, to depriue him of the occasion and oportunity, openly to shew his bounrie and mercy, and to give his enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble Prince that cuer was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruell and mercilesse man, that were not to betrusted. So euen as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyfon hidden about her. Afterwards, Cafar fent one of his infranchifed men called Epophroditus, whom he straightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in anv effethat the made not her felfe away: and for the rest, to vse her with all the courtesse possible. And for himselfe, he in the meane time entred the city of ALEXANDRIA, and (as he went) talked with the Philosopher Arrius, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen Celar tooke fould reuerence him the more, because they saw Casar so highly esteeme and honour him. the city of Then he went into the shew-place of exercises, and so vp to his chaire of stars which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commandement, all the people of A. greatly ho. region min of a great neight: and there according to the community knees before him, and rius the craued mercy. C.efar bad them all stand vp, and told them openly that he forgane the people, Philosopher. and pardoned the fellonies and offences they had committed against him in this warre. First, for the founders sake of the same city, which was Alexander the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the city, which he much esteemed and wondered at : thirdly for the lone he bare vnto his very friend Arrius. Thus did Cafar honour Arrius, who craued pardon for himselfe and many others, and specially for Philostratus, the eloquentest man of all the Sophisters and Orators of histime, for present and sodaine speech: howbeit, he falsely named himselfean Academicke Philosopher. Therefore Casar that hated his nature and conditions, would not heare his suite. Therupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed Arrius step by step in a long mourning gowne, still buzzing in his eares this Greeke verse:

A wise man, if that he be wise indeed, May by a wife man have the better speed.

Cafar vnderstanding this, not for the defire he had to deliuer Philostratus of his feare, but to ridde Arrius of malice and envie that might have fallen out against him, he pardoned him. Now touching Antonius fonnes, Antyllus, his eldest sonne by Fuluia was slaine, because his schoolemaster Antyllus, Theodorus did betray him vnto the fouldiers, who strake off his head. And the villaine tooke a eldest sonby precious stone of great value from his necke, the which he did sow in his girdle, and afterwards Fuluia, denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and so Cafar trussed him vp for it. For Cleopatracschildren, they were very honourably kept, with their gouernours & traine that waited on them. But for Cafarior, who was faid to be Iulius Cafars fonne, his mother Cleopatra had fent him VIIIO Y INDIAN'S through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great fumme of mony. But one of his gouerners alfocalled Rhodon, even fuch another as Theodorus, perfwaded him to returne into his countrey, and told him that Cefar fent for him to give him his mothers kingdome. So, as Cefar was determining with himselfe what he should do, Arrins said vnto him:

Too many Cafars is not good. Alluding vnto a certaine verse of Homer, that faith: Too many Lords doth not well.

Therefore Cafar did put Cafarion to death, after the death of his mother Cleopatra. Many Princes, great Kings and Captaines did crave Antonius body of Octavius Cafar, to give him honourableburiall: but Cefar would neuer take it from Cleopatra, who did sumptuously and royally burie him with her own hands, whom Cafar fuffered to take as much as she would to bestow vppon his funerals, Now was shealtogether ouercome with sorow and passion of mind, for she had burieth Anknocked her brest so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in diuers places had raised vicers & sonius. inflammations, fo that she fell into a feuer withall: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abstaine from meate, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a Phisitian called olympus, whom she made priny to her intent, to the end he should helpe to ridher out of her life; as Olympus writeth himself, who wrote a book of all these Clepatrase things. But Casar mistrusted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did puther Phistian.

to fee Clea-

Cicopatra, a martyred through her owne paf: fien and fu-

Selencus. one of Cleapatraes Treasurers. Cleobatra heat her Treasurer before Octauius Celar. Cleobatraes words vnso

finely de ceineth Octavius Cafar,as shough she defired to

lamentatio ณิยร tombe.

in feare, and threatned her to put her children to shamefull death. With these threates, Cleopatra for feareyeelded ftraight, as she would have yeelded vnto strokes: and afterwards suffered her selfe to becured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, Casar came himselfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. Cleopatra being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore estate (when she saw Ce. far come into her chamber,) fodenly rose vp, naked in her smocke, and sell downe at his seete maruellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her haire from her head, as also forthat the had martyred all her face with her nailes; and befides, her voice was finall and trembling, her eyes funk into her head with continuall blubbering; and moreouer, they might fee the most part of her stomacke torne in funder. To be short, her body was not much better then her mind:yet her good grace & comlinesse, and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this vgly and pitifull state of hers, yet she shewed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When Cefar had made her lie downe againe, and fate by her beds side; Cleopatra began to cleare and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the seare she had of Antonius: Cafar in contrary manner, reproued her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were affraid to dye, and defirous to liue. At length, she gaue him a briefe and memoriall of all the ready mony and treasure she had, But by chance there stood one Seleucus by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeme, a good servant, came straight to Cafar to disproue Cleopatra, that she had not set in all, but kept many things back of purpose. Cleopatra was insuch a rage with him, that she slew upon him, and tooke him by the haire of the head, and boxed him well fauouredly. Cafar fell a laughing & parted the fray. Alas, faid she, ô Cafar: is not this a great shame and reproch, that thou having vouchsafed to take the paines to come vnto me, and done me this honor, poore wretch, & caitife creature, brought into this pitifull and miferable state: and that mine owne servants should come now to accuse me. though it may be I have referred fome iewels and trifles meet for wome, but not for me(poore foule) to fet out my felfe withall, but meaning to give some pretie presents and gifts vnto offs. nius and Liuia, that they making means and interceffion for me to thee, thou mightest yetextend thy fauour and mercy vpon me. Cafar was glad to heare her fay fo, perswading himselfethereby that she had yet a desire to saucher life. So he made her answer, that he did not only give her that to dispose of at her pleasure; which she had kept back, but further promised to vie her more honourably and bountifully, then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himselfe. There was a yong Gentleman Cornelius Dolabella, that was one of Cafars very great familiars, and besides didbeare no ill will vnto Cleopatra, He sent her word secretly (as she had requested him) that Cesar determined to take his iourny through Syria, & that within three daies he would fend her away before with her children. When this was told Cleopatra, she requested Cafar that it would please him to suffer herto offer the last oblations of the dead, vnto the soule of Antonius. This being granted her, she was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, embracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheeks, she began to speake in this fort.O my deare Lord Antonius, it is not long fithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: & now I offer vnto thee the funerall sprinklings and oblations, being a captine and prisoner; and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murthering this captive body of mine with blowes, which they carefully guardand keepe, onely to triumph of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honors, offerings, nor facrifices from me: for these are the last which Cleopatra can give thee, fith now they carie her away. Whilest we lined together, nothing could seuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs change our countries. For as thou being a Romain, hast bene buried in Ægypt : euen so wretched creature I an Ægyptian, shall be buried in ITALY, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power & authority, fith our gods here haue forfaken vs, fuffer not thy true friend and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me they triumph of thee: but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe tombe with thee. For though my grieses and miscries be infinit, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall, then this small time which I have bene driven to live atone without thee. Then having ended these dolefull plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands & fundry no fegayes, and maruellous louingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her bath, and when she had bathed and washed herselfe, she fell to her meate, and was sumptuously served. Now whilest she

was at dinner, there came a countriman and brought her a basket. The fouldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his basket. He opened his basket, and tooke out the leanes that couered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them maruelled to see so goodly figges. The countrieman laughed to heare them, and bad them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bad him carie them in. After Cleapatra had dined, she sent a certaine table written and scaled vnto Casar, and commanded them all to go out of the tombes where she was, but the two women; then she shut the doores to her. Cafar when he received this table, and began to reade her lamentation and petition, requefling him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himselfe: howbeir, he sent one before in all hast that might be, to feewhat it was. Her death was very sodaine: for those whom Cafar sent vnto her, ran thither in of Cleopaall hast possible, and found the fouldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doores, they found Cleopatra starke dead, laid vpon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feet; and her other woman (called Charmion) half dead, & trembling, ting women trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra wore vpon her head. One of the foldiers feeing her, angrily said vnto her: Is that well done Charmion? Very well, said she againe, and meete for a Printeffe descended from the race of so many noble Kings: she said no more, but fel down dead hard by the bed. Some report, that this Afpicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs, and that the had commanded them to hide it under the fig leaves, that when the should think to take out the figs, the Afpicke should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she wold have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, Art thou herethen. And so her arme being naked, she putitto the Aspicke to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in aboxe, & that cleopatra hedid pricke and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the Aspicke being angred withall, leapt the bing out with great furic, and bit her in the arme. How beit few can tell the troth. For they report also, of an affi that she had hidden poyfon in a hollow razor which she caried in the haire of her head; and yet was there no mark feene on her body, or any figne differened that the was poyfoned, neither also did they finde this serpent in her tombe: but it was reported only that there was seene certaine fresh steppes or tracks where it had gone, on the tombe side toward the sea, and specially by the doore side. Some say also, that they found two litle prety bitings in her arme, scant to be discerned:the which it feemeth Cafar himfelfe gaue credit vnto, because in his triumph he caried cleopatraes image, withan Afpicke biting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death, Now Cefar, though he was maruellous forie for the death of cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commanded the should be nobly buried, and layed by Antonius and willed also that her two women should have honourable buriall. Cleopatra died being eight and thirty years old, after she had reigned two and twenty yeares, and gouerned about fourteene of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three and fifty yeares: and others fay, fixe and fiftie. All his statues, images, and mettals, were plucked downe and ouerthrowne, fauing those of Cleopatra, which stood still in their places, by meanes of Archibius Cleopatra one of her friends, who gaue Cafar a thousand talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seuen children by three wives, of the which, Cafar did put Antyllus (the eldest sonhe had by Faluia) to death. Ostauia his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them vp with hers, and maried Cleopatra, Antonius daughter, vnto king Iuba, a maruellous courteous & goodly Prince. And Antonius (the fon of Fuluia) came to be fo great, that next vnto Agrip- of Antonia ps, who was ingreatest estimation about Cafar; and next vnto the children of Linia, which were " The the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two daughters perours, by her first husband Marcellus, & a fon also called Marcellus, Cafar maried his daughter vnto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his son. And Octavia also maried one of her daughters vnto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had bene maried awhile. Octavia perceiving that her brother Cafar was very busie to chuse some one among his friends, who he trusted best to make his sonne in law, she perswaded him, that Agrippa should marie his daughter (Marcellus widow) and leave her owne daughter. Cafar first was contented withall, and then Agrippa: and so she afterwards tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto Antonius; & Agrippa maried Iulia, Cafars daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of Octavia and Antonius: Domitius Anobarbus maried the one; and the other, which was Antonia, so faire and vertuous a young

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Ladie, was maried vnto Drusus the sonne of Liuia, and sonne in law of Casar. Of this mariane came Germanicus and Clodius: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be Emperor. And of the sonnes of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius, came also to be Emperour: who after he had licentiously reigned a time, was flaine, with his wife and daughter. Agrippina also (hauing a fonne by her first husband Anobarbus, called Lucius Domitius) was afterwards maried vnto Cledins, who adopted her fonne, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was Emperour in our time, who slue his owne mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnesse and wicked life, being the fifth Emperour of Rome after Antonius.

THE COMPARISON OF

Demetrius with Antonius.



The power of Demetrises and AnOw, sithence it falleth out, that Demetrius and Antonius were one of them. much like to the other, hauing fortune alike divers & variable vntothe, let vs therfore come to confider their power & authority, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that Demetrius power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance fro his father Antigonus: who became the greatest & mightiest Prince of all the successors of Alexander, and had won the most part of As IA, before Demetrius came of fullage. Antonius in contrary manner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise

was no man of war, & had not left him any meane to arife to fuch greatnesse, durst take vpon him to contend for the Empire with Cafar that had no right vnto it by inheritance, but yet madehimfelfe successor of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obtained, and by his own industry became so great, without the helpe of any other, that the Empire of the whole world being deuided into two parts, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenance and power. Antonius being absent, oftentimes ouercame the PARTHIANS in battell by his Lieutenants, and chased away the barbarous peopledwelling about mount Caucasus, vnto the sea Hyrcanium, insomuch as the thing they most reproue him for, did most witnesse his greatnesse. For, Demetrius father made him gladly marie Phila, Antipaters daughter, although she was too old for him: because she was of a nobler house then himselfe. Antonius on the other fide was blamed for marying of Cleopatra, a Queene that for her power and nobility of bloud, excelled all other kings in her time, but Arfaces: & morcouer, made himself so great, that others thought him worthy of greater things, then he himselfe required. Now for the desire that moved the one and the other to conquer Realmes, the defire of Demetrius was vnblameable and iust, desiring to reigne ouer people which had bene gouerned at all times, and desired to be gouernedby Kings. But Antonius defire was altogether wicked and tyrannicall, who fought to keepethe people of Rome in bondage and subjection, but lately before rid of Casars reigne and government. For the greatest and most famous exploite Antonius ever did in warres (to wit, the

Demetrisus and Antonius ambition to gowarre, in the which he ouerthrew Cassus and Bratus) was begun to no other end, but to deprive his countrimen of their liberty and freedome. Demetrius in contrary manner, before fortune had offerthrowne him, neuer left to fet GRECE at liberty, and to drive the garrifons away, which kept the cities in bondage; and not like Antonius, that boafted he had flaine them that had fet ROME at liberty. The chiefest thing they commended in Antonius was his liberality and bountie in the which Demetrius excelled him fo farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then Antonius did to his friends: although he was maruellously well thought of, for the honourable and Denetrius fimptuous funerallhegaue vnto Brutus body. Howbeit Demetrius caused all his enemies to be of amoniburied that were flaine in battell, and returned vnto Ptolomie all the prisoners he had taken, with great gifs and presents he gaue them. They were both in their prosperity, very riotously and licentionfly given: but yet no man can ever fay, that Demetrius did at any time let flip any oportunity or occasion to follow great matters, but onely gaue himselse indeed to pleasure, when he had nothing elfe todo. And further, to fay truly, he took pleafure of Lamia, as a man would have adelight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing elfe to do, or is defirous to fleepe; but indeed when he was to make any preparation for war, he had not then Iuie at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came out of the Ladies closets picked and prince to go to battell: buthe let all dancing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet Euripides saith:

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrow or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to follow his owne pleasure; as we see in painted tables, where Omphale secretly stealeth

The fouldier of Mars, cruell, and bloudie.

maried two

away Hercules clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him: euen fo Cleopatra Oftentimes ynarmed Antonius, and enticed him to her, making him lose matters of great importance, and very needfull iournies, to come and be dandled with her, about the rivers of Canobus, and Taphofiris. In the end, as Paris fled from the battell, and went to hide himselfe in Helens armes: even so f. did he in Cleopatraes armes; or to speake more properly, Paris hid himselfe in Helens closer, but Antonius (to follow Cleopatra) fled and lost the victory. Furthermore, Demetrius had many Demetrius wises that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not disallowable or not forbidden by the kings of Mac E DON, but had bene vsed from Philip and Alexanders time; as also king Lysimathus and Ptolomy had; and did honour all them that he maried. But Antonius first of all maried twowiues together, the which neuer Romaine durst do before, but himselfe. Secondly, he the first put away his first Romaine wife, which he had lawfully maried, for the loue of a strange woman, he fondly fell in fancie withall, and contrary to the lawes and ordinances of ROME. And therefore Demetrius mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wives: but Antonius contrarily, was vindone by his wines. Of althe lascinious parts Antonius played, none were foabhominable, as this only fact of Demetrius. For the Historiographers write, that they would Demetrius notluffer doggestocome into the castle of ATHENS, because of all beasts he is too busie with lasensians bitcherie: and Demetrius, in Mineruaes temple it felfe lay with Curtifans, and there defiled many citizens wines. And befides all this, the horrible vice of cruelty, which a man would thinke fefficial in were least mingled with these wanton delights, is joyned with Demetrius concupiscence: who file, because fuffered (or more properly, compelled) the good lieft young boy of ATHENS, to die a most piti- of buthery. full death, to faue himselfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, Antonius by his incontinencie, did no hurt but to himselse, and Demetrius did hurt vnto all others. Demetrius neuer impiery, the hurrany of his friends: but Antonins suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be flaine, that he fath and might have his will of Cicero to kill him: a thing to damnable, wicked, and cruell of it felfe, that Demetring he hardly deserved to have bene pardoned, though he had killed Cicero, to have faued his Vncles and Annone, life. Now where they falfified and brake their oaths, the one making Artabazus prisoner, and the ". other killing of Alexander, Antonius out of doubt had best cause, and instest colour: for Artabazus had betrayed him, and forfaken him in MEDIA. But Demetrius (as divers do report) devised afalle matter to accuse Alexander, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke, he didaccuse him, to whom he himselfe had done iniurie vnto : and was not reuenged of him, that pemetrini would do him iniurie. Furthermore, Demetrius himselfe did noble feates of warre, as we have and daterecited of him before; and contrarily, Antonius, when he was not there in person, wanne mahy famous and great victories by his Lieutenants: and were both ouerthrowne being personally in battel, but yet not both after one fort. For the one was for saken of his men being MACE-DONIANS, & the other contrarily for sooke his that were ROMAINBS: for he fled, and left them

that ventured their lives for his honour. So that the fault the one did, was, that he made them his enemics that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastly left them that loued him best. & were most faithfull to him. And for their deaths, a man cannot praise the one or the other, but yet Demetrius death was the more reprochfull for he suffered himself to be taken prifoner, and when he was fent away tobe kept in a strange place, he had the heart to line yet three yeares longer, to serue his mouth and belly, as brute beafts do. Antonius on the other side, some himselfe (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great paine and griefe; and yet was it before his body came into his enemies hands.

The end of Antonius life.

THE LIFE OF

Artaxerxes.



The baren . sage of Are Baxerxes Alnemon.

Rtaxerxes, the first of this name of all the kings of Persia, anobleand courteous Prince as any of all his house, was surnamed Long-hand because his right hand was longer then his left; and he was the son of king Xerxes. But the second, whose life we presently intend to write, was surnamed Mnemo, as much to fay, Great memory: & he was the fon of the daughter of the first Artaxerxes. For king Darius, and his wife Parysaus, had foure sons, of the which, the eldest was this Artaxerxes, the second Cyrus, and two other yonger, Oftanes and Oxathres. Cyrus from the beginning barethe name of the former ancient Cyrus, which in the PER-

SIAN tong fignifieth the Sun. But Arraxerxes was called before Arficas, although Dinon writeth, that he was called oarfes. Howbeit it is vnlikely, that Ctesias (although his bookes otherwisebe full of fables, and as vntrue as they are fond) should forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ferued, and continually followed, both him, his wife and children. Cyrus from his cradle was of a hot stirring mind, and Artaxerixes in contrary manner, more mild and gentle in all his actions & doings. He was maried to a very faire Ladie, by his father & mothers commandement: and afterwards kept her against their wils, being forbidden by them. For king Darius his father, hauing put his sonnes wives brother to death, he would also have put her to der h: but her husband with teares made such humble suite to his mother for her, that with much ado, hedid not onely get pardon for her life, but grant also that she should not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his mother alwaies loued Cyrus better then him, and prayed that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherefore Cyrus being in his prouinces of Asia by the sea side, when he was sent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay sick of the disease he died he went thither in good hope his mother had prevailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of Persia. For his mother Pary sailedged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king Xerxes in the like case, through Demaratus counsell. She said that Arsicas was borne before her husband Darius was king, and Crus after he was crowned king. All this could not prevaile: for her eldeft fon Arficas, furnamed Cyrus after he was crowned king. Allthis could not preuante: for never ton any two series of Artaxerxes, was affigned king of Persia, and Cyrus gouerhor of Lydia, and the kings Lieutenantgeneral of allthe low-countries of Asia toward y fea fide. Shortly after king Darius death, affigued to be king of Perfia. the new king Artaxerxes went vnto Pasargades, there to be consecrated and annointed king by the Priests of y country of PERSIA. The place of this Pasargades, is a temple dedicated vnto Minerua the goddesse of battels, as I take it, where the new king must be consecrated; and when he nerna the goddene of Dattels, as I take it, where the new king mult be conferrated; and wheth the cometh into the temple, he putteth off his gowne, and putteth on that which the old ancient Cyting of the rus wore before he was king. Furthermore, he must eate of a certain tart or fricacie made of figs kings of with turpentine; and then he must drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are also certaine other secret ceremonies which they must keepe, & none do know, but the very Priests themselues. Now Artaxernes being ready to enterinto all these ceremonics, Tisaphernes came vnto him, and brought him one of the Priests that had bene Cyrus schoolemaster in his youth, and had taught him Magicke; who by reason should have bene more offended then any man else, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cause why they beleeved him the better, when he accused Cyrus; for he said: That Cyrus had conspired treason against the king his brothers owne person, and that he meant traiter ously to kill him in the temple, when he should put fed with him off his gowne. Some do report, that Cyrus was appreheded vpon this simple accusation by word ofmouth. Others write also, that Cyrus came into the temple, and hiding himselfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewrayed by the Priest. So, as he was going to suffer death, his mother took Cyrus in her armes, and wound the haire of her head about his necke, and tied him straightly to Note the her: and withall she wept so bitterly, and made such pitifull mone vnto the king her sonne, that fixtery and through her interceffion, the king granted him his life, and fent him againe into his country and sinn of a gouernment. But this satisfied not Cyrus, neither did he so much remember the king his brothers woman. fauour vnto him, in granting this his life, as he did the despite he had offered him, to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and cuill will, he euer after had a greater desire then before to be king. Some writers alledge, that he entred into actuall rebellion against his brother by force of armes, because he had not sufficient reuenue to defray the ordinarie expence of his house: howbeit it is a meere folly to say so. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might have had of her what he would have taken and defired. Againe, to shew that of himselfe he had ability enough, we need but alledge the souldiers and strangers he gaue pay vnto in divers places, (as Xenophon writeth.) For he brought them not all together into one army, because he desired to keepe his enterprise as secret as he could: but he had friends and servants that leauied them in diverfe places, and vnder diverfe colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleared all suspitions conceived against him. He himselfe also on the other fide, whilest he made these preparations, wrote very humbly vnto his brother, fometime asking fomewhat of him, and another time accusing Tisaphernes: all to blind the king, tomake him thinke that he bent all his malice and spite against him; besides that, the king of his ownenature was somewhat dull and slow, which the comon people thought to proceed of his courtesie & good nature. At his first coming to the crown, he followed the first Artaxerxes good- Artaxerxes nesse and courtesse, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more easie audience vnto suiters : he and esse to didalfo more honorably reward and recompence those that had deserved well: and he vsed sich have accepted moderation in punishing of offenders, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious mind & defire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurt any man. When he had any thing given him, he took it as thankfully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankly also give againe. For, how litle athing soeuer was offered him, he took it wel. And it is reported, that one Romifes on a time prefenting him a maruellous faire pomegranate: By the Sun(faid he) this man in a short time, of a litle towne would make a great city, if he were made gouernor of it. Another time there was a poore labourer feeing enery man give the king a present, some one thing, some another, as he

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The diverfity of na-Ewixt Cy-TWO and Attaxer. Bes.

Liberality to a heart man that gave him a listle water.

Tiribazus lightneffe.

Statura. king Ar taxetxes

Cartes niaketh warre against his taxerxet. Carus worm

passed by them : he having nothing at hand to give him, ranto the rivers side, and tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offered it him. King Artaxerxes was so glad of it, that he sent him in a cup of massie gold, athousand Dareckes, which were peeces of gold so named, because the image of Darius was stamped vponthem. And vnto one Euclidas a LACED EMONIAN, that presumed to giue him bold words, it pleased him to answer by one of his Captaines: Thou maist fay what thou list; and I as king, may fay and do what I list. Another time as he was an hunting; Tiribazus shewedthe king his gowne that was all to tattered: Well, said the king, and what wouldest thou haue metodo: Tiribazus answered him, I pray your Grace take another, and giue me that you have on. The king did so, and told him: TiribaZus, I give thee my gowne, but I command thee not to weare it. Tiribazus tooke it, and cared not for the kings commandement that he should not weare it; not that he was any cuill disposed man, but because he was a fond lightheaded fellow that cared for nothing: thereupon hestraight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did besides set on many iewels of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinkets and ornaments. Therewith all euery man in the Court mur. mured at him, because it was a presumption, directly against the lawes and ordinances of P_{BR} s 1 A. Howbeit the king but laughed at it, and told him: I give thee leave Tiribazus to weare those womens gawds as a woman, & the kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the maner wasin PERSIA, that no person sate at the kings boord, but his mother & wife, of the which, his mother fate vppermost, and his wife lowermost: Artaxerxes made his two brethren Ostanes and Oxathres fit at his own boord; but yet he pleased the Persians best of al, because he was content his wife Statyra should sit openly in her chariot, and that she might be seene and reverenced by the other Ladies of the countrey. And this made him fingularly beloued of the people. Now, such as defired innovation & change, & that could not away with quiet life, gaue out, that the Realme of PERSIA required such a Prince as Cyrus, that was liberall of nature, giuen to armes, and greatly rewarded his fernants; and that the greatnesse of the Empire of PERSIA stood in need of a king, whose mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So Cyrus thereupon began to make warre vpon his brother, not only trusting vnto them that were of the low countries about him, but hoping of those also in the high provinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore, he wrote also vnto the LACED &MONIANS, to pray them to send him men of warre, promising to give the footmenthey fent, horses; and the horsemen, coaches; landed men, whole villages; and to those that had villages, to give them cities: besides all this, that for the ordinarie wages of them that should serue him in this war, he would not pay them by account, but by full measure. And boafting largely of himselse, he said he had a greater mind then his brother; that he could better away with hardnesse then he, that he understood Magicke better then he; and that he could drinke more wine then he, and carie it better: and that the king his brother in contrary manner was so womanish and fearefull, that when he went an hunting, he durst scarce get vp vpon his horse backe: and when he went to the wars, he would hardly take his chariot. When the LACED EMONIANS had read his letters, they fent a litle ferole vnto Clearchus, commanding him to obey Cyrus in any thing he would command him. So Cyrus did set forward to make war against his brother, having leavied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRECIANS, litle lesse then thirteene thousand ment sometime aduertising one cause, sometime another, why he leavied such a multitude of men. But his purpose could not be long dissembled: for Tisaphernes went himselfe vnto the Court, to bring newes of his attempt. Then al the Court was straight in an vprore withall. Many men also did accuse the Queene mother, for the practise of this war, and all her friends and feruants were vehemently suspected to be conspirators with Cyrus: but the greatest thing that troubled Parysatis most, was Queene Statyra her daughter in law, who stormed maruellously to see this war begun against king Artaxerxes her husband, and incessantly cried out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedst by oath: whereto are thy intercessions come thoumadest for the pardon of his life, who now conspireth his brothers deather By fauing of his life, art not thou now the cause of this war and troubles we see at hand. After this reprochand shame received by Statyra, Parysatis being a cruell and malicious woman of nature, so hated her, that from thenceforth she fought all the waies she could to put her to death. And Dinon the Historiographer saith, that during this war, she did execute her wicked purpose vpon her: but Ciesiphas writeth, that it was after the warre. And therefore it is liker that he being daily in the king of Persiaes court, should certainly know the time when she did execute

her treason against her; and also there is no cause why he should rather write in any other time. then in that in which the fact was done: although in many other places he commonly viethto feine, and to write deuices of his owne head. Therefore let vs leave the report of this fact to the felfe same time and place as he hath written it. Now when Cyrus drew neare vnto his brothers countrey, he had newes, and a rumor ran through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him fo soone; and that he meant first to go further into Persia, and to tary there till he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe herof, the king having cast a great trench of ten yards broad, and as many high, the space of source hundred furlongs in length: he left it without guard, and let Cyrus win it, who came on further without any refiftance, even to the very city it self of BABYLON. Howbeit in the end, Tiribazus (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tel the king, that he shold not flie fight in that fort, nor hide himfelf in the farthest part of Persia, leaving his enemy y realmes of Media, Babylon, & Sysa: confidering also that he had many moe foldiers in readinesse then his enemy, & an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull, and able to give counfell, and to fight, then he was. These words of TiribaZ ## made the king alter his mind, and to determine to give battell as foone as he could. Thereupon he marched forward against his enemie, with nine hundred thousand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruelloufly aftonied Cyrus bundred men, and made them afraid at the first when they saw them in so excellent good order before thousand them; for that they were dispersed straggling here and there without any order, and men vnaragainst bis med, trusting too much in themselues in despising of their enemie: so that Cyrus had muchado to fet his men in battel ray, and yet was it with great noise and tumult. But the GRECIANS WOIL dred most of all other, when they saw the kings army march in so good order of battel without any noise: for they thought to have seene a wonderfull great disorder and confusion, in such an infinite multitude of people, and supposed they would have made such a noise, that one of them should not have heard another. Where indeed to the contrary, all was so well martialled, specially because he had placed before his battel the best carts he had, armed with sithes, & drawne with the strongest and biggest horse he had in all his army: hoping by the siercenesse and surie of their careire, to breake into the rankes of the enemies, before they could come to io yne with theirs. But fith this battell is discribed by divers Historiographers, and specially by Xeno- xemphon phon, who hath as (a man would fay) lively fet it out to the eye; and fetteth it forth to the Reader. not as a battell already fought, but presently a fighting, stirring vp their mindes, as if themselues were in the action and instant danger (he hath so passingly set it downe,) it were but a folly therefore of me to take vpon me to make any further description of it, saving to touch some speciall points worthy of note, which he peraduenture hath left out. As, the place where the battel was fought, is called Counaxa, fine hundred furlongs from Babylon: and how that before the battell, Clearchus gaue Cyrus counsell to keepe behind the squadron of the GRECIANS, and not to hazard his person among the first: and that Cyrus answered him, What sayest thou Clearchus? wouldest thou have me that strives to be king, to shew my selfe ynworthy to be a king. But Cyrus having made this fault, not standing vpon his safety and guard, but ouer-rashly thrusting safety in a himselse into great danger, Clearchus selse also committed as great a fault (if it were not worse) when he would not fet his men in order directly against the battell of the enemies, where the kings person stood, but went and pent them up by the rivers side, being asraid lest they should clear that have bene compassed in behind. For if he would have looked so straightly to himselfe, and have prouided enery way for his fafety, that no man might come to hurt him, he should have kept himselse at home and not have stirred one foot out of the doores. But sith he had come so farre, as from the low countries of Asia, vnto the place where the field was fought, & vncompelled, onely to put Cyrus in his fathers feat and Imperiall crowne to go chuse a place in the battell, not where he might do his Lord best service that had hired him, but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at lesse danger, it was even as much, as if through cowardlinesse his wits had bene taken from him when he should have fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his enterprise. For, to proue that the troupes which were about the kings person, had nenor bene able to have received the charge of the Grecians, and that those being overthrowne, the King had bene slaine in the field, or else forced to slie, and that cyrus had wonne the field, and by this victory hadbene king, the fuccesse of this battell doth plainely shew ir. And therefore Clearchus ouer-curious respect, deserved more blame for the losse of Mmmm4

ther Cyrus.

Pafacas, CITUS borfe. Artagerses

Artagerses.

Dinons re-

The Carians hee called. Cocks, be-Cause they weare crest on their bead-beeces. Ctefias re-ATLAXETER

this battell, then Cyrus ouer hardinesse. For if king Artaxerxes would have chosen or wished place where the GRECIANS might have done him lesse hurt, he could not have devised a sitter place that was fo farre from him, and from whence the GRECIAN'S could neither fee nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in fequele. For Cyrus was flaine before he could preuaile by Clearchus victory, he was so far from him : and furthermore, Cyrus therein knew before what was meeteft to be done. For he commanded Clearchus to place himselfe with his company in the middest of the battell: who answered him, he should take no thought for any thing, for he would fee all things well ordered. And when he had faid fo, he marred all afterwards: for where the GRECIANS were, they ouerthrew the barbarous people that made head against them, and had them in chase while they were wearie of following them. Cyrus being mounted vpon a hot stirring horse, that had a hard head, and was very sierce and dogged, called Pasacas, as Ctefias writeth, Artagerfes, the gouernor of the province of the CADV SANS, spied him a farreoff, and when he had found him, clapped spurres to his horse, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and most vnfaithfull and desperate man, thou now dishonourest the name of Cyrus (which is the goodlieft and most honorable name of all the Persians,) for that thou hast brought so valiant GRECIAN'S hither to so wicked an enterprise, to spoile & Per-SIANS goods, in hope to destroy thy soueraigne Lord and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of slaues and servants farre honester menthen thou wilt be while thou livest; and that thou shalt presetly know by proofe, for thou shalt die before thou see the king thy brothers face: & therewithall he threw his dartathim withall the force he had. But Cyrus armour was fo good, that it pierced him not: yet the blow came with fuch good will, that it made him stagger on his horse backe. When Arragerses had given him that blow, he presently turned his horse. But Cyrus therewithall threw a dart at him fo happily, that he flue him right in the place about the bone that joyneth the two shoulders together: so that the head of his dart, ran quite through his neck. Now, that Cyrus flue Artagerses with his owne hands in the field, all the Historiographers doagree vpon it: but for the death of Cyrus, because Xenophon toucheth it but a little by the way, for that he was not present in the very place where he was slaine, it shall not be hurtfull particularly to set downe the maner thereof, both according to the report of Dinon, and also of Ctessas. First, Dinon writeth, that after Cyrus had flaine Artagerfes, he went with great furie, & flew in amongst the troupe of them which were nearest vnto the kings person, and that he came so neare the king, that he flue his horse starke dead under him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But Tiribazus that was hard by him, straight mounted the king againe vpon another horse, and said vnto him: Your Grace will remember this battel another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And cyrus clapping spurres againe to his horse, threw another dart at Artaxerxes, and hit him. But at the third charge, the kingtold them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather diethen suffer it: so therewithall he spurring his horseto charge Cyrus (who came siercely and desperatly, having an infinite number of blowes with darts throwne at him on every side) threw his dart at him alfo. So did all those that were about his person: and so was Cyrus slaine in this conflict. Some say, that he was slaine with the wound the king his brether gaue him. Others say, that it was a man at armes of the countrey of CARIA, vnto whom the king for reward of his good service, gauethe honor in all battels to carie before the first ranke, a Cocke of goldon the top of a speare: for the Persians do call the Carians Cockes, because in the wars they vse to weare creasts in the top of their head-peeces. And this is Dinons report. But Ctessias, to couch in few words that which Dinon reporteth at large, faith: that Cyrus after he had flaine Ar. tagerses, gallopped on the spurre against the king himselfe, and the king against him, and not a word betweene them both. Ariam one of Cyrus flatterers, threw the first dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threw his dart, thinking to have hit Cyrus, but he missed him, and slue Tisaphernes, one of the valiantest and stoutest men Cyrus had about him, who fell downe dead. Then Cyrus hit Artaxerxes so sorea blow on his breast, that he pierced his armour, and entred into his flesh two fingers deepe. The king with this blow fell downe to the ground: therewithall the most part of his men about him were so afraid, that they forfookehim and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongst whom Ctessas said he was one, and so recouered a little hill a farre off, to take a little breath. In the meane time, Cyrus horsethat was hot in the mouth, and hard headed, as we have told you, caried his mafter spite of his heart farre from his men, among his enemies, and no

man knew him, because it was night, and his men were very busie in seeking for him. But Cyrus hoping he had wonthe victory, being of a hot stirring nature, and valiant, he went vp and downe in the thickest of his enemies, crying out in the Persian tongue: Saue your selues poore men, faue your felues. When they heard him fay fo, some made a lane for him to passe by them, and did him reuerence: but by enill fortune his Tiara (which is the high royall hat after the Persian maner)fell off from his head. Then a yong PERSIAN called Mithridates, passing by him, hit him ablow with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His corm buts. wound straight fellon a maruellous bleeding. Whereupon, Cyrus staggering at it, fell on the ground in a swound, and his horse ran away from him: but the caparison he had vpon him fell tothe ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him; tooke it vp. Shortly after Cyrus being come to himselfe againe, some of his Eunuches (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to fet him vpon another horse, and to get him out of the preasse: but he was notable to sit on his horse. Thereupon he proued if he could better go on foote, and the Eunuches held him vp by the armes, and led him amazed as he was, not able to stand on his feete; although he thought he had won the battell, because he heard his enemies flying about him crie, The gods faue king Cyrus, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercie. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the city of CAVNVs, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and flaues, to do most vile service. They ioyned with the troupe where Cyrus was, supposing they had bin thekings men: but when they perceived in the end by the red coates they wore vpon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men wore white coats, there was one among the restthat valiantly strake at Cyrus behind with his partizan, not knowing indeed that it was Cyrus. The blow lighted full on the hamme of his legge, and cut his finewes fo, that Cyrus fell withall; cyrus miss & falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great stone with his brow, where he had bene hurt before, rable dethat he died forthwith. Thus doth Cresias report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his throat with adull edged knife, he hath fuch ado to bring Cyrus to his end. Now after Cyrus was deads Artafirm one of king Artaxerxes Eunuches (whom they called the kings Eye in the Court) passing by on horse-backe, knew Cyrus Eunuches that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their master. So he asked the Eunuch whom Cyrus loued best: Who is that that is dead, ô Pariscas, that thou weepest so bitterly ? Pariscas answered him againe, Seest thou not Artasyras. that it is Cyrus but newly dead? Arta (yras wondered much when he saw him. So he comforted the Eunuch, and willed him in no case to go from the body, and in the meane time he gallopped apace to the king, who thought he had loft all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffered, as also for the wound he had on his breast. Now when the Eunuch came vnto theking, and told him with a fmiling countenance the newes, how he had seene Cyrus dead: the king was so ioy full at the newes, that he was desirous himself forthwith to go vnto the place where he lay to see him, and commanded Artasyras to bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counselled not to gothither himself for feare of the GRECTANS, who they faid wonne all, and were yet chafing and killing them in the field, that fled : but rather that he should send a good company of men thither, to bring him iust report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Vpon this aduice he staied, and sent thirtie men, enery man with torches in their hands. In the meane time, one of the Eunuches called Satibarzanes, ranne vp and downero see if he could get any water for the king, that was almost dead for thirst for there was no water neare vnto him where he was, and besides, his campe was far from him. His Eunuch having runne vp and downe agreat way to feeke it, met by chance with these poore flaues and porters the CAVNIANS, among the which one of them caried in an old ragged goates skinne, about eight glasse-fuls of naughtie stinking water. So he presently caried the fame to the king, who dranke it vp euery whit. When the king had drunke it, the Eunuch afked him, if that naughtie water did him no hurt. The king sware by the gods vnto him, that he king drneuer dranke better wine, nor sweeter water then that was, nor that pleased him better then that did: and therefore, said he, I beseech the gods, if it be not my hap to find him that gaue thee dranke this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to send him good fortune. As the king finking was talking thus with the Eunuch, the thirtie men with their torches returned vnto him, who ter, & faid altogether with joyfull countenance, confirmed the good newes he looked not for: and then be never there were come together againe a greater number of fouldiers about him, and still came moe ser.

The maner of the Perfeuns in war. against a trarter to the king.

Plutarch Ctefias for

How Ar. taxerret rewarded

one after another, that he began againe to be couragious. Then he came downe into the plaine, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went straight to the place where his brother Cyrus body lay. There, following the ancient manner of the Persians against traytors to the king, he caused his head and right hand to be striken off, and then made his head be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the haires of his head (for Cyrus wore them long and thicke) and did him selfe shew it vnto them that fled stil & were afraid, to encourage them againe. They wondering to see it, did him humble reverence, and so gathered by companies about the king, that in a small time there were gathered together about him, threescore and ten thousand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. Indeed Ctesias saith, that he had but foure hundred thousand fighting men in all: but Dinon and Xenopbon say more. And for the number of them that were flaine, Ctessas saith, that word was brought to the king, that there were not aboue nine thousand slaine, how beit that to sight they seemed to be no lesse then twenty thousand: but for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. And furthermore, where he faith that the king did fend him with Phayllus ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GRE-CIANS, and others with him, that is a flat lie. For Xenophon knew right well, that this Cielias waited vpon the king, because he speaketh of him in diverse places of his history: if he had beneappointed by the king to cary report vnto the GRECIANS of so weighty a matter, it is like enough Xenophon would not have concealed it, when he nameth Phayllus ZACYNTHIAN. But Ctefias (asit appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, & partial vnto ý LACED EMONIANS, but specially vnto Clearchus: and is glad when he can get any occasion to speake of himselfe for his glory, of LACED AMON, & of Clearchus. Now after this battel, king Artaxerxes fent goodly rich gifts vnto Artagersis son, whose father Cyrus had flaine with his own hands; & (as it is reported) did also greatly honor Cresias, and many others: and did not forget also to cause the poore Cav-NIAN slaue to be fought our, that had given him the water to be caried to him, which saued his life; and when he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowne before, he made him arich mobleman. He seuerely punished those also that had offended the martial law, as amongst others Arbazes, one of the MEDES: who (when the battell was joyned) fled first to Cyrus side, and, then, when he vnderstood he was slaine, he returned againe to the kings side. For, supposing that it was rather timorousnesse & cowardly nature, then for treason or ill will he bare him, he compelled him to carie a whore on his backe starke naked, all day long about the market place. And to another (who besides he had yeelded himself to his enemies, falsily boasting that he had slaine two)he made his tongue to be bored through in three scuerall places with a cordiners aule. Now the king being of opinion that it was himselfe that had slaine his brother Cyrus with his owne hand, and being defirous that enery man should so thinke and say, he sent presents vnto Milhri. dates, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commanded him that caried the gifts vnto him, to tell him from the king. The king doth fend thee these presents, because thou finding first the caparifon of Cyrus horse, diddest bring it vnto the king. The CARIAN also, that had cut the ham of his legge wherewith Cyrus fell downe, asked his gift likewise: which the king gaue him, and bad the messenger tell him, The king doth give thee this, because thou wast the second perfon that brought him the good newes: for Artafyras was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of Cyrus. Now Mithridates, albeit he was not well pleased in his mind with these words, he went his way, and said nothing then, nor made any thing ado; but the vnfortunate CARIAN fondly fell into a foolish veine, common vnto me. For, the sudden ioy he felt (asit feemeth) to fee fuch a goodly rich present before him, as y king sent him, made him fo forget himselfe, that he began to aspire, and to pretend greater things then became his estate and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gift, as in respect that he had brought him word of Cyrus death: but began to storme, and to rage, calling the gods to witnesse, that it was he onely, and none other, that flue Cyrus, and that they did him great wrong, to take this honor from him. The king being told of it, tooke it so angrily, that he presently commanded them to strike off his head. But Parysatis (the Queene mother) being present when the kinggaue this commandement, she prayed him not to put him to death in this fort: for the villaine (said she) let me alone, I will chastise him well inough for his presumption and rash speech. The king was contented she should have him. Thereupon she sent the Sergeant to take this cursed Cartan, and made him be hanged upon a gibber ten daies together, and at the ren daies end caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head: and last of all, poured molten mettall into his cares, and so

that flue Cyrus.

Paryfatis

billed the villaine with this kind of torment. Mithridates also shortly after, died miserably by a like folly. He was bidden to supper at a feast, whither came also the king & Queene mothers Eunuches: and when they came, Mithridates fate downe at the boord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had supped, and that they began to drinke one to another, one of Paris fatis Eunuches faid vnto Mithridates. The king hath indeed given thee a goodly gowne Mithridates, and goodly chaines and carcanets of gold, and so is the sword very rich and good he gaue thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man (I warrant thee) but will thinke thee a happy man. Mithridates the, the wine fuming into his braine, answered straight: What meanest thou by that, Sparamixes? I deserved better then this when the battell was fought. Then Sparamixes laughing on him, answered, I do not speake it for any hurt or cuill will I bearethee, Mithridates: but to speake frankly among our selues, because the GRECIANS have a common prouerb. that Wine tellethtrue, I pray thee tell me, what valiat act was it to take vp a caparison of a horse that fell on the ground, and to carie it to the king? which the Eunuch ipitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, and could not keepe histongue, and least of all when he had drunke so well as he had done; and so it fell out indeed. For Mithridates could not bite it in, but replied straight: You may talke as long as you list of the caparison of a horse, & such trash, see the pe but I tell you plainly, that Cyrus was flaine with mine own hands, & with no mans elfe. For I hit vill of half him not in vaine as Artagerses did, but full in the forehead hard by the eye, & strake him through rash answ and through his head againe, and so ouerthrew him, of which blow he died. He had no sooner spoken these words, but the rest that were at the boord, cast down their eies, foreseeing the death of this poore and vnfortunate Mithridates. But then the master of the feast began to speake, and faid vnto him: Friend Mithridates, I pray thee let vs drinke and be merrie, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king; and for the rest, let this talke go, it is too high for vs. When the Eunuch went from thence, he told Parysatis (the Queene mother) what Mithridates had said beforethem all: and the went and told the king of it. Who was maruellously offended with all to be so belied, and to lose the thing that was most honourable, and best pleased him in his victory. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GRECIANS and barbarous people) should certainly beleeue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt, but yet that he flue Cyrus with his owne hand. So the king commanded that Mithridates should suffer the paines of The terrible death in boates, the which is after this manner. They take two boates made of purpose so euen, death in boates, the which is after this manner. that the one is neither broader nor longer then the other, and then lay the offender in one of boates or them upon his backe, and so couer him with the other, and do sow both boates together: so troughes, 4. that the feete, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpose for him, the rest of his ressaus. body is all hidden within. Now they gine him meate as much as he will eate, and if he will not eate, they force him to it, by thrusting aules in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they give him honey to drinke mingled with milke, and they do not only poureit into his mouth, but also all his face ouer, turning him full into the Sun, so that his face is all couered ouer with flies; and furthermore, being driven to do his needs in that trough, of his excrements there ingender worms that cate his body to the very prinities. Then, when they fee the man is dead, they take off the vppermost boate, and find all his flesh denoured with vermine ingendred of him, even to his very intrails. So, when Mithridates had miserably languished in this maner, seventeene daises together, The miseraat length he died in extreme torments. Now Pary satis (the Queene mother) lacked no more bledeath of to accomplish her wicked desire, but Mesabates, one of the kings Eunuches that had cut off Cyrus head and hand; and feeing that he was very wary and circumfpect in his hehauior, that she could not take him at any advantage, in the end she denised a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruellous wir, and among other things could play passingly well at all games at dice, and did many times play with the king her son before the warres; and after the warres also, when he had made the rerest and after the warres also, when he had made the rerest and after the warres also, when he had made the rerest and after the warres also, when he had made the rerest and after the warres also, when he had made the rerest and after the warres also, when he had made the rerest and after the warres also and did many times play with the king her son before the warres; and after the warres also and did many times play with the king her son before the warres; and after the warres also and did many times play with the king her son before the warres; and after the warres also and did many times play with the king her son before the warres; and after the warres also and did many times play with the king her son before the warres; and after the warres also and the son before the warres. peace, she did play at dice with him as she had done before, in so much as she knew all his secret skill and loue, and suffered him to enjoy it. To be short, she would never be out of his sight but as little as country at she could, and would let his wife Statira have as little time with him as might be, that she might gouerne and rule him as she would: both because she hated her of all creatures living, & also for that she would beare the greatest sway and credit about him. When she saw the king one day at reifure, not knowing how to passe the time away, she inticed him to play a thousand Dareckes at dice, and was contented to lose them willingly, and played the thousand Dareckes downe,

Paryfatis craft and

Tisaphernes berrayed the Captaines of

Clearchus and other Captaines of Grece but to dea:b by king Artaxerxes.

Ctefins vs.

ni:y.

The cause wat a her practifech Querno Statira.

feeming notwithstanding to be angry with her losse. So she prayed him also to play one of his Eunuches with her: and the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betweene them that they should both name and except fine of the trustiest and chiefest Eunuches they had:and then, which of them loft, should prefently deliuer vnto the winner his choise of all the other Eunuches he would demand. Thus they fell to play, and she imploying all the cunning she had, and playing as warily as she could possible, besides that the dice ran on her fide, her lucke ferued her fo, that she wan: and then she required Mefabates for her winnings, being none of those the king had excepted. When she had him delivered her, she gave him to the hangman, & willed him to flea him aliue, and then that they should crucifie him, & naile him to a croffe, and hang his skin vpon another peece of timber by hims the which was done accordingly. The king was maruellous angry withall when he knew it, and gricuously offended with his mother. Howbeit she sported it out, and laughing told him: Indeed it becomes thee well to beangry for lofing an old gelded villaine, where Host a thousand Darecks quietly, and said neuera word. So there came no other thing of it, fauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had played fo fondly, & was fo finely mocked. But Queene Statira on the other fide(be. fides that the was against her in all other things) spared not to tell Queene mother plainly that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kingsgood & faithfull feruant focuelly to death, for Cyret fake. But now, after that Tifaphernes (king Artaxernes Lieutenat) had deceived Clearchin, & other Captaines of GRECE, detestably falfifying his word he had given them, & that he had sentthe bound vnto the king, Ctefias faith, that Clearchus praied him to help him to a combe; and that hauing had one by his means, & fo combed his head, it pleased him so wel, that to requite his good will, he gaue him his scale of armes from his singer wherewith he scaled his letters, for a witnes of the great friendship that was betweene them two. He saith also, that in the stone of this ring there was grauen the dance of the CARYATIDES. And furthermore, that the other fouldiers which were prisoners with Clearchus, did take away & most part of the victuals that were sente him, & left him litle or nothing; & that he did remedy all this, procuring a greater quantity to be fent vnto the, and that they should put Clearchus portion apart, and all the other soldiers parts by theselues. This he did, as he saith, by Parysatus consent and commandement, who knowing that amongst other victuals they daily fent Clearchus a gamon of baco, she told him one day he should do well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, & to fend it him, to the end that the life of fo noble & valianta man as he was, should not fal to the cruelry of the king. Howbeit, that he was afraid to meddle withal, & durst not do it; and that the king sware, and promised his mother (who was an earnest futer to him for Clearchus) that he would not put him to death. This notwithstanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perswaded to the contrary, by Queene Statira his wife, he put the all to death, but Menon. Therfore Pary satis (Queene mother) after that time (saith Ctefias) denifed all the waies she could to poy son Queene Statira, & to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this finelleth like a lie, that Parylatis should intend so wicked and dangerous an act, as to put the kings lawfull wife to death, by whom he had sonnes that were to inherit the Crowne, onely for the loue & respect of Clearchus: and it is too plaine that he coined that, to honour and magnific Clearchus memory the more. But to proue it, a man may eafily find it by the lies he addeth afterward vnto it: faying, that after the Captaines were flaine, all the bodies of the rest were torne in peeces by dogs and fowles: and also that there came a boisterous wind, and couered all Clearchus body with a great hill of dust; and that out of this hill of dust shortly after there sprung vp many palmetrees, which made a pretie thicke groue, that it shadowed all that place. Infomuch that the king himfelf did afterwards maruelloufly repent him for putting him to death, for that he was an honest man, & beloued of the gods. This was not for Clearchus sake, but for an old cankred malice Pary fatis had long time borne in her heart against Queene Statira: because she saw well enough, that the credit and authority her selfe had with the king, was in respect of a sonnes duty and obedience to his mother; and in contrary maner, Statiraes credit and authority had a better ground and foundation, because it came of the love and goodwill the king did beare her. And this is the only cause that made her to practise the death of Queene Statira, having determined that her felfe, or daughter in law, must needs die. Now Queene mother had one of the women of her chamber called Gigis, that was of great credit about her, & whom the only trufted. Dinon writeth, that this Gigis did helpe Pary fatis to make the poyfon: but Ciefias writerh contrarily, and faith, that she only knew it, but otherwise that it was against her will:

and that he that made the poy son, was one Belitaras, but Dinon called him Melantas. Now. though in outward semblance and shew Queene mother and Statira seemed to have forgotten all malice between them, & that they began again one of them to keep company with the other. and did eate and drinke together yet one of them mistrusted the other, and tooke great heed to themselves, both of them eating one selfe meate, and in one dishtogether, and were both scrued with one selfe officers and men. In PERSIA there is a little bird, of the which all the parts are excellent good to eate, and are full of fat within; fo that it is thought it liueth by aire and dew, and birdof Perin the PERSIAN tongue they call it Ryntaces. Pary (atis, as Ctefias faith, tooke one of these birds, hath no and cut it in the middeft with a little knife, the which was poyfoned onely on one of the fides, extrement. and gaue that halfe which was poisoned vnto Statira. Yet Dinon writeth, that it was not Parysatis tra was her selfe that gaue ither, but her caruer Melantas that carued her meate, and still gaue Queene possoned. Statira of that meate which the fide of his poyfoned knife had touched. So Queene Statira prefently fell ficke of the difease whereof she died, with grieuous pangs and gripings in her bowels, and found plainely that she was poysoned by Parysatis meanes: whereupon she told the King as much, who was of the same opinion, and thought it was his mother, because he knew her cruell revenging mind, that never pardoned any, against whom she conceived any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife Statira was dead apprehended all his mothershoushold servants and officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confessethe troth, fauing Gigis whom Queene mother kept close in her chamber a long time, and would neuer fuffer the king to have her, who earnestly requested her to deliuer her vnto him. Not withstanding, Gigis herselfe at length prayed Queene mother to give her leave one night to go home to her house. The king vnderstanding it, laid waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when the was taken, he condemned her to fuffer the paines of death ordained for poyfoners, the which in P B R S I A is executed in this maner. They make them put their head ypon a great plaine flone, and with another flonethey preffe and flrike it follong, till they have dashed the braines of the male factor out of their head. After this fort was Gigis put to death. Now for Parysatis his The punish. mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor faid any more vnto her, but coffined her to Barylon ment for flate flood the affaires of the king. But now, Artaxerxes having done the vimost he could to have overcome the GRECIANS which came to make war with him in the heart of his Realme, and wold have beene as glad of that, as he was to have overcome Cyrus, and to keepe his crowne and Realme: he could neuer prevaile against them. For though they had lost Gyrus that gave them entertainment, and all their private Captaines that led them: they faued themselves notwithstanding, being in the heart of his Realine, and shewed the Persians by experience, that their doings was nothing but gold and filuer, curiofitie, and faire women, or otherwife, nothing but pompeand vanity. Hereupon all the GRECIANS became couragious, and despised the barbarous people:infomuch that the LACED EMONIANS thought it a great shame and dishonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the flauery & bondage of the Persians, & keep them from the open violence & cruelty of the barbarous people. For they having at other times attempted to do it by their Captaine Timbron, & afterwards also by Dereillidas, whom they fent thither with an army, and having done nothing worthy memory, at Agefilaus length they determined to fend their king Agefilans thither in person, who passing through As IA king of La. with his ships, began presently to make hote war against the Persians as soone as ever he had edimon. landed his armie. For, at the first conflict he ouerthrew Tisaphernes (the king of Persiaes Lieu-with the tenant) in battell, and made the most part of the cities of GRECE that are in As Instorebella. Persians. gainst him. Artaxerxes looking into this warre, and wisely considering what way and meanes he wastotake, tomake warre with the Grecian's, he fent into Grece one Hermocrates a RHODIAN (Of great credit about him) with a maruellous fumme of gold and filter, bountifully to bestow in gifts among the nobility and chiefe rulers of the cities of GRECE, to make all theother GRECIANS to rife against the LACED EMONIANS. Hermocrates wisely executed his commission, for hemade the chiefest cities of GRECE to rebell against LACED # MON: so that all PELOPONNESUS being up in armes, and in great garboile, the Ephori at LACED AMON were enforced to fend for Agesilans home againe. Agesilans being fory to depart out of As 14, sayd vnto The Perhis friends, that the king of PERSIA had driven him out of his Realme with thirty thousand archers: because that the Persian coyne is stamped with an archer, having a bow in his hand. stamped.

Avtaxerces draue the Lacedemonians fro all their do. minion by

Antalcidas Lacedemo pian greatly effected of Artax. erxes.

The Persias fullefra enticstie.

> The death of antalcidas Lacedamonian.

> Timagora king Artax

Axtaxerxes also draue & LACED EMONIANS out of all their iurisdiction by sea, by the means of Conon Generall of the ATHENIANS, whom Pharnabazas (one of his Lieutenants) had wont to take his part, For Conon, after he was ouerthrown in battel at a place called the Goates river, kept euerafter in the Ile of Cyprvs, not so much for the safetie of his person, as also for that it was a meete place to stay in while the warres of GRECE were appealed. He, knowing that the deuicehe had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution; and on the contrary fide, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe judgement to be employed: wrote letters vnto him of hisaduice what he thought to do, straightly charging him who he deliucred his letters vnto that ifhe could possibly, he should cause the same to be delivered vito the king by Zenon the CRETAN one of the kings dancers, or by one Polycritus his Phisitian, borne in the citie of MENDE; and in both their absences, then to give it vnto Ctelias, to deliver it vnto the king. It chanced so, that this letter came to the hands of Cresias who (as it is reported) added moreover vnto the contents of the letter, that the king should send him to Conon, because he was a necessary man to be imploied in his feruice, but specially by sea. Ctefias faith not so: but writeth that the king of his own voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after Arraxeryes had through the leading of Cononand Guidus Inf. Pharnabazus, won the battell by fea neareto the Ile of GNIDVs, and that thereby he had driven all the LACED AMONIANS from their iurisdictio by sea, al GRECE had him in maruellous green estimation: so that he gaue vnto the GRECIAN's with such coditions as he would that so famous peace, called Antaleidas peace. This Antaleidas was a citizen of Sparta, the fon of one Leon, who fauoring king Artaxerxes affaires, procured by thetreaty of this peace, that the LACED EMONI-ANS left vnto Artaxerxes al the cities of GRECE in ASIA & althe Iles cotained in the fame, to enioy quietly, making them pay tribute at his pleasure. This peace being concluded with the Gra-CIANS (if fo shamefull a treason, reproach & common infamy to al GRECE may be called peace. as neuer war fell out more dishonorable and infamous for the vanquished) king Artaxerxes, that otherwise hated the Laced Amonians to the death, and that esteemed them (as Dinon writeth) the impudentest men living, did notwithstanding love Antalcidas passing well, and entertained him very honourably when he came into PERSIA vnto him. It is reported, that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, and did wet it with the most precious and sweetest oile of persume that was prepared for the feast, & sent the same vnto Antalcidas: insomuch as every man marvel. led to fee the king fet fo much by him. Indeed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curiofitie of the Persians, and had well deserved such a garland to be sent him: who was so bold to dance a dance before the Persians, mocking and counterfetting Leonidas & Callicratidas, two of the valiantest menthat euer were in GRECE. Therfore one said at that time in the presence of king Agefilaus: O how vnhappy is poore Grece at this day, whe the Laced Emonians come to follow the Persians: But Agefilaus prefently answered him againe, Not so, said he: but rather the Persians follow the Laced Emonians. Notwithstading this wife answer Agesslaus made, aid not take away the shame of the fact and shortly after the LACEDEMONIAN'S lost the battell of Levernes, and therewith also the fignoritie and principalitie they had kept of long time ouer all GRECE, although they had lost their estimation before, for consenting to so shamefull and dishonorable peace. When Sparra florished most, and was chiefe of all the other cities of GRECE, folong did Artaxerxes continue still to make much of Antalcidas, and called him, his friend. But after that the LACED EMONIAN's had lost the battell of LEVCTRES, having receiued so great an ouerthrow, and wanting mony, they sent Agesilaus into ÆGYPT, and Antalcidas into PERSIA vnto king Artaxerxes, to pray him to aide and helpe the LACED EMONIANS. Howbeit, the king made fo small account of him, and disdained him so much, denying him and his requests, that he returned backeto Sparta, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there also seeing that his enemies mocked him: and fearing that the Ephori would comit him to prison, he killed himselse with famine. About that time also, the THE-EAN'S after they had won the battel of LEVCTRES, Sent Ismenias & Pelopidas into PERSIA, VIIIO king Artaxerxes, where Pelopidas did nothing vnworthy of himselfe. Howbeit, Ismenias being commanded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ring at his feet, and stouped to take it vp: whereby it was thought of some, that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time Artaxerxes liking afecret aductifment very well, fent him from Timagoras the ATRENIAN, he gaue him tenne thousand Daricks by his Secretarie called Belluris. And because he had a fickly body, and was driuento drinke cowes milke to reftore him, the king therefore fent foure fore milch kine with him, to give milke to the paile, to have fresh milke every day. Furthermore, he sent him a bed throughly furnished with althings necessary, & groomes of the chaber to make his bed, saying, harrhe GR B CIAN'S could not tel how to make it and did also let him have men to cary him vpon their armes to the fea fide because he was ficke; and whilest he was at the Court, he entertained him very honorably and bountifully. So Oftanes the kings brother, fayd one day vnto him: Timaggras, remember how honourably thou art ferued at thy boord, for it is for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treason, then for any remembrance of the benefit received. So the ATHENIAN'S afterwards condemned the same Timagoras was parte to die, because he had taken bribes and money of the king of Persia. But Artaxerxes in recompence of fo many other things that he had done to despite the GRECIANS with, did one thing bibes and that pleased them maruellously, when he did put Tisaphernes to death, who was the dreadfullest gifts of the enemie the Grans had. Pary (atisthe Queene mother did helpe to bring this to passe, aggrauating the accusations brought in against him: for the king kept not his anger long against his King at mother, but felin againe with her, & fent for her, knowing that she had an excellent wit & noble killeth Ticourage to gouerne a great kingdome; and besides, that there was nothing now to let them to Japharues. come rogether as much as they would, to give any occasion of icalousie or malice to any person. So ever after his mother Pary fath endeuored her felfe to feed the king her fonnes humour everiemanner of way, seeming to mislike nothing that he did: whereby she grew in so greateredite himmsher with him that he denied her nothing what he denied her nothing when the state of the with him, that he denied her nothing what soeuer she asked him. So she perceived that the king and sent for was extremely in loue with one of his own daughters, that was called Atofa: howbeit that he dif- her to come fembled his love the best he could, & kept it secret, chiefly for feare of her, although some write, sothe Court that indeed he had already had her maiden-head. Now Paryfatis having found his love, the began to make more of his daughter then she did before, and talking with her father, sometime she praised her beautie, another time her grace and good countenance, saying that she was like a Queene and noble Princesse: so that at length by litle and litle she perswaded him to marry her openly not passing for the lawes and opinions of the GRECIANS, considering that God had giuen him vnto the Persians, to stablish lawes vnto them, to decide right from wrong, and the good from the bad. Some Hiftoriographers do write; and among ft them Heraelides of CVMES, that Artaxerxes did not onely marry the eldest of his daughters, but the second also called Amethis, of who we will speake hereafter. Now when he had maried the eldest, Atossa, he loued her smarted foentirely well, that though the fell ficke of the difease commonly called Vitiligo, that ran ouer biseds fi all her bodie, he loued her not the worse for it, but praied continually for her vnto the goddesse dessa. Ium, honouring no other goddesse but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image. and lent by his friends and Lieutenants fo many offerings, that althe way from his Court gates vato the temple of *Iuno* (which was fixteene furlongs off) was full of gold, filuer, rich purple. filles, and horse that were sent thither. He began to make warre also with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made Pharnabazus and Iphicrates ATHENIAN, his Licutenants, who did no good, because they fellat variance the one with the other. But afterwards, Artaxerxes himselfe went in personto conquer the Capysians with three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, taxers to So he inuaded their country, which was a very rude country, alway darke and cloudie: the earth bringeth forth nothing that man foweth, but doth only feed the inhabitants with peares, apples. and fuch like fruite, and yet the men be very strong and valiant not with standing. So when he was Thereumen entred farre into the country before he was ware, he fel into great want of victuals, and was also duffam very ingreat danger. For his fouldiers found nothing in all the countrey that was good to eate; and barren. worst of all, no victuals could come vnto them from any place, because of the hardnesse and naughty water of the countrey: fo that his campe lived onely with the fielh of their beafts of cariage, and yet they fold it dearely; for, an Asses head was fold for threescore silver Drachmaes. Greatse Toconclude, the famine was fo great, that prouision failed for the kings owne mouth, and there taxernee were but few horseleft, for all the rest were eaten. Then Tiribazus, that had oftentimes been armie. chiefe about the king because he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times alfo out of fauor, as at that prefent time, when he had no authority nor estimation, he denised a ftratageme, whereby he faued the king and all his campe. In this countrey of the CADVSIANS, fratageme there were two kings in the field with their armies, both of them camped afunder, one from the faued at. other. Tiriba Tus, after he had spoken with king Artaxernes, and had told him what he meant to have not as do, he went vnto one of the kings, and at the felfe fame time also secretly fent his sonne vnto the armie.

Note that make not a machoned. minate, but a rile bafe mind that nill advice of king Artaxernes, & his great marching.

King Ar -

Davius and Oches, king Attaxers. es fonres.

Artaneraes treclaimeth ha fon Darius king.

other king, and told either of them, that the other king had fent Ambaffadors vnto Artaxerxen to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion; and therefore he counselled them, if they were wife, one of them to seeke to preuent another with all the possible speed he could; and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them the best he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credite to his words, either of them both mistrusting one another: fa that the one speedily sent his Ambassadours vnto king Artaxerxes, with Tirebaxus; and the o. ther alfo his Ambassadours with his sonne. But Tiribazus tarying long in his journey, king Artaxerxes began somewhat to suspect him: his enemies also didaccuse him in his absence, and the king grew very cholericke, and repented him that he had trufted him fo farre, and was willing to heare every man that spake against him, Howbeit, Tiribazus at length returned, and his sonalso. and either of them brought with them the Ambassadours of the CADVSIANS, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was Tiribazus aloft againe, and in greater credit then ever he was. for appared and so departed with the king. The king then showed plainly, that cowardlinesse proceedeth and riches, not of pompe and curiofitie, as some take it, beleeuing that it doth effeminate mens hearts; but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly follower heuill, and the worst counsell: for neither the by and offer iewels of gold, the kingly robe, nor other fuptuous ornaments which the king ener wore about him, worth twelve thousand talents (as it is reported) did not hinder him at that time to travell. and to take as much paine as any man in all his army. For he himself marched on foote the forefollowerbe. most man, carying his owne truste in a scarfe upon his shoulders, and his target on his arme and trauailed through high stonie mountaines. So that, his fouldiers seeing the courage and paine The courage the king himselfe tooke, they marched so nimbly that it seemed they had wings: for hedayly marched about two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by fore trauell came to one of his owne houses where there were goodly arbors & parks, with goodly trees passingly set forthe but all the country besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruellous cold. The king suffered his fouldiers to hew downe the goodly pines and cyprestrees in his parkes; and because they durst not presume to touch them, he himfelfe as he was tooke an axe in his hand, and began to hew downethe goodlieft tree there. The fouldiers feeing that, fel every man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short time they had provided themselves well with wood, and made them great fires in every place, and so past ouer the night quietly by the fire fide. This not with standing, he lost a great number of valiant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore, thinking his men would mockehim becar se he did faile of his purpose, he began to grow mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefest noble men he had about him, so that in a rage he put many of them to death; but much more of them remained whom he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloudfucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary maner, nothing is more courteous, and leffe suspitious, then a valiant and hardie man. And therefore brute beafts, that be never made tamenor maffered, are commonly cowardly and timorous, and the other on the contrary, that are noble and couragious, are bold, and do come straight to know a man, because they have no feare, neither do they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards, king Artaxerxes being growne very old, heard that there was great stirre and contention betweenchis fonnes, which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contention fell out also among his friends and men of great calling. The wifeft of them wished, that as he himselfe came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldeft fonne; fo, that he likewife should after his death leaueit vnto his eldest some called Darius. But the yonger, which was called ochus, being a valiant man, and of a hote stirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his part, and hoped to attaine to his purpose, by the meanes of his fister Atosa, whem he loued and honoured, promifing to marry her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers deceale. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he secretly kept her howbeit Axtaxerxes neuer vnderstood it. Now, because he would betimes put his some Ochus out of all hope to fucceed him in his kingdome, lest this expectation might make him goe about to practife that which Cyrus did, and that by this meanes his Realme should grow into faction and civill warres: he proclaimed his eldest fonne Darius (being fiftie yeares old) king after his death; and furthermore, gaue him leave from thenceforth to weare the point of his hat right up. In Persia the custome is, that when any commeth to bee proclaimed succeffour and heireapparent to the crowne, he should require a gift of him that proclaimeth

him fucceffor. The which the other doth grant him, what foeuer it be that he asketh fo it be not impossible. Darius then asked his father a concubine called Aspasia, who was first with Cyrus. and in greatest fauour with him about all the rest, but then was for the kings owne bodie. She was borne in the countrey of Ionia, of free parents; and being vertuoufly brought up, the was brought one night vnto Cyrus as he was at supper, with other women, who sate them downe without too curious bidding hard by him, and were very glad when Cyrus offered to play and he merry with them, giving every one of them some pleasant word: and they made it not coy. But Affasia stood on her feete by the table, and said neuer a word; and not with standing that Cyrus called her the would not come at him. Moreouer, when one of the groomes of his chamher would have taken her to have brought her to him: The first, saith she that layeth hands on me shall repent it. Thereupon all those that were present, said, she was a foolish thing, and simply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit Cyrus being glad of it paffed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: Doeft thou not fee, that of all these thou hast brought me there is not an honest woman but she? After that, Gyrus began to make much of her, and loued her better continually then all the rest, and called her Afpallathe wife. This Afpalia was taken among the spoiles of Cyrus campe after he was ouer- The barbathrowne; and Darius as we have told ye, did beg her of his father, who was very angry with it in reds people his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruellous icalous of their women, to that not onely he should be put to death, that durst but speake to, or touch any concubine of the tinality is kings but in sport; but also who so euer came neare them, or neare their coaches as they trauelled. The kings daughter Atoffa, whom he had maried against the law, was yet liuing, & besides her he had also three hundred and threescore passing faire concubines; and yet when his sonne Darius asked Apalia of him, the king answered, she was a free woman borne, and therfore if she wold. he was content he should have her: but if she were vnwilling to go to him, then he would not haue him force her by any meanes. So Apalia was tent for, and the was asked with whom the had rather be. Sheanswered, With Darius: contrary to king Artaxerxes expectation, who both by the custome, & also the law, was compelled to let him have her. But shortly after he took her from him againe, saying that he would place her in a Nunry of Diana, in the country of Echa-TANE, where they call her Anitis, there to ferue the goddeffe, and to line chaft all the daies of her life: fuppofing by this means to punish his for, not rigoroufly, but moderatly, with griefe mixt with sport and earnest. How beit his son tooke it not so patiently, either because he was deeply in love with Afpafia, or elfe for that he faw his father mocked him in that point. Tiribazus finding this, and perceiving that Darius tooke it very grieuously, he aggrauated his anger against his father, knowing the passion of loue in Darius, by his owne vpon the like occasion. King Artaxerxes had many daughters, & had promised Pharnabazus one of the called Apama: vnto Orontes, Darius a-Redogoune, and to Tiribazus, Amefira. The king performed the other two mariages, and did put saing his Tiribazus by his wife. For the king himselfe maried his owne daughter Amestras; and for her, he promifed Tiribazus the yonger, Atoffa: with whom also he himselfe fell in love, and maried here Tiribazus hereupon was in such a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death; not because hewas any traitor or feditious man in nature, but a mad hare-brain'd felow. For fomtime he was Tiribates aloft, and in as good credite and authority as the best; suddenly agains he would play some mad mineriand parts to anger the king, and then he was in as much differed, and out of countenance; and could away with neither fortune. For when he was in authority, he made every man hate him for his pride, and being in difgrace, he could not humble himfelfe, but looke bigger then before. Now there was fire and brimstone met, when Tiribazus tooke part with Darius. For he daily blew into his cares, that it was to no purpose for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires also went not rightly forward: and that he deceived himselfemuch, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes of the women he kept) fecretly aspired to the crowne and that his father being so vnconstant as he was, he must not rust in any fort to succeed him in the kingdome, what Proclamation soeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrary. For, said he, he that for a GRES CIAN woman hath broken & violated the holiest law that was in PERSIA, thou must not looke that he will performe that he hath promifed thee. And furthermore, he perfwaded him, that it was not alike repulse vnto Ochus, to be denied that which he looked for, as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For faid he, if it please ochus to liue like a private man, he may fafely do it, and no man will trouble him : but for himfelfe that was already proclaimed

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king he must of necessitic make himselfe king, or else he must not live. So, the Poet Sophocleshis faying most commonly proucth true:

Avenvor wes, how to himfelfe.

A denice of

Darius con

gainft Ar-

ibireth a-

taxerxes

Tiribazus the traitons

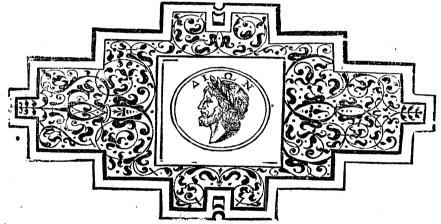
Daries con. demned in die,and

King Ar. taxerxes fonnes.

Ill counsell easily takes place. For the way is large and plaine for a man to believe as he lift, and men commonly are given rather to beleeue the euill then the good, because most men know not what goodnesse meaneth. But now befide these perswasions, the greatnesse of the kingdome, and the teare Darius stood in of his brother Ochus, tooke great force & effect with him and it may be also, that Venus her felfe did somewhat in the matter, for the malice & spire that Aspassa was taken from him. But whatsoeuer the cause was, thus was it handled, that Darius flatly cospired against his father Artaxerxer. together with Tiriba Zus. Now, they having gotten many conspirators to joyne with them, one of the kings Eunuchs perceiving it, ran and told the king of it, & how they had fuddenly determined to affaile him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among themselues, that they should kill him in his bed in the night. Artaxerxes receiving this advertisement; thought it was not good to be carelesse of a matter of so great importance, as his life; and also that it were too great light. nesse in him so sodainly to believe his Eunuch, without better proof or knowledge. So he took this way with himselfe. He commanded the Eunuch that had given him this information, to keepe company still with the conspirators, and to follow them wheresoener they went, to see their doings : and in the meane time he beate downe his wall behind his bed, and made a doore through and fet vp a hanging of tapestry before it. When the time was come, as the Eunuchhad aduertifed the king that the traitors meant to do their feate, Artaxerxes being laid on his bed. rose not up till he had seene energy traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then, when he faw them comming towards him with their fwords drawne, he fuddenly lift up the hanging and got into his inner chamber, & flut the doreafter him, making an out-cry, murder, murder, So, the traitors being plainely feene and knowne by the king, fled the fame way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad Tiribazus saue himselse, because he was known. So they disperfed themselves, & scaped by flying. But TiribaZus was taken tardie, although he had flaine divers of the kings guard, valiantly defending himselfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was striken with a dart a good way off, which flue him. Darius was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his sous; and the king referred him to be judged by his Peeres. For the king himself would not be present to give judgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuse him. howbeit, he commanded his Secretaries to fet downe in writing, the opinion and fentence of euerie one of the Judges, and to bring it to him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to die. Then the officers laid hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the prifon, where the hangman came with a razor in his hand, with the which he yied to cut mens throats fo condemned to die. So the hangman coming into the chamber, when he faw it was Darius; he was affraid, and came out of the chamber againe, his heart failing him, and durft not lay hands ypon the perfon of the king. But the Judges that food without the chamber, bad him goe and do it, vnleffe he would have his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in , and tooke Darins by the haire of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and so cut his necke with his razor he had in his other hand. Others do write, that this sentece was given in the presence of king Artaxerxes felfe, and that Darius feeing himselfe connicted by manifest proofes brought in against him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and befought him to pardon him and then, that his father being angrie, rose vp, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in so many places withall, that at length he flue him. Then returning into his Court, he worshipped the Sunne, & turning him to his Lords that were about him, he faid vnto them: My Lords, God be with you, and be merry at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great Oremazes hath taken reuenge of them that practifed treason against me. This was the end of Darius treason. Now Darins being dead, ochus his brother stood in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, and the rather through the meanes and friendship of his fifter Atolia: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he scared Ariaspes, who was only lest of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard brethren, Arfames not because Ariaspes was elder then he, but for that (he being of a fost and plaine name) the PERSIANS therefore defired he might be their king. On the other fide Arfames was wise, and valiant: and Ochus saw that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrap them both. Now Ochus being a subtileand malicious natured man, he first shewed his crueltievpon Arfames, and his malice vpon Ariaffes his legitimate brother. For, because he knew he

was but fimple and plaine, he fent daily fome of the kings Eunuchs vnto him, who brought him threatning words and meffages, as from the king: telling him, that he had determined to put him to a shamefull and cruell death. So, forging these newes continually as things very secret, they did foterrifie poore Ariaspes, telling him, that the king was fully bent to put some of his threats in execution out of hand; that he was put in such feare and dispaire of his life, that he prepared himselfe a poison, and dranke it, to rid himselfe of his life. King Artaxeries vnderstanding of his death took it very heavily, & began to mistrust the cause that made him to make himselfeaway: howbeit, he could not seeke the proofe of it, for his extreame age. But this chance made him loue Arfames betterthen before, shewing plainely that he trusted him better then Ochus, and did makehim privie to all things. Ochus could no longerabide to deferre his intent; and therefore inticed Harpaces Tiriba Zus fonne, to kill his bastard brother Arsames; the which he did. Now Artaxerxes was so extreme old, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his sonne Arlames was murthered, he could beare it no longer, but tooke it so to his heart for sorow, that when he had lived fourescore and foureteene yeares, and raigned threescore and two, he died. When he was dead, they then found that he had beene a gracious and courteous Prince; and one yeares eldate that loued his people and subjects; when they saw the proofe of his successor ochus, that passed his death; all menliuing, in cruelty and severitie.

THE LIFE OF Dion.





Ike as Simonides (O Sosius Senecio) faith, that the citie of ILIVM was not offended with the Corint Hians, for that they came to make war with the with other GRECIANS, because Glaucus (whose first ancestors came from Coring H) had taken armes, and louingly fought for the fame : even so methinks, that neither the GRECIANS, nor ROMAINS haue cause to complaine of the Academie, sith they be both alike praifed of the same in this present booke, in the which are contained the Plato de liues of Dion and Brutus. Of the which, the one of them having beene virtue. very familiar with Plate himselfe, and the other from his childhood actisshould

brought vp in Platoes do Ctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe schoole-house to befamousing attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no maruell if they two were much like the common wealth. in many of their doings, prouing that true, which their schoolemaister Plate wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the government of a common wealth, which should be famous and of credit; authoritie, and good fortune, must both meet in one selfeperson, joyned with justice

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A wicked Spirit apand wisedome. For as a certaine fencer called (Hippomachus) saith, that he knew his scholers fatte off if he did but see them coming from the market with meate in their hands: so it must need follow, that men having beene vertuously brought vp, must needs be wise in all their doings; and beside that it bringeth them to civilitie and honestie, it also frameth their conditions much like one to another. Furthermore, their fortunes having also falle out both alike, more by chance then by any reason, do make their lines very like to each other, for they were both of the slain. before they could bring their enterprises to passe which they had determined. But the greatest wonder of all is this, that their deaths were foreshewed vnto them both, by a wicked spirit that visibly appeared vnto either of them: albeit there be some that cannot abide those opinions, and do maintaine, that these sights and euill spirits do neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of little children, or old women, or of some men whose wits are weakened by fickneffe; and so have a certain eimagination of such strange sights, being of this fuperstitious mind, that they have a wicked spirit, and an euill angell in them. But if Dion and Brutus, both of them graue and learned Philosophers, and very constant men, not ouercome by any fodaine passion or imagination of mind, have been moved by such sights & spirits, and have also told it vnto their friends: I cannot tell whether we shall be enforced, to grant the most strange and old opinion of them which fay: That there be euill spirits, which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdrawthem from their godly minds, do make them afraid with these feareful fights. inciting them to forfaketheir godlinesse, lest that persisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this disputation to someother booke; and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens lives compared, let vs first be-

Dionyfins maried Her.

Dionysius wines, Do. ride of Locres: Aristo Syracula. Hipparinsa daughter. and Dions fifter.

Dions kin-Dienysius.

Plato same out of Italy Dion Pla-

gin to write of the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speake of. Diony sus the elder, after he had the government of Sicilia in his hands, he maried the daughter of Hermocrates, a citizen of Syra evsa. But yet not being throughly fetled in his tyrannie, the Syracusans did rebell against him, and did so cruelly & abominably handle the body of his wife, that the willingly poisoned her felte. So, after he had established himselfein his gouernment with more suretie then before, he maried againe two other wives together, the onea ftranger of the citie of Lock & s, called Doride; and the other of the country it selfe, called Ariflomache, the daughter of Hipparinus the chiefest man of all Syracvsa, and that had been companion with Dionysius, the first time he was chosen Generall. It was faid that Dionysius maried them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knew first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly fate together with him at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turnes, though the Syrac vsans would have their owne countriwoman preferred before the stranger. Howbeit, the strange woman had this good happe, to bring forth Dionysius his eldest sonne, which was a good countenance to defend her, being a forriner. Aristomaché in contrary manner, continued a long time with Dionssius without fruit ofher wombe, although he was very desirous to hauechildren by her: so that he put the Localian womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with sorceries and witchcraft, kept Aristomache from being with child. Dion being the brother of Aristomache, was had in great estimation at the first, for his sisters sake: but afterwards the tyrant finding him tobea wise man, he loued him then for his owne sake. Infomuch, that among many sundrie things and pleasures he did for him, he commanded his Treasurers to let him have what money heasked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the felfe same day they gaue him any. Now, though Dion had euer before a noble mind in him by nature, yet much more did that magnanimitie increase, when Plato (by good fortune) arrived in Sicile. For his coming thither surly was no mans deuice, (as I take it) but the very prouidence of some god: who (bringing farre off the first beginning and foundation of the liberty of the Syracvsans and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall state) sent Plato out of ITALIE vnto the citie of Syracvsa, and brought him acquainted with Dion, who was but a yong man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to learne, and readier goodwill to follow vertue, then any yong man else that followed Plato; as Plato himselfe writeth, and his ownedoings also do witnesse. For Dion having from a child beene brought vp with humble conditions vnder a tyrant, and acquainted with a feruile timorous life, with a proud and infolent reigne, with all vanity and curiofitie, as placing chiefe felicitie in couctoufnesse: neuerthelesse, after he had felt the sweet reasos of Philosophy, teaching the right way to vertue, his hart was inflamed ftraight with an earnest desire to follow the same. And because he foud that he was foeafily perswaded to loue vertue and honesty, he simply thinking (being of an honest plain nature) that the selfe same perswassons would moue a like affection in Dionysius; obtained of Diorefins, that being at leifure, he was contented to fee Plato, and to speake with him. When Plato Dionyfins came to Dionyfius, all their talke in maner was of vertue, & they chiefly reasoned, what was fortitude : where Plato proued that tyrants were no valiant men. From thence passing farther into inflice, he told him, that the life of infl men was happic; and contrarily, the life of vniust men, vnfortunate. Thus the tyrant Diony sus perceiving he was ouercome, durst no more abide him, and was angry to feethe standers by make such estimation of Plato, and that they had such delight toheare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, What busines he had to do there? Plato answered him, he came to seeke a good man, Dionysius then replied againe; What, in Gods name, by thy speech the it seemeth thou hast found none yet. Now Dion thought that Dionysius anger wold proceed no further, & therfore at Platoes earnest request, he fent him away in a galley with three bankes of oares, the which Pollis a LACED EMONIAN Captaine caried backe againe into GRECE. Howbeit, Dionysius secretly requested Pollis to kill Plato by the way, as ever he wold do him pleasure: if not, yet that he would fell him for a slave, how soeuer he did; for, said he, he shall malies unto benothing the worle for that, because, if he be a just man, he shall be as happie to be a slave, as a Plato. freeman. Thus (as it is reported) this Pollis caried Plato into the Ile of ÆGINA, & there fold him. For the EGINETE's having war at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a decree, that all the A. Plato 6'd THENIANS that were taken in their Ile, shold be fold. This not with stading, Diony fins refused not in the le of to honor & trust Dion, as much as euer he did before, & did also send him Ambassador in matters ofgreat weight: as when he fent him vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaued himselfe so well, that he wan great reputation by his journey; and the tyrant could well away with his plain freech. For no man but he, durst fay their minds fo boldly vnto him, to speake what he thought Dions boldgood: as on a time he reproued him for Gelon. One day when they mocked Gelons gouernment nes in speabefore the tyrants face, and that Dionysius himself said (finely descanting on his name, which signisseth laughter) that he was euen the very laughing stocke it selfe of Sicile, the Courtiers tyrant. made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter passing well; but Dion Gelon figuri. notbeing well pleased withall, said vnto him: For his sake men trusted thee, whereby thou camest whetyrant: but for thine owne fake they will neuertrust any man: for (to say truly) Gelon shewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to see a city gouerned by an absolute Prince: but Dionysius by his gouernment on the other side, made it appeare as detestable athing. This Dionysias had by his Locaian wife, three children; and by Aristomache, foure; of the which, two were daughters, the one called Sophrofyne, and the other Arete. Of them, Dionyfius el- Sophrofyne dest son maried Sophrosyné, and Areté was maried vnto his brother Thearides: after whose death Dion maried her, being his Necce. Now when Diony fins her father fell ficke, not likely to escape, ters of Dio-Dionwould have spoken with him for his children he had by his sister Aristomache. Howbeit the mysely Philitians about him, to curry fauor with the next heire and fucceffor of the tyranny, would ne uer lethim have any time or oportunitic to speake with him. For (as Timens writeth) they gave Dionmari-Dionysius the elder (as he had comanded them) a strong opiat drinke to cast him in a sleepe, and fotherby they took from him all his fenfes, and ioyned death with his sleepe. Notwithstanding te, the in the first counsell and affembly holden by his friends, to consult about the state and affaires of daughter of the yonger Dionysius, Dion moued matter so necessarie and profitable for that present time, that and glim by his wisedome he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke speech made filter dithem know, that they were but flaues of the tyranny: because they beaftly and cowardly gaue flomeshe. such counsell and aduice, as might best please and feed the young tyrants humour. But, he made of Dion sius them most to wonder at him, when they fearing aboue all other things, the danger Dionysius the elder. flate was in, by reason of CARTHAGE, he did promise them, that if Dionysius would have peace, he would then go forthwith into Africke, and finde the meanes honourably to quench the warres: or, if otherwise he better liked of warre, that he would furnish him at his owne proper costs and charges, fifty gallies ready to rowe. Dionyseus wondred greatly at the noble mind of Dien, and thanked him much for the goodwill he bare vnto him, touching his effate. But all men else taking Diens noble offerto be a reproach of their auarice; and his credit and authority, Courtiers do an impaire vnto theirs: they presently vponthis liberall offer tooke occasion to accuse him, not incense piosparing any reprochfull words against him, to move Dionyfins to be offended with him. For they complained of him, and faid, that he cunningly practifed to possessive tyranny, making him-

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selfe strong by sea, going about by his gallies to make the tyranny fall into the hands of the children of Aristomache his sister. But the chiefest cause of al why they did malice and hate him was his strange manner of life, that he neither would keepe company with them, nor live after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in favour and friendship with this young ill-brought-up tyrant, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleafures, fludied for no other thing, but to entertaine him in loue matters, and other vaine exercises, as to riot and banquet, to keepe light women companie, and all fuch other vile vicious pastimes and recreations: by the which the tyranny became like iron formed by fire, and feemed to be very pleafant vnto the subjects, because the ouer-great maiestie and severity therof was somwhat milder, nor fo much by the bounty and goodnetic, as by the folly and reichlesnesse of the Lord. Thus, this little care and regard increasing more and more, still winning way with the yong tyrant, didn length meltand breake afunder those strong Diamond chaines, with the which Dienysius theel. der made his boast that he left his Monarchie and tyranny chained to his son. For sometime he would be three daies together without intermission, still banqueting and being drunke; and all that time his Court gates were kept shut vnto graue and wise men, and for all honest matters. was then ful of drunkards, of common playes, dancings, masks, and mummeries, & ful of al fuch trumperie and dissolute pastimes. And therefore Dion vndoubtedly was much enuied of them. because he gaue himselfe to no sport and pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and missianed his vertues, vices, being somewhatto be refembled vnto them; as in calling his grauitie, pride. his plainneffe and boldnesse in his oration, obstinacie; if he did perswade them, that he accused them; and because he would not make one in their fond pastimes, that therfore he despised them. For to fay truly his maners by nature had a certaine haughtinesse of mind and seueritie, and he Disimaner was a fowre man to be acquainted with wherby his company was not only troublesome, but al. fo unpleasant to this yonger Dionysius, whose cares were so fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, divers of his very friends & familiars (that did like and commend his plaine manner of speech and noble mind) did yet reproue his sternenesse, and austere conversation with men; for it seemed vnto them, that he spake too roughly,& dealt ouer hardly with them that had to do with him, and more then became a civil or courteous man. And for proofe hereof, Plato himselfe sometime wrote vnto him (as if he had prophesied what should happen) that he should beware of obstinacie, the companion of solitarinesse, that bringeth a man in the end to be for faken of every one. This not with standing, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any manelle, because of the state and government, and forthat they thought him the onely manthat could best prouide for the safety and quietnesse of thetyranny, the which flood then in tickle flate. Now Dion knew wel enough, that he was not fowell taken and esteemed through the goodwill of the tyrant, as against his will, and for the necessitie of the state and time. So Dion supposing the ignorance, and want of knowledge in Dionysius was the cause, he denised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, & to teach him the liberalsia ences, to frame him to a civill life, that thenceforth he should no more be afraid of vertue, and should also take pleasure & delight in honest things. For Dionysius of his owne nature, was none of the worst fort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to hauea feeling and conceit of himselse, or that he companied with wise & learned men, he would go neare to enter into practife, & put him out of his feate he euer kept him locked up in a chamber, and wouldfuffer no man to speake with him. Then the yonger Dionysius, having nothing else to do, gaue himself to make little chariots candlesticks, chaires, stooles, and tables of wood for his father Dionysius was fo scareful and mistrustfull of every body, that he wold suffer no man with a paire of Barbers sizers to poule the haire of his head, but caused an image-maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hote burning coleto burne his goodly bush of haire round about. No man came into his chamber where he was with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor fon, but he was driven (before he could come in) to put off his gowne, and the guard of his chamber to strip him naked, what focuer he was : and then they gaue him another gowne to cast vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother Leptine: going about to describe vnto him the fituation of some place he tooke a halbard from one of the guard, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a plot of the same vpon the ground. Dionysius was terribly offended with him, and didput the fouldier to death that gaue him his halbard. He faid, he was affraid of his friends, yea and of the wifest of them; because he knew that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to com-

mand, then to obey. He flue one of his Captaines called Marsias (whom he had preferred and had giuen him charge of men)because he dreamed, that he killed him: saying, that he dreamed of this in the night, because that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now Diony- dreame, first that was fortimorous; and whose mind through fearefulnesse was still miserably occupied, was notwithstanding maruellously offended with Plato, because he did not judge him to be the noblest and valiantest man aliue. Dion therefore feeing (as we have faid) the yonger Dionysius cleane marred, and in manner cast away for lacke of good education, perswaded him the best Dion perhe could to give himselfe vnto studie, and by the greatest intreaty he could possibly make, to swades the pray the Prince of all Philosophers to come into Sicile And then, when through his intreaty mylin to fall hewerecome, that he would refer himselfe wholly vnto him, to the end that reforming his life to studie. by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby, (the best example that can be possible, and by whom the whole world is ruled and gouerned, which otherwise were out of all order and tonfused,) he should first obtaine great happinesse to himselfe, & consequently vnto all his citizens; who ever after through the temperance & inflice of a father, wold with good will do the se things, which they then vn willingly did for the feare of a Lord. And in doing this from a tyrant heshould come to be a king: for, the chaines of a Diamond to keepe a Realme in safety, were not force and feare, as his father Dionysius held opinion heither the great multitude of yong foldiers, northe guard of 10000 barbarous people:but in cotrary maner, that they were the loue & good will of their subjects) which the Prince obtaineth through vertue and justice the which chaines the lone of though they be flacker then the other that are so hard and stiffe, yet are they stronger, & will last their interior longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdome in fafety. And furthermore, the Prince (faid he) is not desirous of honor, neither is a man that descrueth greatly to be praised & commended, that only studieth to weare sumptuous apparel, & that glorieth to see his Court richly furnished, and himselfe curiously served: and in the meanetime doth not frame himselfe to speake better, to be wifer, and to carry agreater maiesty then any other meane or common person, not esteeming to adorne and beautifie the princely pallace of his mind, as becometh the royall Maiestie of a king. Dion oftentimes rehearling these exhortations vnto Dionysius, and otherwhile enterlacing betweene, some reasons he had learned of Plato, he graffed in him a wonderfull and (as it were) a vehement desire to haue Plato in his company, and to learne of him. So, sundry letters came fro Dionyflus vinto ATHENS, divers requests from Dion, & great intreatie made by certain Pythagorian Philosophers, that praied & perswaded Plato to come into SICILE, to bridle y light dispostion of this yong man, by his grave & wife instructions who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therfore Plato (as himselfe reporteth) blushing to himselfe, and fearing kethe shold give men cause to think, that it was but the opinion men had of him, & that of him. felfe he was vnwilling to do any worthy act and further hoping that doing good but vnto one the yonger. manalone, who was the only guide of all the rest, he shold (as it were) recouer all Sicile from her corruption and ficknesse, he performed their requests that sent vnto him. But Dions enemies fearing the change and alteration of Dionysius, they persuaded him to call Philistus the Historiographer home againe fro banishment, who was a learned man, & had bin brought vp & acquainted with the tyrants faction: to the end he shold serve as a counter-poise, to withstand Plato and his Philosophy: for this Philistus, fro the first time that the tyranny began to be established, did shew himselfe very willing & cofnormable to the stablishment therof, and had of long time kept the castle: & the voice went, that he kept the mother of Dionysius the elder, & as it was supposed, not altogether without y tyrants knowledge. But afterwards, Leptines having had two daughters by one woman, whom he enticed to folly, being another mans wife, he maried one of these his daughters vnto Philistus, and madenot Dionysius prinie to it before. The tyrant therewith was so offended, that he put Leptines woman in prison fast locked vp, and draue Philistus out of Si-CILE. Hebeing banished thus, repaired vnto some of his friends that dwelt about the Adriaticke sea, where it seemeth, he wrote the most part of all his historie, being then at good leasure. For he was not called home againe during the life of Dionysius the elder : but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare vnto Dion, caused them to procure Philistus calling home againe (as we have told you) as the man they thought would flicke flourly in defence of the tyranny. So, Philistus no sooner returned, but he stoutly began to defend the tyranny: and others in contrary manner, deuised accusations to the tyrant against Dion, accusing him that he had practised with Theodotes & Heraclides, to ouerthrow the tyranny of Dionysius. For Dion (in my opinion) hoped

ment of the ed not popus. ler fate. Ariftocratiasthe gowernment of a few of the nobility. Plato came into Sicilia Pato Diomysius the yonger. The change of Diamile w, vpan l'latoes coming.

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Dioneletter Vitto Car thage.

Dion fent away by Dionyfiste into Italia

by Platoes coming to bridle and leffen a little the ouer-licentious and imperious tyranny of Die wyfius, and thereby to frame Dionyfius a wife and righteous governour. But on the other fide if he saw he would not follow his counsell, and that he yeelded not to his wife instructions, he then determined to put him downe, and to bring the gouernment of the comonwealth into the hands the govern of the Syrac vsans: not that he allowed of Democratia; (to wit, where the people governe) but yet certainly thinking that Democratia was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come vnto Aristocratia, (to wit, the gouernmet of a few of the Nobility.) Now things being in this state, Plate arrived in Sicile, where he was maruellously received & honored by Dionyllus. For when he landed on the shore, leaving his gally that brought him, there was ready for him one of the kings rich and sumptuous chariots, to convey him to the castel: & the tyrant mades. crifice to give the gods thanks for his coming, as for fome wonderfull great good hap chanced vnto his feigniorie. Furthermore, the wonderfull modesty and temperance that was begun to be observed in feasts and banquets, the Court cleane changed, & the great goodnes & clemency of the tyrant in althings, in ministring instice to enery manidid put the Syracvs ans in great good hope of change, and euery man in the Court was very defirous to give himselfe to learning and Philosophy: so that (as men reported) the tyrants pallace was full of fand & dust, with the not ber of students that drew plattes and figures of Geometry. Shortly after Plato was arrived, by chance the time was come about to do a folemn facrifice within the castellat which facrifice the herald (as the maner was) proclaimed aloud the folemne prayer accustomed to be done: That it would please the gods, long to preserve the state of the tyranny. Wherat, Dionysius being hardby him, faid vnto him. What, wilt thou not leaue to curfe me? This word grieved Philift is and his companions to the hart, thinking that with time, by litle and litle, Plato wold win such estimation and great authority with Dionylius, that afterwards they should not be able to refist him: confidering that in fo short a time as he had been with Dionysius, he had so altered his mind and courage. And therefore they now began, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuse Dion; and said, that it was easie to be seene, how he charmed and inchanted Diony sins through Platoes eloquence, to make him willing to refigne his government, because he would transfer it to the hands of the children of his fifter Aristomache. Others seemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIAN'S having come before into SICILIA with a great armie. both by fea and land, they were all loft and caft away, and could not win the citie of Syracvsa; and that now by one onely Sophister, they veterly destroyed and overthrew the Empire of Dioaryfus perfivading him to discharge the ten thousand souldiers he had about him for his guard, to forfake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thousand horsemen, and as many mo footmen, togo to the Academy to feeke an viknown happinesseneuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, refigning his prefent happinesse and felicity (to be a great Lord to have money at will, and to liue pleafantly,) vnto Dion and his Nephew. By fuch like accusations and wicked tongues, Dionyfius began first to mistrust Dion, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frown evpon him. In the meane time they brought letters that Dion wrote fecretly vitto the Gouernors of the city of CARTHAGE, wishing them, that when they would make peace with Diony fins, they should not talke with him valesse he stood by affuring them that he would helpe them to fetthings in quietnesse, and that all should be well again. When Diomysius had read these letters with Philistus, and had taken his aduice and counfell what he should do as Timeus faid, he deceived Dion vnder pretence of reconciliation, making as though he meant him no hurt, and faying that he would become friends againe with him. So he brought Dion one day to the sea fide vnder his castell, and shewed him these letters, burdening him to have practised with the CARTHAGINIANS against him. And, as Dion went about to make him answer to cleare himself, Dionyfius would not heare him, but caused him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnase, and commanded the mariners to fet him a land vpon the coaft of ITALY. After this was done, and that it was knowne abroade in the citie, every man thought it a cruell part of Diony fus: infomuch that the tyrants pallace was in a maruellous pecke of troubles, for the great forow the women made for the departure of Dion. Moreouer, the citie felf of Syracvs a began to look about them, looking for fome fodeine great change & innouation, for the tumult and vprore that wold happen by meanes of Dions banishment, and for the mistrust also that all men wold have of Dionyssius. Dionysius considering this, and being afraid of some misfortune, he gaue his friends and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contented

contented that he should absent himselfe for a time; being afraid, that in his sudden angry mood he might paraduenture be compelled to do him some worse turne if he remained because of his obstinacie and selfe-will. Furthermore, he gauevnto Dions friends two ships, to carrie as much goods, mony, and as many of Dions servants as they would, and to convey them vnto him into PELOPONNESUS. Dion was a maruellous rich man, and for the pompe of his seruice, and sumptuous moueables of his house, they were like vnto the person of a tyrant. All these riches Dions friends brought aboord vpon those ships, & caried them vnto him; besides many other rich gifts which the women and his friends fent vnto him : fo that by meanes of his great riches, Dien was maruellously esteemed among the GRECIANS; who by the riches of a banished citizen, conieaured what the power of a tyranny might be. But now concerning Plato. When Dion was exiled. Dionylius caused him to be lodged in his castle, and by this means crastily placed (vnder cloke offriendship) an honorable guard about him, because he shold not returne into GREECE to seek Dion, to tell him of the iniurie he had done vnto him. Howbeit, Diony fines often frequenting his company, (as a wild beaft is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke so well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue : for he would have Plato to loue none but Dionyfine him, and that he should esteeme him about all men living, being ready to put the whole realme lough into his hands, and all his forces, fo that he would thinke better of him then of Dion. Thus was Plate. this passionate affection of Diony lius gricuous vnto Plato: for he was so drowned with the loue of him, as men extremely iealous of the women they loue, that in a moment he would fodainly fall out with him, and straight againe become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truly, he had a maruellous defire to heare Platoes Philosophie: but on the other side, he reuer eced them that did disswade him from it, and told him, that he wold spoile himself, if he entred ouer-deeplv into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereupon he fent Plato againe away, promising him, that the next Spring he would fend for Dionhome. But he brake promise therein, and yet fent Plato fent him his reuenues : and praied Plato to pardon him, though he had not kept promife at his from him. time appointed. For he alleadged the warre was the cause, and that so soone as he had ended his war, he would fend for Dion; whom in the meanetime he prayed to have patience, and not to attemptany stir or alteratio against him, nor to speak euil of him among the GRECIANS. This Plato Dionilife fought to bring to passe, and brought Dion to study Philosophy, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. Dion lay in the city of ATHENS with one Calippus, whom he had known of long times howbeit, he bought him a house in the country, to lie there sometime for his pleasure; the which hegaueafterwards(at his returne into Sicile) vnto Speulippus that kept him company, and was continually with him more then with any other friend he had in ATHENS, through Platoes counfell who to foften & recreate Diens manners, gaue him the company of some pleasant conceited man, knowing that this Speusppus could modestly observe time & place to be pleasant & mery: for which respect, Timon in his satyricall leasts, calleth Spensippus, A good leaster. Now Plato himfelfe having vindertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dancing of yong children, Dion tooke the paines to teach: and exercise them; and moreouer, himselfe was at the whole charge of these playes, Plato suffering him to bestow that liberality and courtesse vpon the A-THENIAN s: the which wan Diona great deale more good wil, then Plato honor. Dion kept not still at ATHENS, but went also to see the other good cities of GRECE, passing his time away. He bc. ing at common fealts and affemblies with the chiefest men, and best learned in matters of state and gouernment, and neuer shewing any light parts, nor signe of tyrannical pride in his manner of life, nor of a manthat had been brought vp with all pompe and pleasure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well studied in Philosophy, whereby he grew to be generally beloued and estecmed of all men the city granted him publike honours, and fent him degrees of his glory, made Dioni verin their councels and affemblies. Furthermore, the LACED EMONIANS made him a SPARTAN & tues and ho Burgesse of the city, not passing for Dionysius displeasure, thoughat that time he had given them now bir by great aide, in the war they made against the Thebans. Some report, that Dion on a time was intreated by Ptaodorus Me GARIAN, to come and see him at his house, and Dion went thither. This Ptaodorus was a maruellons great rich man, and therefore Dion feeing a great number of people standing at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and speake with him, he had such great busines: he turned vnto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tariefo long at the gate, and faid vnto them: What cause have we to think e cuill of him, fith we did the like when we were at Syracvsa? But Dionysius being incensed with enuicagainst him, and

Archylas a Pythagorea Philosopher. Dionvilsa Cenderb a. vaine for Pletoto come into

Flatoes third ions ney into Sicile.

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Ariflippes faying of Dionyfills.

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Ariflichus

Architas requireth Plato of Dionyfius.

fearing the good will the GRECTANS bare him, he kept backe his revenue, and would no more fend it him; and seized all the goods, the which he gaue to his receivers to keepe. Furthermore, because he would cleare himself of the infamie he had gotten amongst the Philosophers for Platoes fake, he fent for divers wife and learned men, and vainly covering to excell them all in wifedome, he was driven improperly, and out of time, to alledge many wife fayings he had learned of Plato. Thereuponhe began againe to wish for him, and to condemne himselfe, for that he had no wit to vie him well when he had him at his commandement, and that he had not heard him fo much as he should have done: and like atyrant as he was, madly caried away with light defires, and eafily changing mind from time to time, a fodaine vehement defire tooke him in the head, to have Plato againe. So he fought all the meanes and waies he could devise, to pray Archytas the Pythagorean Philosopher, to tell him that he might boldly come; and to be his furety vnto him for that he would promife him : for first of all, they were acquainted together by his meanes. Therfore Archytas sent thirher Archidamus the Philosopher. Dionyfius also sent certaine gallies, and some of his friends thither, to pray Plato to come to him, and he himselfe wrote specially and plainly, that it should not go well with Dion if Plato came not into Sicile; but if he would be perfivaded to come, that then he would do what he would have him. Many letters and requests came vnto Dion from his wife and fifter, infomuch as Dion so vsed the matter, that Plato obeyed Dionysius without making any excuse at all. So Plato writeth himselfe, that he was driven to come againe the third time into the streight of Sicile;

To tries if once he could Charybdis dangers paffe. Now Plato being arrived in Sietle, he made Diony sus a great toy full man, and filled all Siet-LE, againe with great good hope: for they were all very defirous, and did what they could, to make Plato overcome Philistus and the tyrannie with his Philosophie. The women of Dionysus Court did entertaine Plato the best they could: but about all, Dionysius seemed to have a maruellous trust and affiance in him, & more then in any other of all his friends. For he suffered Plato to come to him without fearching of him, and oftentimes offered to give him a greatfumme of money:but Plato would take none of it. Therefore Aristippus Cyr Enian being at that time in the tyrants Court in Sicile, faid, that Dionysius bestowed his liberality surely: for, to vs that aske much, he giueth little, and much vnto Plato, that requireth nothing. After Diony fins hadgiuen Plato his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of Dion. Dionysius on the other side, at the first did vie him with fine delayes, but afterwards he shewed himselfe angry indeed, and at length fellout with Plato, but yet so couertly that others faw it not: for Diony sins diffembled that; but otherwise in all other things he did him as much honour as he could deuise, practifing thereby to make him to forfake Dions friendship. Now Plato found him at the first, that there was no trust to be given to his words, and that all were but lies and devices he either faid or did: howbeit, he kept it to himselfe, and ener patiently bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he beleeved him. They two thus finely diffembling with each other, thinking to deceine all men, and that none should understand their secrets: Helycon CYZICENIAN, one of Platoes friends, did prognosticate the cclipse of the Sunne. The same falling out as he had prognofficated, the tyrant effected maruelloufly of him, and gaue him a filuer talent for his labour. Then Ariflippus sporting with other Philosophers, said, he could tell them of a stranger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognofticate (faid he) that Plato and Dionysius will be enemies ereit belong. In the end it came to passe, that Diozysius made port-sale of all Dions goods, and kept the money to himselfe, and lodged Plato (that before lay in the next court to his pallace) among the fouldiers of his guard, whom he knew maliced him of long time, and fought to kill him, because he did perswade Dionysius to leave his tyrannie, and to live without his guard, Plate being in this instant danger, Archytas sent Ambasfadours forthwith vnto Dionysius, in a galley of thirty ores, to demaund Plato againe: declaring that Plato came againe to Syracvsa vpon his word and caution. Dionyfius to excuse himselfe, and to shew that he was not angry with him, at his departure from him, he made him all the greatcheare and feafts he could, and fo fent him home with great shewes of good will. One day among the rest, he said vnto Plato: I am afraid Plato (said he) that thou wilt speake enill of me when thou art among thy friends and companions in the Academie. Then Plate smiling, answer red him againe: The gods forbid, that they should have such scarcity of matter in the Academie, as that they must needs talke of thee. Thus was Platoes returne, (as it is reported) although that which he himselfe writeth, agreeth not much with this report. These things went to Dions heart, fo that fhortly after he shewed himselse an open enemie vnto Dionysius, but specially when he heard how he had handled his wife. Plate under couert words fent Dienyfius word of it by his letters; and thus it was. After Dion was exiled, Dionyfins returning Plato backe again, he willed him fecretly to feele Dions mind, whether he would not be angry that his wife flould be ma- Dionyfin ried to another man; because there ranne a rumour abroad, (whether it were true, or invented by pions enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and could not live quietly with his wife. There- another me, fore when Plate was at ATHENS, and had told Dien of all things, he wrote a letter vnto Dienvilus the tyrant, and did fet all other things downe fo plainly, that every man might vnderstand him. butthis one thing onely fo darkly, that he alone and none other could vinderstand him, but he to whom he had written: declaring vnto him, that he had spoken with Dion about the matter he world of, and that he did let him vnderstand he would be maruellous angrie if Dionylius did it. So at that time, because there was great hope of reconciliation betweene them, the tyrant did nothing lately touching his fifter, but fuffered her still to remaine with Dions sonne. But when they were so farre out, that there was no more hope to returne into fauour againe, and that he had also fent home Plato in difgrace and displeasure, then he maried his fifter Areie (Dions wife) against her will, vnto one of his friends called Timocrates, not following therein (Dions wife) against her will, vitto one or his friends cauca 1 mourales, not following therein his fathers infice and lenity. For Polyxenus that had maried his fathers fifter Theffa, being also manied his fathers fifter Theffa, become his enemie, fled out of Sicile. Diony flus the elder fent for his fifter Theffa, and tooke Habis faher vp very sharply, for that she knowing her husband would slie, did not come and tell him of ther Dioit. Thesta nobly answered him againe, and neuer was afraid nor abashed: Why, Dionysius, doest thou thinke me a woman fo faint-hearted and beaftly, that if I had knowne my husband would hauegone his way and left me, I would not haue taken fea with him, and both haue runne one Theftarnto her breiber fortune together? Truly, I knew not of his departure till he was gone : for it had been more for Dionylus mine honour, to have been called the wife of the banished *Polyxenus*, then the fifter of thee a tyrant. Diony fius maruelled to heare his fifter speake thus boldly, and the Syracy sans wondred ather noble courage: infomuch, that when the tyranny was vtterly destroyed, they did not refuscto do her all the honor they could deuise, as vnto a Queene. And when she was dead also, all the citizens of Syracvsa by a common decree, did accompany her body at her buriall. This litledigreffion from our history, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now again to our matter. Dian from thenceforth disposed himself altogether vnto war against *Platoes* counsell and aduice: who did his best endeuour to perswade him from it, both for the respect of Dionysius good entervain- make warre ment he had given him, as also for that Dion was of great years. Howbeit, on the other fide, Seeuspens and his other friends did prouoke him vnto it, and perswaded him to deliuer Sicil E from the flauery and bondage of the tyrant, the which held vp her hands vnto him, and would receine him with great loue and goodwill. For whilest Plato lay at Syracysa, Spensippus keeping the citizens copany more then Plate did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first, hey were afraid to open themselues vnto him, and frankly to speake what they thought, mistrusting he was a fpie vnto the tyrant, fent among it them to feele their minds; but within short time they beganto trust him, and were all of one mind; for they praied & perswaded Dionto come, and not The Philiolo. to care otherwise for bringing of ships, souldiers, nor horses with him, but only to hire a ship, & pheriadus. tolend the Sicilians his body and name against Dionysius. Speusippus reporting thesenewes ced Dions vnto Dion, did put him in good heart againe: wherupon he began fecretly to leavy men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers do set forward Dions wars many diffuses citizens dealing in the affaires of the comonwealth, did aid him, & divers of them also that only dialogue, de gaue their minds to the studie of Philosophy: and among them, Eudemus Cyprian (on whose death Ariffotle wrote his Dialogue of the foule) and Timonides LEVEADIAN went with him. Furthermore, there iouned also with him Milias THESSALIAN, a Soothsayer, and that had bin his companion in study in the Academie. Now, of all them whom the tyrant had banished. (which were no leffe then a thousand persons) there were but only flue and twenty that durft accompany him in this war: for all the other were such dastards, that they for sooke him, and durst not go with him. The place where they appointed to meet, was the Ile of ZACINTH, where they leauled all their fouldiers, that were not aboue eight hundred in all, but all of them braue foul. Dious army diers and valiant men, and excellently well trained in warres and to conclude, fuch luftic men, as wold encourage althe army Dion hoped of at his arrivall in Sicils, to fight like valiant men

Dions (um -Diuous fare in feafting.

The eclipse ofthe Moone, eclipfe.

Wonders The wed to

Wonders appearing vate Dio.

of Sicile.

with them. These hired souldiers, the first time that they understood it was to go into Sicilia. to make warre with Diony sius, they were amazed at the first, and misliked the journey, because it was vndertaken rather of malice and spight that Dien had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell; who having no better hope, took evpon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therfore the souldiers were offended with their Captains that had pressed them, because they had not told them of this warre before. But, after that Dien by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies have enill foundations, and are subject vnto ruine; and that he led them not into Sicile for much for fouldiers, as he did to make them Captaines of the Syracy sans and the other Sicilians, who of long time defired nothing more then occasion to rife; and when after him also Alcimenes (a companion with him in this warre, and the chiefest man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility and estimation) did speake vnto them in like maner; then they were all contented to go whither they would leade them. It was then in the heate of Sommer. and the wind blew, called the GRECIAN wind, the Moone being at the full; and Dion having prepared to make a fumptuous facrifice vnto the god Apollo, he led al his men armed with white corflets in procession into the temple : and after the facrifice done, he made them a feast in the parke or shew-place of the ZACINTHIANS. There the tables were laid, and the fouldiers wondered to fee the great state and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and filuer, & such other furniture & preparation as paffed a private mans wealth: then they thought with themselves, that a man being fo old, and Lord of fo great a good, would not attempt things of fuch danger, with out good ground, and great affurance of his friends aid and help. But, after his oblations of wine & common praiers made to the gods at feasts, sodainly the Moone eclipsed. Dion thought it not strange to see an eclipse, considering the revolutions of the eclipses, and knowing wery well it is shadow that falleth upon the body of the Moone, because of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her & the Sun. But because the soldiers that were afraid & astonied withal, stood inneed of some comfort & encouragement, Militas the Soothsayer standing up in the midst among the faid vnto them. My fellow foldiers, be of good cheare, & affure your felues that we shal prosper. for God doth foreshew vs by this fight we see, that some one of the chiefest things now in highoft place & dignity shalbe eclipsed. And at this present time, what thing carieth greater glory and fame, then the tyrany of Dionysius? Therfore you must think, that so soone as you arrive in Sici-LE, your selues shal put out his light & glory. This interpretation of the eclipse of the Moone, did Miltas the foothfayer make before all the whole company. But touching the swarme of Bees that lighted on the poope of *Dians* fhip, he told him and his friends prinatly: That he was afraid his acts (which should fall out famous and glorious) should last but a while, and slourishing a few dayes, would straight consume away. It is reported also, that Dionysius in like manner had many strange signes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle, that snatched a partifan out of a foldiers hand, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the fea. The fea also beating against the walles of the castle, was as sweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduit or running water as those that tasted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a Sow farrowed Pigges that lacked no part of their body but onely their eares. This the Soothfayers faid, did fignifie rebellion and disobedience of his subjects: and that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they toldalfo, that the fweetnesse of the falt water prognosticated to the Syracy sans change of cruell and cuill time, vnto good and ciuill gouernment; and that the Eagle, Iupiters minister; and the partisan, the marke and token of the kingdome and empire; did betoken, that Iupiter (the chiefe of all the gods) had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. Theopompus reporteth this matter thus. So, Dions souldiers were embarked into two great ships of burden, and another third ship that was not very great, and two pinnaces with thirty oares, followed them, For their armourand weapon, befide those the foldiers had, he caried two thousand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pikes, and plenty of victuals: that they should lack nothing all the time they were vpon the sea, confidering that their iourney flood altogether at the courtefie of the winds & fea; and for that they were affraid to land, understanding that Philistus rode at anker in the coast of Apvolia, with a fleete of shippes that lay in waite for their coming. So having a pleasant gale of wind, they failed the space of twelve dayestogether, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of Sicile called Pachynus. There the Pylotthought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly looffed into the sea, and lost that point, they were sure they should lose also many

nights and daies in vaine in the midst of the sea, being then Sommer time, and the wind at the South. But Dion being affraid to land so neare his enemies, he was defirous to go farther, and so past by the foreland of PACHYNVs. Then the North wind rose so bigg and great, that with great on the sea violence it draue back their ships from the coasts of Stetle. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withall, (because it was at that time when the starre Arcturus beginnethto shew) it made fo terrible a tempest, and powred down such a fore shower of raine vpon them, that all the mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whither the wind would drive them, til that suddenly they faw the storm had cast them upon the Ile of CERCINA, (which is on the coast of LyBIA)& specially where it is most dangerous to arrive for the rocks; for their ships were like to hauerun voon them, and to haue made shipwracke. But with much ado they bare off the ships with their great long poles, and wandred vp and downe the fea, not knowing whither they went untill the storme ceassed. Then they met a shippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat. which the mariners cal, The heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruellous angry that the sea was calme, there rose a little South wind from the land, although they least looked for any such wind at that time, and litle thinking it would so have changed but feeing the wind rife bigger and bigger, they packed on all the failes they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods, they croffed the fea, and failed from the coast of Lybia, directly vnto Sicile, and had the wind fo luckie, that at the fifth day they were neare vnto a litle village of Sicile, called Minon, the which was subject to the Carthaginians. Synalus Carthagi- Synalus NIAN, being at that time Captaine and gouernour of the towne of MINOA, and Diors friend, Captaine of wasthere by chance at this prefent, who being ignorant of his enterprise and coming, did. Minea for what he could to keepe Dions fouldiers from landing. But they not with standing sodainly leapt simen. onland armed, but flue no man: for Dion had commanded them the contrary, for the freindship pion wan hebare the Captaine; and they following the townsmen hard that fled before them, entired the towne hand ouer head amongst them, and so wan the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had spoken together, Dion deliuered the towne into Synalus hands againe, without any hurt or violence offered him. synalus on the other fide, did endeuour himfelfeall he could to make much of the fouldiers, and holpe Dion to prouide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encourage the soldiers, because Dionysius at their arrivall, was not then in S1-CILE: for it chanced so, that not many daies before he went into ITALY with fourescore faile. Therefore when Dion willed them to remaine there a few daies to refresh themselves, because they had bin fo fore sca-beaten a long time together, they the selues wold not, they were so glad to imbrace the occasion offered them, and prayed Dion to leade them forthwith to Syracysa. Distribution all his superfluous armor and provision in the hands of Synalus, and praying him to fendthem to him when time served, he tooke his way towards Syracvsa. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the Argentines, which dwell in that part called Ecnomy scame first to joyne with him, and after them, the Geloians. The rumour of their coming ran straight to Synacys A: thereupon Timocrates that had maried Areté, Dions wife, and Dionyfius the fathers fifler, and to whom Diony sus the yonger had left the charge and government of all his men and friends in the citie:he presently dispatched a post with letters, to aduertise Dionysius of Dions coming. He himself also in the meanetime had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutime in the city, though they all of them lacked no goodwil to rebel; but because they were vncertaine whether this rumor were true or false, (being afraid) enery man was quiet. Now there chancedastrange misfortune vnto the messenger which caried the letters vnto Dionysius. For after he had passed the straight, and that he was arrived in the citie of RHEGIO of ITALIE side, pered anto making hasteto come to the city of CAVLONIA, where Dionysius was, he met by the way one the meginof his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly facrificed. This good fellow gaue him a Dienifia. pecce of it, and the messenger spurred away withalthe speed he could possible but when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so wearic and drowsie for lacke of sleepe, that he was drinen to lye downe: so he lay downe vpon the ground in a wood hard by the high way. The fauour of this fleshbrought a Wolfe to him that caried away the flesh and the portmantle it was wrapt in, and in the which also were his letters of aduertisement, which he carried vnto Dionysius. When he awoke out of his sleepe, and saw that his portmantle was gone, he enquired for it, and went wandring vp and downe along time to seeke it: howbeit, all in vaine, for the me flenhe could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to go to the tyrant with-

piekethanks

Dion receis ucdinto

Dion refto. seth the to liberty.

Disnyfius

out his letters, but rather to flie into some vnknowne place, where no body knew him. Thus of uerlate received Dionysius advertisement by others of this war, which Dion made in Sicile In the meane time, the CAMARINIANS came & joyned with Dions army, in the high-way towards Syracy sa: and still there came vnto him also a great number of the Syracy sans that wereyn in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other fide, certaine CAMPANIANS and LEON. TINE s, which were gotten into the castle of Epipoles with Timocrates, of purpose to keepeir. vpon a false rumour Dion gaue out (and which came vnto them) that he would first goe against their townes: they for sooke Timocrates, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. Dian vnderstanding that, being lodged with his army in a place called MACR #, he presently removed his camp, being darke night, and marched forward till he came vnto the river of Anapus, which is not from the city aboue ten furlongs off:& there staying a while, he sacrificed vnto the riue, and made his prayer, and worshipped the rising of the Sunne. At the selfe same instantalso, the Soothsayers came and told him, that the gods did promise him assured victorie. And the souldiers also seeing Dion weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonie of the facrifice, all of them with one selfe good will tooke every man one of them, being no lesse then fine thousand men that were gathered together by the way, and but slenderly armed with such things as came first to hand, how beit, supplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor:) and when Dion commanded them to march, for ioy they ranne, and encouraged one another with great cries, to shew themselves valiant for recovery of their libertie. Now for them that were within the citie selfe of Syraevsa, the Noblemen and chiefe Citizens went to receive them at the gates, in their best gownes. The common people on the other fide, ran and fet vpon them that tooke part with the tyrant, and spoiled them that were called the PROSAGOGIDES (as much to fay, The common Promooters of men) the detectablest villaines, hatefull to the gods and men: for they like Sycophants and buffetale-bearers, would ict vp and downethecity, and mingle among the Citizens, having an oare in enery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and busie headed, to know what every man said and did, and then to go carie it to the tyrant. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with drie blowes, beating them to death with states. When Timocrates could not enterinto the castell with them that kept it, he tooke his horse backe, and sled out of the city; and slying, made all men afraid and amazed where he came; enlarging Dions power by his report, because ir should not seeme, that for feare of a trifle, he had for saken the city. In the meane time, Dion came on towards the citie with his men, and was come so neare, that they might see him plainly from the citie, marching foremost of all, armed with a faire bright white corfelet, having his brother Megacles on the right hand of him, & Calippus ATHENIAN On the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed an hundred souldiers that were strangers, chosen for his guard about him, and the rest came marching after in good order of battell, being led by their Captaines. The Syracvsans faw him coming, and went out and received him as a holy & bleffed proceffion, that brought them their liberty and popular state againe, the which they had lost the space of eight and fortie yeares. When Dion was come into the city, by the gate called Menitide, he caused his trumpeter to sound, to appease the rumor & tumult of the people. Then he commanded an Herald to proclaime aloud: That Dion and Megacles, who were come to put down the tyranny, did set all the Syracus and all the other Sicilians also from the bondage and subjection of the tyrant. And because Dion himself was desirous to speake vnto the people, he went to the vpper part of the towne, called Acradina. The Syracysans, all the streetes through as he passed by, had on either hand of him prepared sacrifices, and set up tables and cuppes vpon them : and as he passed by their houses, they cast slowers and fruites on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had beene a god. Now, vnder the castell there was a place called Pentapyla(a clocke, to know by the Sunne how the day went) the which Dionysius had caused to be made, and it was of a good pretie height. Dien got vp vponit, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his countrimen to doe their endeuour to recouer their liberty againe; and to maintaine it. They being in a maruellousiey withall, and defirous to please Dion, did choose him and his brother Megaeles their Lieurenants generall, with absolute power and authoritie. Afterwards also, by the consent of Dion himselfe and his brother, and at their requests in like manner, they choic twenty other Captaines, of the which the most part of them had beene banished by the tyrant,

and were returned again with Dion. The Sooth fayers and Prognofficators liked it well, and faith it was a good figne for Dion, that he trode that sumptuous building & workmanship of the tyrant under his feete, when he made his Oration: but because the hand of the Diall did shew thought the courfe of the Sunne, which neuer leaveth going, vpon the which he got vp when he was Southairs chosen Lieutenant generall with absolute power and authoritie, they were afraid againe, that irwas a figne Dions affaires should have a sudden change of fortune. After this, Dion having taken the castle of Epipoi Bs, he set al the citizens at liberty, which were kept there as prisoners incaptiuity by the tyrant, and environed the castell round about with a wall. Within seuen daies after, Diony flus returned by sea to the castell of Syracvsa,, and therewith all also came the carts loaden with armour and weapon to Syracvsa, which Dien had left with Singlus: the which Dien caused to be distributed among the citizens of Syracys a that had none. Others did furnish themselues as well as they could, and shewed that they had courage and goodwill to fight for the maintenance and defence of their liberty. In the meanetime, Dionyfius sent Ambassadors, first vnto Dion privately, to see if he would yeeld to any composition. But Dion would not heare them, but bade them tell the Syracusan's openly what they had to fay, being pionyjuis menthat were free, and enjoyed liberty. Then the Ambassadors spake in the behalfe of the tyrant, vnto the people of Syracvsa, promising them with mild and gentle words, that they mio Dien. should pay no more subsidies and taxes, but very little, and should be no more troubled with warres, other then fuch asthey themselves should like of. The SYRACV SAN'S made a mockeric arthose offers, and Dion also answered the Ambassadours, and willed Dionysius to send no more to the Syra cvs ans, before he had disposses himself of his tyrannie: &, so that he would leave in he would be his meane to obtaine all things iust and reasonable of the people. Dionysius liked very well of this good offer; and therfore fent his Ambaffadors again to pray the Syracvsans; that they would appoint some amongst them to come to the castell, to talke with him for the benefit and commodity of the commonwealth, that he might heare what they would alledge, and they also what answer he would make. Dien chose certaine whom he sent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the city among the Syracy sans, which came from the caftell, that Dionysus would willingly of himselfe, rather then by reason of Dions coming, depose himselfe of thetyranny. But this was but a falfe allarme, and crafty fetch of Dionysius, to entrap the Syracysans by. For those that were sent him from the city, he kept them prisoners every man of them, and one morning having made his fouldiers drinke wine luftily, which he kept in pay to guard his person, he sent them with great fury to assault the walthe Syracvsans had built against the castel. Now, because the Syracy san's looked for nothing lesse then for the sudde assault, & for that these barbarous people with a wonderfull courage and great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them also did set upon the Syracus ans, there was not aman of them that durst make head to fight with them, fauing the fouldiers that were strangers, whom Dion had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noise, ranne straightto repulse them, and yet they themselucs could not well tell what they should do vponthat sudden. For they could heare nothing for the great noise and hurly burly of the Syracvsans, which fled with great disorder, and came and mingled themselues amongst them. Till at length, Dion perceiving he could not be heard to shew them by deed what they should do he went first himselfe against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloudy fight for his enemies knew him as well as his bloody by owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cries. Now for Dion himselfe, indeed because of his age, he was heavier then was requisite for one that should away with the paines of Dion hurt. fuch battels; but he had fuch a valiant courage in him, that he went through with all lustily, and flue them that did affaile him. Yet he had his hand also thrust through with a pike, and very hardly did his curaces hold out the blowes of the darts and thrufts by hand which he received on them, they were fo mangled & hacked with fuch a number of dams and pikes passed through his shield and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten downe: howbeit his fouldiers refeued him straight. Then he made Timonides their Captaine, and he himselfe tooke his horsebacke; and went vp and downe the citie, staying and quieting the slying of the Syracvsans. Then he fent for his fouldiers the strangers, which he had put in garrison in that part of the city called the Ackading to keepe it; and brought them being fresh, against the barbarous people of the castle that were wearied, and almost all of them discouraged to attempt any further enterprise. For they had made this fallie out, in hope to have taken all the city at the first

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Dions victirie of Dionifim.

Hippari. nu. Dion fonne.

Dionyfius eraft vato Dion.

Hera lides, what he

Syracuja.

The Syracufans doe chufe Hera. clines Ad. mirall.to Spite Dion.

onset, onely running vp and downerbut when contrary to their expectation, they met these valiant fouldiers, and tresh supply, they then began to retire againe into the castell. And the GRE. CIAN fouldiers on the other fide, perceining they gave backe, they came the faster vpon them, fo that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driven within the wals, after they had flaine threescore and foureteene of Dions men, and lost a great number of their owne. This was a noble victorie, and therefore the Syracvsans gaue the foldiers that were strangers, an hundred filuer Minaes, in reward for their good feruice; and they gaue Dion their Generallia crown of gold. After this, there came letters to Dion by a trumpet from the castle, written from the women of his house; and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed, To my father. the which Hipparinus wrote vnto him. For that was Dions fonnes name, though 2 imais writeth he was called Areteus, after his mothers name Areie. But in fuch matters, me thinks Timonides is better to be credited, because he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were fent, were openly read before the affembly of the Syracysans, and did onely concerne requests of these women vnto Dion. The Syracvsans would not have the sunposed letter of his sonne to be openly read: but Dion against their minds opened it, and found that it was Dionysius letter who by words, made the direction of it vnto Dion, but in effect, he spake vnto the Syracvsans. For in fight, it seemed a manner of request and instification of him: but intruth, it was written of purpose to accuse Dion, First of all, he remembred him of the things he had done before, for the establishing and preservation of the tyranny: and afterwards, of cruell threats against those whom he should loue best, as his wife, his sonne, and sifter and last of all, full of most humble requests and intreaties, with sorow and lamentation. Butthat which most moued Dien of all other, was, that he required him not to destroy the tyranny, but rather to take it for himselfe, and not to set them at liberty that hated him, and would alwaies remember the mischiefe he had done vnto them; and that he would himselfe take vpon him to be Lord, faving by that means the lives of their parents & friends. When these letters had biaread before the whole affembly of the people, the Syracvsans thought not how to reuerence (as they ought; with admiration, the inflexible constancy & magnanismity of Dion, that stood firme and fast for inflice and vertue, against such vehement intreaty & perswasion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be afraid, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessity should be forced to pardon the tyrant, for the great pledges and hostages he had of him. Wherfore, they beganne to chuse them new governors, and the rather, because they heard that Heraelides was coming vnto them, whom they loued fingularly well. This Heraclides was one of them that had been banished, a good souldier and Captaine, and well esteemed of for the charge and office he bare under the tyrants howbeit, a very unconstant man in every thing, and would not continue long in a mind, and lest constant in warres where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with Dion in Peloponnesus; wherefore he determined to come with a powerby himselfe, and with his owne fleet against the tyrant. So he arrived at length in Syracis, with feuen gallies, and three other ships: where he found Dionysius againe shut vp into his castell with a wall, and the Syracysans alfoto haue the better hand of him. Then he began to curry fauor with the common people all the waies he could possibly deuise, having by nature a certaine pleafing maner to win the comon people, which feek nothing else but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to win them, because the people did already mislike Dions seucrity, as a man too seuere and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will so much, and were growne fo strong headed, because they saw themselves the stronger, that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they only be Lords, and do rule) before they were fully fet at liberty. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authority of the governours, they ranne in a fury, of their owne light heads, vnto the place of common affemblies, and there chose Heraclides Admirall. Then Dion vnderstanding this, came to complaine of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to give this power now vnto Heraclides, was to take that away which they had first given vnto him: because he should no more be Generall, if they chose any other Admirall by iea then himselfe. The SyracvsANs then, as it were against their wils did renoke the power they had given vnto Heraclides: but afterwards Dion sent for Heraclides, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a little, and told him, it was not honeftly, nor profitably done of him, to fue to the people, and to contend for honour against him in so dangerous a time, when the least occasion

in the world was inough to haue marred al. Afterwards, Dion himself called an affembly againe of the city, and established Heraclides Admirall ; and perswaded the citizens to give him souldiers, as he had indeed. Heraclides outwardly feemed to honour Dion, and confeiled openly that adiffinhe was greatly bound vnto him, and was alwaies at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his beneath commandement: but in the meane time; fecretly he inticed the common people to rebell, and the people to stirre up those whom he knew meete men to like of change. Whereby he procured Dion fuch ribiliatrouble, & brought him into fuch perplexity, that he knew not wel which way to take. For, if he Dion. gaue them advice to let Diony fus quietly come out of the castle, then they accused him, & faid, he did it to faue his life: if on the contrary fide, because he would not trouble them, he continued fiege still, and established nothing; then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the warsin length, because he might the longer time remaine their Chieftain generall, & so to keepe the citizens longer in feare. At that time there was one Softs in Syracysa, a man of no name, education but noted among the Syracy sans for his villanie and wickednesse, esteeming that full and weeks sedicion ample liberty, when he might vnchecked licenciously speake what he would, as indeed he did. For he feeking to do Dion a displeasure, first of all one day at a common councel he stood up on hisfeete, and called the Syracus and beafts (among ft many other vile words he gaue them) if they did not perceive, that being come from a fond and drunken tyrannie, they had now receiueda sober maister, and a wife warie tyrant. So, when he had thus openly shewed himfelfe an enemy vnto Dion, he came no more that day into the market place: but the next morning he was seene running vp and downe the city naked, his head and face all of a goare-bloud. asifhe had been followed of men to have flaine him. Thus Sofis, coming in this manner into the middest of the market place, cried out that Dions strangers had lyen in wait for him, and had handled him in this fort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this mattervery grieuoufly, and cried out vpon Dion, and fayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of him, by feare of murther and danger, to take away the libertic from the citizens to speake. Now, though the whole affembly hereupon fell into an vprore withall; Dion not with standing Diencleacame thither to cleare himselfe of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this solis was brother to one of Diony suard: who had put into his head, in this fort to put the citie of again shim. Syracy sa in an vproare, because Dionysius had no other hope nor meane to escape, but by stirring vp faction and sedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgeons were fent for foorthwith to fearch the wound of this Sofis: who found, that it was rather a little feratch, then any violent wound given him. For the wounds or cuts of a fword, are ever deepelt in the middeft; and Sofis cut was but wery litle, and nowdeepe, having had many beginnings, Egiuen him (as it feemed) at fundry times, but for very paine, the party that cut him, was driuen to leave off, & came to cut him at diverse times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a razor before the affembly, and reported that as they came, they met sofis by the way all bloudied: who faid, that he fled from Dions fouldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they prefently followed them, but found no man; and onely they faw a razor, which fome body had cast vpon a hollow stone thereabouts, where they first faw him coming vnto them. Thus, softs device had but cuill successe. For besides all these proofes and tokens, Dions houshold feruants came to be witnesse against him, that very early in themorning he went abroad alone with a razor in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse Dion, knew not what to say to the matter, but shrunke away: whereupon the people condemning Sofis to death, they were quiet againe with Dion. Yet were they alwaies afraid of these souldiers that were strangers, specially when they saw the greatest cossicts they had with v tyrant, was by fea, after that Philiftus was come from the coast of Apv GLIA with a great number Soft conofgallies to aide the tyrant. For then they thought, that these souldiers (the strangers) being demned to armed at all parts to fight by land, they would do him no more feruice by fea: because the citi- death. zensthemselues were they that kept them in safety, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by meanes of their ships. But beside all this the onely thing that made them to be couragious againe, was the good fortune they had at the battell by fea, in the which when they had ouecrome Philistus, they cruelly and barbarously vsed him. Truly Epho- Philistus, russaith, that Philistus slue himselfe, when he saw his galley taken. Howbeit Timonides (who was Gaine. alway with Dion from the first beginning of this warre) writing vnto Speusippus the Philosopher, faiththat Philiftus was take aliue, because his galley ran aland: & that the Syracus ans first

these fignes, they chose flue and twenty Captaines, of the which Heraclides was one; and se-

cretly they sent to feele the hired souldiers, to see if they could entice them from Dion, to cause

them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them free men (as them selucs) of

Syracy sa. The fouldiers would not be entired from him; but faithfully and louingly tooke

number. & because they did not first set upon them, but trusting on the other side to themselves,

for that they were the greater number, they came to affaile them, supposing they should easily

ouercome them in the city, and kill enery man of them. Dion being thus in a straight, that of ne-

cellity he must fight against his owne countrimen, or else be slaine himselfe with his foldiers, he

held yp his hands to the Syracvsans, and very earnestly prayed them to be content, pointing

them with his finger to the castell that was full of their enemies, which shewed themselues upon

the wals & faw what they did. In the end, when he faw that he could not pacific their fury & tu-

mult, and that all thecity was in an vprore with the prittle prattle of these seditious people, who

were carried like the fea with the winde, he did yet forbid his fouldiers to give any charge vpon

ifthey had meant to runne on the. Then the Syracvsan's durst not abide by it, but ran away

like sheepe through the streets no man chasing them. So Dion called backe againe his men, and

ledthem directly into the country of the LEONTINES. Then the new officers and governors of

Stracysa, perceiuing that the women laughed them to fcorne: because they would recouer

the fame they had loft, they armed their men anew; and marched after Dien to fight with him:

whom they ouertooke at a river, as he was ready to passe ouer. Then began their horsemen a litle

toskirmish with Dions company: but when they saw he did no more beare with their faults for

countries fake but frowned indeed vpon them, and fet his men in battell ray against them: then

and sent Ambassadors also vnto the Syracvsans, to will the to let the strangers haue their pay.

The Syracy sans on their fide also, sent Ambassadors unto the Leontines to accuse Dion.

So,all their confederates were affembled in the city of the Leontines 3&in that affembly, after

both parties had bin heard, to heare what they would fay it was indged. That the Syracy sans

were to blame. Howbeit, they would not stand to the judgement of their confederates, for they

were now grown proud & careles, because they were gouerned by no ma, but had Captains that

fudied to please the, and were afraid also to displease the. After that, there arised certain gallies

of Dionysius at Syracy sa, of the which Nypsius Neapolitan was Captaines which brought victu-

als&mony, to helpe them that were befreged within the castle. These galleys were fought with,

and the Syracv sans obtained victory, and tooke foure of the tyrants gallies with three banks

ofoares a peece: howbeitthey fondly abused their victorie. For they having no body to com-

buibib and drinke drunke, dancing after their pipes and howboyes; and that the Gouernours

themselues were very glad also to see such feastling, or else for that they dissembled it, and durst

not command and compell them that were drunke: he wifely tooke the occasion offered him,

and scaled the wall which had shut vp the castell, and wanne it, and ouerthrew it. Then he sent

the barbarous fouldiers into the city, and commanded them to do with them they met, what

they would or could. The Syracvsans then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue pre-

fent remedy, they were fo amazed and fuddenly fet on: for indeed they made a right facke

ofthe citie, Here men were killed, there they ouerthrew the wall; in another place they caried

away women and litle children prisoners into the castell, weeping and crying out; and lastly,

they made the Captaines at their wits end, who could given o present order, nor have their

men to ferue them against their enemies, that came hand ouer head on every side amongst

them. The city being thus miserably in garboile, and the ACRADINE also in great hazard of

Timeus,& Ephorus the Historio. graphers, reproned.

tooke of his curaces, and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villany and fairs they could, they cut off his head, and gaue his body vnto boyes, commanding them to dragge it into that part of the city called ACRADINE, and then to cast it into the common priny. Timens also to spite him the more, saith that the boyes tied the dead body by his lame legge, and so dragged him vp and downe thecity, where all the Syracysans did what villany to it they could being glad to fee him dragged by the legge, that had faid: Dionysius should not flie from the tyranny vpon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the legge against his will. Now Philistus reporteth this matter thus: not as spoken to Dionysius by himselfe, but by some other. But Timeus taking a just occasion and colour to speake euill of the good will, sidelity, & care that Philistus had alwaies feemed to shew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny, doth li berally bestow injurious words on him in this place. Now for them, whom he had indeed offen ded, if they of malice and spite to be reuenged, did offer him cruelty, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed : but for them that fince his death haue written the gefts, who were never offended by him in his life time, and who ought to shew themselves discreet in their writing; me thinks that if they had regarded their owne credite and estimation, they should not so fondly and outragiously have reproued the adversities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chance to the honestest man, as you him. Thus fondly did Ephorus praise Philistus, who although he have an excellent fine wit to counterfeit goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dishonest parts, and eloquently to denise by honest words to desend an enill cause: yet cannot he with all the fine wit he hath, excuse himselfe, that he hath not been the onely man of the world that hath most fauoured tyrants, and that hath ener loued, & specially defired power. wealth, and allyance with tyrants. But he (in my opinion) taketh the right course of an Historiographer, that neither doth commend Philistus doings, nor yet casteth his adversities in his teeth to his reproch. After Philistus death, Dionysius sent vnto Dion, to make him an offer to deliver him the castell, armour, munition, and fouldiers that were in it, with money also to pay them for fue moneths space. For himselfe, he prayed that he might be suffered to go safely into ITALY, and to lie there, to take the pleasure of the fruits of the country called Gyarra, which was within the territory of Syracvsa, & lieth out from the seatowards the mainland. Dion refused this offer, & answered y Ambassadors, that they must move the Syracus ans in it. They supposing they should easily take Dionysius aliue, would not heare the Ambassadors speake, but turned them away. Dionyfius seeing no other remedy, left the castell in the hands of his eldest sonne Apollogrates, and having a lustic gale of wind, he secretly imbarked certaine of his men he loued best, with the richest things he had, and so hoised faile, vnwares to Heraclides, the Admirall of Syracysa. The people were maruellously offended with Heraclides for it, and began to mutine against him. But Heraclides, to pacific this tumult of the people, suborned one Hippen an Orator, who preferred the law Agraria vnto the people, for the diaision of all the Iland amongst them: & that the beginning of liberty was equality, and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no lands. Heraclides giving his confencto this decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against Dion, that with flood it. perswaded the Syracvsans, not onely to confirme the law Hippon had propounded, but also to discharge the hired strangers, to chuse other Captaines and gouernours, and to ridthemselues of Dions seuere gouernment. But they supposing straight to have been rid from the tyrannie, as from a long and gricuous ficknesse, ouer-rashly taking vpor them, like people that of long time had been at liberty, they vtter!y vndidthemselues, and ouerthrew Diens purpose: who like a good Phisitian was carefull to see the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when they were affembled to chuse new officers in the middest of summer, there fell fuch horible thunders, and other terrible ftormes, and vnfortunate fignes in the element, that for the space of sisteeme dayes together, the people were still scattered and dispersed when they were affembled: infomuch, that being afraid of these signes aboue, they durst not at that time create any new Captains, Certain daies after, as the Orators had chosen a faire time to proceed to the election of officers, an Oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with eneric fight and noise) suddenly without any occasion offered, fell into a madnesse against the carter that draue him, and breaking his yoke afunder, ranne straight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into every corner, to flie and sauethemselves : and then flinging, and bearing all downe before him that stood in his way, he ranne through as much of the city, as the enemies afterwards wan of them. This notwithstanding, the Syracy sans making light account of all

Dionyfius flyethfrom Syracular Apollocrates sheeldest Sonneof Dicny sus the yonger. pearing to the Syracu.

nim amongst them with their armor and weapon; and putting him in the middest of them, led him in this manner out of the city, and did no man hurt, but reproued their vnthankfulnesse and him in this manner out of the city, and did no man hurt, but reproued their vnthankfulnesse and parteth out villanie vnto all those they met by the way. Then the Syracus and despising the for their small of syracus.

them, who not with standing made a countenance with great cries, and rathing of their harnesse, as The command

they turned their backs again, with more shame and reproach then before, & so fled vnto the ci- The Leonts. wofSyracvs A, & had not many of their men flain. The LEONTINE's received Dion very hono. needo rerably, tooke the strangers his souldiers, gaue them pay, and made them free citizens with them: ceise Dion.

mand or rule them, imployed all their ioy in rioting and banquetting, and in fond and diffolute The neglimeetings, taking so little care and regard to their businesse, that now when they thought the cafell was fure their owne, they almost lost their city. For Nypsius perceiving that cuery part of the city was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, Sant

taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rife againe: every man though

then with himselfe, that Dien must be sent for, but yet no man moued it notwithstanding, being

The Syrafend for Di-

ashamed of their vnthankfulnesse and ouer great folly they had committed, in driving him as way. Yet necessity enforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horsemen and of their confederates that cried, that they must fend for Dion & the PELOPONNESIANS his fouldiers, which were with him in the territory of the LEONTINES. Assoone as the first word was heard, and that one had the heart to tell it to the people, all the Syracvsans cried out, There was the points they were fo glad of it, that the water stood in their eyes for ioy, and befought the gods it would please them to bring him vnto them, they were so desirous to haue him againe. For they called to mind how valiant and resolute he was in danger, and how that he was neuer afraid, but did encourage them with his manhood, in fuch fort, that being led by him, they were not a fraid to fer vpon their enemies. So the confederates of them, fent presently Archonides and Telesides vnto him: and the noblemen that served on horsebacke, they sent him also five amongst them . befide Hellanicus. Who tooke their horfes, and poafted for life, fo that they came vnto the city of the LEONTINES about Sunne-fet: & lighting offfrom their horses, they went first of al & knee. led downe at Dions feet, and weeping, told him the miserable state of the Syracvsans. Straight there came diverse of the LEGNTINE s, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN fouldiers vnto Dim (mistrusting then that there was some newes in hand,) to see the earnest and humble suite the Ambassadors of Syracvsa made vnto him. Wherefore Dion tooke them presently with him. and brought them himselfe vnto the Theater, wherethe common councels and affemblies of the citie were holden: thither ranne euery man to heare what the matter was. Then Archonides and Hellanicus brought in by Dion, told openly before the whole affembly, the greatnesse of their miserie, and requested the hired souldiers to come and aide the Syracvsans, forgetting the iniurie they had received confidering, that they had more dearely payed for their folly then they themselues (whom they had so injured) would have made them to have suffered. When they had said their minds, there was a great filence through all the Theater: and then Dionrose vp, and began to speake. But the great teares that fel from his eyes would not suffer him to speak. wherefore the hired fouldiers being fory to fee him weepe, prayed him not to trouble himfelfe. but to be of good courage. Then Dion letting go the forow and griefe he had conceived, began to speake vnto them in this maner. My Lords of PELOPONNESTS, and you also the confederates: I have called you together to confult with you, what you should do. For my selfe, it were no honesty for me to consult what I should do now, when the citie of Syracysastan. deth in peril of destruction; and therfore if I cannot saue it from destruction, yet at the least I wil burie my selse in the fire and ruine of my country. But for you, if it please you once more to helpe vs vnaduised and most vnfortunate people, you shall by your meanes set the poore difireffed city of Syracvs againe on foot, which is your deed. Or if it be fo, that remembring the injuries the STRACV SANS have offered you, you will fuffer it to be destroyed: yet I besech the gods, that at the least they wil requite your valiantnesse, sidelity & good loue you haueborn me vntill this present beseching you to remember Dion, who neither for sooke you at any time when you have bene injured, nor his countriemen, when they were in trouble. So going on fill with his tale, the mercenary strangers stepped forth with great noise, and prayed him to leade the to aid Syracvsa. The the Ambassadors also that were sent from the Syracvsans saluted & imbraced them, and prayed the gods to bleffe Dion & them, with all the good hap that might be. So when al was whicht & quiet, Dion willed them forthwith to go & prepare themselues, and that they should be there ready armed after supper, determining the very same night to go to aid Syracvsa. But now at Syracvsa, while day light lasted, Dionysius fouldiers & Captaines did all the mischief & villany they could in the city, & when night came, they retired again into the castell, having lost very few of their men. Then the seditious governours of the Syracvsans took hart againe vnto the, hoping that the enemies wold be contented with that they had done: & therfore began a new to perswade the citizens to let Dion alone, and not to receive him with his mercenary fouldiers if they came to aide him; faying that they themselues were honester men then the strangers, to saue their citie, and to defend their liberty without help of any other. So, other Ambassadors were sent againe vnto Dion; some from the captains & gouernors of the city, to stay them that they should not come; and other also from the horsemen, & noble citizens his friends to hasten his journy: whereupon by reason of this variance, Dion marched very softly

at his eafe. Now by night, Dions enemies within the city got to the gates, and kept them that nion should not come in. Nypsius on the other side made a fally out of the castell, with his merrenarie fouldiers, being better appointed, and a greater number of them then before : and with them he straight plucked downeall the wall which they had built before the castell, and ranne and facked the citie. At this fally out of the castell, they did not onely kill the men they met, but women and litle children also, and stayed no more to spoile, but to destroy and put all to hauock. For because Dionysius saw that he was brought to a straight and desperate case, he bare such mortall malice against the Syracvsans, that fith there was no remedy but that he must needs forgo his tyranny, he determined to bury it with the vtter destruction & desolation of their citie. And therefore to preuent Dions aid, and to make a quicke dispatch to destroy all, they came with burning torches in their hands, and did fet fire on all things they could come too: and farther off, Syracufafes they fired their darts and arrowes, and bestowed them in every part of the city. So, they that sled Dionys for the fire, were met withall, and flaine in the streets by the souldiers, and others also that ranne souldiers, into their houses, were driven out againe by force of fire: for there were a number of houses that were on fire, and fell downe vpon them that went and came. This miferie was the chiefest cause why all the Syracus and agreed together to fet open the gates vnto Dion. For when Dion heard by the way, that Dionysius fouldiers were gone againe into the castell, he made no great hast to march forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horsemen from Syracvs a vnto Dior, who brought him newes that the enemies had once again etaken the city. Then also came other of his enemics vnto him, and praied him to make haft. Now their mifery increasing still, and they being brought into hard state, Heraclides first fent his brother vnto Dion, and then Theodotes his vncle, to pray him to come quickly and helpe them: for now there was no man left to resist the enemies, because he himselfe was hurt, and the citie also was in maner cleane burnt and destroyed. When these men came to Dion, he was yet about threescore furlongs from the towne. So he fold his mercenary fouldiers the danger that the towne was in, and having encouraged them, he led them no more faire and foftly, but running towards the city, and meeting meffengers one in anothers neck as he went, that prayed him to make all the possible speed he could. By this meanes, the foldiers marching with wonderfull speed and good will together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called Hecatompedon. First of all, he sent the lightest armed he had against the enemies, to the end that the Syracvs ans seeing them, they might take a good heart again to them, whilest he himself in the meane time did set all the other heavy armed soldiers and chizens that came to joyne with them in battel ray, & did cast the into divers squadrons, of greater length & breadth; and appointed him that shold have the leading of them, to the end that setting vpon the enemies in divers places together, they shold put them in greater feare and terror. When he had fee al things in this order, and made his prayer vnto the gods, & that they faw him marching through the city again their enemies then there rose such a comon noise and rejoycing, and great shout of the souldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, & perswasions of all the Sy-RACVSANS, that they called Dion their god & fauior, and the mercenary fouldiers their brethren and fellow citizens. Furthermore, there was not a Syracvs an that fo much regarded his owne lifeand person, but he seemed to be more afraid of the losse of Dion only, then of all the rest. For they saw him the formost man running through the danger of the fire, treading in bloud, & vpo in the citie dead bodies that lay slaine in the midst of the streets. Now indeed to charge the enemies, it was of Syracusa. amaruellous dangerous enterprise: for they were like mad beasts, and stood beside in battel ray along the wall which they had ouerthrowne, in a very dangerous place, and hard to win. Howbeit, the danger of the fire, did most of all trouble and amaze the strangers, & did stop their way for on which fide focuer they turned them, the houses round about them were all on a fire, and they were driuento march ouer the burnt timber of the houses, and to run in great danger of the wals of the house sides that fell on them, & to passe through the thicke smoke mingled with dust and befide to keepe their ranks with great difficulty. And whethey came to affaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, because of the straightnes of the place: howbeit, the Syracus ans with force of cries and shouts, did so animate & incorage their men, that at length they draue Nypfius & his men to for fake the place. The most part pelled by of them got into the castle, being very neare vnto them: the other that could not get in in time, into the fled firaglingly vp and downe, whom the GRECIAN fouldiers flue, chafing of them. The extre-cafell. mity of the time did not presently suffer the conquerers to reap the fruit of their victory, neither

The incom-Stancy of the Syrasu. fams.

Dions mercy to hise. nemies, and the great profit he dy in the A.

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No man Could be

The fro-

gainst Dion

Heraclides

the loyes and embracings meete for fo great an exploit. For the Syracus ans went every man home to his ownehouse, to quench the fire, the which could scarcely be put out all the night When day brake, there was none of these seditious flatterers of the people that durst tary in the citie, but condemning themselves, they sied to take their fortune. Heraelides and Theodoius came together of their owne good wils to yeeld themselves vnto Dion; confessing that they had done him wrong, and humbly praying him to shew himselfe better vnto them, then they had shewed themselves vnto him, and that it was more honorable for him, being every way vnmatchable for his vertues, to flew himfelfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his vnthankfull enemies had done who contending with him before in vertue, did now confesse themselves to be far inferior vnto him. This was the fumme and effect of Heraclides and Theodotus submiffion vnto Dion, But his friends did perfwade him not to pardon two fuch wicked men, who did malice and enuichis honor; and as ne would do the strangers his souldiers any pleasure, that he should put Heraclides into their hands, to roote out of the common-wealth of Syracvsa, his vile maner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as dangerous and great a plague to a citie, as § tyrannie. Dion pacifying them, answered: Other Generals of armies, faid he, do imploy al their wits in martiall exercises and wars; but for himselfe, that he had of long time studied and learned in the schoole of the Academie, to ouercome anger, enuie, and all malice and contention; the noble proofe whereof is most seene not in vsing honest men and his friends moderatly, but in shewing mercy also vnto his enemies, and forgetting his anger against them that have offended him; and that for his part, he had rather ouercome Heraclides, not in riches and wisedome, but in clemency and inflice; for therein chiefly confifted excellency, fith no man else in wars can chalenge power and government, but fortune, that ruleth most. And though Heraclides, said he, through envie hath done like a wicked man, must Dion therefore through anger blemish his vertue? Indeed by mans law it is thought meeter to reuengean iniurie offered, then to do an iniurie : but nature fleweth, that they both proceed of one felfe imperfection. Now though it be a hard thing to change & alter the cuill disposition of a man, after he is once nussed in villanie; yet is not man of fo wild & brutish a nature, that his wickednes may not be ouercome with often pleasures, when he feeth that they are continually shewed him. Dion answering his friends thus, he forgaue Hersclides: & beginning againe to flut vp the caftell with a wall round about, he commanded the Sy-RACVS ANS euery man of them to cut downe a stake, and to bring it thither. So when night was come fetting his fouldiers the strangers in hand withall, while st the Syracvs ans slept & tooke their case, by morning he had compassed the castell round about with a pale. The next day, they that faw the greatnesse and sudden expedition of this work, wondered much at it, as welthe enemies, as also the citizens: and when they had buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken prifoners (which were not much leffe then 2000 perfons) he called a common councell of the city, in the which Heraclides made a motion, that Dion should be chosen Generall of Syra. evs a, with absolute power and authoritie both by fea & land. The chiefest men of the city liked very wel of it, & wold have had the people to have passed it. But the rabble of the marrines, and other mechanicall people living by their labour, would not fuffer Heraclides to be put from his Admiralship, but fell to mutinie, thinking that though Heraclides did them no pleasure else, yethe would euer be a more popular man then Dion, and pleafe the common people better. Dion granted their defire, and made Heraelides Admirall againe of the sea: howbeit he did anger themas much another way, when he did not only reject the earnest suite they made to have the law Agraria passe for division of lands in equality amongst them, but did also cancell and revoke al that had been done before. Wherfore Heraclides remaining at MESSINA began thenceforth to enter into new practifes againe, and to flatter the fouldiers and fea-faring men he had brought this ther with him, and to stirre them vp against Dion, saying that he would make himselfetyrant: and himselfe in the meane time secretly practifed with Dionysius, by meanes of a Spartan called Pharax, The noblest men of the Syracy san's mistrusted it, and therupon there fel out great mutinie in their campe, whereby also followed great famine in Syrac cvsa: so that Dion was at fuch a straight, that he could not tell what to fay to it, and was reproued of all his friends for that he had againe preferred to great authority against himselse, so vitractable a man, and so malicious and wicked a person as Heraclides was. Now when Pharax lay in campe with an armic neare vnto the city of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTIMES, Dion did bring the army of the Syracysans into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him till an other time. But through Heraclides, and the fea-mens crying out, that faid, he would not trie. this warre by battell, but would draw it out in length, because he would be still Generall, he was forced to give battell, and lost it. Howbeit, the overthrow was not great, and happened rather. because his men were at a larre among themselves by reason of their faction and division, then otherwise. Dion therfore prepared to fight another battel, and gathered his men together against encouraging them, when even at twi-light word was brought him, that Heraclides with all his fleete was under faile towards Synacusa, meaning to take the city, and to flut Dion and his armie out of it. Wherefore he presently tooke with him the chiefest men of authoritie in the citie and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were at the gates of Syracvs a the next morning by nine of the clocke, having ridden feven hundred furlongs. Heraclides that had failed with all the possible speed he could, to prevent him with his hips, perceining that he came short, he turned faile, and taking seas at all adventure, by chance he met with Galylus LACED EMONIAN, who told him he was fent from LACED EMON, to be Ge- Galilus nerallto the Sicilians in this warre, as Gylippus was fent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him to haue fuch a remedie and defence against Dion, and boasted of it vnto the meth to Sy friends and confederates of Syracvsa, and fent an Herauld before vnto the Syracvsans, fummoning them to receive Gasylus LACED EMONIAN, who was sent to be their Generall. Dion of the Syramadeanswer: That the Syracvsans had gouernours enough; and though that their affaires enfant. did of necessitie require a LACED EMONIAN Captaine, yet that himselfe was he; for that he was madefree in Sparta. Then Gassilus perceiuing he could not obtaine to be Generall, he went unto Syracvsa, and came to Dion, and there made Heraclides and him friends againe by the greate and solemne othes he made; and because Gasylus also sware, that he himselfe would be reuenged of him for Dions fake, and punish Heraclides if ever after he did once more conspire a- en and the gainst him. After that, the Syracvsans brake up their army by sea, because it did them no feruice, and was befide chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breed sedition and trouble a- gaine. mongst their gouernors; and so went to lay straighter siege to the castell then euer they did; and built up the wall againe, which the enemics had ouerthrowne. Then Dionylous fonne feeing no aide to come to him from any part, and that victuals failed them; and further, that the fouldiers began to mutine being vnable to keepe them, he fell to a composition with Dion, and deliucred up the castell into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and so tooke his mother and his fifters of Dion, and put them aboord vpon fine gallies, with the which he went vnto his father, through the fafe conduct of Dion. There was not aman at that time in all Syracysa, but The caffell was there to fee this fight; or if by chance there were any abfent, the other that were there, called them thither as loud as they could crie, faying: That they did not feethe goodlyest day and Sunthine, which the city of Syracvsa might feether ather rifing, the same being now restored againe to her former liberty. If vntill this present day they do reckon the flying of Dionylius for one of the rarest examples of fortunes change, as one of the greatest and notablest things that euer was: what ioy (thinke we) had they that draue him out, and what pleasure had they with themselues, that with the least meane that could be possible, did destroy the greatest tyranny in the world. So when Apollocrates (Diony sus fonne) was imbarked, and that Dion was entred into The words thecastell, the women within the castell would not tarrie till he came into the house, but went to of arisoma. meete him at the gates; Aristomache leading Dions sonne in her hand, and Arete following her weeping, but very fearefull how she should call and salute her husband, having lyen with another man, Dion first spake to his fifter, and afterwards to his sonne and then Aristomache offering callell of him Arete, faid vnto him: fince thy banishment ô Dion, we have led a miserable and captive life, but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou hast rid vs out of care and thraldome, and hast also madevs againe bold to lift up our heads, fauing her here, whom I (wretched creature) haue by force(thy felfe aline) feene maried vnto another man. Now then, fith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what judgement givest thou of this compulsion . How wilt thou have her to falute thee; as her vncle or husband. As Aristomache spake these words, the water stood in Diens eyes: so he gently and louingly taking his wife Arete by the hand, he gaue her his sonne, his wife Aand willed her to go home to his house where he then remained, and so delinered the castell vnto the Syracvs ans. He having this prosperous successe and victory, would not reape any prefent benefite or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed himselfe thankfull to his friends, given maried to great gifts allo vnto the confederates of Syracv sa, and specially before he had given every one

perance & thriftine∬e

of his friends in the cirie, & his mercenary foldiers the strangers, some honorable reward according to their deferts, exceeding his hability with magnanimitie of mind: when he himselfe lived foberly, and kept a moderate diet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Euerv man that heard of it, wondered at him, confidering that not onely all SICILE and CARTHAGE. but generally all GRECE looked vpon his great prosperity and good fortune, thinking no man liuing greater then he, nor that any Captaine euer attained vnto such fame and wonderfull fortune as he was comevnto. This notwithstanding, Dien lived as temperately and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of feruants, and service at his boord, as if he had lived with Plato in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not been conversant among souldiers and Captains. which have no other comfort nor pleasure for all the paines and danger they suffer continually but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. Plato wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But Dion, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place. and to one city, to wit, the Academie, and would have no other Judges nor lookers into his do. ings, but the scholers of the same: who neither wondred at his great exploits, valiantnesse, nor victorie, but only confidering if he did wifely and modestly vse the fortune he had, and could so keep himselse within modest bounds, having done so great things, Furthermore, touching the grauitie he had when he spake to any body, & his inflexible seueritie which he vsed towards the people, he determined neuer to alter or change it not with standing that his affaires required him to shew courtesse and lenitie, and that Plato also reproved him for it, and wrote, that severitie and obstinace (as we said before) was the companion of solitarinesse. But it seemeth to me that Dian did vse it for two respects. The first, because nature had not framed him courteous and affable to winne men: secondly, he did what he could to draw the Syracvsans to the contrary; who were over licentious, and spoiled with too much flattery. For Heraclides began againe to behusie with him. First of all, Dion sending for him to come to councell, he fent him word, he would not come: and that being a private citizen, he would be at the common councell amongst others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not ouerthrowne and razed the castle: and also because he would not suffer the people to breake open the tombe of Dionysius the elder, to cast out his bodie: and because he sent for counsellors to Coninin, and disdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the commonwealth. Indeed to confesse a troth, Dion had fent forcertain Corint Hians, hoping the better to Rablish the forme of acomon wealth, which he had in his mind when they were come. For his mind was vtterly to break the government of Democratia (to wit, the absolute government and authoritie of the people in a citie, not being as it were a comonwealth, but rather a faier and market where things are fold, as Plato faith) & to establish the LACONIAN or CRETAN comonwealth, mingled with a princely & popular gouernment: and that should be Aristocratia, to wir, the number of a few noblementhat should gouerne and direct the chiefest and weightiest matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the Corinthians y meetest men to help him to frame this comonwealth, colidering that they gouerned sheir affaires more by chusing a few number of the nobility, then otherwise, & that they did not refer many things to the voice of the people. And because he was affured that Heraclides wold be against him in it al that he could, &that otherwise he knew he was a seditious, a troublesome, & lightheaded fellow: he then suffered the to kil him, who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & fothey went home to his house, & sluc him there. The murther of Heraclides was much misliked of the Syracvsans, howbeit Dion caused him to be honorably buried, & brought his body to § ground, followed with al his army. The he made an Oration himself to the people, & told the that it was impossible to avoid seditio & trouble in the city, so long as Dion & Heraclides did both gouern together. At that time there was one Callippus an ATHENIAN, a familiar of Dions, who (as Plato faith) came not acquainted with Dion through the occasion of his study in Philosophy, but because he had bin his guide to bring him to see the fecret my steries and ceremonies of the facrifices, and for such other like common talke and copany. This notwithstanding, Callippus did accopany him in all this war, & was very much honored of him, and was one of the first of all his friends that entred into Syracvsa with him, & did valiantly behaue himself in al the battels & conslicts that were fought. This Callippus seeing that Dions best and chiefest friends were all slaine in this war, & that Heraclides also was dead, that the people of Syracvsa had no more any head, and besides, that the soldiers which were with Dion did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfullest man, and the veriest villain

of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend Dion, he should vidoubtedly come to have the whole gonernment of all Sicile; and as some do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies, of twenty talents, for his labor to commit this murther. So he began to practife, to bribe Note the and to suborne certaine of the mercenarie foldiers against Dion, and that by a maruellous crafty fabriley of and fubtile fetch. For vfing commonly to report vnto Dion certaine feditious words spoken peradventure by the fouldiers indeed, or else deuised of his owne head, he wanne such a liberty and holdnesse by the trust Dion had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the soldiers, and boldly speake euill of Dien by his ownecommandement : to the end he might therby understand the better, whether any of his foldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this policy , Callippus straight found out those that bare Dion grudge, and that were already corrupted, who he drew to his conspiracy. And if any man vinwilling to give eare vinto him, went & rold Dion, that Callippus wold have inticed him to conspire against him, Dion was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did but as he had comanded him to do. Now as this treason was prafiling against Dion, there appeared a great and monstrous ghost or spirit vnto him. By chance Application fitting late one evening all alone in a gallery he had, and being in a deepe thought with himfelfe, Pared and fuddenly he heard a noise, and therewith casting his eye to the end of his gallery (being yet daylight) he faw a monstrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies shewed in playes, and saw her fweeping of the house with a broome. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his friends, and told them what a fight he had feene and praied them to tarrie with him all night. being as it were a man befide himselfe, fearing lest the spirit would come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which not with standing he neuer heard more afterwards. Howbeit shortlvafter, his sonne being growne to mans state, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he cast himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house, and so was slaine. Dien being in this state, Callippus went on stil with his treason, and spread a rumor abroad among the Synac vs Ans, that Dion leeing himselfe now destitute of children, was determined to send for Apollocrates, Dronystus son, to make him his heireand successor, being cosin germaine to his of Dious for wife, and his fifters daughters fonne. Then began Dion, his wife, and fifters to miftrust Callippus practifes, and they were told it by diverse and manifest proofes. But Dion being fory (as I fup. Apollorspose for Heraclides death, and inwardly taking that murther invery euill part, as a foule blot to his life and doings, he faid, he had rather die a thoufand deaths, and to offer his throat to be cutto any that would, rather then he would live in that miserie, to be compelled to take heed as well of his friends, as of his enemies, Callippus then feeing the woman for bufie and inquisitive of his doings, and fearing left he should be bewrayed, he came weeping vnto them, and told them, it was nothing, and that he was ready to affure them of it by any maner of way they would deuise. The women then willed him to sweare by the great oath, which was in this maner. He that must take The great this outh cometh into the temple of the goddeffes The mophores, which are, Ceres and Proferpi outh of the na: and after certaine facrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddesse Proferping holding a burning torch in his hand, and sweareth in this maner. Callippus having done all Dion states these commonies, and made the oath in forme as I hauc told you, he made folight account of the by calipgoddesses, that he taried no longer to do the murther he had determined, but til the very feast day of the goddeffe should come, by whom he had sworne and slue him on the day of the feast of Proferpina. Now, I do not thinke that he chofe that day offer purpose, knowing right well that hedid alwaies finne against her, what time soeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes specially admitted to the societie and brotherhood with him, of the fraternitie and mysteries of Ceres and Proferpina. Of this conspiracie there were divers. For, as Dion was set in his chamber talking with his friends, where there were many beds to fit on, some compassed the house round about, others came to the doores and windowes of his chamber, and they that should do the deed to dispatch him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN soldiers, came into his chaber in their coats without any fword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the dores after them, and locked them in left any man should come out, and they that were within, fell vpon Dion, and thought to have strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a fword. Neuer a manthat was within, durft open the dores, though there were many with Dion. For they thought every man to faue their owne liues, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, and did no. thing. At length there was one Lycona Syracvsan, that gaue one of the Zacynthian foldiers

Herralides conspiresto againe against Dion.

Dionfent to thiastoffablish a com. monwealth totheSyracufans, Dio meant to a. bolift De. mocratia. and to ad. wance Ari-Accratia. The authovity of the people vesembled by Plato to a faire or market.The comowealth of the Corinthians. The mur ther of He. thenian,co .

∫pireth a -

Dione wife brought to bed of a fon

The punish ment of Callippus. * Kaprain in corrupt (peech ligni fietha knife to fcrape or cut cheefe, whichitra lier called Inline Pollux.lib.10. cap.24. Callippus flaine with the fame flue Dion.

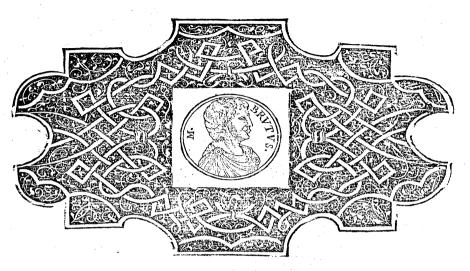
The crucky of the Syra. eusans vnto Dion and his pofferity

a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut Dions throat, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they cast his sister, and wife great with child, into prison, and there the poore ladie was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwise to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because Callippus began then a litle to grow to some trouble for at the first, after he had slain Dion, hebere all the whole sway for a time, and kept the city of Syracvsain his hands: and wrote vnto A-THENS, the which next vnto the immortall gods he was most afraid of having defiled his hands in so damnable atreason. And therefore (in my opinion) it was not euill spoken, That ATHENS isacitie, of all other, that bringeth forth the best, when they give themselves to goodnesse; and the wickedest people also, when they dispose themselves to cuill: as their country also bringeth forth the best hony that is, and hemlocke in like manner that quickly dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit, the gods and fortune did not suffer this treason and wicked man to reigne long, having come to the government of a realme by fo damnable a murther: but shortly after they gaue him his payment he had deserved. For Callippus going to take a litle towne called * Catana, he lost the city of Syracusa: whereupon he said, That he had lost a city, & got a cheese. knife. Afterwards he went to affaile the MESSINIANS, and there he loft a great number of his men, and amongst them were slaine those that killed Dion. Now Callippus finding no city in all Sicile that would receive him, but that they all did hate and abhorrehim, he went to take the city of RHEGIO in ITALY. There being in great diffresse and need of all things, and not able to maintaine his fouldiers; he was flaine by Leptines and Polyperchon, with the felfe fame dagger wher with Dion before was flaine the which was knowneby the fashion, being short like the La-CONIAN daggers, and also by the workmanship vpo it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of Callippus. Now for Aristomache and Arete, they were taken out of prison and Icetes Synacvsan, that sometimes had been one of Diens friends, tooke them home to his owne house, and yied them very well and faithfully for a certain time, but afterwards was wonneand corrupted by Dions enemies. So he caused a ship to be prouided for them, and bare them in hand that he would fend them into Peloponnesvs: but he gauethem charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them oner boord into the sea. Somesay that the two women, and the litle yong boy, were cast aliue into the sea. But this reward of the finfull act that he committed, returned againe vpon himselfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by Timoleon that put him to death : and befides, the

SYRACVSANS did also kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulnesse he had shewed vnto Dion.



THE LIFE OF Marcus Brutus.



THE

Areus Brutus came of that Junius Brutus, for whom the ancient Ro-MAINES made his statue of braffe to be fet vp in the Capitoll, with The parenthe images of the kings, holding a naked fword in his hand because tageof he had valuantly put downe the TARQVINES from the kingdome of Britis. ROME. But that Iunius Brutus being of a foure sterne nature, no fofteaned by reason, being like vnto sword blades of too hard a temper, was of subject to his choler and malice he bare vuto the tyrants, that for their fakes he caused his owne sonnes to be executed. But this Marcus Brutus in contrarie manner, whose life we presently write, having fra. medhismanners of life by the rules of vertue, and fludic of Philosophy, and having couployed

ly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his very enemies which wish him most hurt, because of his conspiracie against Iulius Casar, if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracie, they referre it wholy vnto Brutus; and all the cruell and violent acts vnto Coffins, who was Brutus me. Brutus familiar friend, but not so well given, and conditioned as he. His mother Servilia, it is there. thought, came of the bloud of Servilius Hala; who, when Spurius Melius went about to make himfelfeking, and to bring it to paffehad entited the common people to rebell, tooke a dagger, and hid it close vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come this her, he madeas though he had formwhat to fay vnto him, and pressed as neare him as he could; wherefore Melius flouping downe with his head, to heare what he would fay, Sernilius flabbed him in with his dagger and flue him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father fome for the enill will and malice they bare vnto Brutus, because of the death of inlins C.efar, do maintaine that he came not of Iunius Brutus that draue out the TARQYINS: for there were none left of his race, confidering that his two fons were executed for confpiracy with the TARQVINS and that Marcus Brutus came of a meane house, the which was raised to honour and office in the common wealth but of latetime. Posidonius the Philosopher writeth the contrary, that Iunius

Brutus indeed fluetwo of his fonnes which were men growne, as the histories doe declare;

his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things, me thinkes he was right-

howbeit that there was a third sonne, being but a litle child at that time, from whom the house and family afterwards was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certaine Pppp 4

likely to hauevndone the city of Rome, Cafar and Cato fate neare together, and were both of

contrarie minds to each other; and then, that in the meane time one deliuered Cafar a letter. Ca-

fartooke it, and read it softly to himselfe : but Catocried out vpon Cafar, and sayd he did not

well to receive advertisements from enemies: whereupon the whole Senate beganne to mur-

mureat it. Then Eafar gaue Cato the letter as it was fent him, who read it, and found that it was

aloue letter fent from his fifter Seruilia: thereupon he cast it againe to Casar, and sayd vnto him.

Hold, drunken foppe. When he had done fo, he went on with histale, and maintained his opi-

nionashe did before: To commonly west the love of Servilia knowne, which she bare vnto Cafar

So after Pompeys overthrow at the battell of PHARSALIA and that he fled to the fea, when Ca-

allokept him alwaies about him, and did as much honour and effecme him, as any man he had

inhis company. Now, no man could tell whither Pompey was fled, and all were maruellons

defirous to know it: wherefore Cafar Walking a good way alone with Brutus, he did aske

reflynto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholy ynto Casars

Brace and goodnesse. For when Casar returned out of Africk E, and progressed up and downe

greatly effecemed. Now there were diners forts of Prætorships in Rome, and it was looked for.

out, though they were allied together: for Cassius had maried Iunia, Brutus sister. Others say, that

Sernilia, Catoes fifter.

Brutus Studies. Brutus fol lowed the old Acade-

micks.

Empylusan Orator. torotea Booke of Ceand intitue. led is Erutsia. Brutus n.a. ing his Epi-Fies in Grecke. A briefe le .. ter to the

into Cyprus.

Samians.

Brutas ta. keth part with Pom-

peys campe.

famous men of that family, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of Innius Brutus. And thus much for this matter: Marcus Cato the Philosopher was brother vnto son uilia, Marcus Brutus mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other Romaines, because he was his vncle, and afterwards he maried his daughter, Now touching the GRECIAN Philosophers, there was no sect nor Philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it; but aboue all the rest, he loued Platoes sect best, and did not much give himselfe to the new or meane Academie (as they call it) but altogether to the old Academie. Therefore he did euer greatly efleeme the Philosopher Antiochus, of the city of As CAL ON: but he was more familiar with his brother Artifon, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other Philosophers, but for wisedome & courtesic, equall with the best and chiefest. Touching Empylus, whom M. Brutue himselse doth mention in his Epistles, and his friends also in many places, he was an Orator. and left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of Iulius Cafar, and intituled it, Brutus. He was properly learned in the Latine tong, & was able to make long discourse in it: beside that he could also pleade very well in Latine, But for the Greek tong, they do note in some of his Epistles, that he counterfeited that briefe compendious maner of speech of the LACED EMONIANS. As when the war was begun, he wrot vnto the Pergamenians in this fort: I vnderstand you hauegiuen Dolabella moncy : if you have done it willingly, you confesse you have offended me; if against your wils, shew it then by giving me willingly. Another time againe vnto the Samians Your councels be long, your doings be flow, confider the end. And in another Epistle he wrote vnto ner of writ. the PATAREIANS. The XANTHIANS despising my goodwil, have made their country a graue of despaire, and the PATAREIANS that pur themselves into my protection, have lost no iot of their liberty; and therfore whilest you have liberty, either chuse the iudgement of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. These were Brutus maner of letters, which were honored for their briefnesse. So Brutus being but a yong stripling, went into Cypros with his Vnckle Cato. who was fent against Prolomy king of Agypt; who having flaine himself, Cato staying for certain necessarie busines he had in the He of RHODE's, had already sent * Caninius, one of his friends before to keepe his treasure and goods. But Caso fearing he would be light-singered, wrote vnto Brutus forthwith to come out of PAMPHILIA (where he was but newly recoursed of a ficknesse) into Cyprvs, the which he did. The which iourney he was fory to take vpon him, both for respect of Caninius shame, whom Cato (as he thought) wrongfully slandered: as also because he thought this office too meane and vnmcet for him, being a young man, and given to his booke. This notwithstanding, he behaved himselfe so honestly and carefully, that Cato did greatly commend him: and after all the goods were fold and converted into readie money, he tookethe most part of it, and returned withall to Rome. Afterwards, when the Empire of Rome was deuided into factions, and that Cafar and Pompey both were in armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of Rome was in garboile and vprore: it was thought then that Bruins would take part with Cafar, because Pompey not long before had put his father to death. But Brutus preferring the respect of his countrey and commonwealth before private affection, and perfivading him felfe that Pompey had infter cause to enter into armes, then Casar, he then tooke part with Pompey; though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorne to speake to him, thin. king it a great fin and offence in him, to speake to the murtherer of his father. But then submitting himselse vnto Pampey, as vnto the head of the commonwealth, he sailed into Sicile, Lieutenant under sestins that was Gouernor of that province. But when he saw that there was no way to rife, nor to do any noble exploits, and that Cafar and Pompey were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of himself vnsent for, into Macedon n: to be partaker of the danger. It is reported, that Pompey being glad, and wondering at his coming, when he saw him come to him, he rose out of his chaire, and went & imbraced him before them all, and vsed him as honorably, as he could have done the noblest man that tooke his part. Brutus being in Pompeys campe, did nothing but study all day long, except he were with Pompey; and not only the daies before but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fields of Pharsalla, where Pompey was our come. It was in the middest of Sommer, and the Sunne was very hote, besides that the campe was lodged neare vnto marrishes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereupon, being very wearie with travell, scant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morow after, he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long til night, writing a breuiary of Polybius.

BRVTVS

Trisreported that Cafar did not forget him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the Inline cahattell that they should beware they killed not Brutus in fight, and if he yeelded willingly vnto for carefull them, that then they should bring him vnto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then safety. that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for Serniliaes suke. Brutus

mother. For when he was a yong man, he had been acquainted with Seruilia, who was ex- Inline Caremely in loue with him. And because Brutus was borne in that time when their loue was ho- far loued reft, he perswaded himselfe that he begate him. For proofe hereof the report goeth, that when Brutas ino. the weightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracie of Catiline, which was

far came to beliege his campe Brutus went out of the campe gates vnseene of any man, and leapt red by falling into a marish full of water and reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the city of LARIS SA: from whence he wrotevnto Cafar, who was very glad that he had scaped, after the and sent for him to come vnto him. When Brutus was come, he did not onely pardon him, but Pharfalia,

him which way he thought Pompey tooke. Cafar perceiuing by his talke that Brutus gueffed *This king certainly whither Pompey should be fled, he left all other wayes, and tooke his journey direct was leb: lytowards AGYPT. Pompey (as Brutus had coniccured) was indeed fied into AGYPT. bütthere he was villanously slaine. Furthermore, Brutus obtained pardon of Casar for Castus that British and defending alfothe King * of Lybian's cause, he was ourrlayd with a world of accusation made interonsagainst him howbeit, intreating for him, he faued him the best part of his Realme and Kingdome. They fay also, that Cafar fayd, when he heard Brutus pleade: I know not (fayd he) what this young man would; but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as Brutus gravitie and constant minde would not grant all men their requests that sued vnto him, but being modued with reason and discretion, did alwaies encline to that which was good and honeff, even so when it was mooued to follow any matter, he ysed a kind of forcible and yehement perswasion, that calmed nottill he had obtained his desire. For by stattering of him, a mancould neuer obtaineany thing at his hands, nor make him to do that which was vniuft. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and estimation, to yeeld vnto the requests and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate suter, requesting things vnmeete: the wore best to which not with standing some mendo for shame, because they dare deny nothing, and therefore he was wont to fay, That he thought them cuill brought vp in their youth, that could deny Beintaus. nothing. Now when Cafar tooke fea to go into A FRICK B against Cato and Scipio, he left Cafar made Brutus Gouernour of GAVLE in ITALIE on this fide of the Alpes, which was a great good HETHOR of happe for that Province. For where others were spoiled and polled by the infolencie and co- Gauleon uctousnesse of the Gouernors, as if it had been a country conquered, Brutus was a comfort and this side the

ITALIE, the things that pleased him best to see, were the cities under Brutus charge and gouern-Brutus and ment, and Brutus himselfe, who honoured Cafar in person, and whose companie also Cafar Cassinson that Brutus or Caffins would make fuite for the chiefest Prætorship, which they called, The Præ- of the city. torship of the city: because he that had that office, was as a Judge to minister justice, vnto the cassimum. citizens. Therefore they strone one against another, though some say, that there was some little Brutus Brudge betwirt them for other matters before, and that this contention did fet them further ffer.

fins malice

Cafarfuf-

tus against

Caffius Li-

zainst Cesar.

this contention betwixt them came by Cafar himselfe, who secretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauor. So their suit for the Prætorship was so followed and laboured of either party, that one of them put another into fuite of law, Brutus with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploits in armes, which Cassius had done against the PARTHIANS. So Calar after he had heard both their objections, told his friends, with whom he consulted about this matter: Cassius cause is the inster (said he) but Brutus must be first preferred. Thus Brutus had the first Prætorship, and Cassius the second : who thanked not Casar so much for the Prætorshiphe had, as he was angry with him for that he had loft. But Brutus in many other things tafted of the benefite of Casars fauour in any thing he requested. For if he had listed, he might have been one of Cafars chiefest friends, and of greatest authoritie and credite about him. Howbeit, Casim friends did dissiwade him from it (for Casius and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contention and strife for the Prætorship) & prayed him to beware of Cafars sweete enticements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauors: the which they faid Cafar gaue him, nor to honor his vertue, but to weaken his constant minde, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now Casar on the other fide did not trust him ouermuch, hor was without tales brought vnto him again? him: howbeithe feared his greatmind, authoritie, and friends. Yet on the other fide also, he trusted his good nature, and faire conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that Antonius and Dolabella did conspire against him : be answered, That these fatlong-haired men made him cafars fay- not afraide, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that by Brutus and Caffins. Ata. nother time also when one accused Brutus vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, (saidhe againe clapping his hands on his breaft,) thinke ye that Brutus will not tary till this bodiedies meaning that none but Brutus after him was meete to have such power as he had. And surely (in my opinion) I am perswaded that Brutus, might indeed have come to have beene the chiefest man of Rome, if he could have contented himselfe for a time to have been next vnto Casarand to have fuffered his glory and authority, which he had gotten by his great victories, to confume with time. But Cassius being a cholericke man, and hating Casar prinately, more then he did the tyrannie openly, he incensed Brutus against him. It is also reported, that Brutus could euillaway with the tyrannic, and that Caffins hated the tyrant: making many complaints for the injuries he had done him, and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lions from him. Casing had provided them for his sports, when he shold be Ædilis, and they were found in the city of MEGARA, when it was wonne by Calenus; and Cafar kept them. The rumor went, that thefelions did maruellous great hurt to the MBGARIANS: for whethe city was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied vp. & turned the loofe, thinking they would have done great mischiefe to the enemies, and have keptthem from fetting vponthem: butthe Lions (contrarie to expediation) turned vpon themselves that fled vnarmed, and did so cruelly teare some in peeces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause (as some do report) that made cassius conspire against Casar. Butthis holdeth no water: for Cassius even from his cradle could notamyosiyiau. bide any manner of tyrants, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went vnto the same schoole that Faustus the son of Sylla did. And Faustus bragging among other boyes, highly boafted of his fathers kingdom. Caffin's rosevp on his feet, and gaue him two good wirts on the eare. Fauftus gouernors would have put this matter in suite against Cassius : but Pompey would not suffer them, but caused the two boyesto be brought before him, and asked them, how the matter came to passe. Then Cassius (as it is written of him,) said vnto the other. Go too Faustus, speake againe and thou darest, before this Nobleman here, the same words that made meangry with thee, that my fifts may walke once againe about thine eares. Such was Cassius hote stirring nature. But for Brutus, his friends and countrimen, both by divers procurements, and fundrie rumours of the citie, and by many bils also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For vnder the image of his ancestor Iunius Brutus, (that draue the kings out of Rom #) they wrote; O, that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, Brutus! and againe, That thou wert here among vs now! His tribunall or chaire, where he gaue audience during the time he was Prator, was full offuch bils: Brutus thou art afleepe, and art not Brutus indeed. And of all this, Cafars flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and vnspeakeable honours they daily deuised for him, in the night time they put Diademes vpon the heads of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him King, in stead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrarie, (as we have written more at large in tillus Colars life.) Now when

Calling felt his friends, and did stirre them vp against Cafar they all agreed, and promised to take part with him, fo Bentus were the chiefe of their conspiracie. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so much require men of manhood and courage to draw their fwords, as it flood them vpon to have a man of fuch estimatio as Brutus to make every man Holdly thinke, that by his onely presence the fact were holy and just. If he tooke not this course, then that they should go to it with fainter hearts; and when they had done it, they should be more fearefull, because every man would thinke that Bruius would not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had been good and honest. Therefore Cassius considering this matter with himselfe, did first of all speake to Brutus, since they grew strange together for the Brutus first fuite they had for the Prætorship. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had selection in the prætorship. embraced one another, Cassius asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house the first day of the moneth of March, because he heard say that Casars friendes should move the syram. councell that day, that Cafar should be called king by the Senate. Brutus answered him, he wold not be there. But if we be fent for (faid Cassus) how then ? For my selfe then (faid Brutus.) I meane not to hold my peace, but to withfrandit, and rather die then lose my liberty. Casius being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why, (quoth he) what Romain E is he aliue that will fuffer thee to die for thy liberty? What? knowest thou not that thou art Brutus? Thinkest thou that they be coblers, tapfters, or fuch like base mechanicall people, that write these billes and scroles which are found daily in thy Prætors chaire, and not the noblest men and best citizens that do it. No be thou well affured, that of other Protors they looke for gifts, common diffributions among ft the people, and for common playes, & to fee fencers fight at the sharp, to shew the people pastime; but at thy hands, they specially require (as a due debt vnto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bentto suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thy felfe to be the man thou are taken for and that they hope thou are. Thereupon he kiffed Bru-1815, and embraced him : and so each taking leave of other, they went both to speake with their *Instables friends about it. Now amongst Pompeys friends, there was one called * Cains Ligarius, who had been accused vnto Cafar for taking part with Pompey, and Cafar discharged him. But Ligarius thanked not Cefer for much for his discharge, as he was offended with him, for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his heart he was alwaie his morrallenemie, and was besides very familiar with Brutus, who went to see him being sicke in his bed, and faid vnto him: Ligarius, in what a time art thou ficke: Ligarius rifing vp in his bed, andtaking him by the right hand, faid vnto him: Brutus (faid he) if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thy selfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feele all their acquaintance whom they trufted, and layd their heads together confulting upon it, and did not onely picke out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint Citero with their conspiracie, although he was a man whom they loued dearely, and tru- They do fled best: for they were affraid that he being a coward by nature, and ageal fo having increased his feare, he would quite turne and alter al their purpole, and quench the heavof their enterprise, the which specially required hote and carnest execution; seeking by perswasion to bring all things to fuch fafetie, as there should be no perill. Brutus also did let other of his friends alone, as Statilius Epicurian, and Faonius, that made profession to follow Marcus Cato: because that having cast out words a farre off, disputing together in Philosophie to feele their minds, Faorius answered. That civill warre was worse then tyrannical gouernment vsurped against the law. And Statilius told him alfo, That it were an vinwise part for him to put his life in danger, for a fort of ignorant fooles and affes. Labeo was prefent at this talke, and maintained the contrary against workether them both. But Brutus held his peace, as though it had beene a doubtfull matter, and a hard tramital thing to have bene decided. But afterwards, being out of their companie, he made Labeo priwie to his intent; who very readily offered himfelfe to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another Brutus to loyne with him, furnamed Albinus: who was no man of his hands himselfe, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaues, and fencers at the sharpe, whom he kept to shew the people passime with their fighting, besides allothat Cafar had some trust in him. Cassius and Laber, told Brutus Albinus of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But when he had spoken with Brutus himselfe alone, and that Brut tws had told him he was the chiefe ring-leader of all this confpiracie, then he willingly promifed

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Porcia,Catoes daugh ter wife vis to Brutus. **Bibulus** booke of Brutus acts. died in Phi lo cophie. The courage of Porcia.

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him the best aide he could, Furthermore, the onely name and great calling of Brutus did bring on the most of them to give consent to this conspiracy: who having neuer take oathes together. nor taken or given any caution or affurance, nor binding themselves one to another by anyre. ligious othes, they all kept the matter fo fecret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that not with standing, the gods did reueale it by manifest signes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of facrifices, yet all this would not be beleeued. Now Brutus, who knew yerr well, that for his sakeall the noblest, valiantest, and most couragious men of Rome did venue their lives, weighing with him felfe the greatnesse of the danger; when he was out of his house. he did so frame and fashion his countenance and lookes that no man could discerne he had any thing to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his owne house, then he was cleane changed: for either care did wake him against his will when he would have slepty or else oftentimes of himselse he fell into such deepe thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his mind all the dangers that might happen : that his wife lying by him, found that there was some mar. uellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himselfe. His wife Porcia (as we have told you before)was the daughter of Cato, whom Brutus maried being his cousin, not a maiden, but a young widow after the death of her first husband Bibulus, by whom she had also a young sonne called Bibulus, who afterwards wrote a booke of the acts and gestes of Brutus; extant at this present day, This young ladie being excellently well feene in Philosophy, louing her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wife: because she would not aske her husband what he ayled before she had made some proofe by her selfe she tooke a litlerazour, such as Barbersoccupie to pare mens nailes, and caufing her maydes and women to go out of her chamber. gaue her felfe a great gash withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a goare bloud and incontinently after, a vehement feauer tooke her, by reason of the paine of her wound. Then perceiuing her husband was maruelloufly out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest paine of all, she spake in this fort vnto him: I being, ô Brutus, (said she) the daughter of (ato, was maried vnto thee; not to be thy bed-fellow and companion in bedde and at boord onely, like a harlot, but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and euill fortune, Now. for thy felfe, I can find no cause of fault in thee touching our match. but for my part, how may I shew my duty towards thee, and how much I would do forthy sake, if I cannot constantly beare a secret mischance or griefe with thee, which requireth secrecie and fideline? I confesse, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a secret safely: but yet (Bratus): good education, and the company of vertuous men, have some power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my felfe, I hauethis benefite moreouer, that I am the daughter of Caso, and wife of Brutus, This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before, vntil that now I have found by experience, that no paine or griefe what foeuer can ouercome me. With those words shee shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to proucher felfe. Brutus was amazed to heare what she fayd vnto him, and lifting vp his hands to heauen, he befought the goddes to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to sogod passe, that he might be found a husband, worthy of so noble a wife as Porcia: so hethendid comfort her the best he could. Now, a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at whattime they hoped Cafar would not faile to come, the conspiratours determined thento put their enterprise in execution, because they might meete safely at that time without suspicion, and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefest men of the city would be there: who when they should see such a great matter executed, would every man set too their hands, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the Councell should be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of seates for mento sit in, where also was set up the image of Pempey, which the city had made and confecrated in honour of him, when he did beautifie that part of the citie with the Theater he built, with divers porches about it. In this place was the affembly of the Senate appointed to be, inft on the fifteenth day of the moneth March, which the Ro-MAINES call, Idus Martias: fothat it seemed some god of purpose had brought Casar thither to be flaine, for reuenge of Pompeys death. So when the day was come; Brutus went out of his house with a dagger by his side under his long gowne, that no body saw nor knew, but his

wife onely. The other conspiratours were all affembled at Cassius house, to bring his sonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto Pompeys porch looking that Cefar would fraight comethither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull affured constancie of these conspirators, in The wonderfull hodangerous and weightie an enterprise as they had vndertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reason of their office, whose dutie is to minister instice to enery bodie; did not onely with great quietnesse and courtesse heare them that spake vnto them, or that pleaded matters raters in before them, and gaue them attentiue care, as if they had no other matter in their heads: but hilling of moreouer, they gaue iust sentence, and carefully dispatched the causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine fumme of money, refused to pay it, and cried out, that he did appeale vnto Cefar. Then Brutus casting his eyes vpon the conspirators faid: Cafar shall not let me to see the law executed. Notwithstanding this, by chance there fell outmany misfortunes vnto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The misorities fift and chiefest, was Cafars long tarying, who came very late to the Senate: for, because the somes of the sacrifices appeared voluckie, his wife Calphurnia kept him at home, and the Soothfavers bade him beware he went not abroad. The fecond cause was, when one came vnto Casca being a conspirator, and taking him by the hand, said vnto him: O Casea, thou keptest it close fromme, but Brutus hath told me all. Casca being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, & gyd: Why, how now, how commeth it to paffe thou art thus rich, that thou doest fuc to bee Adilise Thus Cafea being deceived by the others doubtful words, he told them it was a thousand wone, he blabbed not out all the conspiracie. Another Senatour called Popilius Lana, after he had faluted Brutus and Cassius more friendly then he was wont to doe, he rounded foftly inheir earcs, and told them: I pray the goddesse you may go through with that you hauetaknin hand ; but withall, dispatch I reade you, for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had hid, he prefently departed from them, and left them both affraid that their conspiracie would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of Brutus men post hast vinto him, and told him his wife was a dying. For Porcia being very carefull and penfine for that which was to come, The weaker andbeing too weaketo away with so great and inward griefe of mind, she could hardly keepe mess of within, but was frighted with enery little noy se and crie she heard, as those that are taken and withstanpossest with the furie of the Bacchantes; asking every manthat came from the market place, ding her what Brutus did, and still sent messenger after messenger, to know what newes. At length Cafars former omming being prolonged (as you have heard,) Porciaes weaknesse was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon shee sodainly swounded, that she had no ley sure to go to her chamber, but wastaken in the middest of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit she soone came to her selfe againe, and so was layd in her bed, and attended by her women. When Brutus heard these newes, it gricued him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left motoffthe care of his countrie and common wealth, neither went home to his house for any weshe heard. Now, it was reported that Cafar was coming in his Litter: for he determined notto stay in the Senate all that day (because he was affraid of the vuluckie signes of the facrifi-(s) but to adjourne matters of importance vnto the next Seffion & Councell holden, fayning limselfe not to be well at ease. When Cafar came out of his Litter, Popilins Lana (that had talked before with Brutus and Cessius, and had praied the goddes they might bring this enterprise topaffe) went vnto Cefar, and kept him a long time with a talke. Cafar gaue good care vnto him wherefore the conspiratorus (if so they should be called) not hearing what heesaid to Casar, butconiecturing by that he had told them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the wie discoucrie of their conspiracy, they were affraid eueric man of them; and one looking nanothers face, it was easie to see that they all were of amind, that it was no tarying for them tillthey were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their owne hands. And when Cassius and certaine other clapped their hands on their swords vnder their gownes todraw them; Brutus marking the countenance and gesture of Lana, and considering that hedid vse himselferather like an humble and earnest suter, then like an accuser: he said nothing whis companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracie,) with his but with a pleasant countenance encouraged Cassius. And immediatly after, Lana went from countenance Cefar, and kiffed his hand : which shewed plainely that it was for some matter concerning himselse, that he had held him so long in talke. Now all the Senators being entred first conforms.

" In Calars life it is faid, it was Decizs Bru ebat kept Antonisa withatalke without. * In Cafars life he is called Meteilus. Cimber. ther of Ca Calcathe fire that weanded

not flaine owi.b Cafar

Brutuswith the Capi-

into this place or chapter house where the councell should be kept, all the other conspiratoure straight stood about Casars chaire, as if they had had something to say vnto him. And some say. that Casius casting his eies vpon Pompeys image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aline Trebonius on the other fide, drew Antonius afide, as he came into the house where the Se nate fate, and held him with a long talke without. When Cafar was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his coming in. So when he was set, the conspiratours flocked bout him, and amongst them they presented one * Tullius Cimber, who made humble suite for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercellors for him, and tooke Cafar by the hands, and kissed his head and breast. Cafarat the first, simply refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwards, perceiving they still pres fed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then Cimber with both his hands plucked ce. fars gowne over his shoulders, and Casea that stood behind him, drew his dagger first and stake Cafar vpon the shoulder, but gaue him no great wound. Cafar feeling himselfe hurt, tookehim ftraight by the hand he held his dagger in, & cried out in Latine: O traitor Casea, what doft thous Casea on the other side cried in Greeke, and called his brother to helpe him. So diverse running on a heap together to flie vpo Cefar, he looking about him to have fled, faw Brutus with a fword drawne in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let Cascaes hand goe, and casting his gowne ouer his face, suffered enery man to strike at him that would. Then the conspirators thronging one vpon another, because every man was defirous to have a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting vpon one bodie, one of them hurt another, and among them Brutus caughta blow on his hand, because he would make one in murthering of him, and all the rest also were euery man of them bloudied. Cofar being flaine in this maner, Brutus flanding in the middeft of the house, would have spoken, and staied the other Senators that were not of the conspiracion to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both affraid and amazed, fled one vpon anothers necke in hast to get out at the dore, and no man followed them. For it was fet downe, and agreed betweene them, that they should kill no man but Casar onely, and should intreat all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspiratours, but Byg. tus, determining vpon this matter, thought it good also to kill Antonius, because he was a wire ked man, and that in nature fauoured tyrannie besides also, for that he was in great estimation with foldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them: and especially having a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Confull with cafe. But Brutus would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest : secondly, becausehe told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not miftruft, but that Antonius being a noble minded & couragious man (when he should know that Cafar was dead) would willingly help his country to recouer her liberty, having the an example vnto him, to follow their courage and vertue. So Brutus by this means faued Antonius life, who at that prefent time difguifed him. felfe, and ftole away: but Brutus & his conforts, having their fwords bloody in their hands, went ftraight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMAINES as they went, to take their libertic against Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done there were sudden outcries of people that ranne vp and downe the citie, the which indeed did the more increase the feare and tumult. But when they faw they flue no man, neither did spoile or make hauock of any thing, thencertaine of the Senators, and many of the people enboldening themselues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being affembled together one after another. Brutus made an oration vnto them to win the fauor of the people, and to inftific that they had done. All those that were by, said they had done well, and cried vnto them, that they should boldly come downe from the Capitol: whereupon Brutus and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in troupe, but Brutus went formost, very honorably copassed in round about with the noblest me of the city, which brought him from the Capitol, through the market place, to the pulpit for oratios. Whethe people faw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels of all forts, and had a good wil to make fome ftirre: yet being ashamedto do it, for the reuerece they bare vnto Brutus, they kept filence to heare what he would fay: Whe Brutus began to speake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called Cinna would have fpoken, and began to accuse Casar, they fellinto a great vprore among them, and maruellously reuiled him. Infomuch that the conspiratours returned againe into the Capitoll. There Bra-

tusbeing affraid to be besieged, sent backe againe the Noblemen that came thither with him. thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murther, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning the Senate being affembled, and holden within the temple of the goddeffe Tellus, to wit, the Earth : and Antonius, Plancus , and Cicero, having made a motion to the Senate in that affembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to establish friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should not only bepardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate what honours should be appointed vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and Antonius the Confull, to putthem in heartthat were in the Capitoll, fent them his sonne for a pledge. Vpon this affurance, Brutus and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where every man faluted and the murtheembraced each other, among the which, Antonius himselfe did bid Cassius to supper to him, and Levidus also bade Brutus, and so one bad another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to councell, did first of all commend Antonius, for that he had wifely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civill warre; then they also gaue Brutus and his conforts great praises; and lastly they appointed them seuerall gouernments of Provinces. For vnto Brutus they appointed CRETA, AFRICKE vnto Callius; Asia VINO Trebonius; BITHYNIA VINTO Cimber; and VINTO the other Decius Brutus Albinus, GAVLE OR this side of the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of Casars will and testament and of his funerals and tombe. Then Antonius thinking good his testament should be read openly, Cofarmil, and also that his bodie should be honourably buried, and not in hugger mugger, lest the people might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise: Casius stoutly spake against it. But Brutus went with the motion, and agreed vnto it : wherein it seemeth he comitted ascond fault. Forthe first fault he did, was when he would not consent to his fellow conspirators, that Antonius should be flaine; and therefore he was justly accused, that therby he had faued and strengthened a strong and grieuous enemie of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when heagreed that Cafarsfunerals should be as Antonius would have them, the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when Cafars testament was openly read among them, wherby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto enery citizen of Rome, 75 Drachmaes a man. & that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this fide of the river Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, and were maruellous forie for him. Afterwards, when Cefars bodie was brought into the market place, Antonius making his funerall funerall oration in praise of the dead, according to the ancient custome of Rome, and perceiving that his oration for words moued the common people to compassion, he framed his eloquence to make their hearts yearnethe more; & taking Cafars gowne all bloodie in his hand, he layd it open to the fight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell presently into fuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongst the common people. For some of them cried out, Kill the murtherers: others plucked up formes, tables, and stalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funerals of clodius, and having laid them all on a heape together, they fet them on fire, and thereupon did put the bodie of Gafar, and burnt it in the mids of the most holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, fome here, fomethere, tookeburning firebrands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houses that killed him, to set the on fire. Howbeit, the conspirators foreseeing the danger before dreame of hadwifely prouided for themselues, and fledde. But there was a Poet called Cinna, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was alway one of Casars chiefest friends: he dreamed thenight before, that Cafar bad him to supper with him, and that he refusing to goe, Cafar was Themur. very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruellously affraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart. This dreame put him all night into a feauer, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning kenforano. whehe heard that they caried Cafars body to burial, being ashamed not to accompany his funcrals, he went out of his house, and thrust himselfe into the prease of the common people that were in agreat vprore. And because some one called him by his name, Cinna: the people thin- his conforts king he had beenethat Cinna, who in an oration he made, had spoken very cuill of Gafar, they doffic from falling vpon him in their rage, flue him outright in the market place. This made Brutus and his companions more affraid then any other thing, next vnto the change of Antonius. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the first in the citie of ANTIVM, hoping to returne

playes and Sports at

Octavius

Brutsu reproced Sice. ru, for sa. King part wish Offas

Porciaes forrowfull returne to Remefor the affence of ber bus. bal Brutus. The ftory of Androma.

againe to Rome, when the furie of the people was a little affwaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, confidering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconstant multitude. easse to be caried, and that the Senate stood for them; who notwithstanding made no enquire for them that had torne poore Cinna the Poet in peeces, but caused them to be sought for and anprehended that went with firebrands to fet fire on the conspiratours houses. The people growing weary now of Antonius pride and infolency, who ruled all things in a maner with absolute power, they defired that Brutus might returne againe; & it was also looked for, that Brutus would come himfelfe in person to play the plaies which were due to the people, by reason of hisoffice of Prætorship. But Brutus vinderstanding that many of Casars soldiers which served underhim in the warres, and that also had lands and houses given them in the cities where they lay, didlie in waite for him to kill him and that they daily by finall companies came by one and by one in. to Rome, he durst no more returne thither: but yet the people had the pleasure and passime in his absence, to see the games and sports he made them, which were sumptuously set forth and furnished with all things necessary, sparing for no cost. For he had brought agreat number of ftrange beafts, of the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his games: and went himselfe as farre as By ZANTIVM, to speake to some players of comedies and musicians that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one Canutius an excellent player, that what focuer they did, they should intreate him to play these plaies. For (said he)it is no reason to compell any GR #c I AN, vnlesse he will come of his owne good will. Moreouer, he wrote also vnto cicero, & carneftly prayed him in any case to be at these plaies. Now the state of Rome standing in these termes, there fell out another change and alteration, when the yong man Ottawius Cafar came to Rome. He was the fonneof Inline Cafars Necce, whom he had adopted for his fonne, and made his heire, by his laft will and testament. But when Inlins Cafar his adopted father was slaine, he was in & city of Apollonia (where he fludied) tarying for him because he was determined to make war with the PARTHI-ANS: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned agains to Rome, where to begin to currie fauour with the common people, he first of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled Antonius forely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers foldiers together, that had ferued in the wars with him. And Cicero himfelfe, for the great malice he bare Anionius, did fauour his proceedings: but Brutus maruellously reproued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he feemed by his doings not to be fory to have a mafter, but only to be afraid to have one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the commonwealth did witneffe, that he chofe to be subject to a mild & courteous bondage, fith by his words and writings he did commend this yong man Octavius Cafar, to be a good and gentle Lord. For our predeceffors (faid he) would neuer abide to be subject to any Masters, how gentle or mild soener they were and for his owne part, that he had never refolutely determined with himself to makewar, or peace, but otherwife, that he was certainly minded neuer to be flaue nor fubicet. And thereforche wondred much at him, how Cicero could be afraid of the danger of civil wars, and would not be affiraid of a shamefull peace: and that to thrust Antonius out of the vsurped tyrannie, inrecompence he went about to stablish yong Octavius Casar tyrant. These were the contents of Brutus first letters he wrote vnto Cicero. Now the city of Rome being divided in two factions, some taking part with Antonius, other also leaning vnto OEtauius Casar, and the soldiers making portfale of their feruice to him that would give most: Brutus feeing the state of Rome would bevtterly ouerthrowne, he determined to go out of ITALY, and went on foote through the country Of LVKE, vnto the citic of ELEA, standing by the sea. There Porcia being readie to depart from her husband Brutus, and to returne to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the griefe and forrow the felt at her heart: but a certaine painted table bewrayed her in the end, although vntill that time she shewed alwaies a constant and patient mind. The denice of the table was taken out of the Greeke stories, how Andromaché accompanied her husband Hettor, when he went out of the city of TROY to go to the warres, and how Hetter delivered her his little fonne, and howher eyes were neuer off him. Porcia seeing this picture, and likening her selfe to be in the fame case, she fell a weeping: and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. Acilius one of Beutus friends perceiuing that, rehearfed the verses Andromaché speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

BRVTVS

Than Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother; And husbandeke, and all in all: I mind not any other.

Then Brutus smiling, answered againe: But yet (faid he) I cannot for my part say vnto Porcia, as Hefter answered Andromaché in the same place of the Poet.

Tush meddle thou with duly weighing out. Thy maydes their taske, and pricking on a clout.

For indeed the weake constitution of her bodie, doth not fuffer her to performe in shew, the valiant actes that we are able to do: but for courage and constant mind, she shewed herselfe as stout inthe defence of her countrey, as any of vs. Bibulus the sonne of Porcia, reporteth this storie thus. Now Brutus embarking at ELEA in LVKE, he fayled directly towards ATHENS. When he Home Bro. arriued there, the people of Athens received him with common joyes of rejoycing, and hono rable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to heare the at Athens, Lectures of Theomnestus the Academicke Philosopher, and of Cratippus the Peripateticke, and so Britis prewouldtalke with them in Philosophy, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gaue himselfe (elfe to war, onely to study:howbeit, secretly not with standing, he made preparation for warre. For he sent Brustos Herostratus into MACEDON, to win the Captaines and souldiers that were vpon those marches, mendeth and he did also entertaine all the yong Gentlemen of the ROMAINES, whom he found in A-THEN'S studying Philosophic:amongst them he found Ciseroes son, whom he highly praised and commended, faying: That whether he waked or flept, he found him of a noble mind and difposkion, he did in nature so much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being advertised that there came out of Asiaa certaine fleet of Romaine shippes that had goodstore of money in them, and that the Captaine of those ships (who was an honest man, and his familiar friend) came towards ATHENS: he went to meet him as far as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leave his ships in his hands: whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his birth day. When the feast day came, and that they began to drinke lustily one to another, the guestes dranke to the victorie of Brutus, and the liberty of the Romain Es. Brutus therfore to encourage them farther, called for a bigger cup, & holding it in his hand, before he dranke spake this aloud.

My destinie and Phabus are agreed, To bring me to my finall end with speed.

And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that the fame day he fought his last battell by the citie of PHILIPPES, as he came out of his tent, he gauethern for the word and fignall of battell, Phebus: sothat it was thought euer fince, that this his sodaine crying out at the feast, was a prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, Antistius gaue him of the money he caried into ITALIE, fiftie Myriades. Furthermore, all Pompeys fouldiers that straggled vp and downe THESSALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from Cinna also, five hundred horsemen, which he caried into Asia, vnto Dolabella. After that, he went by fea, vnto the city of DEMETRIADE, and theretooke a great deale of armour and munition which was going to Antonius: and the which had been made and forged there by Iulius Cafars commandement, for the wars against the Parthians. Furthermore, Hortensius Gouernor of Macedon, did resigne the gouernment thereof vnto him. Besides, all the Princes, Kings, and Noblemen thereabouts, came and loyned with him, when it was told him, that Caius (Intenius brother) coming out of Iral Y, had paffed the sea, and came with great speed towards the citie of Dyrrachivm, and APOLLONIA, to get the fouldiers into his hands, which Gabinius had there. Brutus therefore to prevent him, went presently with a few of his men in the middest of winter when it did snow hard, and tooke his way through hard and foule countries, and made fuch speede indeede, that he was there long before Antonius sumpters, that caried the victuals. So that when he came Britis at neare to Dyrrachtvm, a disease tooke him, which the Phisitians call Banipua to say, A cormorant and vnfatiable appetite to eate: by reason of the cold and paines he had taken. This sickenessechanceth often, both to men and beastes, that trauell when it hath snowen: either be- bunger aiscause the naturall heate being retired into the inward parts of the body, by the coldnesse of the aire hardening the skinne, doth straight digest and consume the meate; or else because a sharpe are wearled subtil wind coming by reason of the snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the body, and dri- with transl. ueth out the naturall heate which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall coming out of the skinne of the body, causeth

Qqqq 3

Thou

Shankeful clemencie.

veelded vnto

Octanius Calarioy. neth with Antenius.

culed erco. demned, by Octanius meanes, for the death of IuliusCe-

The Trium-

C. Antonius

the fweates that follow the difeafe. But hereof we have fpoken at large in other places. Bruting hereof we have fpoken at large in other places. Bruting hereof we have fpoken at large in other places. ing very faint, and having nothing in his campe to eate, his fouldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and comming to the gates of the citie, they praied the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was they brought him both meate and drinke; in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wan the citie, he did not onely intreate and vie the citie. zens thereof courteoufly, but all the inhabitants of the citic also for their sakes. Now when Caine Antonius was arrived in the citie of Arol Lonia, he fent vnto the foldiers thereabouts to come vnto him. But when he vnderstood that they went all to Brutus: and furthermore; that the Ci. tizens of Apollonia did fauour him much: he then for fooke that city, and went vnto the city of Bythrorysbut yet he loft three of his enfignes by the way, that were flaine every man of them. Then he fought by force to winne certaine places of firength about By LLIS, and to drine Brutus men from thence, that had taken it before and therefore to obtain his purpose, he fought abattell with Gicero, the sonne of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whow he was ouercome. For Brutus made the yonger Ciceroa Captaine, and did many notable exploits by his seruice. Shortly after having ftolen vpon Gaius Antonius in certaine marrifhes farre from the place fro whence he fled he would not fet on him with fury but onely rode round about him, comanding his foldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his owne without stroke striking: and so indeed it happened: for they yeelded themselues and their Captaine Antonius, vnto Brutus: fo that Brutus had now a great army about him . Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his office & neuer tooke from him the markes and fignes of his Confulfhip, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he faw · Antonius fecretly practifed with his Captaines to make forme alteration, then he fent him into ship, and made him to be kept there. When the souldiers whom Caius Antonius had corrupted; were gotten into the city of Apollonia, and fent from thence vnto Brutusto come vnto them, he made them answer, That it was not the maner of ROMAINE Captaines to come to the soldie ers, but the foldiers to come to the Captaine, and to crave pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So Brutus preparing to goe into Asia. newes came vnto him of the great change at Roma : for Octavius Cafar was in armes ; by commandement and authoritie from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that hee had driven Antonius out of ITALY, the Senate began then to be afraid of him, because he sued to be Conful, which was contrarie to the law; and kept a great armie about him when the Empire of Rome had no need of them. On the other side, Octavius Cafar perceiving the Senate Rayed not there, but turned vnto Brutus that was out of ITALY, and that they appointed him the gouernment of certaine Provinces: then he began to be affraid for his part, and sent vnto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his army neare to Rome, he made himselse to be chosen Consul, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but assipling or springall of twentie yearesold, as himselse reporteth in his owne Commentaries. So when he was Conful, he prefently appointed Judges to accuse Brutus and his companions, for killing of the nobleft person in Rome, and chiefest Magistrate, without law or judgement; and made L. Cornificius accuse Brusus, and M. Agrippa, Cassus. So the parties accused were condemned, because the Iudges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice went, that whenthe Herauld(according to the custome after sentence given) went vp to the chaire or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed Brutus with a loud voyce, summoning him to appeare in personbefore the Iudges, the people that stood by sighed openly, and the Noblemen that were present hung downetheir heads, and durst not speake a word. Among them the teares fell from Publius Silicius cies: who shortly after, was one of the proscripts or outlawes appointed to be slaine. Afterthat, these three Octavius Cafar, Antonius and Lepidus made an agreement betweene themfelues, and by those articles deuided the Provinces belonging to the Empire of Rome among themfelues, and did fet up bils of profeription and outlawrie condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and among that number, Cicero was one, Newesbeing brought therofinto MACEDON, Brutus being then inforced to doit, wrote vnto Hortensius thathe should put Caius Antonius to death, to be reuenged of the death of Cicero, & of the other Brusus, of the which the one was his friend, & the other a kinsma. For this cause therfore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortenfius at the battell of Philippes, he made him to be slaine upon his brothers tombe. But when Brutus faid, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was

flaine then he was otherwise for ic for his death; and that he could not but greatly reproue his friends he had at Rome, who were flaues more through their own fault, then through their valiantnesse or manhood which vsurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faint hearted, as foluffer the fight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should onely have grieved them to the heart. Now when Britis had paffed over his army (that was vericercat) into As 11, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ships together, as well in the coast of BITHYNIA, as also in the citie of Cyzievm, because he would have an armic by sea, and himselfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things. and giving audience to princes and noblemen of the countrie that had to doe with him. Afterwards he fent vnto Castus in Syria, to turne him from his journey into Egypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdome for themselves, that they wandred vp and downe inthat fort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their countrey agains to her liberty; and that the multitude of soldiers they gathered together; was to subdue the tyrants that would keepe them in flauerie and subjection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpose and intent, they hould not be farre from ITALY, as neare as they could possible; but should rather make all the hast they could, to keepe their countrimen. Cassius beleeved him, and returned. Brutus went Gassius do to meete him, and they both met at the citie of Smyrna, which was the first time that they say some armies together fince they tooke leave each of other, at the haven of Pir. EA in Athens, the one going into Syrta, and the other into Mace Don. So they were maruellous joyfull, and no leffe couragious, when they faw the great armies together which they had both leauied: confidering that they departed out of ITALY, like naked and poore banished men, without armor and money nor having any ship ready, nor soldier about them, nor any one towne at their commandement; yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, having shippes. money, and foldiers enough, both footmen and horsemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now Cassius would have done Brutus much honour, as Brutus did vnto him, but Brutus most commonly preuented him, and went first vnto him, both because he was the elder man. as also for that he was fickly of bodie. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwise maruellous cholericke and cruell, who sought to rule men by feare, ra- The sharpe ther then with lenitie: and on the other fide he was too familiar with his friends, and would iest too broadly with them. But Brutus in contrary manner, for his vertue and valiantnesse, was wel- cassius. beloved of the people and his owne, esteemed of noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much Bruttunger as of his enemies; because he was a maruellous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and conditions, would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleasure and couetous nesse, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wrong or iniuftice; the which was the thiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, & of the goodwill that every man bare him: for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleeue, that if Pompey himself Brutun Inhadouercome Cefar, he would have refigned his authority to the law, but rather they were of sent good, opinion, that he would stil keepe the soueraigntie and absolute government in his hands, taking of the source of the still of Confell on Difference of Confell on Difference on the still of the source of the still onely, to please the people, the title of Consul, or Dictator, or of some other more civill office. And as for Cafins, a hote, cholericke, and cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from inflice for gaine, it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put himfelfe into sudriedangers, more to haue absolute power and authoritie, then to defend the liberty of his countrey. For they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as Einna, Marinus, & Carbo, it is out of doubt that the end & hope of their victorie, was to be the Lords of their countrey, and in manner they did all confesse, that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lords of the Empire of Rome. And in contrary maner, his enemies themselves did never reprove Brutusfor any fuch change or defire. For, it was faid that Antonius spake it openly diverse times, that hethought, that of all them that had flaine Cafar, there was none but Brutus onely that was mowed to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it felfe: but that all the other conspiratours did sessimony of conspire his death for some private malice or envie, that they otherwise did beare voto him. Hereby itappeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue, as it is to be seene by his writings. For approching neare to the instant dangerhewrote vnto Pomponius Atticus, that his affaires had the best hapthat could bec. For, faidhe, either I will set my countrey at liberty by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And surthermore, that they being certaine and assured of all things else, this one thing big country.

Q9994

Ryutus, a true Pro. phet uf

Caffius wan the citie of Rhodes,

Brutusgefis

the Xanthi-

onely was doubtfull to them: whether they should line or die with liberty. He wrote alforthat Antonius had his due paiment for his folly. For where he might have bin a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, & have made one with them, he liked better to chuse tobe ioyned with Octavius Cafar alone : with whom, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet shall he shortly after also have war with him. And truly he proved a true prophet, for so came it indeed to passe. Now whilest Brutus and Cassius were together in the citie of SMYRNA, Brutus, prayed Cassus to let him have some part of his money whereof he had great store; because all that he could rap and rend of his fide he had bestowed it in making so great a number of ships, that by meanes of them they should keepe all the sea at their commandement. Casius friends hindered this request, and earnestly dissiwaded him from it: perswading him, that it was no reasonthat Brutus should have the money which Caffins hathgorten to gether by sparing, and leavied with greateuill will of the people their subjects, for him to bestow liberally vpon his souldiers, and by this meanes to win their good wils, by Cassius charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gaue him the third part of this totall summe. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, Cassius tooke the citie of Rhodes, where he too dishonestly and cruelly vied himselfe: although when he came into the city, he answered some of the inhabitants who called him Lord and King, that he was neither Lord nor King, but he onely that had flaine him, that would have been Lord and King, Brutus departing from thence, fent vnto the Lycians to require money, and men of war. But there was a certaine Orator called Nancrates, that made the cities to rebell against him, info. much that the countrimen of that country kept the straights and little mountaines, thinking by that means to stop Brutus passage. Wherfore Brutus sent his horsemen against them, who stoley ponthem as they were at dinner, and flue fixe hundred of them; and taking all the small townes and villages, he did let all the prisoners he took, go without payment of ransome, hoping by this his great courtesie to win them, to draw all the rest of the countrey vnto him. But they wereso fierce and obstinate, that they would mutine for enery small hurt they received as he passed by their countrey, and did despise his courtesse and good nature; vntill that at length he went to befiege the citie of the XANTHIANS, within the which were shut vp the cruellest and most warlike men of Lycia. There was a river that ranne by the wals of the city, in the which many men saued themselues, swimming betweene two waters, and fled : howbeit they layd nets ouerthwart the river, and tied little bels on the top of them, to found when any man was taken in the nets. the XANTHIANS made a fally out by night, and came to fire certaine engines of the batterythat beat downe their wals: but they were presently driven in againe by the ROMAINES, so some as they were discouered. The wind by chance was maruellous bigge, and increased the slame so fore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the city, that the next housesvnto them were straight set on firethereby. Wherfore Brutus being afraid that all the city would take on fire, he presently commanded his men to quench the fire, and to faue the towne if it might be. But the Lycians at that instant fell into such a frensie, and strange and horrible despaire, that no man can well expresse it: and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it, thento a franticke and most desperate desire to die. For all of them together, with their wives and children, maisters and servants, and of all sorts of age what soeuer, fought vpon the rampiers of their wals and did cast downe stones and fire-workes on the Romaines, which were very busie in quenching the flame of the fire, to faue the citie. And in contrary manner also, they brought faggots, drie wood, and reeds, to bring the fire further into the city as much as might be, increafing it by fuch things as they brought. Now when the fire had gotten into all parts of thecitic, and that the flame burnt bright in enery place. Brutus being forrie to feeit, got vpon his horfe, and rode round about the wals of the citie, to fee if it were possible for to faue it, and held up his hands to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their citie, and to faue themselues. Howbeit they would not be perswaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselues away, not only men and women, but also litle children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast themselues into the fire : others headlong throwing themselues downe from the wals, brake their neckes: others also made their backes bare, to the naked swords of their fathers, and vadid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their owne hands. After the citie was burnt, they found a woman hanged vp by the necke, holding one of her children in her hand dead by her, hanged vp also: and in the other hand a burning torch setting fire on her house. Some would haue had Brutus to haue seeneher, but he would not see so horrible and tragicall a fight: but

when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused an Herauld to make proclamation by sound of rumpet, that he would give a certaine fumme of money, to every foldier that could faue a XAN-THIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftie of them faued, and yet they were faued against their wils. Thus the XANTHIANS having ended the revolution of their fatall destinie after along continuance of time, they did through their desperation, renew the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Ancestors, who in like manner, in the warres of the PERSIANS, didburnetheir citie and destroyed themselues. Therefore Brutus likewise besieging the citie of the PATAREIANS, perceiuing that they stoutly resisted him, he was also afraid of that, and couldnot well tell whether he should give affault to it, or not, lest they would fall into the defraire and desperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit having taken certaine of their women prifoncers, he sent them backe againe, without payment of ransome. Now they that were the wives and daughters of the noblest men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had found Bistus a mercifull, just, and courteous man, they perswaded them to yeeld themselves and their city ynto him; the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themfelues, diverfe other ciries also followed them, and did the like; and found Brutus more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they should have done, but specially far aboue Cassius. For Cassius, about the selfe cornelity of fime time, after he had compelled the R H Q D I A N s cuerie manto delinerall the ready mony they had in gold and filuer in their houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eight thousand talents; yet he condemned the city besides, to pay the summe of fiue hundred talents more. Where Brutus in contrary manner, after he had leavied of all the country of Lycia but an hundred and fifty talents only, he departed thence into the countrey of Ionia, Brutus clean and did them no more hurt. Now Brutus in all this journey, did many notable actes and wor- menes rate thy of memorie, both for rewarding, as also in punishing the certain thad deferued it: wherefore the Lycians among the reft, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himselfe, and all the Noblemen of the ROMAINES were maruellous glad. When Pompey the Great (having loft the battel against Inlin Calar in the fields of Pharsalia) came and fell upon the coast of Ægypt, hard by the citicofPelvsiv Mithofe that were protectors to the yong king Ptolomie, being then but a child. fate in councell with his feruants and friends, what they should determine in that case. They were not all of one mind in this confultation; for some thought it good to receive Pompey: O- borne in thers also, that they should drive him out of Agypt. But there was a certaine Rhetoritian Chio, a Rib. called Theodotus, that was borne in the Isle of Chio, who was the kings schoole master to teach him Rhetoricke. He being called to the councell for lacke of sufficient men, said, That both theone and the other fide went awrie, as well those that were of opinion to receive Fompey, as the other that would have had him driven away: and that the best way was (considering the Exist. present time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him, adding withall this sentence, That Theodorus adead man biteth not. The whole councell stucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example dead man of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto Pompey, Pompey the Greatwas flaine, by the biethnot. motion and counfell of this wicked Rhetoritian Theodotus, as Theodotus afterwards did himfelfe boaft of it. But when Islius Cafar came afterwards into Agypt, the wicked men that confented Theodesus to this counfell, had their paiment according to their deferts: for they died every man of them awicked death, fauing this Theodotus, whom fortune respited a little while longer, and yet in that time he lived a poore and miserable life, never tarying long in any one place. So Brutus compiles going vp and downe A s I A, Theodotus could hide himselfe no longer, but was brought vato Bruus, where he fuffered paines of death: fo that he wanne more fame by his death, then ever hedid in his life. About that time, Brutus, lentto pray Cassius to come to the citic of Sandis, and so he did Brutus vnderstanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperours. Now as it commonly happeneth in great affaires betweene two persons, both of them having many friends, and so many Captaines under them, there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little chamber together, and bade energ manauoid, and did shut the dores to them. Then they began to powre out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earneftly accusing one another, and at length fell both a other weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry betweene themselues, they were both amazed & afraid also, lest it wold grow to further matter: follower but yet they were comanded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding one Marcus of Cato,

lonny the

Chian,the kil Pempey Philojother scoun

Phaonius, that had beene a friend and follower of Cato while he lived, and tooke vpon him to counterfeit a Philosopher, not with wisedome & discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and frae. ticke motion:he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him our But it was no booteto let Phaonius, when a mad moode or toy tooke him in the head : for he was a hote hastie man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all Now, though he vsed this bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynicke Phylosophers (as who would fay, Dogs) yet his boldnessedid no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to fee him to mad. This Phaonius at that time, in despite of the doore-keepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine fcoffing and mocking gefture, which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old Nester said in Homer:

My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me,

For I have feene moe yeares then suchie three. Caffins fell a laughing at him: but Brutus thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dogge and counterfeit Cynicke. Howbeit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so they less each other. The felfe fame night Cassius prepared his supper in his chamber, and Brutus brough his friends with him. So when they were fer at supper, Phaonius came to six downe after hehad washed. Brutus told him aloud, no man sent for him, and bade them set him at the vpperend meaning indeed at the lower end of the bed. Phaonius made no ceremony, but thrust in amonost the middest of them, and made all the company laugh at him. So they were merrie all supper time, and full of their Philosophie. The next day after, Brutus, vpon complaint of the Sarpt. ANS, did condemne and note Lucius Pella for a defamed person, that had beene a Prætor of the ROMAINES, and whom Brutus had given charge vnto: for that he was accused and convided of robbery, and pilferie in his office. This judgement much misliked Cassius, because he him. felfe had fecretly (not many daies before) warned two of his friends, attainted and consided of the like offences, and openly had cleared them; but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproved Brutus for that he would shew himselfe so straight and severe, in such a time as was meeter to beare a little. then to take things at the worst. Brutus in contrarie manner answered, that he should rememberthe Ides of march, at which time they flue Iulius Casar, who neither pilled nor polled the country, but onely was a fauourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoile, by his countenance and authoritie. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly setaside inflice and equitie, they should have had more reason to have suffered Casars friends to have robbed and done what wrong and injurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then faid he, they could but have faid they had been cowards, but now they may accuse vs of iniuftice, befide the paines we take, and the danger we put our felues into. And thus may we fee what Brutus intent and purpose was. But asthey both prepared to passe ouer againe out of Asia into Evrope, there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderfull figne vnto him. Brutus was a carefull man, and flept very little, both for that his dict was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day time, and in the night no longer then the time he was driven to be alone, and when every body else tooke their reft. But now whilest he was in warre, and his head ouer bussly occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen, after he had flumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his weightiest causes; and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some booke till the third watch of the night, at what time the Captains, pettie Captaines and Colonels, did vseto cometo him. So, being readieto goe into Evropp, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he faw a wonderfull strange and monstrous shape of a bodie coming towards him, and faid neuer a word. So Brutus boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit answered him, I am thy enill spirit, Brutus: and thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. Brutus being no otherwise affraid, replied againe vnto it: Well, then I shall see thee againe. The spirit presently vanished away: and Brutus called his men vnto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor faw any thing at all. Thereupon Brutus returned agains to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went vnto Casius, to tell him what vision had appeared vnto him in the

maruellous number of fowles of prey, that feed vp6 dead carcaffes: & Bee hiues also were found where Bees were gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of the camp:the which

night. Cassius being in opinion an Epicyrian, and reasoning thereon with Brutus, spaketo him touching the vision thus. In our sect, Brutus, we have an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele or fee, that which we suppose we do both fee & feele, but that our fenses being credulous min of fers and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne objects) are induced to imagine they see & coniecture that, which in truth they do not. For, our mind is quicke the Estenand conning to worke (without either cause or matter) any thing in the imagination what soeher. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the mind to the potter: who without any other cause then his fancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and forme he will. And this doth the divertitie of our dreames they vinto vs. For our imagination doth yoon The case of a small fancie grow from conceipt to conceipt, altering both in passions and formes of things dreams, imagined. For the mind of man is ever occupied, and that continuall moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholike discoursing, and of late continually occupied, your wits and senses having been outerlaboured, do eafilier yeeld to fuch imaginatios. For, to fay that there are spirits or Angels. and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces or any power at all to come vnto vs, it is a mockerie. And for mine owne part, I would there were fuch, because that wee fould not onely have foldiers, horfes, and ships, but also the aide of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts. With these words Cassius did somewhat comfort and quiet Erutus. When they raifed their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruellous force, lighted vpon two of the foremost ensignes, and alwaies followed the souldiers, which gaue them meate, and fed them, vntill they came neare to the citie of PHILIP-PES: and there one day onely before the battell, they both flew away. Now Brutus had con-full genely quered the most part of all the people and nations of that country; but if there were any other Imp Eagles. citic or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleare before them, and fo drew towards the coasts of Thas sos. There Norbanus lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called CYMBOLON (which is a port in the fea,) Castins and Brutus compassed him in in fuch fort, that he was driven to for fake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to have lost all his armie. For, Ottanins Casar could not follow him because of his ficknesse, & therfore stayed behind: wherupon they had taken his army, had not Anunius aide beene, which made such wonderful speed, that Brutus could scant beleeue it. So Cafar camenot thither of ten daies after and Antonius camped against Cassius, and Brutus on the other Cassius sideagainst Casar. The Romains called y valley between both camps, the Philippian fields: "unperbeand there were neuer scene two so great armics of the Romaines, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, Brutus army was inferiour to Octanius Cafars, in number of menibut for brauery and rich furniture, Brutus army far excelled Cafars. For the most part of their armors were silver andgilt, which Brutus had bountifully given the although in all other things he taught his Captaines toliue in order without excesse. But for the braueric of armor & weapon, which soldiers hould cary in their hands, or otherwise weare vpontheir backs, he thought that it was an encouragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, and that it maketh them also fight like denils that loue to get, & to be afraid to lofe because they fight to keepe their armor & weapon, asalfo their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, Offauius Cafar fouldiers, in tooke the muster of his army within the trenches of his camp, & gaue his men only a little corne, their armore the armore the corne, their armore the corner of the corner & fine filuer Drachmaes to cuery manto facrifice to the gods, & to pray for victoric. But Brutus & weekens. feorning this mifery & nigardlineffe, first of all mustred his army, and did purific it in the fields, according to the maner of the Romains and then he gaue vnto euery band a nuber of weathers to facrifice, and fiftie filuer Drachmaes to every foldier. So that Bruius and Cassius foldiers were better pleafed. & more couragioufly bent to fight at the day of battel, the their enemies foldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is re- value lie ported that there chanced certaine value kie fignes vato Cassins. For one of his Sergeants that ca- signes value ried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backward, the which he caffins. should have worne on his head in the time of facrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that another time before, in certaine sports & triumph where they caried an image of Cassius victorie, of cleane gold, it fellby chance, the man stubling that caried it. And yet further there was seene a

Brutus fol-

A Spirit vato Bris. sus in the eity of Sardis

Iulius Ca-

far flaine at

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Caffins words with Meffala, the nicht before the bassell.

Caffius talke before the battell.

Brutus and fiver to Caffius.

> The battell azair\$t Octanius Calar and

place the Soothfayers thought good to flut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the fuperstirious feare and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter Cassius mind from Epicurus opinions, and had put the fouldiers also in a maruellous feare. Thereupon Cassins was of opinion not to trie this warre at one battell, but rather to delay time, and to nions about the Batten. draw it out in length, confidering that they were the stronger in money, and the weaker in men and armor. But Brutus in contrary maner, did alway before and at that time alfo, defire nothing more, then to putall to the hazard of battell, as soone as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his countrey to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together. But perceining that in the daily skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were alwaies the stronger and euer had the better, that yet quickened his spirits againe, & did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their owne men had already yeelded themselves to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreouer divers others would doe the like, that made many of Cassus friends which were of his mind before (when it came to be debated in councel, whether the battel should be fought or not) that they were then of Brutus mind. But yet was there one of Brutus friends called Atellius, that was against it, & was of opinion that they shold tary to the next winter. Brutus asked him what he should get by tarying a yeare longer : If I get nothing else, quoth Atellius againe, yet haue I lived so much longer. Casius was very angry with this answer. and Atellius was maliced & esteemed the worse for it of all men. Therupon it was presently de. termined they should fight battel the next day. So Brutus all supporting looked with a cheereful countenance, like a man that had good hope, & talked very wifely of Philosophy, & after supper went to bed. But rouching Casius, Messala reporteth that he supped by himselfe in his tent with a few of his friends, & that all supper time he looked very fadly, & was ful of thoughts, although it was against his nature, and that after supper he tooke him by the hand, & holding him fast (in token of kindnesse, as his maner was) told him in Greek: Messala, I protest vnto thee, & makethee my witnesse, that I am compelled against my mind & wil (as Pompey the great was) to icopard the liberty of our country to the hazard of a battel. And yet we must beliuely, & of good courage, confidering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we follow enill counsell. Messala writeth, that Cassins having spokethese last words vnto him, he bad him farewel, & willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it washis birth day. The next morning by breake of day, the fignall of battell was fet out in Brutus & Caffius campe, which was an arming scarler coate; and both the Chieftaines spake together in the midst of their armies. There Cassius began to speake first, and said: The gods grant us O Brutus, that this day we may win the field, and ener after to line all the rest of our life quietly one with another. But sith the gods have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most vncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to day then we wish or looke for, we shall hardly meet againe, what art thou then determined to doe, to flie, or die ? Brutus answered him, being yet but a yong man, and not ouer greatly experieced in the world: I trust (I knownot how) a certain rule of Philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reproue Cato for killing himselse, as being no lawfull nor godly act, touching the gods nor concerning men, valiant; not to giue place and yeeld to divine providence, & not constantly and patiently to take whatsoeuer it pleaseth him to send vs, but to draw backe and flie: but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God that this battel fall out fortunate for vs, I will looke no more for hope, neither feeke to make any new supply for war againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my countrey in the Iles of March, for the which I shall line in another more glorious world. Cassins fel a laughing to heare what he faid, & imbracing him, Come on then (faid he) let vs go & charge our enemics with this mind. For either we shal conquer, or we shal not need to fearethe conquerors. After this talke, they fell to confultation among their friends for the ordering of the battel. Then Brutus prayed Cassius he might hauethe leading of the right wing, y which menthought was farre meeter for cassius, both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet Cassius gaueit him, and willed that Messala (who had charge of one of the warlikest legions they had)should be also in that wing with Brutus. So Brutus presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footmen also were as willing and ready to give charge. Now Antonius men did cast a trench from the marrish by the which

they lay, to cut off Cassius way to come to the sea: and Casar, at the least his army stirred not. As for Octanius Cafar himselse, he was not in his campe, because he was sicke. And for his people, they little thought the enemies would have given them battell, but onely have made fome light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts & slings to have kept them from finishing of their work: but they taking no heed to them that came full vpon them to give them battell, maruelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meane time Brutus that led the right wing, sent litle bils to the Colonels and Captaines of private bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battel, and he himselfe riding a horse-backe by all the troupes, did speake to them, and incouraged them to flicke to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them understood what was the word of the battell, and besides, the most part of them neuer taried to haue it told them, but ranne with great furie to affaile the enemies; whereby through this diforder, the legions were maruelloufly fattered and dispersed one from the other. For, first of all Missales legion, and then the next vntothem, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them, ouerthrew some as they went; and so going on further, fell right vpon Casars campe, out of the which (as himselfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conneyed away a little before through the counsell and aduice of one of his friends called Marcus Artorius: who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared vnto him, that commanded Octavius Casar should be caried out of his campe. Infomuch as it was thought he was flaine, because his litter (which had nothing in i)was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this camp. Foramongst others, there were saine two thousand Laced Amonians, who were arrived but euenalitlebefore, coming to aid Cafar. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given acharge full vpon Cafars battell, they eafily made them flie, because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their camp, and of them there were slaine by hand three legions. Then being veryearnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand ouer head into their campe, and Brutus among them. But that which the conquerors thought not of, occasion flewed it vnto them that were ouercome; and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked and unguarded of them of the right wing, who were straied too farre off, in following of them that were ouerthrown. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But, not with standing all the force they made, they could not breake into the middest of their battell, where they found them that recined them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrew the leftwing where Cassius was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they hadno intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their campe, the which they spoiled, none of both the Cheftaines being present there. For Antonius sitis reported, to flie the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the next marish: and no man could tell what became of Octavius Cafar, after he was caried out of his campe. Insomuch that octaving there were certaine fouldiers that shewed their swords bloudied, and said that they had slaine casarfaish him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore, the voward and the middest of neutral had already put all their enemies to disher her with and already put all their enemies to disher her with and already put all their enemies to disher her with and already put all their enemies to disher her with and already put all their enemies to disher her with and already put all their enemies to disher her with a disher her middest of Brutus battell had already put all their enemies to flight that with stood them, with the battell great flaughter: so that Brutus had conquered all on his side, and Cassus had lost all on the other of philippes. Ide, For nothing vndidthem, but that Brutus went not to help Castius, thinking he had ouercome forume. them, as himselfe had done; and Cassius on the other side taried not for Brutus, thinking he had beneouerthrowne as himselfe was. And to proue that the victory fell on Brutus side, Messala confirmeth, that they wan three Eagles, and diverse other ensignes of the enemies, and their enemics wan neuer a one of theirs. Now Brutus returning from the chase, after he had flaine and lacked Celars men, he wondred much that he could not see Casius tent standing vp high as it was wont, neither the other tets of his camp stading as they were before, because all the whole camp had bin spoiled, and the tents thrown downe, at the first coming of their enemies. But they that were about Brutus, whose fight served them better, told him that they saw a great glistering of harnesse, and a number of silvered targets, that went and came into Cassius camp, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of menthat they had left there to guard the camp; and yet that they saw not such a nuber of dead bodies, & great ouerthrow as there should have bin, is many legions had bene staine. This made Brutus at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemie which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, & gathered them together, thinking to

Caffins of tes and his wifeed in battell.

The number of men Caine at

leade them to aid Casius, who was in this state as you shall heare. First of all he was martiellous genacament angrie to fee how Brutus men ran to give charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word errors Bru of the battell, nor commandement to give charge; and it grieved him beside, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell straight to spoile, and were not carefull to compasse in the rest of enemies behind; but with tarying too long also, more then through the valiantnesse or foresight of the Captaines his enemies, Castim found himselfe compassed in with the right wing of his er nemies armie. Wherupon his horfmen brake immediatly, and fled for life towards the fea, Fur caffee yells thermore perceiving his footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keepe them from five ing, and tooke an enfigne from one of the enfigne-bearers that fled, and stucke it fast at his feer. although with much ado he could fcant keepe his owneguard together. So Cassius himselfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might east. ly fee what was done in all the plaine howbeit caffins himfelfe faw nothing, for his fight was very bad, fauing that he faw(and yet with much ado)how the enemies spoiled his campe before his eyes. He faw also a great troupe of horsemen, whom Brutus sent to aid him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he fent Titinnius, one of the that was with him: to go and know what they were. Brutus horfemen faw him coming a farre off, whom whenther knew that he was one of Casius chiefeft friends, they shouted out for iou, and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horfes, and went and embraced him. Thereft compassed him in round about on horsback, with songs of victory & great rushing of their har-The impor- neffe, fo that they made all the field ring again for iov. Butthis marred all. For Cafrus thinking tance of er- indeed that Titimins was taken of the enemies, he then spake these words: Desiring too much toliue. I have lived to fee one of my best friends taken for my sake before my face. After that he got into a tent where no body was, and tooke Pindarus with him, one of his bondmen whom he referred ever for fuch a pinch, fince the curfed battell of the PARTHIANS, where Craffus was flaine-though he notwithstanding scaped from that ouerthrow: but then casting his cloake oner his head, and holding out his bare neck vnto Pindarus, he gaue him his head to be stricken off, So the head was found seuered from the body: but after that time Pindarus was neuer seenemore. Whereupon, some tooke occasion to say that he had slaine his maister without his commandement. By & by they knew the horfmen that came towards them, and might fee Titinius crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great speed vnto Cassius. But when he perceined by the cries & teares of his friends which tormented themselues, the misfortune that had chanced to his Captaine Cassius, by mistaking, he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had taried fo long & fo flue himself presently in the field. Brutes in the meanetime came forward fill, and vnderstood also that Casius had bin ouerthrowne: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neareto his campe. So when he was come thither, after he hadlameted the death of Calitus, calling him the last of all the Romanes, being vnpossible that Roma should ever breed agains so noble and valiant a man as he; he caused his body to be buried, and fent it to the citic of THASSOS, fearing left his funerals within his campe should causegreat diforder. Then he called his foldiers together, and did encourage them againe. And when he faw that they had loft all their cariage, which they could not brooke well, he promifed enery man of them two thousand Drachmaes in recompence. After his soldiers had heard his oration, they were all of the pretily cheared again, wondring much at his great liberality, & waited vpon him with great cries when he went his way, praifing him, for that he onely of the foure Chiefraines was not our come in battel. And to speake the truth, his deeds shewed that he hoped not invain to be conqueror. For with few legions he had flaine and driven all them away that made head against him: and if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not outgoin their enemies to runne to spoile their goods, surely it was like enough he had slain them all, and had left neuer a man of them aliue. There were flaine of Brutus fide about eight thousand men, counting the foldiers flaues, whom Brutus called Brigas: and of the enemies fide, as Meffalla writeth, there were flaine as he supposeth, more then twise as many moe. Wherefore they were more discouraged then Brutus, vntill that very late at night, there was one of Cassius men called Demetrius, who went vnto Antonius, and caried his masters cloathes, whereof he were stripped not long before, and his fword also. This encouraged Brutus enemies, and made them so braue, that the next morning betimes they stood in battell ray againe before Brutus. But on Brutus side, both his campes stood watering, and that in great danger. For his owne campe being

full of prisoners, required a good guard to looke vnto them: and Cassius campe on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine very heavily; and beside, there was some vile grudge between them that were ouercome, and those that did ouercome. For this cause therefore Brutus did set them in battell ray, but yet kept himselfe from giving battell. Now for the slaves that were prifoners, which were a great number, and went and came to and fro amongst these armed men. thot without suspition: he commanded they should kill them. But for the free men, he sent them freely home, and faid, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were flaues and feruants: and with him, they were free men and citizens. So when he hw that divers Captains and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no meanes faue their lines, Brutus himselse hid them, and secretly sentthem away. Among these prisoners, Brutus clethere was one Volumnius a iester, and Sacculio a common player, of whom Brutus made no ac-meney and count at all. Howbeit his friends brought them vnto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorne, and to iest broadly with them. Brutus made no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherwise. Whereupon Messala Corninus hid, that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped. unto the Captaines of their enemies, to shew them their shame, to keepe such mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles to make them foort. Some that stood by, laughed at his device. But Publius Cafca, that gaue Iulius Cafar the first wound when he was slaine, said then: It doth not become vs to be thus merry at Cassius funerals: and for thee Brutus, thou shalt view what estimation thou madest of such a Captaine thy compeere, by putting to death, or sauing the lives of these blouds, who hereafter will mocke him and defame his memory. Brutus answered againe incholer: Why then do you come to tell me of it, Cafca, and do not your selues what you thinke good! When they heard him fay fo, they tooke his answer for a consent against these poore ynfortunate men, to fuffer them to do what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, and flue them. Afterwards Brutus performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gauethem the two thousand Drachmaes apeece; but yet he first reproued them, because they went and gaue charge vpon the enemics at the first battell, before they had the word of battell giuenthem: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battel they fought like men. ht would give them the facke and spoile of two cities, to wit, THESSALONICA and LACEDE-HON. In all Brutus life there is but this onely fault to be found, and that is not to be gainefaid: Brutus though Antonius and Octanius Cafar did reward their fouldiers far worse for their victory. For fault wisely when they had driven all y naturall ITALIANS out of ITALY, they gave their foldiers their lands exemped by and townes, to the which they had no right: and moreouer the only mark they shot at in all this warrethey made, was but to ouercome and reigne, Where in contrary maner they had fo great an opinion of Brutus vertue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to faue himselfe otherwise then justly and honestly, and specially after Cassius death, whom men burthened, that oftentimes he moued Brutus to great cruelty. But now, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, do seeke to naile on some other piece of wood in liew therof, and do help themselues to keep them from hurt, as much as may be, vpon that instant danger: euen so Brutus, having such a great army to governe, and his affaires standing very tickle, and having no other Captaine coequall with him indignity and authority, he was forced to imploy them he had; & likewise to be ruled by them inmany things, and was of mind himfelfealfo to grant them any thing, that he thought might make them ferue like noble foldiers at time of need. For Cassius foldiers were very enil to be rukd, and did shew themselues very stubborne and lusty in the camp, because they had no Cheftainethat did command them: but yet rank cowards to their enemies, because they had once ouercome them. On the other fide Octavius Cafar and Antonius were not in much better stage: for first of all they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard & sharp winter, being camped as they were by the marish side and also for that after the battell, there hadfallen plenty of rain about the autumne, where through, all their tents were ful of mire & dirt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these discomodities, there came newes vnto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For wonderfull Brutus ships met with a great aid and supply of men, which were sent them out of ITALY, and they ouerthrew them in such fort, that there scaped but few of them: and yet they were so famihed, that they were copelled to eat the tackle & failes of their ships. Therupon they were very

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defirous to fight abattell againe, before Brutus should have intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chanced fo, that the battell was fought by fea, on the felfe fame day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the captains, this victor ty came not to Brutus eare till twenty daies after. For had he knowne of it before, he would not hate bene brought to have fought a fecond battell, confidering that he had excellent good prowas his vi- uision for his army for a long time; and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his campe could not greatly be hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had bin a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by fea, as he was also by land. This would have maruellonfly incouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that passes that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lords, but required one only absolute Go. uernour: God, to preuent Brutus that it should not come to his gouernment, kept this victory from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a litle too late. For the day before the laft battel was given, very late in the night came Clodius, one of his enemies into his campe, who told that Cafar hearing of the ouerthrow of his army by fea, defired nothing more then to fight a barrell before Brutus vnderstood it. Howbeit they gaue no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchfafe to bring him vnto Brutus, because they thought it but alie denifed, to be the better welcome for this good news. The felfefime night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before vnto Brutus in the city of Sardis, did now appeare againe vnto him in the felf same shape and forme, and so vanished away, and said neuer a word. Now Publius Volumnius, a grave and wife Philosopher, that had bin with Brutus from the beginning of this warre, doth make no mention of this spirit, but faith that the greatest Eagle and enfigue was couered ouer with a swarm of bees, and that there was one of the captains, whose arm fodainly fel a sweating, that it dropped oile of roses fro him, & that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but all would do no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a martiellous greats. lence all the vally ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight between them, & that in the end, the Eagle towards Brutus gaue ouer & fled away. But this is certain, and a true tale, that when the gate of the camp was open, the first man the standard-bearer met that carried the Eagle, was an Athiopian, whom the foldiers for ill luck mangled with their fwords. Now after that Brutus had brought his army into the field, & had fet them in battel ray, directly against the voward of his enemy, he paused a long time before he gaue the signall of battell. For Brutus riding vp & downe to view the bands & companies, it came in his head to mistrust some of the befides, that fome came to tel him fo much as he thought. Moreover, he faw his horsme fer forward but faintly, & did not go luftly to give charge, but fill flaid to fee what the footmen would do. Then fodainly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his army, called Camulatius, & that was alway maruelloufly effected of for his valiatines, until that time; he came hard by Bratus on horsback, and rode before his face to yeeld him felf vnto his enemies. Brutus was maruellous fory for it: wherfore partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he fadainly caused his army to march, being past three of the clock in the afternoone. So in that place where he himselfe fought in person, he had the better, and brake into the left wing of his enemies; which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horfmen that gaue charge with his footmen, when they faw the enemies in a maze and afraid. Howbeit, the other also on the right wing when the Captaines would have had them to have marched, they were afraid to have bin compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number then their enemies, and therfore did spread themselues, and leave the middest of the battell. Whereby they having weakened themselues, they could not withfrand the force of their enemies, but turned taile ftraight and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight upon it to compasse Bruius behind, who in the middest of the conslict, did all that was possible for a skilful Captaine & valiant soldier, both for his wisdome, as also his hardinesse, for the obtaining of victory. But that which wanne him the victory at the first battel, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time the enemies that were broken and fled, were ftraight cut in peeces: but at the fecond battell of Cafius men that were put to flight, there were few flaine: and they that faued themselues by speed, being affraid because they had bene our come, did discourage the rest of the army when they came to joyne with them, and filled all the armie with feare and diforder. There was the sonne of Marcui Cato flaine, valiantly fighting among the luftie youth. For notwithstanding that he was very

wearie and ouer-harried, yet would be not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe among the many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had flaine round about him. So there were daine in the field, all the chiefest Gentlemen and Nobilitie that were in his armie, who valiantly rune into any danger to faue Brutus life: amongst whom there was one of Brutus friends called The fidelitie of Lucilius, who feeing attoupe of barbarous men, making no reckoning of all men elfe they met in Lucilius pros. their way, but going altogether right against Brutus, he determined to stay them with the hazard of his life; and being left behind, told them that he was Brutus: and because they should beleen him he prayed them to bring him to Antonius, for he faid he was afraid of Cafar, and that he did mill Antonius better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking them Glueshappiemen, they caried him in the night, and fent fome before vinto Antonius, to tel him of heir coming. He was maruellous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others allo vinderstanding that they had brought Brains prisoner, they came from all parts of the campe to fee him, fome pitying his hard fortune, and others faying, that it was not done the himselfe, so cowardly to be taken aline of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neare together, Antonius staid awhile bethinking himselfe how he should vie Brutus. Inthemeane time Lucilius was brought to him, who with a bold countenance faid: Antonius, I date affure thee, that no enemie hath taken or shall take Marcus Brutus aliue: and I beseech Godkeepe him from that fortune: but wherefoener he be found, aliue or dead, he will be found like himfelfe: and touching my felfe, I am come vnto thee, having deceived thefe men of armes making them beleeve that I was Brutus, and do not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt numeto. Lucilius words made them all amazed that heard him. Antonius on the other file. looking vpon all them that had brought him, faid vnto them: My friends, I thinke yeare forievouhaue failed of your purpole, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong but laffire you, you have taken a better bootie then that you followed. For in stead of an enemy, voilhage brought me a friend; and for my part, if you had brought me Brutus alive, truly I can notell what I should have done to him. For I had rather have such men as this my friends thinmine enemies. Then he embraced Eucelius, and at that time delivered him to one of his finds in custodie; and Lucilius euer after served him faithfully, even to his death. Now Brus Bruss Sying. Inhauing passed a little river, environed on either side with high rocks, and shadowed with great mes, being then darke night, he went no further, but flaid at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and friends that followed him, and looking vp to the firmament that was full of lines, fighting, he reheatled two verses, of the which Volumnius wrote the one, to this effect:

Let not the wight from whom this mischiefe went

(Olone) escape without due punishment. instith, that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he Appianmental hdleene flaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater figh then before, specially when he this by Antonim ame to name Labio and Flauius, of whom the one was his Lieutenant, and the other Captaine othepioners of his camp. In the meane time one of the company being thirstie, and seeing Bruwhirstie also, he ran to the river for water, and brought it in his sallet. At the same time they hard a noise on the other fide of the river: whereupon Volumnius tooke Dardanus, Brutus servant mihim, to see what it was: and returning straight againe, asked if there were any water left, Bra-Is smiling, gently told him, All is drunke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he Inthim againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemics, and hardly scaped, being fore hurt. Furthermore, Brutus thought there were not many of his men slaine in battell : and to know the truth of it, there was one called Statilius, that promiled to go through his enemies, for otherwife it was impossible to go see their campe: and thereupon if all were well, he would lift vp a torch-light in the aire, and then returne againe with feed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promifed, for Statilius went thither: and good while after Brutus feeing that Statilius came not againe, he said: If Statilius be aluc, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was such, that as he came backe, he fell into his The death of themies hands and was flaine. Now the night being far fpent, Brutus as he fate bowed towards Statilius. citus one of his men, and told him fomewhat in his eare: the other answered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued Dardanus, and faid somewhat also to him: and at last he came to Volumnius himself, and speaking to him in Greeke, prayed him for the studies sake which brought

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Strato receined into Cafars friendship. Messala Cornimus, Brutus friend.

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them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his fword, to thrust it in hunzokill him. Volumnius denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them faid, there was no tarrying for them there, but they must needs flie. Then brutus ri-Brotus faying of ing vp, laid, We must flie indeed, but it must be with our hands, not with our feet. Then taking enery man by the hand, he faid these words vnto them with a chearefull countenance: Itreiow ceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but onely for my countries fake: for as for me, I thinke my felfe happier then they that have our come, considering that I leave a perpetual fame of versue and honestie, the which our enemies the conquerors shall never attaine vnto by force or money; neither can let their posteritie to say, that they being naughtie and vniust men, haue slaine good men, to vsure tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Hauing so said, he prayed enery man to shift for him. felfe, and then he went a litle afide with two or three onely, among the which Strate was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the Audie of Rhetoricke. He came as neare to him as he Could, and taking his fword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling downe vpon the point of it ranne himselfe through Others say, that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell downe vpon it, and soran himselfe through, and died presently. Mesala, that had bene Brutus great friend, reconciled afterwards to Offanins Calars friend, and shortly after, Calar being at good leifure, he brought Strate, Brutus friendyn. to him, and weeping faid: Cafar, behold, here is he that did the last service to my Brutus. Then Calar received him, and afterwards he did him as faithfull service in all his affaires, as any GRECIAN else he had about him, untill the battel of Activm. It is reported also that this Messale himselfe answered Cafar one day, when he gaue him great praise before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affection for him at the battell of Activm, (not with flanding that he had bene his cruell enemie before, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for Brains fake) Leuerlo. ued, faid he, to take the best and justest part. Now Antonius having found Brutus bodie, he caused ir to be wrapped vp in one of the richest coate-armors he had. Afterwards also, Antonius vnderstanding that this coate-armor was stolen, he put the thiefe to death that had stolen it, and sent the ashes of his body vnto Seruilia his mother. And for Porcia, Brutus wife, Nicolaus the Philo-Sopher, and Valerius Maximus do write, that the determining to killher felfe (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keepe her from it) tooke hote burning coles and east theminto her mouth, and kept her mouth fo close, that she choked her selfe. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being ficke, they wold not helpe her, but suffered her to kill her selfe; chusing to die, rather then to languish in paine, Thus it feemeth that N icolans knew not well the time, fith the letter (at the least if it

were Brutus letter) doth plainly declare the disease and loue of this Ladie, and also the manner of her death. Service of the content

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THE COMPARISON OF Dion and Brutus.

DIUN AND BEVIVE



e brita de como como como de la como la la como en el como de la c Of Come now to compare thele two noble personages vitir is certained that both of them having great gifts in them, namely this for the first that by finall occasions they made themselves great men herein both described the chiefe praise for he had no colhesper to bring him the chiefe praise for he had no colhesper to bring him vito that greatnesses as Brutus had of Castius, who doubtlesses was not comparable vnto him for wertue and respect of honour, though otherwise in matters of warre; he was no lessewise and valiant then he. For many do impute vnto Cassius, the first beginning and oris ginall of all the warre and enterprife; and faid it was he that did encous

rare Brutus to confpire Cafars death : whereas Dion furnished himselfe with armor, ships, and fouldiers, and wanne those friends and companions also that did helpe him to prosecute his warre. Nor he didnot as Brutus, who rose to great nesselve his enterprises, and by warre got all his strength and riches; but he in contrary manner, spent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his countrie, and disbursed of his owne money that should have kept him in his banishment: Furthermore, Brutus and Cassius were compelled of necessitie to make warres because they could not have lived safely in peace when they were driven out of ROME, for that they were condemned to death, and purfued by their enemies. And for this cause therefore they were driven to hazard themselves in warre, more for their owne safetie, then for the libertie of their countrie: whereas Dion on the other fide, living more merrily and fafely in his banifly ment, then the tyrant Dionnius himselfe that had banished him, did put himselfe to that danger? to deliuer Sicile from bondage. Now the matter was not alike vnto the Romanes, to be delivered from the government of Cafar, as it was for the Syndevs and to be rid of Dionyfing tyrannie. For Dionifius denied not, that he was a tyraur, hauing filled Stelle with fuch miles rieand calamitie. Howbeit, the domination of Cefex when it came to be established, did indeed much hurt at the first beginning thereof vnto those that opposed against it but afterwards, unto them that being overcome had received his government, it feemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyranr, then other wife that he was founded. For there never followed any tyrannicall or cruell act, but contrarily, it seemed that he was a mercifull Physician, who he Godhad ordained official grace to be Goudmont of the Empire of Rosin, and to let all things againe at quiet flay, the which required the nonnfell and anthoritie of an absolute Prince. And therefore the Roman s were margellous for it for Cefar after he was flaine and afterwards wold never pardon them that had haine him. On the fother fide, the cause why the Snracy sans did moltaccuse Dionawas, because he did het Dionystes escape out of the castle of Synacus a, and because he did not overthrow and deface the tomber of his fatherid Furthermore, touching the . . . Rrrr 4

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warres, Dien alway the wed hippfelfe a Capreline vniephoode able; hauting wifely and skilfully taken order for those things which he had enterprifed of his owne head and countell, and did a. mend the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them: whereas it seemeth that Brutes did not wisely to receive the second battell, considering his rest frood vpon it. For after he had loft the battell, it was impossible for him eyer to rife againe; and therefore his heart failedhim, and fo gaue vo. all, and never durft firing with his euill fortune as Pompey did, confidering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his ouldiers and being befide a dreadfull Lord all the fea ouer, Furthermore, the greatest reproch they could object against Brutus, was, that Julius Cafar having faued histife, and pardoned for many prifoners taken in battell, according to his request, taking him for his friend, and honouring him aboue all his other friends, Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his bloud wherewith they could never reprodue Dion. For on the contrarie fide to long as Dion was Dio. ny fine friend and kinfeman, he did alway helpehim to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was banished his countrey, and that his wife was forcibly maried to another man, and his goods also taken from him then he entred into inst and open warres against Dionylius the tyrant But in In what things this point they were contrary together. For that wherein their chiefest praise consisted, towit. the hatred of tyrants and wicked men, was most true and fincere in Brutus. For having no priuate cause of complaint or grudge against Cafar, he ventured to kill him, onely to set his countrie againe at libertie: whereas if Dion had not received private cause of quarrell against Dionysius. he would never have made warre with him. The which Plate proueth in his Epifiles, where is plainely seene, that Dion being driven out of the tyrants court against his will, and not putting himselfe to voluntarie banishment, he draue out Dionysius. Furthermore, the respect of the com. monwealth caused Brutus, that before was Rompers enemy to become his friend, and enemy voto Calar that before was his friend, onely referring his friendfhip and enmitte ynto the confideration of inflice and equitie. And Dion did many things for Diony fine fake and benefit all the while he trufted him: and when he began to miltrust him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherefore all his friends beleeved, that after he had driven out Dionyfus, he would fiablish the government on himselfe, abusing the people with a more courted and gentle title then the name of a tyrant. But for British his very enemites themselves consessed, that of all those that configured Gefars death, he onely had no other end and intent to attempt his enterprise, but torefore the Empire of Rome against o her former state and government. And furthermore it was not a like thing to deale with Dionyfus, as it was to have to do with Isline Cafar. For no man that knew Dionylius, but would have despited him considering that he spent the most part of his time in drinking, dicing, and haunting leud womens companie: but to haue vindertaken to deftroy Iulius Cafar, and not to have farunke backe for feare of his great wifedome, power, and fortune, confidering that his verie name was dreadfull vnto enery man, and fuffered not the kings of PARTHE A and INDIA to be in rest for him: this could not come but of a maruellous noble mind of him that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, fo foone as Dioncame into Sicile, many thousands of men came and so yield with him against Dionyliu. But the fame of Inline Cafar did fet up his friends againe after his death, and was of flich force, that it raised a yong stripling Octavius Cefar (that had no meanes nor power of himselfe) to be one of the greatest men of Rome and they yield him as a remedie to encounter Antonius malice. and power. And if men will fay, that Dion draue out the tyrant Dionysius by force of armes, and fundrie battels: and that in contrarie maner Brutus flue Gafar, being a naked man, and without guard then do I answer againe, that it was a noble part, and of a wife Captaine, to church apt a time and place to come vpon a man of so great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not findenly in a rage and alone or with a small companie to affaile him bût his enterprife was long time before determined of and that with divers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them monest mensor else that by his choise of them he made them good men. Whereas Dion, either from the beginning made no wife choise in trusting of early men, or else because he could not tell how to vie them he had chosen, of good men he made them become euill: fo that neither the one nor the other could be the part of a wife man. For Plate himselfe reproducts him, for

that he had chosen such men for his friends, that he was flaine by them: and after he was slaine,

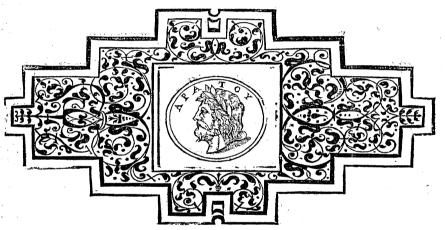
no man would then reuenge his death. And in contrary manner, of the enemies of Brutin,

DION AND BRYTYS.

the one (who was Antonius) gaue his body honourable buriall: and Octavius Cafar the other, noured of referred his honours and memories after him. For at MILLAN (a citie of GAYLE on ITALIE bienefide) there was an image of his in braffe, very like vnto him: the which Cafar (afterwards passing his death that way) beheld very aduifedly, for that it was made by an excellent workman, and was very like him; and fo went his way. Then he stayed sodainly againe, and called for the Gouernours of the citie, and before them all told them, that the citizens were his enemies, and traitours vnto him. because they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernours of the city at the first mage or were aftonied at it, and fourly denied it: and none of them knowing what enemie he meant, ding in one of them looked on another. Ottavius Cafar then turning him vnto Brutus statue, bending his brasse at hrowes, faid vnto them: This man you fee standing vp here, is he not our enemie. Then the Gonernours of the citie were worse afraid then before, and could not tell what answer to make him. But Cafar laughing and commending the GAVLES for their faithfulnesse to their friends, even kept by in their aduer sities, he was contented Brutus image should stand still as it did.

The end of Marcus Brutus life.

THE LIFE OF Aratus.



HRISTPPVS the Philosopher (my friend Polycrates) being afraid as it feemeth, of the cuill found of an ancient prouerbe, not rightly as it was spoken, and in vse, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this manner:

What children do their ancestors commend, But those whom fortune fauours to the end?

But Diony sodorus TROEZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearse the prouerbe rightly as indeed it is:

What shildren do their ancestors commend, But those whose life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerbe stoppeth their mouthes, who of themselues are vnworthy of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their ancestors, whose praise they highly extoll. But before those that (as Pindarus saith)

Do match their noble ancestors in prowesse of their owne, Andby their fruits commend the stocke whence they themselues are growne. (As thy selfe that conformest thy life vnto the examples and maners of thy vertuous ancestors:)

Dien was infetier vote Bru

The exam. ple of our profitable so their pe Acrisie.

it is no small good hap for them, often to remember the noble deeds of their parents in hearing them fooken of, or otherwise for themselues oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praife and glory: but in joyning their owne vertues to the vertues of their anceftors, they do in crease their glory, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their discent by bloud. There. fore, having written the life of Aratus thy country-man, and one of thy ancestours, whose glow and greatnesse thou doest not blemish, I do send it vnto thee not that I thinke but that thou has more diligently then any man else fearched out all his deeds and fayings: but yet, because that thy two fonnes. Polycrates and Pythocles, reading and still hearing fomething reported, might be

The com. monweale nerted into tyrannic.

Abantidas tyrant ef Sycione. the tyrant dbinssaas.

lice against

Araius fa-

Aratus wrote d book of com. mentaries. Abantidae the tyran flaine. Aristotle the Logi-

brought vp at home by the example of their ancestors, whose deeds shall lie before them to follow. For he loueth himselfe more then he regardeth perfect vertue or his credite, that thinketh himselfe so perfect, as that he need not follow any others example. The citie of Sicyons, after it fell from her first gouernment of the Optimacie and Nobili. tic, which is proper to the citie of the Dorians, like an inftrument out of tune, it fell into of the Sugre-civill warres and feditious practifes, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceaffed to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway changing new tyrants, vntill that Clean being flaine, they chose Timeclidas and Clinias their Gouernours, two of the noblest men and of great test authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common-wealth beganne to grow to a certaine flate of Gouernment, Timoclidas died: and Abantidas the sonne of Pascas, pretending to make himselfe Lord of the city, he flue Clinias, and put to death some of his parents and friends. draue away others, and foughtalfoto puthis fonne Aratus to death, that was then butfeuen yeares old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, Aratus flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandring vp and downe the city, being scared and afraid, finding shehand of no man to helpe him, by good fortune he got into a womans house, called Sofo, which was Abantidas fifter, and wife vnto Periphantus, his father Clinias brother. She being of a noble mind, and judging that the child Aratus by Gods providence fled vnto her, hid him inher house, and in the night secretly sent him vnto the city of Argos. Now after that Aratus had Aratas ma. scaped, and was fafe from this danger, from that time there bredin him a vehement malice against tyrants, the which still increased in him as he grew in yeares. So he was vertuously brought vp in the city of Ar Gos, with his fathers friends; and perceiuing with himfelfethat he waxed bigge and ftrong, he disposed his bodie to divers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in five manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the maiestie of his countenance argueth that he vsed such exercise: and such commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not give himselfe so much to pleading, as peraduenture was requifite for a Gouernour of a commonwealth. Howbeit, some do judge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an cloquenter tongue then feemed vnto some: because he wrote them in hafte, having other businesse in hand, and even as things came first into his mind. But afterwards, Dinias and Aristotle Logician flue Abantidas, who did commonly vseto fit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and opportunitie to worke their feat they did. After Abantidas death, his father Paleas possessed the tyrannie, whom Nicocles afterwards flue also by treason, and made himselfe tyrantinhis place. It is reported that this Nicocles did lively refemble the countenance of Periander, the foune of Cypfelus, as Orontes Persian was very like vnto Alemaon, the fonne of Amphiaraus: and another young Laced Emonian, vnto Hetter of Troia, whom Myrfillus writeth, was troden vnder mens feer, through the ouer-great preasse of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This Nicocles was tyrant foure moneths together, in the which he did wonderful great hurt to the citie, and had almost lost it; the Atolians coming on a sodaine, who were like to have taken it. Now Aratus was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatly esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they found in him, which was no finall matter: and befides that, he had a maieftie in his countenance, being wifer then was looked for in a young man of his yeares: therefore the banished men from the city of Signon, repaired vnto him before any other man. Nicocles for his partallo was not carelesse of his doings, but had an eye euer to see what Arasus intended, although he little mistrusted any such bold enterprise, nor so dangerous an exploit of him: but did onely coniecture that he did stirre up the kings which had bene his dead fathers friends. And fo Aratus goindeed Aratustooke that course. But when he saw that Antigonus still delayed his promises, and to deliver did alwaies tract time, and that the hope of aid from king Ptolomy of AGYPT was so farre off, his country at length he determined to vindertake to destroy the tyrant himselfe. So he first consulted with fourthety Aristomachus and * Ecdetus; of the which the one was banished from Sicyone, and the other "In another an Arcadian, from the city of Megalipolis, a Philosopher, and a valiant man of his hands Place the cal and had bene scholer to Arcesilans the Academicke, in the citie of ATHENS. These two men Edomis, heing contented to lovne with Aratus, he practifed with other of the banished men also: of the Aristonean which there were fomethat were ashamed, not to be partakers of his hope and noble attempt, Edelus, do and so did also io yne with him. Howbeit the most part of them did not onely refuse to enter into that practife, but further, went about to diffwade Aratus from his enterprife, faying: that for Araus. lacke of knowledge and experience, he understood nor the danger in undertaking such a matter, altogether fo valikely. Now as Aratus was thinking in his mind to keepe a certaine place in the territory of Sycione, from whence they might make warre with the tyrant, there came a priformer ynto them out of the city of Ar Gos, that had broken prison from the tyrant of Sicyon B and was brother vnto Xenocles one of the banished men. He being brought by the same Xenocles vnto. Aratus told that in the place whereby he faued himselfe, the ground within was almost as high as the top of the wall, the which in that partioyned vnto high stony places; and that without the wall the height was not fo great, but that it was eafily fealable with ladders. When Aratus heard that, he fent two of his men, South as and Technon, with Xenocles to view the wall, being determined if it were true rather to proue fecretly to execute his pretended enterprife, & quicklyto put it to a venture; then to begin a long warre, and to prepare an open army, he being a prinate ma, to go against the power of a tyrant. Xenoeles being returned again to Aratus, after he had measured the height of the wall, he reported that the place was not vnscalable, but yet very hard to come to it vindifcourred, because of certain little curft curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would never leave barking. Howbeit Aratus would not leave off his enterprise to. Now it was not strange to see every man prepare themselves of armour and weapon, because at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed by high wayes, and one would affault another; but for the ladders, Euphranor that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not flicke to make them openly, because his common occupation did take away all suspicion why they were made. For this carpenter was himselfe also a banished man from Sicron E as the refiduewere. Furthermore, Arains friends he had in An Gos, of those few men they had, did enery Arains preman of them lend him ten men, and armed thirty of his owne men; befides them, Aratus him- paraties to felfe also did hire some prety number of foldiers, by the practise of Xenophilus, whom the Captaines of the theenes did furnish. They were given to understand that they should be led to the transp. territorie of Sievon E totake a prey of cattell and colts of the King, and they were fent before, some one way, some another, with commandement, all to meet together at the tower of Polygnotus, where they should tarie. So he fent Capbellin also before, without any weapons. with four companions with him: who should come to this gardiners house in the night. like firangers and trauellers, to lie in his house, and to lock him vp and his dogges, because they had no other device to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certaine spials of Ni- drain poweles the tyrant discourred, that walked vp and downe the city (making no countenance of any licito dematter) to fee what Aratus did. Wherefore, Aratus went out of his house early in the mor- eles spirals, ming (as his maner was) and walked to the market place with his friends. Then he went to the flew place (or place of exercises) and there stripped himselfe, annointed him, and wrestled, and in the end tooke certaine of the yong gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merry, and to paffe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his feruants was feene in the market place carying garlands of flowers, another was feen also buying of links & torches, and another hiring of these common dancing and finging women, which follow feasts and banquets with their instrumers. Nicocles spials seeing that, were deceived, for one of them laughing on another faid, that they might eafily fee by that, there was nothing more fearefull and timorous then a tyrant confidering that Nicocles being Lord of fo great a city, was afraid of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rap and rend to keep him in his banishment, upon vaine bankets and feasts at noone daies. And thus were the tyrants spials finely mocked. Aratus self deparred immediatly after dinner out of Ar Gos, and went ynto the foldiers, whom he had appointed

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before to meet him at the tower of Polignorus, and led them straight vnto Nemea. There he told them openly his full intent & purpose; having before made an Oration vnto them to incourage them, and also made them maruellous faire promises. Then he gaue them for their watch-word Apollo fauorable, and so went directly to the city of Sicyons, marching with great speed at the first because of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwards slackned his pace a little, so that they had Moone-light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners house that was hard by the wall. So Caphesias, whom he had sent before, vnto the gardiners house, came to meet with Aratus, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, because they ranne away; how beit that he had made fast the gardiner in his ownehouse. This discouraged the most part of all the companie, who would needs have him in any case to returne backe againe. But Aratus then beganne to comfort them, and promised that he would leade them backe againe, if it chanced that the dogges were too bufic with them. and therewithall presently caused the ladder men to go before, whom Ecdelus and Mnasithus led, and he himselfe came faire and softly after. The dogges made a foule barking, and werebaiof his count ting about Ecdelus and his company. This notwithstanding they came safe to the wall and did fet vp their scaling ladders. But euen as the first mengot vp on them, the Captaine of the watch of Nicelo. that had given place to him that should ward in the morning, came by chance, and passed hard by them, visiting the foldiers with a little bell, and there was a number of torches, & a great noise of men that followed him. They that were vpon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe. and ftirred not and thereby the foldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning warch came toward them also, which did put them in great danger to be discoursed. but yet they once againe scaped them, and were not discouered, because the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then Ecdelus and Mnastbeus immediatly scaled the wall, and sent Technon with all possible speed vnto Aratus, to will him to make all the hast he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance betwixt the garden where the dogs were, and the walland a litle tower where they kept a great greyhound to keepe watch: but the greyhound neuer heard their coming, either because he was a cowardly curre of nature, or else for that he had bin ouer-coursed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that baulled and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhound with their barking, who at the first began to answer them with a foft girning; but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out aloud, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Infomuch that the skout which was farther off, called aloud to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made fuch a barking and whether there were any thing stirring or not that angred him. The hunt within the tower answer red, that it was nothing, but that his dog was naked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that passed by, and at the noise of the bell. This made Aratus soldiers a great dealethe bolder: because they thought that the hunt had bene made privile to their enterprise, and that he went about to hide their secretattempt, and hoped also that there were many other within thecitie that would further their enterprise. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height and very dangerous, because the ladders shooke and bowed, by reason of the weight of the men, vnlesse they did come vp faire and softly one after another. Furthermore, the time did put them in some perill, because the cockes began to crow, and the countrie folke that brought things to the market to fell, began to come apaceto the towne out of every quarter. And therefore Arasus made haste to get vp, having onely fortic men aboue with him, and looked for some besides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly toward the tyrants pallace, where his hired fouldiers kept watch and ward: and coming fodainly vpon them, laid hold of enery man of them, and flue not one. Then he fent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Thereupon they ranne out of euery corner to Aratus. Now the day began to break, and straight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, because of the noise and stirre they heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter meant, vntill at length an Herald proclaimed with open voice that it was Aratus the sonne of Clinias who called his countrymen and citizens to the recouery of their liberty. Then they perswading themselues that the thing which they long wished and looked for, was now come to passe, they ranne all in a troupe together to the tyrants house, and set it on fire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire hadtaken it in euery part, that it was seene to the citie of Corinth: insomuch that the Co-RINTHIANS Wondering what the matter should be, were in minde to have gone to helpe it.

Now for Nicocles, he faued himfelfe, and got out of the city by fecret vaults he had made under Nicoclastic the ground. The fouldiers on the other fide quenching the fire with the helpe of the citizens, syen fitdid facke all they found in the tyrants pallace; the which Aratus hindred not, but did moreover make all the rest of the tyrants goods common amongst them. So his enterprise had so good succeffe, that there was none of his owne company flaine he brought with him, neither any of their rnemics that were within the city fortune kept this exploit so pure and cleane from any bloudthed. Then Aratus restored sources men vnto their lands and goods againe, whom the tyrant Witcoles had banished; and others also, that had bene banished by former tyrants, to the number of fine hundred men, who had bene wel-neare fiftie yeares space banished out of their countrey. Now the most of them being come home poore and needle, would have entred on their goods and lands they enjoyed before; and for entring againe vpon their lands in their countrey. and their houses in the citie, they amazed Aratus withall seeing Antigonus on the one side pradife all the meanes he could to winne Sicyon B being now free, and they all in an yprore and mutinic in the citie. Therefore, following the best counsell he could thinke you and deuise, confidering the danger of the present time: he joyned the citie in league and friendship with the Achaians, and of them all made but one body. And because the Citizens of Sicyon E isynetitie were DORIANS, they were glad to submit themselves to be governed & protected by the name in ofsiof the Achaians, who were atthat time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in little to the state villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very speciall good; for that they chaining flood vpon the feafide, where was no maner of hauen nor port, but flones, & rocks good flore: and the fea beating vpon them, did eate into the maine land. This not with standing, they made their enemies know, that the power of GRECE when it was vnited & gouerned by good policy. was of great force & almost inuincible. For the Achaian's being in comparison of the ancient force of GRECE, of no regard, and but a part of one city enfectled with civill & forraine warre; folong as they could fubmit themselves to be ruled by the wisdome and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy nor malice his prosperitie & sourraigney; they did not only maintaine themfelues as free men, in the middeft of the service of so many great ciries, large and mighty, but didalfo deliuer many other people of GRECE from their try rants. Now, for Aratus maners : he was one that by nature loued civill government, and equity among citizens in one felfe citie: he was nobly minded, and more painefull about the affaires of the commonweale, then carefull of drawn rehis owne businesse, and hated tyrants to the death, & imployed his good or enill will wholy for the service of the commonwealth. And therfore he seemed not to be so sound a friend, as he was agentle and mercifull enemy: framing himfelfe in either of both, as time ferued for the comonwealth. To be flort, it was a generall and common voice among all the cities confederates, in prinate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that Aratus loued nothing but vertue. and honestic that in open wars he was not so valiant & couragious, and he was crafty and subtle to take a citie on the sudden. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he wold neuer hane brought to passe; it seemeth he left many things possible vndone the which he might easily have done, for that he durst not venture on them. For as there be beafts whose fight is perfect by night, and by day they can see nothing, because the Subtilitie of the humor and moisture in their eyes is dried up, & cannot abide the bright light of feelest by the day: euen so, men that otherwise by nature are very wise, are easily afraid of danger, when not by day. they must venter on it at noone dayes: where contrarily they are bold in fecret enterprises, suddeally to attempt any thing. Now this contrariety and difference in men well brought vp grow- range eththrough ignorance & lacke of instruction in Philosophy, which of it selfe doth nourish vertue, as fruit that fpringeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is best discerned vnto owler. by examples. So Aratus having joyned hinfelfe and his city Sicyone vnto the Achaians, and ferning in person as a man of armes among the rest, he was maruellously beloued of his Generals, that faw him fo obedient. For, not with standing, that he had made so large a contribution as the estimation of himself, and the force of his city vnto the commonwealth of the Achaians: yethe was as ready to obey & execute the commandements of the Generals, as the poorest and meanest foldier, were he of DYMA or of TRITA, or of any other small village what soeuer. Furthermore, a great fumme of money being fent him from king Ptolomy for a gift, amounting to twentie and fine talents, he tooke it, but forthwith disposed it amongst his poore countriemen, both to relieue their want as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding the banished men

keth (ca to king Ptole-Egypt.

The p Ctures & painted tables made in the citie of Sicyone, aid paffe all the other paintings in Greece. The excellencie of Arifiratus picture the turant of Siczone, painted all by Melanthus (challers and A. pelles belpe: and Aratus co sultation for the defacing of The faying of Nealces the painter, southing

The great liberality of Ptolomy pnto Ara

tyrants.

fill vexed and troubled them that had their goods and lands, to have them out of their hands; and otherwise would be satisfied by no meanes. Their commonwealth therefore being ingreat danger to fall into civill war, Aratus perceiving there was no other way to helpe this mischiefe. but by Ptolomies liberalitie: he determined to go vnto him, to pray him to helpe him with money to pacific this grudge and tumult. So he embarked at the hauen of Methona, aboue the foreland of Malea, to faile from thence into AGYPT: howbeit he had fuch a contrary wind and the fear rofe to high, that the mafter of the ship, was drive to let her go whither she would to take sea roome. So being driven quite from his direct course, with great danger he got to the city of ADRIA, which was his enemy because Antigonus kept it, and had a garrison in it. But Aratus did wifely preuent it, going ashoare, and wandred farre from the sea, with one of his friends cal. led Timanthes, and got into a wood, whereby they had an euill nights rest. He had not gone far after he had left his ship, but the Captaine of the garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his servants had mocked him finely (being before instructed by Aratus what answer they should make,) faying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of EVBOEA. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garrifon Rayed the ship, his men, and all things else she had in her, and tooke her for a good prize. Within few daies after Aratus being maruelloufly troubled, & at a straight with himselfe what he should do, there happily arrived a Romaine ship hard by the place where he kept most partly to hide himselfe, and partly also to see if he could discover any thing, This ship was bound for Syria. So he had dealt with the master of the ship in that fort, that he tooke him aboord, and promifed he would deliuer him in CARIA, and so he did. But he was in as much danger this fecond journey againe by fea, as he was in the first he made towards Æ-GYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, Aratus went into AGYPT, and spake with the king, who made very much of him: for Aratus fed him still by sending him passing faire tables, and pictures of GRECE, of excellent workmanship. And indeed having a firgular good wit, healwaies gottogether, and brought the excellent off painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of Pamphilus and Melanthus to fend them vnto the king. For learning flourished yetin the city of Sicyone, and they esteemed the painting of tables in that city, to be the perfectest for true colours and fine drawing, of all other places. Infomuch as Apelles (though he was then of a maruellous fame for painting) went thither, & gaue to the setwo excellent painters a talent, to remaine a while in their copany not fo much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as therby to win himselfe same. And therfore when Aratus had restored his city againe to liberty, he caufed all the Images of the tyranes to be defaced and plucked downe; how beit he ftood doubtfull along time, whether he should deface Aristratus picture, or not, who reigned in the time of Philip. For he was painted with the hands of all the scholers of Melanthus, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victory, & as Polemon the Geographer writeth, Apelles hand was to it. This picture was a passing peece of worke to see to, so that Aratus at the first yeelded, and was contented to faue it for the excellency of the workmanship; yet in the end, ouercome with the extreme hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that Nealess the painter, being one of Aratus friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of work. But when he faw Aratus fo hard hearted that he would not grant it he told him, it was good reason to make war with tyrats, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (quoth he) leave the chariot of triumph and victory, and I will make thee fee Aristratus, willingly to come out of the table. Aratus was contented to let him haue his will. Then Nealces defaced the picture of Aristratus, and in place thereof drew onely a palme tree, and durst adde nothing elle to it of his own deuice. Some fay, that under the chariot were conneyed Arifer atus feet defaced. So Aratus by meanes of these tables and pictures, was maruellously well be loued of king Ptolomy, But after he was acquainted with him, & knew his conversation, he loved him then better then before. Infomuch that he gaue him a hundred and fiftietalents to helpe his citie withall of the which, he caried forty away with him vnto Peloponnesvs, and the king afterwards fent him the rest at sundrietimes. Now this was a maruellous matter of him to get such a masse of money together for his citizens:confidering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a litle fumme of money only which they hauetaken of kings & princes, haue bin corrupted & betrayed their townes & countrey. But this was a more wonder, that by means of this money he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and rich; and furthermore, faued vpright all the people of Sicyone, where he shewed himself maruellous wise and temperate, being of that

oveat power & authority he was. For after they had chosen him arbitrator to judge, compound and absolutely to decide all quarels and strife betweene the banished men, he would never vndertake it himselfe alone, buttooke fifteene other of the chiefest citizens with him; and with temperate. them, by great paines and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore not only all the inhabitants and citizens. of Sicyone together, decreed publike honors meete for him, but also the banished men themselues did prinately cast his image in brasse, and set it vp, vnder the which they caused this inscription to be grauen:

Thy prowesse and thy feats of armes, thy counsell sage and wife, Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skies. But also to the vimost straights of Marroke blowne by fame. And we that through thy goodne (e home into our countrey came, Haue set this image up to thee Aratus, as a signe Of our delin' rance through thy loue, and through the power dinine.

For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore Vs countrey, lawes, and liberty, berefi vs quite before.

Aratus having done all these things, he suppressed the envie of the cirizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king Antigonus being angrie with Aratus in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of Ptolomie, he did him many other great courtefies, Aratus neuer feeking them at his hands. But one day specially about the rest, as he did sacrifice vnto the gods at Contain, he sent Aratus part of his weathers he had facrificed, vnto Sicyone. And at the feaft of his facrifice in y hearing of many noblemen that were bidden guests, he said openly of Aratus: I did alway thinke that this yong Si-CYONIAN could not but have a liberall mind, louing the liberty of his country and countrimen: but I perceiue now he is a man that can judge of Princes maners and affaires. For heretofore he made no account of vs, because his hope was out of his countrey, and he greatly esteemed the riches of ÆGYPT, hearing talke of formany Elephants, of fuch agreat fleet of ships, and of such assumptuous Court, as king Ptolomies Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it isonely but a smoake and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: and for my part, he is welcome to me, and I wil haue youal to take him for my friend. These words of king Antigonus, were straight taken at bound of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke of better matter vnto king Ptolomy, euery man striuing who should write all the cuill they could against him: so that Ptolomie thereupo sent a messenger of purpose vnto him, to reprouc him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betweene the earnest loue of these Princes and Kings, that contended with each other who should have Aratus. Furthermore, the first time that Aratus was chosen Lieutenant ge- ing in his nerall of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, he forraged and spoiled the country of LOCRIDE, which fiff Preseleth directly over against ACHAIANS, he forraged and spoiled the country of LOCRIDE, which for ships to the source of the country of Locride to the source of the country of Locride to the source of the country of Locride to the c lieth directly oner against Achara, and Calydonia also. Howbeithe came nortime inough to aid the Bosorians, in the battel which they loft before the city of CHERONEA, against the Atolians: where Abaccrisus, gouernour of Boforia was flaine in the field, with a thoufand other BOEOTIANS. Howbeit the next yeare following, he being the second time chosen Lieutenant generall, he attempted to winne the castell of Corint againe, being an enterprise which not only concerned the private benefit of SICYONE it felfe, and the tribe of the ACHAI-ANS, but also of all GRECE besides. For, he was fully bent to drive the garrison of the MACE-DONIANS thence, the which feemed even a very yoke that held all the GRECIANS nofes to the grindstone. For like as Chares, Captaine of the ATHENIANS, having in a certaine conflict discomfitted the kings Lieutenants, wrote vnto § ATHENIANS, that had won a victory halfe sister to the victory of Marathon: even so me thinks it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrats, which was done by Pelopidas THEBAN, and Thrasphulus ATHENIAN; fauing that this last act was more famous, because it was not against GRECTANS, but amongst strangers and forceine power and gouernment, vpon who it was executed. For the Ishmus or barre of Peloponnesvs, which separateth the sea Ageum from the sea Ionium, doth come and ioyne the firme land of the rest of GRECE with the PRES-CHE an Iland of PELOPONNESVS. Euen so likewise the mountaine called Acrocorinth, on the Peloponnewhich the castel standers, rising vp in the middest of GRECE, when there is any garrison of men of war in it, it cutteth offall traffike and passageby, of any armies of them which inhabit within

Youg king Philips fay-ing of the castell of

Antigonus craft and deteipt.

Antigonus craftily ta keth the ca fiell of the Acrocorinth

Over great ioy to it simple man, makethhim Perfant the Philofo. pher , made ¿aptaine of the Acrocotinth. Aratus determinati. on for the taking of

the straight, for them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh him on ly Lord of the countrey that keepeth the castell. So that it was not for sport, but for truth, and in good earnest, that Philip the yong king of MACEDON was wont to call the citie and castell of CORINTH the stockes and gives of GRECE. And therfore was this castel marvellously wished and defired of euery man, but specially of Kings and Princes. But the defire Antigonus had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a franticke louer. For he did nothing else continually but study and deuise how he might winne it vpon the sudden, from them that kept it : because otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of Alexander that kept that castell, being poisoned (as it is reported) by Antigonus practisthe castellbeing left in the hands of his wife Nicaa, who gouerned the state of Corinth, & did carefully cause the Acrocorinth to be kept, he immediatly sent his sonne Demetrius thither, and put Nices in good hope to marry her with this yong Prince: a thing that pleased this Lady well. hough she was very old So, for her felfe she was wonne straight, by meanes of his yong some t emetrius, whom he vied as a stale to intrap her. Howbeit Nicea for all this goodly offer, forsooke not her castell, but al waies made it straightly to be looked vnto. Antigonus scemed to make no account of it, but daily gaue himselfe to make sumptuous sacrifices, feasts, and playestothe gods, within the citie of CORINTH for the mariage as though he had meant no other thing, but banqueting and iolliticall that might be. When the houre was come to feethefe sports, and that the musician Amabeus, beganto sing, he himselfemade as though he would accompany Nices vnto the Theater, being conueyed thither in a sumptuous rich litter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honour, and thought nothing leffe then of that which happened her. But when Anigonus came to the end of a firecte that turned to go vp the hill towards the castel. he bade her keepe on still to the Theater : and himselfe in the meane time left Amabeus there with his finging, and all the feast of the mariage, and went straight vp to the castell, forcing himselfe aboue his strength and yeares. When he was at the top of the hill, and found the gates shur, he knocked with his staffe, and commanded the garrison to open him the gates. They wondering to see him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the castell, he was so exceeding joy full of it, that he had no reason to moderate his joy, but would banquet in the middest of streetes, and in the marker place, having minstrels to play vpon their instruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for ioy; and did fo fondly and lightly behaue himselse, as if he had bene a light yong man (and not as he was) an old man, who had proued fuch fundry changes of fortune, and yet fuffered himfelfe to be thus caried away with pleafure, that he embraced and spake to every man he met. Whereby it is easie to judge, that joy posfessing a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him besides himselfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then paine or feare. Now Antigonus having won the castell of the Acrocorinth, as you haue heard, he put it into the hands of those hetrusted best, to be fasely kept and therfore made Persaus the Phylosopher, Captaine of the castell. But indeed Aratus was in mind to have attemption ted the taking of the castell in Alexanders life time: yet he let it alone, because he ioyned himselfe with the ACHAIANS. But at that time there was offered him another occasion againetoattempt it, & this it was. At CORINTH there were foure brethren borne in Syria, of the which, one of them being called Diocles, was a fouldier of the castell: and the rest having robbed the kingstreasure, went straightvnto Sicyone, to Ægias the banker, whom Aratus imployed in his facultie. These three brethren immediatly sold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them (called Erginus) coming often to see him, by litle and litle fold him all the rest. By this meanes Agias fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garrifon of the castell of the Acrocorinth. Erginus told him, that going vnto his brother vp those steepe and high rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the castell, which was verie low. Agias hearing that, answered him finiling: Alas, my friend, what meane you to seale a litle peece of gold to hinder the king, when in one houres space you can sell such a great masse of money together? For as well shall you die if you be apprehended for this fellonie, as if you were otherwise attainted for treason. Erginus with that fell a laughing, and promised that he would feele his brother Diocles minde in ic, for he did not greatly trult his other brethren. So returning shortly after, he bargained with Aratus to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fifteene foote high, promifing that he would helpe him to execute the reft, with his brother Diocles. Aratus promised then

ARATVS.

to give him fifty talents, if he brought his enterprise to passe; and if he failed, that he would then giueeither of them, a house and a talent. Erginus would haue the whole fifty talents put into Agias the bankers hands. Aratus had not so much ready money, and besides he would not take it vp at vlury, for feare of giuing cause to suspect his enterprise. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and filuer, and his wives iewels, and laid them to gage to Agias, to disburse the said fumme. But Aratus had fo great and noble a mind in him, and was so bent to do notable a As, that knowing how Photion and Epaminondus had bene effected for the justest and honestest men of GRECE because they had refused great gifts that were offered the & would never sel nor staine their honour for money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his owne, to bring any good enterprise to passe, and did put his life in danger for the common benefite of his countrey men, they themselves knowing nothing of his enterprise, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and courage of fuch a man, and that will not even now as it were, be willing to aide him, confidering how dearely he bought so great a danger of his person, and how he laid his plate and all the riches he had to gage to be brought in the night among the middest of his enemies, where he was to fight for hisowne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of fuch a noble enterprife, and nothing elfe. But now, though the enterprise of it felfe was dangerous, an error chancing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more dangerous. For Aratus had sent Technon, one of his men before with Diocles, to view the wall. This Technon had neuer spoken with Diocles, howbeit he thought in his mind what manner of man he was , by the markes that Erginus had given him of him; that he had a blacke curled haire, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Now Technon being come to the place where Erginus faid he would be with Diocles, he staied before the towne in a place called ORNIS. So while It he was tarying there, the elder brother of Diocles (called Dionylius, who knew nothing of the enterprise, nor was made acquainted with all, & looked very like his brother Diocles) came that way by chance. Technon being moued by the marks and danger he faw in him, like vnto those he was told of, asked him if he were nothing a kin vnto Erginus. by likensse of menone The other answered, he was his brother. Then Technon perswading himself it was certainly Dioeles that spake to him, without asking him his name, or making other enquiry of him, he tooke himby the hand, & began to talke with him of the practife he had with Erginus, and to aske him ofit. Diony fins taking the matter vpon him, & feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the city, holding him on still with talke, Technon mistrusting nothing. But even as Dionysius was readietotake him fast by the coller, his brother Erginus came. Who, perceiving how Technon had mistaken the matter, and the danger he was in, beckned to him with his head to flie and so they both ran for life vnto Aratus, to faue themselues. Howbeit Aratus was nothing the more discouraged for this, but fent Erginus straightto carry his brother Dionysius mony, and to pray him not to be aknowne of any thing: who furthermore brought him with him vnto Aratus. But after they had him once, they made him fure for flarting: for they bound him, and locked him vp fall in a chamber, while it they went about their enterprise. So when all things were readie, Arasuscommanded the rest of his army that they should tary behind, armed all night: and he himfelfe with foure hundred of the best men he had (not knowing themselves whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the gates of the city, passing by the temple of Iuno. This was about the middeft of fummer, when the Moone was at the ful & the element very cleare without clouds: infomuch that they were afraid their armors would glifter by Moone-light, and bewray them. But as the foremost of them came neare unto the city, there arose clouds out of the feathat darkned all the city and places thereabouts, and shadowed them. Then al of them sitting downe on the ground, plucked off their shoes, both because they should make lesse noise, as also for that their footing should be surer, and that they should slip lesse vpon the ladders. But Ergimus, and seven other companions with him, like men that travell, came secretly into the gate of the citie, and flue the porter and warders there. At that very inftant, Aratus caused the ladders to be fet vp against the wals, and made an hundred of his souldiers get vp on them: and fent also to command the reft, that they should follow him with all possible speed. Then drawing up his ladders after him as fast as he could, he went through the city, with his hundred men toward the castel, with such a joy ful cheare, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he saw he was not discourred. But as he went on, he saw foure of the watch coming with a light against them. They faw not Aratus and his company, but the enemies faw them plainly a farre off Aratus and

Aratus great danger in taking of the Acrocobenefit of the Moone.

his men therefore flood vp close against old wals to tarie their coming, and at the first onset flue three of them: but the fourth having a blow on his head with a fword, ranne away, making an out-crie, that the enemics were in the citie. The trumpets forthwith founded the alarme, all the citic was in an vprore, the streets were straight full of people running vp and downe, and of lights in every corner, both beneath the citic, and also in the castel, and the noise was great every where. Aratus in the meane time forced to get up the high rocks faire and foftly at the first, and with great paine & difficultie, being out of his path he should have found, which he missed being very deepe into the rocks, and with many crooks and cranks went to the foote of the caffely but suddenly, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the clouds, when they were in their worst way it gauethem light, and brought them to that part of the wal where they should be, and straight the Moone was shadowed againe. Now the three hundred souls diers whom Aratus had left by the gate of the temple of luno, when they were come into the citiebeing full of lights and in vprore, and besides could not find the path by the which their Captaine Aratus went before them: they flood close together under a rocke that shadowed them, forowfully looking to heare fome newes of Aratus: who was then fighting with the garrifon of the castell, the which made head against him, with all the force and power he could, Vnder the castell there were a great noise heard of men that fought, but yet the noise was so confufed by the found rebounding against the rockes and mountaine, that they could not deuise whence it should come. So they being in this perplexity, not knowing which way to turne the selves, Archelaus, captaine of king Antigonus men, having a good number of souldiers with him. went vp the hill with great cries and noise of trumpets, to set vpon Aratus and his company behind. But after he was passed by these three hundred soldiers of Aratus band, they gave charge vpon him, as if they had bin laid there in ambush of purpose, and slue the first they encounted withall, and made the others fo afraid, and Archelaus himselfe, that they dispersed them, & made fome flie one way, fome another, So, as they were ouerthrowne, Erginus came to these three hundred men, coming immediately from them that fought, and brought the newes that Aratus and them of the castell, were come to the sword together, and valiantly defended themfelues, lustily fighting for the wall, and therefore it was time for them to help him quickly. Then the foldiers bad him bring them thither straight, and so he did. So they climing vp the hill, did fignifie by their cries to their men, that they came to aide him. Furthermore, the Moone being then at the full, and shining on their harnesse, made their enemies in the castell thinke that they were a greater number then indeed they were, because of the long way they had to make to get vp vpon the rocks; and also because of the found in the night, that made their crie seems to be of a greater number then they were. At length they joyned with Aratus, they fought itout fo luftily, that they draue the garrifon out of the wals, and by breake of day wannethe castel. So that their exploit was discoursed by the rifing of the Sunne, and besides, all the rest of their armie that came from the city of Sycion E: whom the Corint Hians very gladly received, and did set open their gates vnto them, and aided them to take King Antigonus men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was fafe, then Aratus ranne from the castell vnto the Theater of the citic, whither repaired an infinite number of people, as well for the defire they had to fee him, as alfo to heare him speake vnto the Corinthians. So, having placed the Achaians oneither fide, at the coming into the Theater, Aratus being armed went vp into the chaire or pulpit for Orations, having his face quite changed, both for the great paines be had taken, and alfo for lacke of sleepe: so that his bodie being ouer-wearied, his spirits were even done. Now when all the affemby of the people (feeing him in the chaire) did humble themselues to shew him all the honour and kindnesse they could possible: he tooke his speare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and bodie somewhat, he leaned upon it, and so stood a great while in this manner before he spake, receluing the cries of ioy and clapping of hands which the people made, praifing his valiantnesse, and blessing his good hap and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an Oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and commonwealth of the ACHATANS, meete for the enterprise from whence he came: and perswaded them to joyne to the Achaians. So therewithall, they presently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that time in their power, fince the reigne of king Philip. Now touching the other Captaines of King Antigonus, Aratus having taken Archelaus prisoner, he let him go, but put Theophrastus

to death, because he would not go out of Corinth. Persons (captaine of the castell) seeing the cafflebut loft, he secretly saued himselfe, and fled vnto the citie of CENCRES. And it is reported that as he was afterwards in talke of Philosophy, where one maintaining, that a man could zenoes opinot be a good Captaine, vnlesse he were a perfect wise man: This (quoth he) is one of Zennes nion, That opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleased me best: but now this yong Sicyonian Aratus, and the hath made me of another mind. Many writers do report this faying of Persaus. Furthermore, A- good capratus wan presently the temple of Iuno, and the hauen of LBCH EVM, where he tooke fine and twentie ships of king Antigonus, and flue hundred horse of service for the war, & source hundred Syrians, which he fold every one of the. The Achaians left within the castel of the Acro- fell wife corinth, a garrifon of foure hundred footmen, and fiftie dogs, and as many hunts; all the which Perfeutation werekept for the watch of the castel. Now, the Romains wondering at the valiantnesse of Phi- swerse Zebowmen, they called him the last of the GRECIANS. Even so might I also (in my opinion) say, that this act is the last and most famous of all the GRECIANS, and deserved to be equall, aswell for valiantnesse, as also good successe, with the greatest exploits of the most famous ancients: as that which followed immediatly after, dothamply declare. For the MEGARIANS revolting fro king Antigonus, did straight ioune with Aratus: and the Troezenians also with the Epidavri-ANS, did likewife enter into league & friendship with the ACHAIANS. So at the first inuasion he made, he went to spoile the country of Atrica, and crossed ouerto the Isle of Salamina, and poiled and destroyed it, even as if he had delivered the power and force of the Achaians out with the Aof prison, to serue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he sent home the thaians. ATHENIANS prisoners without paying of ransome: and all of policy to make them desirous torebell against the Macedonians. Furthermore, he made king Ptolomy a friend and confederate of the ACHATANS, with condition, that he should be Lieutenant generall both by sea & by land. For these respects Aratus was of maruellous estimation and credit with the ACHAIANS: infomuch that where they could not yearely chuse him their Generall, being contrary to their law; they chose him at the least every second yeare: but in effect, all was done by his advice and wilel. For they faw plainly, that it was neither honor, nor riches, nor friendship of kings & printes, northe private benefit of his owne city wherein he was borne, nor any other thing elfe that hepreferred, before the glory & increase of the comonwealth of the AHCAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities the selines were but weake, and being joyned together with the chaine of comonbenefit, they were a strength one to preserve the other. And in like maner, even as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beafts, have life and sustenace, being joyned & knittogether, and straight so soone as there is any separation of the the one from the other, they live no more, but putrificenen so cities also were brought to decay by them that did disperse their society among them; and in contrary maner did then againe increase, when joyning with any other great body and city, they were gouerned with wisdome and good counsell. So Aratus seeing the chiefest cities therabouts enjoy their lawes & liberties, thought it a shamefull thing to leave the ARGIVES Aratus 20. in flauery and bondage. Wherfore he practifed to kil the tyrant Aristomachus that gouerned the, fee Argon both to shew himselfe thankfull to the city for his bringing vp there: as also to ioyne that great at liberty. and mightie citie vnto the tribe of the Achaias. Now there were diverse men, that had the hearts & courage to undertake to do it, of the which the chiefest were Aschylus and Charimenes the Soothfayer, but they had no fwords; for they were straightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grieuous punishments ordained for the that should be found with their swords. Aratus therefore Aratus precaused litle short daggers to be made at Corinth for the, y which he sowed up in packs caried oncertain beasts loden with other baggage & stuffe. But the Soothsayer Charimenes did impart this enterprise vnto a third man, and made him one of the conspiracy with them. Eschylus be- the tyrants ing very much offended with it, began therefore to enter into practife by himselfe, and left their decree and company. Charimenes perceiuing that, tooke such a toy in his head in a mad mood, that he bewraied the as they went about to execute their enterprise. This not with standing, the most part of the conspirators saued themselves, and sled to Corinth. So the tyrant Aristomachus was flaine shortly afterby his owne men. But then another tyrant Aristippus, a crueller man then the first, made hast to take the tyranny before he could be resisted. This not with stading; Aratus with all the young men of the ACHAIAN's able to ferue in the field, went fodainly thither with aide, the city of hoping to find them of the city very glad to recouer their liberty. Howbeit the people being acquainted, & of long time vsed patietly to beare the yoke of bondage, there was not a man of the

gers againft

ty of co. Achaia.

Ariftippu laid waite tokill Ara No furer quard to a Prince, then the love of his [wbiects.

The miferable life of Ariflippus,

Aratus 20obsained by

that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe and did nothing, fauing that thereby the Achaians were accused, because that in open peacethey had made war, and therefore they were put in suite before the MANTINGANS, at Aristippus request, tyrant of ARGOS. The matter was pleaded in Arazus absence, and the Achaian's were condemned to pay the summe of thirty Minaes. After this proofe and attempt of Aratus, Aristippus being affraid of Aratus, and haring him to the death, fought wayes to kill him, with the helpe of Antigonus, who did aide him in in and there were spials almost in every corner, that did nothing else but lie in waite to execute ristippus mind. Now, there is no surer guard vnto a Prince, then the perfect loue and goodwill of his subjects. For afterthat the Nobilitie & common people haue bene vsed to feare, not him. but those that for him command them, he then feeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares. and knoweth what is done farre off. Here therefore I will a little digreffe from my historie. to shew you the manner of Aristippus life the tyrant, whereunto he was brought by this so much defired tyrannicall gouernment, and smoke of seigniorie, so esteemed of all men. Now though Arestippus had king Antigonus his friend, and that he kept a great guard of souldiers about him for the safety of his person, & that there was not an enemy of his left aliue in al the city; yet he made his fouldiers watch and lie without his pallace, under the cloifters and galleries thereabouts; and after supper turned all his men out of the doores, and then shut his court gates to him, and locked himselfalone with his concubine, in a litle high chamber with a trap dore, and set his bed your it, and so slept, as one that continually was affraid of himselfe. Then, after he was comeyo, his concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in another chamber; and so didlet it downe againe the next morning, and called this trimme tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a fnake that should have crept out of her hole. Where Aratus in contrary manner. not having obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue, a continuall government, being fimply apparelled with a poore gowne of small prise, and shewing himselfe a mortall enemy vnto al forts of tyrants, hath lefe a race and noble offpring among the GRECIANS, which remaine yet until this present day. Contrarily also, there are few tyrants that do vsurp the callels of free cities, that keepe fo many foldiers in pay, that make fuch provision for armor & weapon. and haue so many gates & drawbridges for the safetie of their persons; that in the end can keepe themselues from violent death, no more then hares: neither do leauealso any posterity, house or graue, why their memory should be honoured after their death. So Aratus having diversewaics made fundrie attempts, both by open force, and otherwise suddenly to take the city of Argos, and to thrust out the tyrant Aristoppus, he ener failed of his purpose, but specially one night, among the rest, when he entred the city very dangerously, with a few souldiers with him & fluc the foldiers that came to give fupply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, &that the tyrant with all his forces came to fet vpo him, the ARGIVBS flirred not at al as if Aratus had not fought for their liberty, but as though they had bin Iudges appointed to fit to fee the sports of the games Nemee, to judge the game vnto the conqueror without partialitie, & with indifferency. Aratus in the meane time fighting like a valiant man, was trust at with a pike, and runne through the thigh. This notwithstading, at length he wan that part of the ciry where he fought, and was not thrust out til night, what force soeuer the enemies made vpon him. And if he could possibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtained his purpose: for the tyrant looked for none other but to flie, and had already fent diverse of his goods to & sea. Howbeitho man once came to tel Aratus any newes of it; besides also, lacking water, & for that he could not help himselfe because of his wound, he was driven to leade his men away, and failed of his purpose. So, despairing that he could ever take it by stealth, he went thither with open wars, & spoiled and destroyed all the country of Ar GO s; and having fought a great battell against the tyrant Aristippus, by the river of Chares, they blamed Aratus much, that he for sooke the victory & cowardly retired out of the battell. For the rest of his army doubtlesse had the better, and had sollowed the enemies farre in chase: when he fled being afraid, not compelled by his enemies, but mistrusting his fortune, and retired to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chase of their enemies were offended, for that they having put them to flight, and also slaine a great number more of them then they had lost of theirs, and yet for cowardlinesse should suffer their enemies (whom they had ouercome and put to flight) to fet vp markes of triumph in token of victorie: Aratus being ashamed of it, determined to fight once againe, for the markes of triumph. Whereupon resting his men but one day, he led them againe into the field, and setting

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Chares fl. Aratus gane Ari-Adapted the his armie in battell ray, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when he saw a great supply coming to his enemie, and that the tyrants men came to fight more lustily, and with better courage then before, Aratus durst not abide them, but retired, and sent to demand leane to take away his dead men, to burie them; yet he could speake so courteously, and behaue himselfe so wisely, by the experience he had in gonernment, and also for the goodwill they barehim, that they forgate the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of CLEONES VIIO the ACHAIANS, where he caused the feasts of the games of Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the CLEONEIANS, then vnto the ARGIVES. This notwithflanding, the AR GIV Es did keepe it also; and then was the first time that the fanctuarie and priniledge was broken, which was wont to be granted vnto all them that came to play for the games; because the Achaians did make them prisoners that fought in Angos, as they returned through their countrey, and fold them as enemies. So maruelloufly did Aratus and the ACHAI-ANS hate all forts of tyrants, without respect of person. Shortly after he was aduertised, that the tyrant Aristippus did lie in waite to spie oportunitie, to take the citie of CLEONES from him: howbeit that he was affraid of it, because he remained at that time in Corinth. So Aratus fraight fent out commandement into enery place, to affemble the armie of the tribe of the ACHAIANS and that they should bring victuals with them for many dayes: and so craftily came downe to the citie of CENCHREES, to intice Aristippus, by his going away so farre off, that Aratus in his absence he should attempt to set voon the CLEONEIANS, as indeede he did. For he fai- Aratagema lednot presently to go thither with his armie. But Aratus returning from CENCHREES Vnto CORINTH, very late in the night, and having layed good watch every way, he fodainely arifuppus brought the armie of the ACHAIANS VITO CLEONES with fuch speede and quietnesse, that they were not seene as they came, but entred into the citie of CLEONES by night, and were readie to fight with the tyrant, before he knew they were come. So the gates of the citie were fetopen by breake of day, and the fignall of battell given by found of trumpets: and fo fetting voon the tyrants men with great cries, they suspecting nothing, were presently put to Aratus vifight. And because the place where the ouerthrow was given, had many turnings, Aratus, fol-then, of the lowing the chase, thought the way which he tooke the tyrant fled in. The chase continued to riftipus. the citie of Mycenes: there the tyrant was ouertaken by a Cretan called Tragifius, (as Divias reporteth) who flue him; and there were flaine of his men also aboue fifteene thousand. she spraise But now Aratus having wonne such a famous victory, and lost neuera man, he could not yet saine. winnethe citic of ARGOS, nor set it again at liberty. For one Ægias, and another Aristomachus, gotinto the towne with the kings armie, and kept it: but notwith standing, by this noble vistory Aratus did race out a great part of the reproch that they gave him, and of the scoffes and slents the flatterers of the tyrants deuised of him: who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight indeed, the Generall of the Achaians had the wind colicke in his belly, and a dimnesse in his eyes, with a giddines in his head, when he heard but the sound of the trumpets. And furthermorealfo, when he had fet his men in battell ray, and given them the word of battell, he asked the Generalls if he should neede to be there in person, because he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre off as he could, to fee the end of the battell. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers themselues disputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble Aphilosophers and change colour in prefent danger and perill, be fignes of a faint heart, or of an ill complexion and coldnesse of bodie; they alway vouched Aratus, that had bene a good and valiant Cap- ther tremtaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was ever in that taking. So when he had overcome Atilippus, he fought means also to destroy Lysiadas Megalipolitan, who as absolute Lord and colour in king of the countrey, kept the city of MEGALIPOLIS. Notwithstanding he had no base mind danger, be a in him, neither was he caried away with a cruell defire of tyrannie to line at his pleafure, nor figure of through extreme couctoufnesse, as most Princes be: but being a young man, and pricked forward with defire of honor and fame, and having vnaduifedly conceived in his mind (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of principality, as of a state most bleffed, and worthy of admiration he found the meanes to make himfelfe Lord of his countrey. But in. afterwards he was foone weary of the dangers & troubles fuch maner of government bringeth with it, and defired to follow Aratus, whom he faw prosper, & of great honor. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke hold of a noble deuice: first to rid himself of the malice and feare of the prison and guard of his souldiers and lastly, to be a benefactor to his

Megalipo. In lequette the tyrancelded him. felfe and his dominien vato the Achaians.

Diffention belwitt Aratus and Liftadas. One of Acquestion to little birds. Aratus no. ble coun ell against the Accolians.

Gerania mo.15.

tell voon ha lafciui.

4 woman with a bar. ganet on her beats feemeth a monfircus thing.

The figne of the Palleni-

countrey. So he fent for Aratus, gaue vp his gouernment, and delivered vp his citie to the tribe of the Achains. They so extolled him for this act, that they chose him their Lieutenantee. neral of all their tribe. Wherfore, Lyfiadas arining at the first to excel Aratus in honour, attempt ted divers things which were not very needfull: as among others, to make warre with the LACED EMONIANS. But Aratus was very much against him in that, though somethink it was for enuic. Thereupon the chofe Lyfiadas Generall of the ACHAIAN's the fecond time: although A ratus openly both spake, and made what meanes he could to the contrarie, and would have had another to have bene chosen. For he himselfe was every other yeare Generall. So Lysiadas was chosen againe Generall of the ACHAIANS the third time, with every bodies goodwill and dratus and he had absolute power and government by turnes, one after the other. But when they faw that Lysudas became open enemy vnto Aratus, and did still accuse him in all their councels and affemblies they fell in fuch misliking with him, that they rejected him. For they thought his but a counterfeit vertue, to contend with the perfectnesse of Aratus vertue, much like vitto one of A fips fables, faying. That litle birds did answer the cuckow on a time, asking them who they did flie from her: Because we are affraid (said they) thou wilt be a sparhawke one day, Enen fo it feemen, that there was a certaine sufpition in mens minds of Lysadas ty ranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his tyranny with goodwill. Now Aratus on the other fide, wanne as great praise and honour by his doings against the ÆTOLIANS. For when the A. CHAIANS Would needs have fought vpon the confines of the territoric of the MEGARIANS. and that Agis king of LACED EMON, being come with his army to y camp of the tribe of the A. CHAIANS, did perfwade them hardily to giue battell: Aratus was ftoutly against it, and did abide many mockes and taunts they gaue him, faying, That it was for cowardlinesse he would not go. This notwithstanding, he would not leave his wife and safe determination, for all that open the macibut suffered the enemies to passe ouer the mountaine Gerania, and to inuade Peropos-Mr sys, and would never fight with them. But afterwards, when he faw that at their first comming they had taken the city of PALLENA, he then changed his mind, and would deferre time. no longer to tarie till all his power were come together, but marched forthwith, with thosefew he had, against his enemies; who maruellously weakened themselues by their insolence and diforder after their victorie, keeping no watch nor ward. For after they had entred the citie of PALLENA, the fouldiers ran into every house, one thrusting in anothers necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captains also felto rauishing of maides, & the PALLENIANS Wives, and pur their burganets and morrions ypon their heads, that none other should take them: because that by the same the soldiers should know whose they were, and to whom the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitic, newes came fuddenly that Aratus was come. This made them quake for feare, when they faw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderstood of the danger by their sudden setting on them, the Achaians were fighting alreadie within the fuburbs and gates of the citie, against the first that resisted, whom they flue. They being broken and put to flight, made the rest so afraid that were gathered togetherto aid them, that they wift not what to do. In this tumult and hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a prisoner, that was the daughter of Epigethes one of the noblest men of the citie, and she a maruellous goodly woman, and paffing faire: who being fet in the temple of Diana, whither a Captaine that had chosen her for himselfe had brought her, and had put his burganet on her head, when she heard the noise of them that fought, she suddenly ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, to fee them fight. The Citizens feeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maiestic, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other fide were so afraid to see her, thinking she had bene some spirit, that not a man of them durst once defend themselves. So the Pallenians say, that the image of Diana all the rest of the time is kept locked vp, and no body touched it; and that when the Nunne that keepeth it doth carie it else where, no man dare looke on it, but euery man turneth his eyes away: because the fight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it also killeth the fruite of the trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the Æ-TOLIANS minds fo much, because the Nunne remouing the image of the goddesse Diana, she turned it towards them. Howbeit, Aratus in his Commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth, that when he had defeated the ÆTOLIANS, following them in chafe, he entred hand oner head with them that fled intothe citie, out of the which he draue them,

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and flue feuen hundred of them. This noble victory hath bene efteemed among ft the chiefest afterwards: and the painter Timanthes hath drawne and fet it forth in table very liucly. This notwithstanding, because diverse Princes and people did immediatly prepare force against the ACHAIANS, Aratus presently made peace with the Arolians by the practise of Pantaleon, who bare great sway and authority amongst the Furthermore, Aratus being desirous to set the ATHENIAMS at liberty, he suddenly attempted to take the hauen of PIREA: for the which the league with ACHAIANS reproued him, because he had broken the peace they had made with the MACEDO-NIANS. But Aratus in his Commentaries doth stoutly deny that it was he, and layeth the fault woon Erginus, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the Acrocorinth; faying, that it was semprether he that of his ownemind did fet a scaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking under him, he fled vpon it and perceiving he was followed neare by the enemies, he still cried out. Araus, as if he had bene there; and by this policie mocked his enemies, and faued himfelfe. Howbeit, methinketh this answer is not true. For it not credible, that Erginus a private souldier and a Syrian borne, should have fo great an enterprise in his head, whesse it had bene by Aratus consent and commandement, who had given him men, time and meanes to vidertake it. And this appeared plainely afterwards: for, Aratus did not attempt it twice or thrice onely, but oftener then fo (as those that extremely desire athing) to take the hauen of PIRBA on the foduine, not giving over for once failing, but rather emboldened him felfe again with good hope, because he missed it but little, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another time also amongst others, slying through the plaine of Thriasia, he brake his legge, and was diluen to make many incisions to heale it: so that he was a long time together caried in his littervito the warres. After that king Antigonus was dead, and that Demetrius his fonne fucecceed him in the kingdome, he attempted then more carneftly then ever before, to fet the ci-HE of ATHENS at liberty, making small account of the MACE DONIANS. Aratas therefore being our thrown e in battell neare vnto Phylacia, by king Demetrius Lieutenant, called Bishis, Aratus. and the rumour running straight abroad, that Aratus was dead, or at the least that he was taken nerthrowns prisoner: one named Diogenes, Captaine of the hauen of Piren, wrote a letter vnto Co- econians. RINTH, and commanded the garrifon of the ACHAIANS that kept it, to deliver the towne, for Aratus was dead. But he by chance was at the felfe fame time in Corinth: fo that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the company merric. Furthermore, King Demetrius himselfesent a Galley out of Macedon, to bring Aratus bound vnto him. The ATHENIANS themselves also, to please the MACEDONI-ANS, exceeding all lightnesse of flatterie, wore garlands on their heads a whole day together, in token of common loy, when newes was brought them of Aratus death. Aratus was To madde inhis mind to heare this, that he brought his army presently against them, even to the verie suburbes of the Academie. Notwithstanding at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwards the ATHENIAN'S acknowledging his valiant neffe, when king Demetrius died, ttooke them in the heads to recouer their libertie againe. So Aratus, though that yeare another man was Generall of the Achaians, and that hekept his bed lying ficke of a long difease: yet to further this, he was caried vnto ATHENS in a litter, and fo perswaded Diogenes (Captaine of the Garrison there,) that for the summe of an hundred and fiftie talents (towards the which Aratus gaue of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliuer to the ATHENIANS, the hauen of Pirea, the castell of Munichia, the Islc of Salamina, and the castell of Sunium. After this the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the most part of ARCADIA it self, did prefently ioyne with the ACHAIANS: fo that the MACEDONIANS being occupied with warres atthat time in other places against their neighbours, the power of the Achaians maruellously increased, having also the Atolians their confederates. Then Aratus to performe his old promise, and being angry to see the city of Ar Gos (being so neare neighbour vnto them) Aratus by yet kept in bondage, he fent vnto Aristomachus, to perswade him to be contented to set his citie againe at libertie, and to loyne it to the tribe of the Achaians, as Lystadas had done his at enforcement towne of MEGALIPOLIS: and rather to like to be made a Generall with honour and praise syramie. of so great and famous a state as the Achaians, then tyrant of one onely citie, hated, and eucry houre of thenight and day in danger of his life. Aristomachus gaue care to his perswasions, and fent vnto Aratus, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talents to discharge the souldiers he had about him. The money was straight prepared. And Lysiadas that was at that

The love & faith of the Achaians

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Aratus o. merthrown in battel by king Cleaby the mois. taine Lyca. Aratus

The death of Lyfiadas.

once againe

time Generall of the Achains, and that maruelloully defired this matter might be brought to passe by his meanes: he secretly sent vnto Aristomachus to accuse Aratus, and shewed how he had bene alwaies amortall enemy vnto tyrants, and therefore counfelled him rather to put him. selfe into his hands, as indeed he did. For Lystadas brought Aristomachus vnto the councell of the Achaians. There all the councell plainely shewed their good wils, and the confidence they had in Aratus: for when he spake against it, that they should not receive Aristomachus, they reiected him with great anger. But afterwards also when Aratus was won, and that he beganto moue the contrary to the councell they ftraight agreed to receive the ARGIVES, & the PRILLS. s IAN'S in league with them; and also the next yeare following they chose Aristomachus Lieure. nant general of all their tribe. Aristomachus seeing himselse in credit now with the Acharans. would need sinuade the countrey of LACONIA with a maine army, and fent for Aratus being then at ATHENS. Aratus wrote vnto him, and wished him in any wise notto meddle with that iourney, because he would not have the Achaians to deale with Cleomenes king of Laceda. MON, that was a couragious and flout young Prince, and maruelloufly growne in flort time. Howbeit, Arifomachus being felf-willed in that point, Aratus beyed him, and was there in perfon all that journey. So Cleomenes being come to them you the fodaine with his armie, neare vnto the city of PALANTIVM, Aristomachus would needs fight with him; but Aratus dissiyaded him from it. Wherupon Lysiadas afterwards accused him to the Achaians, and the next yeare following he contended with him fluing to be Generall howbeit he was reiected by most voices, and Aratus chosen Generall the twelfth time. The felfe same yeare he was ouerthrowne in battell by Cleomenes, neare vnto the mountaine Lyczeum, & being fled, wandred up and down in the night, that every man thought he had bene flaine, and it ran for good paiment amongall the GRECIANS. Howbeit, he faued himselfe, and having gathered his men together again, not contenting him that he had escaped with life but wisely taking the oportunitie and occasionos. fered, no man knowing it, nor mistrusting his coming: he suddenly went to affaile the Man-TINEANS, which were confederates of Cleomenes, and having taken the city of MANTINEA, he left a great garrifon in it, and made the strangers that were there, free of the city. Thus Aratus was he alone, that being ouercome, wan the Achains that which they thefelues could fearcely have won if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, y LACED EMONIANS invading the territories of the Megalipolitan's with a great armie, Aratus fodainly went thither to aid them, but would hazard battel no more, nor give Cleomenes vantage, who defired only to fight, & fill constantly refisted the Megalipolitans, that provoked him to come into the field. Forbefides that in nature he was not meete for a fet battel, at that time also he was the weaker in men, and had to do with a vertuous young man, that was all fire; where his courage and ambition on the other fide was coole and quiet enough. Furthermore, he confidered, that as king Cleomines fought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before : cuen fo it was his part wifely to keepe that which he had long fince gotten, and to stand upon his guard and safetic. This notwithfrading, the light armed men being put out into the field, and having chased the LACEDE. MONIANS cuen into their campe, and entring in with them hand ouer head: Aratus would never bring out his citizens, but staied them in a great valley that lay betweene them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Wherewithall Lysiadas being mad with himselfe, and falling out with Aratus, he called for the horsemen, and said, that he would yet helpethem that followed the chase, & praied them not to lose the victory so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to for lake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their country. So having gotten a great number of choise horsemen together, he went with a great furie and gaue charge on the right wing of his enemies battell, and having dispersed them, and put them to slight, he vnaduisedly followed the with great courage, into euill fanoured crooked waies, among trees & great broad ditches. Whereupon Cleomenes came, and so lustily set on him, that he flue him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending himself. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in again, into the battell of the footmen, and so disordered their rankes, that they made all their army fly for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed Aratus, because he had for laken Lysiadus: and being enforced vnto it by the Acharans that went without his leave, he followed them at length, and fled himselfealso vnto the city of AGIVM. There the ACHAIAN's sitting in councel, they decreed, that they wold furnish Aratus with no more mony, neither wold they pay his strangers any more; and bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would entertaine them for the warre-

Aratus perceiuing that they did him great wrong, stood euen indifferent to deliuer vp his commission of Lieutenancy, and to discharge himselfe of his office; but after he had bethought himfelfe better, he bare it patiently, and led the Achaians directly to the citie of Orchomene. There he valiantly fought with Megistonus, king Cleomenes father in law, and had the upper hand of him: for he flue three hundred of his men, and tooke Megistonus selfe prisoner. Furthermore, where before euery fecond yeare they did vie to chuse him their Lieutenant generall, when his furne came about againe, they called him to give him the office; but he refused it, and Timoxems was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alledged for his refusall, was said to be, for that he missiked of the common people. But that sounderh like a lie: for the truth of it, to my seeming, was, for that he faw the state of y Achaians to decline. For king Cleomenes proceeded no more faire and foftly as he did at the first, when he was controlled and bridled by the Ephori : but hauing flaine them, and equally deuided the lands through LACED EMONIA, and made the strangers free citizens of Sparta, being then absolute Lord of Lack DEMON, he straight set vpon Proch. the Achaians with all the power he could, and fought to conquer them. And therefore Aratus deserueth inst reproofe, for that he for sooke his countrey in such extreme trouble and danger, that being as the mafter of a ship, he gaue another the sterne to steare, when it had bene most more so served for him to be a said more so forhonorable and meetest for him to haue taken it in hand (though they would not have given it fake his him) to haue faued his countrey. Or otherwise, if he had indeed viterly despaired of the good ficcesse of the ACHAIANS, he should then have put it rather into Cleomenes hands, & not to have danger: poisoned Peloponnesvs againe with the maners of the barbarous people (bringing in as he then the did,the garrison of the Macedonians, filling & castel of the Acrocoriath with Gayles and ILLYRIAN foldiers, and making them his Lords & Masters, whom he had so often ouercome his in inwars, & bereaued of their gouernment, and of whom he also spake so much euill in his Com- storme and mentaries;) nor to have put them into townes, and calling them friends & confederates, to think tempes. thereby to colour and disguise his wicked practise. Admit Cleomenes had bene a tyrant, & a cruellman(if I should so terme him,) yet came he of the bloud of Hercules, & was born in Spartas from whence they should rather have chosen the meanest man Governor, then the greatest king of Macedon; and those specially that prefer the honor and glory of Grece, before strangers.

The most man of man of the control of the contro Yetking Cleomenes required no more of al the ACHAIAN'S, but the name only to be their Lieu- Sparea, was tenant generall: and so they would grant him that honor, he promised he would be very good vnto the cities confederates to Achaia. Where Antigonus notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their Lieutenant generall, with absolute power and authoritie both by sea and also by land, refused the charge, vnlesse they would let him have the castel of the Acrocorinth for his hire. The which was even like to Afops hunter, that bridled his horse: for he would not get vpon the Achaians that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors and decrees of countell, did referre all vnto himfelfe, before he had first fadled and bridled them, by the garrison he madethem receiue, and the pledges he caused them to give him; and yet he spake as much as might be to cleare himself of the accusation against him, bearing the in hand that he was forced to it. Howbeit Polybius writeth, that long time before he was compelled, being afraid of Cleo- Polybius menes valiantnesse, he had secretly practised that with Antigonus, which he was openly seene in afterwards: and that he had entifed the MEGALIPOLITANS (who were the first that moved it to the counsell of the Achaians) to call king Antigonus to their aide, because they were nearest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with Cleomenes war, that alwaics knocked at their gates to come and spoile them. Thus much is affirmed by Philarchus in his historie, who were Philarchus hardly to be credited notwithstanding, had not Polybius confirmed it. For he loued Cleomenes so well, that it feemed he was rauished with some spirit as often as he spake of him: and frameth his net greatly hiltorie, as a common counseller that should pleade a case in law before the Judges, stil accusing the one, and defending the other. The Achaian's lost the citie of Megalipolis againe, the which king Cleomenes tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell by Hecatombaon. Wherewithallthey were so amazed, that they sent Ambassadors presently vnto him, and praied him to come to the city of Ar Gos, and there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. the citie of But when Aratus heard he came indeed, and that he was not far from the citie of Lerna with listons his armie: being afraid, he fent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should safely come with the Achaithree hundred men only, as vnto his friends and confederates: and yet if he mistrusted crast and cuill dealing, that then they would give him pledges for the fafetie of his person. Cleomenes an-

Aefops lum.

The piteful letters that passed besmirt Cle omenesand Aratus.

Aratus put teth the re bels of Si. cione to death.

> Aratus coliancie in

Aratus fabtiltie mlyn he fled out of s crimsto.

The city of Corinth reclided up vnto Clea.

> great danger for his countrey.

King Cleotefie vato

fwered him. That was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Wherefore he prefently departed thence, and fent a letter before to the Councell of the Achaians, full of fonds words and reproches he gaue vnto Aratus: who likewise replied to him againe, bitterly talinting each other that they came to talke of their mariage & wines. After this letter, Cleomenes fent defiance by an Heraldvinto the Achaians, and proclaimed open war against them: infomuch as he had almost gotten the citie of SICYONE by practise of traitors. Howbeit, failing of his Dir. pose he returned sodainly, and went vnto the city of PALLENA, which he took, & droue out the Generall of the ACHAIAN'S thence, and immediatly after he wan the cities also of PHENEA, and PENTELION. After that, the Argives & Phliasians willingly yeelded vnto him, fo that of all which the Achaian's had conquered, and joyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of no. thing of certainty vnto them. Then Aratus was maruelloufly troubled in his mind, to feeall PELOPONNESVS in tumult and vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by thosethat practifed change and alteration. For no man was contented with the ftate and government at that time, but diverse of the SICYONIAN'S and CORINTHIAN'S both were bewraied which had fecretly practifed with Cleomenes, and that of long time maliced the gouernment of the AcHAI-ANS, defiring themselves to be Lords and Governors of their cities. Aratus having full commiffion and authority from the Councell of the ACHAIANS, to make enquirie of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of law, he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faulty in the city of Sicyone. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at Corinth, he made in. quirie of them, and put them to death: whereby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwise of theselues were weary of the gouernment and subjection of the AcHAI-ANS. The CORINTHIANS therefore gathering together in the temple of Apollo, they fent for Aratus, intending to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actuall rebellion. Aratus went thirher, to shew that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he held his horse in his hand following of him. Then many role vp against him, and did both reprove and injurioufly intreate him. But Aratus with staicd countenance and gentle words, praied them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in such rage vpon their feete, & withal, caused them also to come in that were at the temple doore. But as he spake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backcout of the presse, as though he meant to have given his horse to some body to hold. So being gotten out of the presse, he gently spake without any feare vnto the Corinthian's he met, & bad them go to the temple of Apollo. When he was come to the castell, he then sodainly tooke his horse backe, & comanded cleopater, Captaine of the garrison of the ACHAIANS there to looke well to the fafe keeping of the castell. Then he set spurres to his horse, and galloped towards the citie of Sicyone for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his foldiers, all the rest having forfaken him, and dispersed themselves here & there. Shortly after, the Corinthian's understanding that Aratus was gone, they followed after, but could neuer ouertake him: whereupon they straight sent for king Cleomenes, and deliuered the citie of Corinth into his hands, the gaine whereof pleased him not so much, as he was fory for the losse of Aratus, whom they had let go. So king Cleomeres ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling along the sea coast, commonly called the river of Corinth, who yeelded up themselves, holds and townes into his hands, he then intrenched in the castell of the Acrocorinth with a great trench. Furthermore, when Aratus came to the citie of Sicyone, many of the Achains gathered about him, and holdinga Counsel and affembly, he was chosen their Lieutenant generall, having absolute power and authority to do what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to guard his person. So, hauing managed the affaires of the state and commonwealth of the Achaians the space of three and thirtie yeares together, and having all that time bene counted of all menthe chiefest man of power and authoritie in GRECE, he then found himselfe in poore estate, for saken, and in great miserie, as in the shipwracke of his countrey beaten with storme, and in great danger of himfelfe. For when he fent unto the ATOLIAN'S for aide, they flatly denied him, and would fend him none. Furthermore, the ATHENIANS being very defirous to fend aid for Aratus fake, were diffwaded from it through the practife of Euclydas and Micion. Aratus also had a house in Co-RINTH, where all his money was: the which king Cleomenes at the first medled not withall, neither would fuffer any other to touch it, but fent for his friends and officers, and charged them w looke to it, to give Aratus a good account of it afterwards. Furthermore, he privily fent Tripylus vnto him, and his father in law Megistonus, and offered him great gifts, and spe-

ARATVS.

tially an annual penfion of twelve talents, which was double as much as king Ptolomy gaue him. who fent him yearely fixe talents. Besides, he only praied the Achaians, that they would make him their Lieutenant generall, and also that the garrison in the castell of Acrocorinth, might be deuided in common betweene them. Aratus made answer, that he had no absolute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. Clemenes thinking this but a deuice and excuse of Aratus, he presently inuaded the country of the Sic You IAN's and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three moneths. Aratus in the meane time stood doubtful how to determine; whether he should receive king Antigonus or not: because Antigonus would not aide him before he deliuered him the caftell of the Acrocorinth into his hands. So the Achar-ANS neeting at the city of AGIVM to consult you it, they fent for Aratus thither. Howbeit, it was dagerous coming thither, because Cleomenes camp lay hard by the city of Sicyon E: besides also that the citizens kept Aratus, and held him by force, faying, That they would not let him venture himselfe in such apparent danger, their enemies being so neare vnto them. Moreouer, the women and little children, hung about him, weeping and compaffing him about, as their common father and fauiour. But Aratus comforting them, bad them not be afraid, and so tooke his horfe, with ten of his friends and his fonne (that was a yong stripling growne) and went towardsthe sea, and imbarked in certaine ships that rode at anker. Thence he sayled vnto Acrv M, where the diet or parliament was kept; and there it was refolued, that they should send for An- The Achaisignmus, and deliuer the castell of the Acrocorinth into his hands. And so it was performed; for ans do send Aratus fent thicker his owne fonne among the other hoftages. The Corint Hins were fo for entire and for his offended withal, that they made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his house he had in Corint vnto king Cleomenes. So king Antigonus being onwards on his way to come into Peloponnesvs . with his armic, bringing with him twenty thousand footmen all Macedonians, & foure hundred horsemen: Aratus with the greatest states & officers of the Achains, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him as farre as the citic of PEGES, having no great trust nor confidence in Antigonus, northe MACEDONIANS. For he remembred very well, that he came first to his greatneffe, by the injuries he had offered them; and how that the chiefest cause of his rising, was the malice he bare vnto old Antigonus. Howbeit making vertue of necessitie, and weighing the instant occasion of their present extremity, (of Gouernors, to be driven to be subjects,) he put himselfe in aduenture. So, when Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in person to him, ohey neceshaving with good countenance after a common fort faluted thosethat came in his company: to fine Aratus himfelfe at his first coming he gaue an honorable welcome and entertainment. Afterwards also, finding him a good and discreete man, he fell into inward friendship and familiaritie with him. For Aratus was not onely skilfull to give direction in matters of state touching good order and gouernement: but moreouer, his companie and conversation was very pleasant, to entertaine a Princes leafure with. Wherefore though Antigonus was but yong at that time, yet seeing throughly into Aratus nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and eftecmedabout a Prince, he vsed his counsell & aduice more then any other mans, in all matters, not Awarder only touching the affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS alfo. And fo all things formed came to passe, which the gods had promised in their sacrifices. For in a beast that was sacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one felfe caule: the which the Soothfayers interpreted did prognofticare, that two which before were mortall enemies, should now become affured frieds. But Aratus made no account of their prediction, neither did he give any credite to the facrifices, but trusted rather to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwards having good succeffe, and Antigonus making a feast in the city of Corint H where he had bidden many guests, he would needs have Aratus lie vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commanded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a cold. Aratus answered him. It freezed. Then Antigonus bad him come neare him, and when the feruants brought acouerlet for the king, they cast it ouer them both. Then Aratus remembring the sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had seene in the sacrifice, and what interpretation the Soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So Antigonus and Aratus being at that time in the city of PEGEs, they were sworne brethre together; and then went both with al speed against the enemies. Thus there fel out hote skirmishes betweene them, hard by the city of Corinth. and draum For Cleamenes was very well fortified, and the Coainthians valiantly defended themselves. I worke In the meane time, Arestoteles of ARGOS (Aratus friend) secretly sent him word, that he would

The citie of wolted from Cleomenes.

Aristomachus arowned in the Aratus in famy for Aristoma

make the citie rebell, if he came himselse with any number of souldiers. Aratus told it vnto kind Antigonus, who gave him fifteene hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and paffed over with great speed from the Isthmus (or barre in the straight) vnto the citie of Epidav Rym. Howe beit, the Argives taried not Aratus coming, but were all vp before he came, and did fet vpon king Cleomenes men, and had driven them into the castell, Cleomenes being advertised of it, and fearing lest his enemies (keeping the citie of Ar-Gos) should cut off his way from returning into his countrey againe with lafetie, if he were driven to a straight: he for sooke the castell of the Acrocorinth, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the city of Ar Gos. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrew certaine of his enemies. But fhortly after, Aratus and king Antigonus both being come thither with all their aide, Cleomenes was driven to flie to the citicof MANTINEA. After the recoucric againe of the citic of Angos, all the refidue of the citics of Pn-LOPONNESUS did againe returne to the Acharans, and Antigonus took the castell of the Acracorinth. So Aratus being chosen Generall by the ARGIVES, beconnielled them to present Antigonus with all the tyrants goods, & those that had bin traitors to the commonwealth. And after they had cruelly tormented the tyrant Ariflomachus in the citie of CBNCHRES, in the end they cast him into the sea, and drowned him. Aratus was maruellously reproued for his death. that would fuffer the poore man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleafure; who through his perfwafion willingly refigned vp his tyrannic. and delivered the citie of Ar Gos vnto the Achaians. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else; for that the Acharans through his meanes had put the citie of Co-RINTH into Antigonus hands, as though it had bene forme meane village: for that when they had fucked the city of OR CHOMENE, they fuffered him to place a garrison of the MACEDONIANS there for that they had enacted by parliament, that they should neither write, nor fend Ambassa. dors any whither, without Antigonus prinitie and consent furthermore, for that they were compelled to give pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made facrifices, feafis, and games vn. to Antigonus, as if he had bene a god; following the example of Aratus citizens, who werethe first that began, and had received Antigonus into the citie by the perswasion of Aratus, that lodged and feasted him in his owne house. With all these faults they burdened Fraths, and confidered not, that after they had put the reynes of the government into Antigonus hand, Aratus himselfe (whether he would or not) was copelled to follow the swinge of the vnbridled Prince, having no other meanes to stay it, but onely the liberty of speech to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparent and great danger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against Aratus mind : as amongst others that Antigonus caused the tyrants images of An cos to be fet vp, which he had before pulled downe; and also that he made them to be overthrowne, which Aratus had fet up for those that had taken the castell of Co-RINTH, and onely left Aratus one statue, not with standing all the earnest intreaty Aratus made to the contrarie, yet he could get no grant of any thing to be requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the Achaians dealt not fo friendly with y Mantine ans, as became Grecians one to another. For they having the citie in their hands by Antigonus meanes, did put al the noblest and chiefest men of Mantinea to death; others they sold as slaues, & sent the rest into Macedon with irons on their legs, and brought the poore women and children into bondage, and fold them for flaues: and of the money they got by spoile, they deuided the third part among themfelues, and left the other two parts vnto the MACEDONIANS. Now furely it cannot be faid, but this was done for some cruell revenge. For though it was an over-great crueltic, in rage and palfion of mind, to handle people of one selfe bloud and language in this lamentable fort; yet Simonides faith, When men are driven and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great from ackes enflamed with rage & malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the ciric, no man can excuse Aratus, nor say, that he was either driven to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to do it. For king Antigonus having given the citie of Man-TINEA vnto the ARGIVES, they determined to make it a Colonic, and chose Aratus their Generall:who made a decree, that thenceforth the citic should no more be called MANTINEA, but Antigonia, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it feemeth that gentle Mantinea (for foy Poets called it) was veterly destroyed, & bare the name of another city through Arasis means, preferring the name of him that destroyed the citie, and did put all the inhabitants of the first to death. After that, king Cleomenes being overthrown in a great battel by & city of SELLASIA, he

lefethe city of Sparra, and fled into Agypr. So Antigonus having yied Aratus with all kind of honourable courtefie, he returned againe into MACEDON. There falling ficke, he fent Philip that hould fucceed him in the kingdome-being a yong ftripling growne) into PELOPONNESVS, & fraightly charged him specially to follow Aratus counsell, and to imploy him when he would focake vitto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHATAN'S. So Aratus having received him in that fort, made him fo well affected and louing towards him, that he fent him againe into Mice Don, being throughly determined to make wars with GRECE, So after the death of Antiponus, the ATOLIAN'S began to despise the carelessnesses and cowardlinesse of the ACHAIAN'S thecause that they being vied to be defended by strangers, and having bene altogether governed by the armies of the Machonians, they lived very idlely & diffolutely,) wherepon they tooke vpon them to make themselues Lords of Peroponnesve. So they assembled an armic. and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some prey and spoile you the lands of the Pa-TREIANS, & the DYMEIANS but inuading the territory of MESSINA with all their army, they destroyed the whole countrey before them. Aratus being angry withall, & perceiuing that Timoxenus (who at that time was General of the Achains) did ftill tract and delay time in vaine. because he was vpon his going out of his yeare; he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fiue daies before, to go & aide the Messinians. Wherfore leauing an army of § Achaians, whose persons were now neither exercised in armes, nor yet had any defire to go to the wars, he was ouerthrown by the city of CAPHYES. Now, because it was thought that he went somewhat too hotely and couragiously to the wars, he so extremely cooledagaine, & left things in such case, that all hope being cast aside, he suffered the Arolians by the city inmaner to tread PELOPONNESVS vnder their feet before his eyes, with al the infolency & cru- of captors. eliethar might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundrie times gaue him great aduantages ofthem. Thus were the ACHAIAN'S once again forced to pray aide out of MACEDON & to fend The Athai for yong king Philip to make warres in GRECE hoping, for the love he bare vnto Aratus, and the great trust he had in him, that he would vie them gently, and do as they would have him. But when first of all began Apelles, Megareus, and a few other Courtiers to accuse Aratus: vnto fonne. whom King Philipgiuing eafie eare, he procured that one Eparatus, of contrarie faction vnto Aratus, was chosen Generall by the Achaians. Howbeit, this new Generall Eparatus being extremely hated by the Achaians, and Aratus also leaving to deale any more with matters of flate, no act was done to any purpose. Whereupon King Philip finding his fault, returned again vnto Aratus, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires profiered in all things he went about, he then let him alone with all, as from whom came all his honour and greatnesse. Thereupon euery man esteemed Aratus a wise Gouernour, not onely to rule a Common-wealth, but also a whole Realme and kingdome. For his maners, intent, and chiefeft purpose appeared in the deeds of this yong king, as a rich colour that did fet forth and beautific them. For the clemencie this yong Prince Philip vsed to the LACED EMONIANS that had offended him, the great courtesie he shewed to the CRETANS, whereby in few dayes he wanne all the Isle of CRETA: and the journey he made against the ÆTOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great exploite, wanne the Prince great fame, for following good counsell, and Aratus to be accounted a wife Gouernour, and of deepe understanding. Now the kings slatterers enuying Aratus morethen before, and perceiuing that they got no good by secret backe-biting ofhim, they then began with open mouth very infolently to reuile him at the table, and with great derission: insomuch as one night going home to his tentafter supper, they pelted him companion with stones all the way as he went. King Philip when he knew it, was so offended therewith, of vertue. that he did condemne them in the summe of twentie talents; and afterwards also, because they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king Philip in the end being putfed vp with the good fortune and successe of this warre, which prospered as he would have it, he then grew to be conetous, and beganne to shew his naughtie nature, and to bewray his dissimulation wherewith he disguised himselse, and by litle and litle to make his vices plainly to appeare. For first of all, he abused young Aratus wife, which was kept secret a long time, because he lay in their house, and began daily to grow more seuere and cruell to the commonweales; and then The beginthe world saw plainely that he cared no more for Aratus. For the first suspicion and begin-ning of disning of the mistrust he had of Aratus, came for that which was done at Massina. For the being the Messinians being fallen together by the cares, and in great civill warres one with another, rates and Thilly.

Mantinea, called An tirenia, by dratus de-

diffimulati. on and double dealing of king

Aratusthe fens words vnto Phi-

Aratus went thither to make peace betweene them. Howbeit, king Philip came thither the next day following, and in stead of pacifying the quarrell, he fet them further out together then they were before. First, he asked the Gouernours of the citie, whether they had no lawesto bridle the infolencie and stomacke of the common people; and privately also talked with the heads of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not hands to defend themselues from tyrants. So both the one and the other faction trusting to king Philip, the Gouernours would have layed hold on the Oratours of the citie: but they rifing with the common people, flue of their Nobilitie and Magistrates, well neare two hundred of them. Aratus that came foone after this fact, shewed that he was greatly offended with King Philip, and caused his some with open mouth shamefully to reproue him. Now it seemed that this yong Aratus was in loue with King Philip before: but then he told him before all the people, that for this shamefull act he had done, he thought him now no more faire of face, but the fowlest creature that could be. Philip made no answer to it, although every man looked he would have answer red him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he bit it in with his teeth; but yet as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge words his fonne had spoken against him. (for that he was a civill man, and mild of nature,) he tooke Aratus the father by the hand, and caried him out of the Theater where the affembly was kept, to the castell of Ithome, to do sa crifice there to Inpiter, and to fee the fort. This fort was of no leffe frength then the castell of the Acrocorinth; and when any garrifon is in it, it keepeth all the countrey about it in obedience: and besides it is very hard to drive them out of it. Now Philip being gotten vp into that castell, he did facrifice there; and when the Soothsayer had brought him the intrailes of the oxe. which they had facrificed, he tooke it himselfe with both his hands, and shewed them vnto Aratus, and to Demetrius PHALERIAN, now turning to the one, then to the other, and asked them what they judged of these signes of the facrifice: whether he should keepe the castell to himselfe, or else deliuer it to the Messinians. Demetrius smiling, answered him: If thou beefe of the Soothfayers minde, then thou shalt deliuer it vp: but if thou hast a Kings minde in thee; thou shalt then hold the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he ment the countrie of Palo-PONNESUS: and moreouer, that if he kept both these castels, of Ithome and the Acrocorinth, all PELOPONESUS were wholy at his commandement.) Aratus still held his peace, and said not a word. In the end, Philip praying him to speake, he faid: In CRETA, and in the countrie of the Bosorians and Phocians, there are many strong castels situated on high hils from the vallies. Moreouer, there are also many places of great strength in the marches of the Acarna-NIANS, both within maine land, as also vpon the scacoast: of all the which thou hast not taken one of them by force, and yet they all do willingly obey the enotwithstanding. It is for thecues to hide their heads in high rocks and mountaines, but a King can have no stronger cassell, then the loue, faith, and goodwill of men. That is it, that opened the sea of CRETA. That is it, that hath brought thee into Peloponnesus. Those are the meanes which have made thee being fo yong a man, some of them to choose thee their Captaine, and others also to make thee their absolute Lord and Master. Aratus going on with his tale, Philip gaue the intrailes againe to the Soothfayer that brought them, and taking Aratus by the hand (as if by force he had casthim out of the castell, and had also taken the citie of Mussina from him; faid vnto him: Come on then, let vs cuen take that courfe. But after that time, Aratus came as little to the court as might be, and so by little and little left Philips company. For when he went to make warre in the Realme of EPIRVs, he was earnestly in hand with Aratus to go that iourney with him. But Aratus prayed him to hold him excused, and so remained at home, being afraid to be brought into an cuill name with Philips doings. For Philip afterwards having shamefully lost his armie by sea against the Romaines; and besides, having had also very ill successe in all other his affaires, he returned againe to Peloponnesvs, and thought once more to have deceived the MESSINIANS. But when they found his practife, then he beganne with open force to spoyle their countrey, Aratus then flatly fell out with Philip, and vtterly refused his friendship, for that he perceived then the iniurie he had done his fonnes wife, the which grieved him to the heart; but yet he made not his fon priny to it, because he could get no other ameds, then to know what iniury had bene done to him, confidering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuenged. For king Philip was maruelloufly changed, and from a courteous and chaft yong Prince, become a vitious and cruell tyrant: the which to speake truely, was not a change or alteration

The roife answer of Aratus TH to king Philip, ecuching the fafet's of a Prince.

Aratasthe father for-Jocke I hi.

Philip of a courteous Prince be in nature, but a manifest declaration (when he was no more afraid of any man) of his wicked and divellish mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept fecret. Now, to prove that Philips first love & good wil he bare vnto Araius, was also mingled with feare & reverence; that which he did afterwards vnto him did plainely fliew it. For he being defirous to put Aratus to death, nor thinking himfelf free fo long as he lined, neither king, nor tyrantihe durft not go about to kill him him lelfe, but procured one of his Captaines called Taurion, & commanded him to make him away as fecretly as he could possible, & specially with poyson in his absence. This Taurion fell in friendship with Aratus, and poisoned him with no violent poyson, but so tempe- Aratus poyred and qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the body, and procure a pretie cough which fored by brought him into a consumption. Aratus knew he was poyfoned: but because he saw it booted notto bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no words of it, as if he had had some natural difcase about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefest friends being in his chamber with him, who wodered to see him spit bloud as he did:he told him; Friend Caphalon mine, this is the reward of akings loue. So he died of this poy fon in the city of Æ grv M, being the feuenteenth time chosen friendship General of y Achaians, who would have had him buried in the felfe same place, & have made the death fomehonorable monument for him, worthie of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking of Aratus. themselves dishonoured; if his bodie were buried any where else but in their owne citie, they so perswaded the counsell of the Achaians, that they suffered them to take Aratus bodie with the. Yet was therean ancient law that forbad buriall within the walles of the city, of any maner ofperson whatsoeper: and besides that law, they had a certaine superstitious feare in them, that made them they durst not. Whereupon they fent to Apolloes temple at DELPHES, to aske counsell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this answer:

Thou bappy foile of Sicyon, Aratus native place, Whereas thou asketh counsell in that noble Captaines case, For keeping of a yeare mind, and for making feastfull daies In honor of that worthy wight to last henceforth alwaies: If any hinder your intent, through fondnesse or through spite, Both sea and land, and heaven it selfe will punish that same wight.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIAN'S were maruellous glad of it, but y SICYONIAN'S specially: who presently changing their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the body from the city of A giv M, and brought it home as in maner of procession, in white robes, and garlands offlowers on their fleads, finging hymmes and fongs of ioy, and dancing, till they came to the citie of SICYONE. And there they chose out the chiefest place, and buried him as their founder, father, and fauiour of their citic: and the place is called at this present time, ARATIVM. There they yearely maketwo folemne facrifices, the one the fifth of Nouember, at which time he de- rearely falincred the city of Sicyone from tyranny, and they call this facrifice Soteria, as much to fay, as the feast of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the first facrifice, that honor drawas done by the Priest of Iupiter the fauiour. The second facrifice also was done by Aratris son, this memo. who was girt about with a cloath, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the facrifice, they fung hymnes vpon the Harpe in praise of him; and the master of the Mustians made a procession round about, being accompanied with boyes and yong men of the citic, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were disposed to go to a procession. How beit the most part of the honors that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left off by processe of time, and change of things that followed afterwards. Thus you fee what the life of Aratus the father hath bene, as we find in histories. The milera. Now Philip being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, caused his son Aratus also to be poisoned, not with a deadly poyfon, but with such a poyfon as troubleth a mans wits so, that through their draws the dinellish receit, he becometh a starke foole without any wit at al, & maketh him to attept strage strange and abhominable things, and to have certaine shamefull and detestable desires: insomuch as his death (though he died in the prime of his youth) could not be thought milerable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him out of al his miseries & mishaps. But Philip afterwards, so long as he liued, paied vnto Iupiter (protector of all iustice and friendship) the punishment his wicked life described. For, after he was ouercome in battell by the Romaines, he was compelled to yeeld himselfe to their mercie; by whom he was deprined from all the rest of his lands and domini- for him wieons he had, and of all his ships, but fine only, and condemned besides to pay a thousand talents kedness.

Sic)onians.

The Oracle for Arasus bariall.

Perleas king Philips fon, whom Paulus AEmylius triumphed forin Rome.

for a fine and to give his fonce in hostage; and they onely left him for pities sake, the kingdome of MACEDON, with all the appertenances. And there he daily putting to death the chiefeft of his Nobilitie, and nearest of bloud vnto him, he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate against him. Furthermore amongst such a heape of euils, having but one onely joy, to have a vertuous sonne, he put him to death, for spite and malice that he saw the Romaine's honour him, and left his other some Perseus successor of his realme; who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten sonne, but taken for his sonne, and borne of a tailors wife called Gnathenium. It is that Perfeus, whom Paulus Amylius ouercame, and led in triumph in Rom B; and at him the race of the kings descended from Antigonus, failed, where the issue and offpring of Aratuscon. tinueth vet untill our time, in the cities of Sicyone, and Pallenas

GALBA:

THE LIFE OF



Iphicrates faying, what maner of man a mercenary **fouldier** Should be.

AEmylius faying of

> Platees Saying of an arthie.

Demender

Phicrates the Athentan captaine faid, that a mercenary foldier should be couctous, alouer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the valianter, and readier to put himself r into any danger. But most men thinke, that souldiers should be as one entire strong body, that stirreth not of it self without v mouing of the Generall. And to approue this opinion, it is faid that Paulus Amylius arriving in MACEDON, and finding the fouldiers full of words and curiofity (euery man medling with the affaires of the Generall) he made open proclamation, No man so hardie to meddle with his office & af-

faires but every man only to keep his fword tharp, & tobe quick of hand againft the enemy; and for the rest, to refer alto him, who wold take sufficient order for things of his charge & gouernment. Therfore Plato faith, that it little auaileth to haue a good and wife Captaine, if the fouldiers also be not wise and obedient; thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to have men of a noble mind and good education, as otherwife it is meete for a Captaine to know how todirect and command well; confidering it is that which with lenitie and mildneffe doth mitigate all fury & choler. He hath divers other examples & fufficient proofes to prove his words true; and namely, the great miseries & calamities which came to the Romains after v death of Nero, do plainly flew, that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, the a great army liuing licentiously & disorderly. For Demades after the death of Alexader the great, compared Alexandersarmy vnto Cyclops Polyphemus after his eye was put out confidering how blindly & loofly

they were gouerned. How beit the Empire of Rom a being deuided into fundrie factions at one filtrime and rifing against it felf in many places, it fel into the like misfortunes & calamities fained by the Poets of the Titans; not fo much through the ambitious field of the Emperors; as The Empire by meanes of the couetousnesse and insolency of the soldiers, who draue the Emperors out of wherete their Imperial seates one after another as one naile driveth out another. And Dionysius also the furant of Sicile, was wont to call Phareus (who had bin tyrant of Thessalia onely ten moneths space) a tyrant in a play, deriding his so sudden change of state. But the Imperial house of the Calars at ROME, received foure Emperors, in lesse then ten moneths space, the soldiers now nutting in one, and then taking out another, as if they had bene in a play on a feaffold; So that the ROMAINES being thus grieuoully oppressed, had yet this comfort; that they needed not to seeke to be reuenged of them that did oppresse them. For they saw one of them murther another, and him first and most justly of all other murthered, that had first of all corrupted the soldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the change of the Emperors; and fo depraying a worthy deed of infelfe, which was their for laking of Nero; and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, being Captaine of the Emperors guard, which are called the Prætorian foldiers, together with Tigellinus, when he faw Nero in despaire of himselfe and of his e- Tigellinus, flate, and that he was ready to flie into ÆGYPT: he perfwaded the guard they should call Galba Nero. Emperor, as if Nero had not bene at Rome, but fled and gone, and promited every one feven thousand five hundred Drachmaes apeece: and to the rest of the souldiers that were dispersed ypand downe in garrifon ypon the provinces, twelue hundred and fiftie Drachmaes a man. For the leavying of which furnine, they could not possibly do it, but they must needs comit ten thoufand times more extortion on every body, then Nero had done. This large promife made them presently put Nero to death, and shortly after him, Gaiba himselfe also. For the soldiers for sooke New, for the hope they had to receive this promifed gift: and shortly after they flue the second, which was Galba, because they received not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should still feed them with like gifts, before they could obtaine gifts do their wished hope, one of the destroyed another by treason and rebellion. But now to set down frozed the all things particularly which hapned at that time, it were to write one whole entire historic; and Reme, therefore, I will content my felfe, not to passe ouer with silence the notablest deeds, and lamentablecalamities, which happened at that time vnto the Cafars.

Itis manifestly known to all men, that Sulpitius Galbs of a private man, was the richest & wealthieft that came to be in the number of the Cafars: who, though he came of a very noble house, and publicderiving him selfe from the race & family of the Serny; yet he was honored the more, because he seed Galwas akin vnto Quintus Catulus, who for vertue & estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise he willingly resigned his authority and power vnto others. So Galba thereby was somewhat akin vnto Liuia the wife of Augustus Casar, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperors pallace, whe he went to take possession of his Consulship. Moreover his reported, that whe he had charge of the army in GERMANY, he did valiatly behaue himfelf. And in the gouernment of Libia also, where he was Vice-confull, he did as honorably behaue himselfe, as any man whatsoeuer. Howbeit his meane and simple ordinary of diet, voide of all Galbate excelle, was reputed mifery and niggardlineffe in him, when he was proclaimed Emperor: because the practise of sober and temperate diet which he would haue brought in vse, was then so raw athing, that it was taken for a new & strange deuice. He was sent gouernor also into Spaine by Nero, before he had learned to be afraid of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, befides that he was of accourteous & gentle nature, his age moreover increased the opinion they had of Galbani him, that he was timerous and feareful. For when the wretched officers of Nero did cruelly vexe conteste. and torment the provinces, and that it lay not in Galba any way to helpe them: yet was it some cofortto them, which were judged & fold as flaues by the officers, to fee that Galba did lamet the mileries & calamities they endured as if they had bin done vnto himself. So whe any fladerous rimes were made against Nero, which were fong vp & downe in euery place, he would neither forbid the, nor yet was offended as Neroes officers were. Therefore he was maruelloufly beloled in the countrey, of them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eight Yeare of his government as Procoful amongst the, at which time Iunius Vindex being Proprietor Iunius Vindex of GAVLE, rebelled against Nero, who as it is reported, had written vnto Galba, before he entred described

into open action of rebellion, But Galba did neither beleeue him, nor also accuse & bewray him Nere,

Inthisplace the Greeke is corrupt. Is seade, METEVIOR for uanortor.

Sulpitius Galba, la. lused by the fouldi . ers, as Emperor.

Galba iudged an enemy by the Senate of Rome, goods fold by the crier.

Clodius Macer, gouernor of Africke. Rufu. go Verginius led Empe-

> Coloniaa citie of Spaine. reade Ciu

as diuerfe others which were gouernors of armies and provinces did: who fent Vindex letters vnto Nero which he himselfe had written vnto them, and so did as much as in them lay to him. der the enterprise, who afterwards being of the cospiracy did confesse they were traitors to the felues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit when Vindex afterwards had proclaimed ope war against Nero, he wrote againe vnto Galba, and praied him to take the Imperiall crowne vpon him, and to become the head of a strong and mightie bodie (which were the GAVLES) that lacked no. thing but a head & gouernor, being a hundred thousand fighting me ready armed, & might also leauic a great number more of them. Then Galba consulted the rupon with his friends, & among them fome were of opinion that he should stay a while, to see what change and alteration would grow at Rome vponthis stirre. Howbeit Titus Iunius, Captaine of the Pratorian band, said vn. to him: O Galba, what meaneth this fo doubtfull a deliberation? Be not we wife men, to call in questió, whether we shal allow of Vindex friendship; or accuse him; yea, & with armes persente him, that defired rather to have thee Emperor, then Nerotyrant over the state of Rome! After. wards Galba by bils fet vp encry where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchize fuch as would make suite for it. This rumor flying straight abroad, he gathered a great number of soldierstoge. ther, that were very willing to rebel; and he was no fooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of state, but all the souldiers did salute him by the name of Emperor. Howbeit he was not coten with this name at the first, but accusing Nero, & lamenting the death of the noblest men whom he had cruelly put to death, he promifed that he would employ his best wit and discretion to the feruice and benefit of his countrey, neither naming himfelfe Cafar, nor Emperor, but only Lieu. tenant to the Senate, & state of Rome. Now, that Vindex did wisely to cal Galba to be Emperor. Nero himself in his doings doth witnesse it: who having alwayes made a countenance as though he passed not for Vindex, & that he weighed not the rebellion of the GAVLES: when it was told him that Galba was called Emperour, being then at Supper, for spite he ouerthrew thetable. Morcouer, though & Senate had judged Galba an enemy, yet Nero to be pleasant with his friends. made as though he was nothing afraid of it, & faid, This news made al for him, because he flood in need of mony, & also that it was a happy occasion offered him to helpe him withall. For faid he, we shall soone haue all the GAVLES goods, as the spoile of a just warre, after we haueonceagaine ouercome & conquered them: and moreover, Galbaes goods also would quickly beinhis hands, that he might fel them, confidering that he was become his open enemy. So he presently commanded Galbacs goods should be openly fold, to them that would give most. Galba viderstanding that, did allo by sound of trumpet sell all Neroes goods he had in all the province of SPAINE, and did also find more men readier to buy, the there were goods to sel. Daily mentose against Nero in enery country, who tooke Galbaes part, Clodius Macer only excepted in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in GAV LE, both of them having charge of legios appointed for the lafekeeping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow feuerall directions by themselues, varying in mind & intent. For Clodius Macer having robbed much & put divers men alfo to death through his crueltie and couetousnesse, shewed plainly, that he swam betweene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, not yet keepe it. Verginius also on the other fide, being generalloper great & mightic legions, who had fundry times called him Emperor, and did in maner force him to take vpon him the name & Empire: he notwithstanding did ever answerthem, that he neither minded to take y Empire vpon him, nor yet to fuffer any other to do it, then fuch as the Senate should chuse & cal vnto the same. This at the first somewhat amazed Galba. But whe both the armies of Vindex & Verginius, in spite of their Captaines (who could not stay nor keep them backe, no more then coach-men can keepe backe the horse with their bridles) were joyned in a great battell together, where were flain 20000 GAVI Es in the field & Vindex also flue himself thortly after it was given out, that the conquerors after to great a victory obtained, would copel Verginius to take vpon him to be Emperor, or else that they would take Nerges part again. Then Galba being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto Verginius, & perfwaded him to ioyne with himto hold vpthe Empire & liberty of the ROMAINS, and therupon fled straight into a city of SPAINE called *Colonia, rather repenting him of that he had done, & wishing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherein he was brought vp, the otherwise occupying himself about any needfary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterprise, Now it was about the beginning of fommer, & one day towards euening, there came to Galba one of his slaues enfrachised, a Siei-LIAN born, that was come from Rom in seuen daies: who vnderstanding that Galba was alone,

went presently to his chamber dore, and opened it, and coming in against the wils of the grooms of the chamber, that stood at the dore, he told him, that Nero being yet aliue, but seene no more. first the people of Rome, and then the Senate had proclaimed him Emperor & that immediatly after newes came that Nero was dead: the which he hardly beleeuing notwithstanding, went thither himfelf, faw his body laid out vpon y ground, and then made towards him with all freed to bring him these newes. The newes maruellously revived Galba, & a multitude of menthronged ftraight about the dore, which began to be couragious, feeing him liuely again, although the need of the messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two daies after, Titus also arrived, with cerraine others of the camp, who told Galba particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalf. So this Titus was called to great honor: and the flaue enfranchifed had priviledge given him to weare rings of gold & he was called Martianus Vicellus, who afterwards of all the enfranchifed bondmen, became the chiefest man about his master Galba. In the meane time, Nymphidius Sa-BINE began at ROM B, not covertly, but with open force, to take upon him the absolute government of the Empire, perswading himselfe that Galba was so old, that he could hardly be brought taketh poor in a litter vnto Rome, being at the least 73 yeares old: besides also, that the army of y Pr Æro- Emperour. RIANS which were in Rome, did beare him good wil of long time, & then acknowledged none other Lord but him only, for the large promise he had made the, for the which he received the thanks, and Galba remained the debter. So he prefently comanded Tigellinus, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the PR ETORIANS, to leave off his fword and disposing himfelfeto banqueting and feafting, he fent for all those that had bin Consuls, Prætors, or Procosuls of provinces, & made them all to be invited in the name of Galba. So, there were certain foldiers gage out this rumor in the campe, that they should do well to fend Ambassadors vnto Galba, to pray him that Nymphidius might be their only Captaine stil, without any copanion joyned with him. Furthermore, the honor & good wil the Senate bare him, calling Nymphidius their benefactor, & going daily to visit him in his house, procuring him to be the author of all their decrees to Namphipassed in Senate, & that he should authorise the this made him high minded, and the bolder by much in fo much that shortly after, they that came to honor him in this fort, did not only hate & made him missike his doings, but moreouer he made the afraid of him. Furthermore, whethe Consuls had grow too bild and ingiven to common pursuants any commissions under seale or letters patents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperor (by vertue of which letters patents, when the officers of the citie do fee the feale, they straight provide the pursuants of coaches and fresh horses to further their speed and hastic iourney;) Nymphidius was very angrie with the, because they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him & his soldiers, to send likewise to the Emperor. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselucs vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appeale his anger. And to please the commons also, he suffered them to put any of Neroes friends to death they could Neroes meete withall. Among other, they flue a fencer called Spicillus, whom they put vnder Ne- friends rus statues, which they dragged up and downe the citic. Another also called Aponius, one of Nerous accusers, they threw him to the ground, & draue carts ouer him loden with stones. And diuerse others also, whom they flue in that maner, of the which some haddone no maner of of commandefence. Hereupon one Maurifeus, one of the noblest men of the citie, and so esteemed, said openly in the Senate: I feare me we shall wish for Nero againe, before it belong. So Nymphidius beingcome in maner to the fulnesse of his hope, he was very glad to heare that some repined at The parenhim, because he was the sonne of Caius Casar, that was the next Emperor after Tiberius. For this tage of Caius Casar, when he was a yong man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had bin a faire yong Nymphidi woman, and the daughter of one Callifus, one of Cafars enfranchifed bondmen, whom he had gotten of a laundresse he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this Nymphidius was borne before Cains Cafar could know his mother: and men thought that he was begotten of a fencer called Martianus, with whom his mother Nymphidia fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in Rome; and indeed Nymphidius was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he cofessed that he was the son of this Nymphidia, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of Nero vnto himself, & thought himself not sufficiently recopenced with the honors they gaue him, neither also with the goods he enloyed, neither for that he lay with Sporus who Mero loued ^{fo} dearly, whom he fent for to *Neroes* funerals whileft his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him Poppaus. Furthermore, all this did not content

Captaine.

him, but yet secretly he aspired to be Emperor, partly practifing the matter in Rome it selfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were fecretly his friends: and partly also through one Gellianus, whom he fent into Spaine, to fee how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of Nero, all things prospered with Galba, fauing Verginius Rusus only, who flood doubtful yet, & made him forely mistrust him; for that he was afraid (besides that he was Gene. rall ouer a great and puissant army, having also newly overthrown Vindex, & secretly ruling the best part of the Empire of Rome, which was all GAVLE, and then in tumult & vprore, ready to rebell,) left he would hearken vnto them that perswaded him to take the Empire to himself. For there was no Captaine of Rome at that time to famous, and of to great estimation as Verginius and that deservedly, for that he had done great service to the Empire of Rome in time of extremitie, having deliuered Rome at one selfe time from a cruell tyrannie, and also from the danger of the warres of the GAVLES. This notwithstanding, Verginius persisting still in his first determination, referred the election of the Emperour vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of N ero was openly knowne, the common fort of foldiers were earneftly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the foldiers (otherwise called a Colonell of a thousand men) went into his tent with a fword drawne in his hand, and bad Verginius either determine to be Emperor, orele to look to have the fivord thrust into him. Yet after that Fabius Valens, Captaine of a legion, was fworne vnto Galba, & that he had received letters from Rome, advertifing him of the ordinance and decree of the Senate: in the end, with much ado, he perswaded the souldiers to proclaime Galba Emperor, who fent Flaccus Ordeonius to fucceed him, vnto whom he willingly gaue place. So, when Verginius had delinered up his army unto him, he went to meet with Galba, on whom he waited, coming on still towards Rome. And Galba all that time neither shewed him enill countenance, nor yet greatly effected of him, Galba himfelfe being cause of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but specially Titus Iunius: who for the malice he bare vnto Varginius thinking to hinder his rifing, did vnwittingly indeed further his good hap, and deliucted him occasion to draw him out of the civill warres and mischiefs (the which lighted afterwards vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadors were sent fro the Senate, & met with Galba at NAREONA, a city of GAYLE; where after they had presented their humble duty, they perswaded him to make all thehalthe could possible to shew himselfe to the people of Rome, who were maruellously desirous to see him. Galba received them very graciously and courteously, and made them greatcheare, howbeit very modestly. For notwithstanding that Nymphidius had sent him diverse officers, and store of Neroes moueables: yet he would neuer be served with any of them, at any seasts or banquets he made, nor with other then his owne stuffe; wherein he shewed his noble mind, and how he could master all vanity. But Titus lunius shortly aftertold Galba, that this noble mind, & civill moderation, without pride or pompe, was too lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine respect of honesty that knew not it selfe, and became not his greatnesse and maiestie. So, he perswaded him to vse Neroes money and stuffe, and to be sumptuous & Princely in his feafts, without niggardlinesse. To conclude, the old man Galba began plainly to shew, that he would be ruled by Titus Iunius: who aboue all other was extreme couctous, and besides too much given to women. For when he was a yong man, the first time he went to the warres vnder Calussus Sabine, he brought his Captaines wife (which liked good fellowship) disguised likea fouldier into the campe, into his Generals tent (which the Romains called Principia) and there was somewhat bold with her. Wherfore Cains Casar committed him to prison, but heefcaped at his death. Another time, whe he supped with Clodius Casar, he stole a silver pot. Clodius hearing of it, bade him againe to supper the next night: but he commanded his menthey should giue him drinke in a earthen cruse. Thus this theft (through Casars pleasantnesse) seemed rather a matter of sport, then of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreme conetonfinesse of money (at what time he ruled Galba, and bare all the sway about him) gaue vnto some iust cause, and vnto others apparent colour of tragicall mischiefes, and grieuous calamities. For Nymphidius, to foone as Gellianus was returned out of Spaine, whom he had fent thither to see what Galba did, informing him that Cornelius Lacon was Captaine of the guard and house of the Emperor; and that Titus Iunius did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffered to come neare Galba, nor to speake with him apart, because those which were about Galba did mistrust him, and euer had an eye to him to see what he did; he was maruellously perplexed

perplexed withall. Thereupon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and pettie Captaines of the campe of the Prætorian armie, and perfwaded them that Galba touching his owne perfon. was a good old and discreet man, howbeit that he did not follow his own eaduice and counsel, but was ruled altogether by Iunius & Lacon, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good (beforethey came to be of greater power, and to have such great authoritie in managing the affaires of the Empire, as Tigellinus had before) to fend Ambassadors to the Emperor, in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome to Romn, and to all men else besides. The Captaines veterly misliked this deuice. For they thought it too strange, and beyond all reason, to seeme to teach an old Emperour, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: and to appoint him what feruants and friends he should keepe, & whom he should trust or mistrust. Nymphydius perceiuing this, tookeanother course, and wrote letters vnto Galbato terrific him; one time sending him word that he was maruellous euill beloued of many in Rome, and that they were readie to rebell against him: another time also that the legions of GERMANIE were revolted, and that he vnderflood the like from the legions of Ivri and Syria and another time also that Clodius Macer in AFRICK E stayed all the ships fraughted with corne that were bound for Rome. But in the end finding that Galba made no account of him, and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings, hedetermined first of al to set vpon him. Howbeit Clodius Celsus, born in the city of Antioch, awife man, and his faithful friend, diffwaded him maruelloufly not to do it; declaring vnto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in Rome that would call Nymphidius, Casar. Howbeit in contrary manner, divers others mocked Galba, and specially one Mithridates of the Realme of Pont, that faid he was a bald writhen man. For the Romain's (faid he) have him indeed now in some estimation: but when they have once seene him, they wil think it a perpetual hame and reproch to our time, that he was called Cafar. So they thought it good to bring Nymwhidius about midnight into the camp, & there openly to proclaime him Emperor, Howbeit the of datonius chiefe Tribune of the fouldiers called Antonius Honoratus, gathered his fouldiers together in the Honoratus, night, and before them all did first openly reproue himselfe, and then them, for that they had so offenturned and changed in fo short time, without any wit or discretion, having no judgement to chase the best way, but to be pricked forward & caried headlong in that fort by some wicked spirit, which brought the out of one treason into another. And yet (faid he) our first change had some countenance of reason, to wit, the horrible vices and faults of Nero: but now wherein can we accuse Galba, to have any countenance to falsifie our faith vnto him? hath he slaine his mother thath he put her to death? hath he shamefully played the tumbler or common player vpona scaffoldin v Theater: And yet for all these vile parts, we neuer durst once begin to forsake Nero, but gaue credit to Nymphidius words, who told vs that Nero had first for faken vs, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What shall we do? shall we kill Galba after Nero: what shall we kil him that is a kin vnto Liuia, to make the sonne of Nymphidia Emperor, as we have already slaine the sonne of Agrippina? or shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entred into this enterprise, and thereby to reuenge the death of Nero, and to shew our selues faithfull souldiers vnto Galba: All the souldiers yeelded straight to the Colonels words, and therewith went to their other companions to perfwade them to keepe their faith and promife they auowed vnto the Emperor: fo that they made many of them revolt againe from Nymphidius. Thereupon the noise and cries being great, Nymphidius supposing (as some thought) that the souldiers did call for him, or else hoping betimes to quench this tumult to flay fuch as were yet wauering : he went thither himselfe with great store supports oftorch light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which Ciconius Varro had made for him, and the which he had learned without book to speake vnto the soldiers. But when he found the gates of the campe shut, and saw divers men armed vpon the wals, he began to be afraid: and coming nearer, asked them what they meant by it, and by whose commandement they had armed themselues as they did. Answer was made him by them all, that they acknowledged no other Empefor but Galba: the which he feemed to like of , and also commanded them that followed him to do the like, & therewithall drew nearer. Whereupon certain of the fouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and fuffered him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit as loone as he was come in first there was a dart throwne at him, the which one Septimius that went before him received upon his shield and then others also came with their swords drawn in their Nymphidi-

hands to fet vpon him, and followed him as he fled into a fouldiers cabine, where they flue him. "Sabine

V v v v

The condi

cions of Ti-

Then they layed his bodie in an open place, & railed it about, that every man that would, might

The cruelty

Tatitus calleth bins Turpilia-

Oalba en sred Rome with mur.

The vilenes

the next day fee it. So Nymphidius being flain in this fort, Galba vnderstanding of his death, commanded that all Nymphidius friends and confederators that had not bin flain at that time, should for his fake be put to death, as indeed they were. Amongst the they flue Giconius that had made the oration for Nymphidius, and Mithridates also of Pont. Howbeit, though indeed they had doferued it, yet menthought it a very cruell part to command these men to be put to death in that fort, which were men of such qualitie and calling as they were, without due forme and order of law. For every man flood in good hope vpon the coming in of this new Emperour, to have feene another manner of government then they had yet feene: howbeit they were deceived of their hope at the first chop. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commanded themto kill Petronius Tertullianus, that had bene Confull, because he was Neroes faithfull friend. But now for the death of Clodius Macer, whom Trebonianus flue in AFRICKE by his commandement, and for Ponteius that was also flaine in GERMANIE by Valens, he had some reason to feare them because they were in armes, & commanded great armies. But for Tertullianus, that was an old man. naked and ynarmed, truly he should have put him to his triall by law, if he would have ministred iustice, the which he promised to keepe at his first coming to the Imperiall crowne. Hereinthey greatly reproued Galba. Now when he drew neare to Rom E within five & twenty furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of mariners & sea-faring men, that kept the high way on euery fide, wandering vp & down in euery place. Thefe were the men whom Nero had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the oare and made them fouldiers. So they were come thither to be futers to him, that he would allow them still to be fouldiers; and they pressed so arrogantly upon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the new Emne. ror, to fee him nor fpeake with him, but they fel to tumult & vprore, crying out to have enfigues for their legion, & to be appointed a place to lie in, in garrison. Galba referred them ouer to another time & bade them they should then let him understad their demand. They told him againe that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutinie, & followed him with great cries: infomuch that some of them stucke not to draw out their swords. Then Galba commanded the horsemen he had about him, to set vpon them. So there was not a man of them that refifted, but fome of them were overthrown, and troden under their horse sected and others also flaine as they fled. This was a very cuill figne and prefage for him, to enter into Rome with fuch bloudshed, vpon so many poore dead mens bodies as lay slaine on the ground. Howbeit, where fome before did despise & mocke him for an old feeble man, every man then was afraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, because he would shew a great change and alteration from the vnreasonable vaine gifts & expences of Wero, it seemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one Canus an excellent plaier on y recorder, had plaied all supper time, because it was maruellous fweet musick to heare, he praised and commended it maruellously, and commanded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he took a few crowns, and put them into his hand, faying that it was not mony of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue straight commandement that they should require and call backe agains the gifts Nero had given and bestowed vpon common players, minstrels, wrestlers, and people of such kind of facultie and profession, and to leave them onely the tenth part. But he got litle by this device. For the most part of those that had gifts given them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that lived without any rule or order, & spent at night that which they got in the day; and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them restore it agains. But this was an endlesse worke for things had bene so conueved from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinit number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonor returned to Galba himself, though the malice and hatred lighted on Titus Innius: who only made the Emperour straight-laced to all others, whilest he himselfe tooke vnreasonably of all men, making port-fale of every thing that came to hand. For He fiedus the Poet faith: As well when the vessell is full that it spill,

Hefiodus faying.

As when it is emptie, thir it craueth drinke fill. But Iunius perceiuing Galba to be old and feeble, would wifely take his fortune and time while time serued, supposing it almost to be at an end so soone as he began to enter into it. So in the meanetime he did much dishonour the poore old man, ouer-greatly abusing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering those,

the which the Prince him felf had a good defire to deale verightly in, as to punish the officers of Galbani Nero. For he put some of them to death, among the which Elius was one, and certaine other, as leth Neroet Polyclitus, Petinus, and Patrobius: whereat the people maruelloufly reloyced, and cried out as officer. they went ro execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleffed proceffion. and required Tigellinus of the gods and men, that had bene chiefe mafter and guide of all Nernes tyrannie. How beit the trim man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed *Innius* before: for afterwards he put poore Tertullianus to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated Nero, being as he was, and had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of the wicked parts he played when he was aliue. Whereas he that made Nero worthy of eath, and that afterwards had also betraved him, was let alone, and nothing faid vnto him; being a manifest proofe to all others. that they should not doubt to hope to obtain any thing at Titus Iunius hands, so they fed him with gifts. For the commo people of Rome neuer defired any thing fo much as to fee Tigellinus to be caried to execution; and they never left crying out to demand him in all affemblies of the Theater or shew place, vntill such time as the Emperor Galba did forbid them by proclamation. the which declared that Tigellinus would not live long, because he was ficke of a consumption of the lungs, which by litle and litle did weare him to nothing; and Galba prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloudy. The people were much offended with this, but yet they feemed to laugh at it: & Tigellinus did facrifice to the gods for his health & fafety, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where Iunius rising from supper, being set by the Emperor, went vnto Tigellinus to be merry with him, and tooke his daughter being a widow with him, vnto whom Tigellinus dranke, and offered her agift of fine & twentie Myriades of filuer: and commanded one of his chiefest concubines to take from her necke a carcanet she wore, being worth fifteene Myriades, and to give it the other. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done vprightly and with instice, were reproued and taken in euill part; as the thing that was granted to the GAVLES, because they did rebell with Vindex. For men thought that they were not discharged of the subsidies and taxes they were wont to pay, nor that they were made free of Rome, for much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by Iunius meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperour Galba. Howbeit the foldiets still lived in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promifed them, yet they should enjoy as much as Nero had given them. But Galba vnderstanding that they complained of him, spake aword meet for so noble & worthy a Prince as he was: that he vsed to chuse soldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the soldiers, it bred a maruellous mortall hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not only totake the gift away from the which they hopedprefently to have received, but that it was also a president to teach the Emperors that shold galba of come after him, what they should do. How beit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian guard at finded the Rome appeared not yet, but was fecretly kept in for the reverence they bare vnto the maiefty & fouldiers. person of Galba, who kept them that were desirous to rebell, because they saw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did fomewhat smother & keepe in the shew of their wickedintent. But they which had before served under Verginius, and were at that time under Placcusin Germanie, thinking themselves worthy of great reward for the battell they had won against Vindex, and having nothing given them in recompence, they would not be pleased with any thing their Captaine said vnto them, neither did they make any account of Flaccus, because he could not stirre himselfe, he was so plagued with the gout, and besides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine sports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonels & Captaines (according to the maner of the Romaines) made praiers vnto the gods for y health & prosperity of the Emperor Galba: there were divers of the that made anoile at the first and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their prospers, in the end to anoisear the first, and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their praiers, in the end the of the Ro. foldiers answered: If they be worthy. The legions in like maner under Tigellinus charge, did oftentimes vse such insolent parts: whereof Galbaes officers did aduertise him by letters. Wherfore Galba being afraid, & mistrusting that they did not only despise him for his age, but also because he had no childre, he determined to adopt some yong gentlema for his son, of the noblest house of y city of Rome, & to proclaime him his successor in the Empire. At that time there was one Marcus Otho, of a noble house, but ever given to sensualitie and pleasure from his cradle, as much as any Romaine could be. And as Homer ofterimes doth call Paris y husbad of the faire Helen, ners.

Poppea, 0-

Otho Cent

Proprator

into Lustra

Othoes cre-

dite about

Etife aspi.

ring to the

Galba,

fo otho came to be knowne in Rome, by marying Poppaa, whom Nero loued when the was Cric pinus his wife: howbeit, bearing some respect to his wife, and being affraid also of his mother, he had inticed othe to be his baud vnto her. Nere loued othe dearely, and much delighted in his companie, because he was so good a fellow and free of his flesh; and was very glad sometime to heare how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as Nero on a time was annointing himself with precious oyles & perfumes, he cast a litle vpon otho as he went by: who the next day made him a feaft in his house, where sodainly were thrust into the hal, divers vessels of gold and filuer ful of this perfumed oyle, that ran out of the like conduit water, & did wetall the hall. So Otho having first possessed Porpea, and abused her vnder hope of Neroes love, he perfwaded her to be divorced from her husbad. The which she did, & he received her home to his owne house, as his lawfull wife, not being so wel pleased to have part, as he was fory & angryal. fo to let another enjoy her. Now Poppea her self (as it is reported) did not mislike this his icloufie for fometimes the would that her doore against Nero, though Otho were not within either because the would keepe Nero in breath, and in loue-liking still, or else as some thought, because the would not have Cafer to her husband; and likewife that the would not refuse him for her friend, because he was wantonly given. But so it is, Otho was in danger of his life by marying of Poppagiand fo was it also a strange thing, that Mero having put his wife & fifter to death, onely to marry Poppea, he did yet pardon Othos & faued his life. Howbeit it was for Senecaes fake that was his friend, through whose perswasion he was sent to y farthest part in Spain a along the Ocean fea, to be governor of Lystrania. And there he governed to wifely, that he was nothing chargeable nor trouble fome vnto the country knowing that this honorable charge was give him only to mitigate and hide his banishment. Afterwards when Galba had rebelled, he was the first of all the Gouernors of the prouinces that joyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both gold and filuer, vnto the mint-master, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and so to be converted into currat coine, Moreouer, he gaue of his officers vnto Galba, those which he thought the meetest men to serue a Prince: and otherwise when he was tried, he shewed himselfe as faithfulland skilful in matters of state as any one that followed the Emperors traine. In somuch as altheway he went many dayes journey in coach with Galba himfelf, & did maruelloufly durry fauor with Titus Iunius, bestowing great gifts vpon him, & also entertaining him with pleasant speeches.but specially, because he willingly gaue him the upper hand, wherby he was assured to be the second person in credit about Galba. So in all that he did, he far excelled Junius, for that he granted mens fuits frankly & freely without one penie taking, and was befides eafie to be spoken with of euery manthat had any fuite to him: but specially of the foldiers, whom he did greatly help and further, & caused divers also to be called to honorable office, he himself partly moving y Emperor for them, without any labour or fuite made vnto him, and partly also obtaining them at Innins hands, and of the two infranchifed bondmen of Galba, Icellus, and Assaicus. For these threemen Othors pra. did beare al the fway & credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreover, alwaies when he inuited the Emperor to his house, he bristed the Pratorian guard that waited you him, and gauceucry soldier a crown. Now this in fight, seemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: though indeed it was a fine deuice to ouerthrow him, to bribe the foldiers in that fort as he did. So Galba confulting whom he should make his successor, T. Iunius preferred otho vnto him: the which he did not fimply of himself, nor without reward, but only with promise that otho should mary his daughter, if Galba did adopt him his sonne, and proclaime him successor in the Empire. Howbeit, Galba did alway specially regard the comonwealth before his private liking, & sought to adopt fuch a one as should not so much please himselfe, as otherwise should be profitable and meet for the Empire. But furely in my opinion Galba would not make Otho heire of his goods, confidering what an vnreafonable spender he was, and how sumptuous in all his things, and befides, far gone in debt: for he ought aboue five thousand Myriades. So when he had heard Innius counsel about this adoption, he gently without other answer, did put ouer his determination vntil another time, and made otho only Conful at that time, and T. Iunius Conful with him: where-

by it was straight supposed, that at the beginning of the new yeare, he would proclaime him his

fucceffor in the Empire. Which was the thing the fouldiers most defired of all other. But now,

delaying still his determination, the legions of the Romaines in Germany, did rife and rebel

against him all at an instant. For he was generally hated of all his fouldiers, because he paid them

The legions in Germanie do rebel

not the gift he had promifed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alledged for their cause of rifing, that he had dishonorably rejected Verginius Rusus; and that the GAV LES which had fought against them, were rewarded with great and rich priviledges, and they that tooke not part with Vindex, had bene grieuously punished and put to death. Moreouer, that Galba did onely honour Vindex death after he was dead, as acknowledging his good will vnto him. offering publike oblations and funerall facrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperour. Now fuch speeches and rumors ranthrough the campamongst them, when the first day of the yeare came, which the Romains call the Calends of Ianuary, on which day whe Flaceus had called the fouldiers together, to fweare them to the Emperour according to the cusome they plucked downe Galbaes images, and sware onely in the name of the people and Se-The Galda. nare of Rome. The Captaines seeing what course they tooke, were as much afraid of the danger diere dore robe without a head, as they stood doubtful of the mischief of their rebellion. So there stept vp Galba. one among it them and faid: My fellowes in armes, what do we meaner we neither chuse any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this present; wherby we shew plainly, that we do not onely refuse Galba, but also all other to be our head and Emperor that may command vs. Now for Flaceus Ordconius, that is but Galbaes shadow and image, I would wish we houldlet him alone there as he is. And for Vitellius, Gouernor of the lower Germany, he is not far from vs, but one dales iourney only, whose father was Censor at Rome, & thrice also Confull, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of Clodius Cafar in the government of the Empire: whose pouerty if any man missike in him, is a manifest proofe of his goodnes and magnanimitic. Him therefore let vs chuse, and let the world know that we can tell how to chuse an Emperour, better then the Spaniar Ds or Lysitanians. Some of the fouldiers that frood by, confirmed these words, but others misliked of them: insomuch that among the rest there was an enfigne-bearer that stole secretly out of the campe to carie Vitellius newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These newes running firaight through his campe; Fabius Valens Colonell of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horsemen, and was the first manthat named Vitellius Emperor, who before seemedio refuse that name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of so great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full of wine and meate, he came out among them, and accepted the Vitellius name of Germanicus which they gauchim, and refused the name of Casar. But therewith all incontinently after, Flaceus fouldiers leaving their goodly popular oath which they had fworne in Germanical thename of the people and Senate, they all then took their othes faithfully to do what it should but not of please the Emperour Vitellius to command them. Thus Vitellius was chosen Emperour in Gen-Vitellius MANIE. So Galba hearing of this new change, thought it not good to deferre time longer for named Emthe adoption he had intended: wherefore certainely understanding that those whom he trusted four by the most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with Dolabella, and the most part of them with Othe, neither liking the one nor the other, fodginly without any word spoken to any man, he fent for Pife (that was the yonger fonne of Grasius and Pife, whom Nero had put to death) a yong man faire conditioned, and shewed by his graue and modest countenance he had by vertue, that he was indued with many noble vertues. Galba came downe presently from Galba adap. his pallace, and went straight to the campe to proclaime Pifo Cafar, and his successor in the Em- ted Pifohis pire. Howbeit at his fetting out of his pallace, there appeared many great fignes in the firma
ment which followed him. And moreover, when he was also come into his compared that Levill fignes.

Entitle fignes. ment which followed him. And moreouer, when he was also come into his campe, and that he appared began to fay without book part of his oration, and partly alfo to reade it, it lightned al the while and sale falls and a manual large his large falls and a manual large f hespake, and there fell such a great shower of raine vpon it, and a maruellous thicke mist in the campe, and ouerall the citie, that men might eafily fee the gods did not like this adoption, and that it wold not prosper. The souldiers themselves shewed their discontenument by their heavy lookes, and the rather, because at that time there was no speech of reward or liberalitie. And furthermore, they that were present also maruelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of Pifo, that Pifo nothing rejoyced at this great fauour, although he lacked not wit and vnderstanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found eafily by Othoes lookes, many fignes and proofes that he was maruelloufly offended in his mind, to see that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of and thought most worthic of all other, and being come also so neare vnto it, now to see himselfe. thus whipped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that Galba had no good opinion of

Ptolomies prediction of Othoes Émpire.

Optio, and Tefferarius, splin fo called by the Romaines. Otho bribed the Prate rian fonldiers.

of Ombrici we the foothfavers tous ching the treafon practifed a gain Gal

Otho called

Otho receiued of the Pratolian fouldiers.

him, & that he maliced him in his heart, fo that after that time he ftil ftood in feare of his life, For he being afraid of Pife, hating also Galba, and being grieuously offended with T. lunius, he went his way full of diuers thoughts in his mind. But the Soothfayers, Aftronomers, and Chaldeans. which he euer kept about him, did perswade him not to be discouraged for this, nor to cast all hope afide and specially one Ptolomy, in whom he had great confidence, because he had often times before for etold and affured him, that Nero should not put him to death, but contrarily, that Nero should die first, & he himself survive him, & should become Emperor of Roms. Whereby Ptolomy having proved his first prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, and feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained vnto him, did prick him forward the more, fighing to fee him fo cuill dealt with by Galba, and divers of them chiefly, which bare great authoritie and credit about Tigellinus & Nymphidius: who being then cast off, and discountenanced, came all vnto him, and stirred him vp the more. As amongst others, Veturius and Earbiss chiefly of the which the one had bene Optio, & the other Tefferarius; (for fo the Romaines call those that be their messengers, spials, and officers to the captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called Onomastus, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some soldiers with readic monic and other some with faire words, being of themselves cuill inclined, and expected but occasion to ytter their malice. For otherwise had the foldiers bin all of one mind, it had not binan enterprise to haue bin brought to passe in foure dayes space (being no more betwixt the adoption and murther) to make a whole camp rebel in that fort. For they were flain v fifteenth day of Ianuary, on which day Galba did facrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his friends. But at that time the Soothfayer called Ombrious, whe he had the intrails of the beafts facrificed in his hands, and had looked upon them, he spake not doubtfully but plainly, that he saw fignes of great tumult and rebellion, & that the Emperor was in present danger of great treason, Whereby it plainly appeared, that the gods had put Galba into Othoes hands for he flood at that time behind Galba, and both heard and faw all that the Sooth fayers did. So he feeming to be gricued withall in his mind, and his colour changing oft for the feare he was in, his infranchifed bondinan Onomastus came and told him, that the masons and chiefe carpenters were come to fpeake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch-word agreed vpon betweene them, at which time Otho shold thengo vnrothe soldiers. Then Otho said, that he went to looketo an old house he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would shewit vino the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call Tiberius house, into the market place, where the golde pillar standeth, where also the greatest highwaies of all ITALY do meete together. There certains met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all about three and twentie perions. Thereupon, though other was not viconstant, as it appeared (notwithstanding he was so fine and effeminate a man) but rather resolute and fout in instant danger: yet feare so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine hauelest his enterprise. Howbeit the foldiers would not suffer him, but compassing his litter round about with their armes, and their fwords drawne in their hands, they commanded the litter mentogo forward. So Othoas he went haftening on his drivers, he often muttered to himselfe, Iam but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwise troubled, to see such a small number of men about him, that they durst venter vpon so hardan enterprise. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by foure in a company: all which came and ioyned with him, and cryed Cafar, Cafar, having their fwords drawne in their bands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to guard the field of Mars, knew nothing of this conspiracie, but being amazed and afraid with their fodaine coming, he suffered them to come in. So when Otho was come in, he foud no man that refused him. For they that knew nothing of the practise, being compassed in with those that were made priny to it, & had knowne it of long time, being found stragling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the rest for feare at the first, & afterwards for good will. This was brought straight to Galba to the pallace, the Soothsayer being yet busic about this facrifice; infomuch that they which before gaue no credite to those divinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly figne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Thereupon Iunius and Lacon, and certaine other of Galbaes infranchised bondmen, stood to guard Galbaes person with their swords drawne in their hands. Pise also went out to speake vnto the soldiers that guarded the Emperors person. Moreouer, Morcouer, because the ILLYRIAN legio lay out of the camp in a place called Vipsanus, they dispatched away Marius Celsus with al speed, a very honest man to get that place. Galba in the mean rime flood in doubt whether he should come out of the pallace or not for Iunius would not let him go, but Cellus and Lacon perfuaded him togo outsinfomuch as they fell at great words with lunius that went about to dissiwade him from it. In this stirre there ranne a rumor that Othowas faincinthe field. Immediatly after came Inlins Articins, one of the noblest men of all the Empe-lie of a folrours guard, and shewed his sword drawne, crying that he had slaine Casars enemie; and thrust through the prease, and got to Galba, and shewed him his sword bloudied. Galba looking him in the face, asked him who comanded him to do it. The foldier answered him the faith and oath he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that flood by cried out, it was nobly done of him. and clapped their hands for ioy. Then Galba taking his litter, went out of his pallace to do facrificeto lupiter, and also to shew himself openly. Howbeit he was no sooner come into the market place, but he heard contrary newes, that Otho was Lord and mafter of the whole camp & army. Then as it happeneth in so great a prease of people, some cried out to him to returne back again, Tumult for others would have him to go forward: others bad him be afraid of nothing, & others willed him Galba. to looke to himfelf. So his litter being thus turmoiled to and fro, as toft you the fea fometime borne back, otherwhile caried forward, first of all they saw certain horsinen, and then footmen alfoarmed coming from Paules pallace, al of them together crying out with loud voice. Hence, hence, private man. Then all the people fet vpon a running, not flying dispersedly, but in heapes. ypon porches and stals in the market place as it had bin to have seene some fight or sport. Then one called Attilius Sarcello, ouerthrew one of the images of Galba, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others round about threw darts on enery fide of him against his litter. But doth sall when they faw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his litter with their fwords him rigidrawne in their hands, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, fauing one man onely, whom the Sunne faw that day, amongst so many thousands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called * Sempronius. He having received privately no manner of * cornelius pleafure at Galbaes hand, but onely to discharge his oath and dutie, stepped before the litter, and Tacins lifting up a vine branch he had in his hand (with the which the ROMAINE Captaines do vieto him Denbeate their foldiers that have offended) he fell out with them that did fet you him, and prayed fits. them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he faw they would not leave but that they fell to it in good carneft, he then drew his fword, and bare off the blowes as well as he could, virtill they hought him, that he fel to the ground. Then Galbaes litter Ser promises being ouerthrowne right in the place called Curtius lake, Galba lay on the ground armed in his of his cath curaces. The traiterous fouldiers flew vpon him, and gaue him many a wound: and Galbs holding out his necke vnto them, bade them ftrike hardily, if it were to do their countrey good. So persur Galhehad many wounds on his armes and his thighs, as it is reported; howbeit the foldier that flue ba. The death him was called Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Others do report that it was one Terentius, of semproother also say Arcadius: and some other do call him Fabius Fabulus; who having stricken off his The death head, wrapped it in the lap of his gowne, because he could not otherwise take hold of it, for that of albasis hewas all bald. Howbeit his fellowes & conforts would not fuffer him to hide it, but rather that and his his notable fact he had done should be seene. Therefore he set it vpon the point of his lance, and his death. so shaking the face of this poore old man, (a wife and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bishop, and Confull)he rannevp and downe (like mad women possessed with the spirit and furie of Bacchus at the feasts of Bacchus bowing down his launce being all of a goare bloud. When his head was brought to Othe, it is faid he cried out aloud: Tush, my fellowes, this is nothing, vnlesse you bring me also Pisces head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * Marcus, who flue him hard by the temple of * other do Vefta. So did they also kill Titus Junius: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracy reade Muragainst *Galba*, and cried out to them that slue him, that *Otho* did not know that they did kill him. """ This notwithstanding, the soldiers strake off his head and Lacons also, and brought them both the of Pife, to Otho to receive the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet Archilochus faith:

Of seuen peraduenture saine dead on the ground, A thousand will say, that they all caue the wound.

So there was diuerse men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had bloudied all their hands and fwords, and so shewed them bloudied to have reward also: but Vitellus not-

VVVV 4

(ware by the name of

Citizens

beads fold

withstanding made inquirie of them afterwards, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the field also, one Marius Celsus, whom divers men accused to have perswaded the souldi ers to aide Galba, and the common people cried out, and bade he should be put to death. Howbein Otho would not fuffer them to kill him : and yet being afraid to contrary the fouldiers minds, he told them they should not kill him so rashly, because he was first to learne some things more of

him. So he commanded them to bind him, and deliuered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Asterwards the Senate was presently assembled: who, as if men had bene sodainly changed from them they were, or as if there had bene new gods, they all sware by the name of other

(the which oath he himselfe had before sworne vnto Galba, and did not keepe it) and called him besides, Augustus & Casar; the bodies of them that were slainelying yet headlesse on the ground in the market place, all in their Consuls robes. And as for their heads, the fouldiers after they

could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titus Iunius vnto his daughter for the summe of two thousand fine hundred Drachmaes. And for Pisoes head, his wifethrough intreatie begged it of one Veranius. On the other fide, for Galbaes head, they gaue it vnto Patro-

bius and Vitellius servants:who, after they had vsed it as vilely as they should devise, they threwir at length in a place where their bodies are cast, who the Casars put to death, the which they call Sestertium. Now for his bodie Heluidius Priscus, through Othoes sufferance, caried it away, and Argins, one of his infranchised bondmen, buried it by night. Thus have you heard the historie

of Galba, a man that in nobilitie and wealth, was inferior to few Romaines, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, & had alway lived in honorable fame and estimation, in the reigne of fine Emperours. So that he ouercame Nero by his good name, and the good opinion

men had of him, and not through his owne force and power. For of them that stroug to make themselves Emperours at that time, some found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth theselues, as thinking themselues worthy of it. Howbeit Galba was called vntoir and obeyed them that called him, vfing his name against Vindex boldnes: whereby he procured

that his rifing (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civill warre. after that his faction came to have a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperor. And therefore he did not so much desire to be Emperor for himselfe, as to do good to his countrey and common-wealth. But yet he erred, in feeking to command the fouldiers, whom Tigels

linus and Nymphidius had spoiled by their flatteries; euen as in old time Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus did command the fouldiers of the Empire of Rome at that time. So he being now avery

old man, shewed himselfea good Emperour and after the old fort, in his behauiour towards the fouldiers only:but in all other things else, being caried away with the couetousnesses fire

tus Iunius and Laco, and of other his infranchised bondmen, he left none desirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were forie for his death.

The end of Galbaes life.

THE



THE LIFE Otho.



HE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Othors mo-Capitoll, and facrificed, and there fent for Marius Celsus to come vnto deration at him, whom he courteously saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cause of his imprisonment, then to remember his deliuerie. Marius reigne. Celfus made him a wife and noble answer againe, and faid, that the matter for the which they would have accused him vnto him, did witnesse his behauiour, shewing himselfe faithfull vnto Galba, who neuer did him any pleasure. These words of them both did maruellously please the people: and so did they like the souldiers also wonderfully well.

Moreouer, after he had very fauourably & graciously taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Conful, he employed partly about Verginius Rufus, and did also establish them Consuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by New, or otherwise by Galba: and he also honoured the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation, with certaine priesthoods. Besides all this, herestored vnto all those Senators that were banished by Nero and called home againe, all their goods yet vnfold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrates and Noblemen of the citie that quaked before for feare, supposing that he was not aman, but rather a diuell or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour, they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling & gracious reigne they were so lately entredinto. Moreouer, nothing pleased all the Romaines together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men so much, as that he did vnto Tigellinus: for it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the punishment enery man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the Noblemen thought his vnreafonable infolencie and lust of the stell (following naughtie-packs and common frumpets, burning still in filthic concupiscence) an extreme punishment, comparable to many deaths, and being also no better then a dead man in a manner, fill following pleasure and sensualitie as long as he could : this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they should see such a wicked creature as he liue, that had put so manie noble men to death. So Otho fent for him, who lived very pleafantly at his houses in the countrey, by the citie of Stavessa, and had ships cuer readie upon the sea coast, to slic if necefficie draue him to it. Thereupon he first sought to bribe him with money which was sent with commission'to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him escape: but when he saw he

Tigellinus killeth him.

Otho at the of his reigne tooke vpon him the name of

> Tumultagainst the Pratorian fouldiers.

The death of Crifpi.

Othoes libevalitie to the fouldi-

could not frame him to his mind, yet he refrained not to give him gifts, and praied him to give him leave to shave his beard. The other granted him. Then Tigellinus tooke a razor, and did cut his ownethroate. So Otho having pleased the people thus well, he sought not otherwise to be reuenged of his private iniuries. Moreover, to currie favour with the common people; he refufed not to be called Nero, in any open affemblies at the Theaters. Also when certaine private men had fet vp Neroes images in open fight, Otho was not offended withall : but moreouer, Cladius Rufus writeth, that the letters patents & commissions were sent into Spaine by posss, sink. fcribing the goodly name of Nero, with the name of Otho. Howbeit; when it came to his cares that the noblemen of Rome misliked of it, he left it off, and would write it no more in his letters. So Otho having begun in this fort to establish his Empire, the soldiers maruellously troubled him. For they continually perfwaded him to take heed to himself, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neare vnto him: which they did, either for that indeed they bearing him good will, were afraid fome treacherie or treason should be secretly practised against him-orch it was some seined device to set all together by the eares, and to bring it to civill war. For when othe himselfe had sent Crispinus with his seventeenth legion to bring him certaine prisoners, and that Criffinus was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commission, having loden carts with armour and weapon for the fouldiers: the desperatest and bouldest men among them began to crie out, and faid, that Crifpinus meant no good in his heart, and that the Senare went about to make some change and stirre, and that his armour and weapons were not for Gefar, but against him. These words moued many mens consciences, and made them to rebelliso that some laid hold upon the carts to stay them, others slue two Centurions out of hand, and Crispinus himselfalso that would have staied them. Thereupon all of them together, one encou. raging another, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, understanding that there were foure score Senators at supper with the Emperour, they ranne fraight to the pallace, crying out, that it was a good occasion offered them to kil all Gelars enemies at a clap. Hereupon all Rome was straight in armes, looking immediatly after tobe facked and spoiled of all that ever they had; and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, othe himselfe also being in great seare and distresse. For men might easily see hewas afraid, because of his guests he had bidden, not for himselfe, seeing them all amazed with the matter, for feare not speaking a word vnto him, but staring on him still, and specially thosethat came and brought their wives with them to supper. So othe sodainly fent the Captaines vitto the fouldiers, and commanded them to speake with them, and to pacific them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the boord, and conveyed his guefts out of his pallace by fecret posternes. So they faued themselues, passing through the souldiers, a litebefore they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of Celars enemies. So the Emperour rifing from his bed, he pacified them with gentle words, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberally bestowed vpon enery souldier a thousand two hundred and sistic Drachmaes; and then he went into the market place, and there gave great commendation vnto the common people for their readie good wils they shewed vnto him; howbeit, he said there were some among them, that vider colour and pretext of honestie, did commit many leud parts, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be cuill spoken of, and their constancie and faithalso to be misliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offenders might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him aloud he should do it. So otho thereupon caused two of them onely to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatly offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loued and trusted him, maruelled much to fee this change. Other were of opinion, that it flood him vpon foto do,to winne the fouldiers hearts, because of the warreat hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all parts, that Vitellius had taken vponhim the authoritie to be Emperour, and posts came to him one in anothers necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to submit theselues vnto Vitellius. Others toldhim also, how the legions remaining in PANNONIA, DALMATIA, and Mysia, had chofen otho. Immediatly after friendly letters were brought him also from Mutianus and Vespasianus, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Ivo Ala, with great and mightie armies. Whereupon Othogiuing credite vnto them, wrote vnto Vitellius, and bad him beware how he medled with any deeper enterprise then became a private souldier; and

that he would give him gold and filuer enough, and a great citie, where he might live quietly. and take his pleafure. Vitellius gently answered him at the first, and sported with him: but afterwards the falling out one with another, spitefull letters were sent betwixt either parties, one of them reproching another not fally, but fondly, & foolifhly detecting each others vices. For indeed it was hard to judge, which of them two was most licentiously given, most effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderful signes that had bene feene: howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to iustifie them. But in the Capitol there was the image of Victory fet up in a triumphing charior, the which every body and Victory faw did let flacke the reines of the bridles of the horses which she had in her hands, as though she could not ftay them any more. The statue of Caius Cafar also within y Iland, which standeth in worders themiddest of the river of Tyber at Romb, without any earthquake or storme of wind, turned feene at ofit felf fro the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that Vespafanbegan to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many alfo tooke the ouerflowing of the river of Tyber for an ill figne. For indeed it was at that time of the yeare when rivers do fwell most, yet They mind was it neuer fo great before, neither had it euer done fo much hurt as it did at that time. For it had derful ouerouerflowne her bankes, and drowned the most part of the city, and specially the corne-market: she river of infomuch that they fuffered famine many daies after in Rome. In all this ftirre newes came that Tyber. Cuinna and Valens (two of Vitellius captains) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in Rome, Dolabella a noble man, was suspected by the Prætorian souldiers, that he practised sometreason. Now other, either because he was afraid of him, or of some other, he sent him to the city AQVINVM, promifing him he should have no other hurt. Then choosing the choisest Gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke Lucius, the brother of Vitellimanddid not depriue him of any iote of his honor and dignitic. Moreover, he was very carefullto see his wife and mother safe, that they should not be afraid of themselves. Besides all this, heappointed Flauius Sabinus, Vespasians brother, gouernor of Rome in his absence: and did it for Merces fake, who had before given him the fame honor and authority, the which Galba had taken from him: or els to make Vespasian see, that he loued & trusted him. So he taried behind at BRES-SELLE, a city standing upon the river of Po:and sent his army before under the conduct of Marim Celfus, of Swetonius Paulinus, and of Gallus and Spurina, all noble and great personages: howbeitthey could not have their wils to rule the armie as they would, because of the insolency and flubburnnesse of the souldiers, who would have no other Captaines but the Emperour onely, The frefaying, that he and none other should command them. Indeed, the enemies souldiers also were wardnesse not much wifer, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were braue and luftie vpon the felfer fame occasions how heir they had this advantage over the other than a subject to the subje fameoccafion howbeit they had this aduantage over the other that they could tel how to fight, fouldier. and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardnesse, and neuer frunke from it: whereas the Prætorian souldiers that came from Rome, were fine meale-mouthed men, because they had benelong from the warres, and had lived at ease in Rome, and taken their pleasure in banqueting and playes: and therfore in a brauerie and iolitie, they would needs hauemen thinke, that they disdained to do what their Captaines commanded them, as men that were too good to do it, & not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that, when Spurina would have compelled them, he was in danger of death, & escaped very narrowly that they flue him not. For they stucke not to reuile him, and give him as foule words as they could, calling him traitor, & curfing him, faying that he marred all Cafars affaires. Yea, and there were fome of them, that having their full cups, went in the night to his tent to aske him leave to depart, faying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flour they had given them by their enemies about that time, hard by the citie of PLACENTIA, did Flacentia, stand Spurina and his affaires to great purpose. For Vitellius souldiers coming hard to the wals she fertilest of the citie, did mocke Othors men that were at the cranewes of the same, and called them fine towns of all dancers and goodly stage-players, that had seene nothing but playes and seasts; and that for feates of armes, and battels, they knew not what it meant: and that the greatest act they euer did, was that they strake off the head of a poore naked old man, meaning by Galba: and that to come to fight a battell in the field before men, their heartes were in their heeles. These vile words galled them to the heart, and made them fo mad withall, that they came of themselves to pray Spuring to command them what he thought good, promifing that from thenceforth

they would neuer refuse any paines or danger he would put them to. Thereupon there was

Sourinaes men had the better, and having with great flaughter repulfed the affailants, they faved

one of the goodlieft, the greatest, and most flourishing cities of all ITALIE. So Others Can-

V stellius Captaines.

goodly city.

cution cape taines were farre more familiar curreous, and civil to deale with cities and private men, then vi. tellius souldiers were. For, of Vitellius Captaines, Cecinna was neither for person nor manners accompaniable for the people, but strange, monstrous, and troublesome, to see him only a mightie made man, wearing gally gascoignes, and coates with sleeues, after the fashio of the GAVLES,& spake in this attire vnto the ensigne-bearers and Captaines of the Romaines. Furthermore, he had his wifealway with him brauely mounted on horsebacke, gallantly apparelled, & accompanied with a troupe of the choisest men of armes of al the companies. The other, Fabius Valenche was fo couetous, that no spoile of enemies, no polling of subjects, nor bribes taken of their frieds and confederates, could quench or fatisfie his vnfatiable couctoufneffe: whereby it feemeth that was the let, that coming on fo flowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame Cecima for it, that made too much hast, for the desire he had to have the only honour of thevi-Gory to himselfe and this was the cause, that besides his other light faults, he also made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and feafon, and when it came to the point indeed, yet he foughtir not out valiantly, so that he had almost cast all away: For when he had the repulse fro Placen. TIA, he went vnto CREMONA another great citic. And Annius Gallus going to aide Spurina, who was befreged in the citie of Placentia, when he heard by the way that the Placentings had the better, and that the CREMONENSES were in great danger and diffresse, he marched this ther with his armie, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other Cap. taines of either fide came to aide their men. Howbeit Gecinna hauing laied a great number of his best souldiers well armed in ambush, in certaine thicke groues and woods, he commanded his horsemento march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retirelisle and litle, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawne them within his ambush. So there were certainetraitors that bewrayed the ambush vnto Marius Celsus, who came against them with his choice men of armes, and did not follow them ouer rashly but compassed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, & in the meane time sent to his campe with all possible speed to his footmen to make hast thitherward and it seemeth, that if they had come in time. they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched upon the bellies of all Cisinnaes armie, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should have done. But Paulinus being come too late to aide them, for that he came fo flowly, he was burdened that he did not the dutie of a Captaine that bare the name and countenance he caried. Furthermore, the common foldiers accused him oftreason vnto Otho, and stirred vp their Emperour against him, & spake very big words of themselues, saying, that they had ouercome for their owne parts, had not the cowardlinesse of their owne Captaines bene, who put them by the victorie. So othodid not trust him so much that he would not make him beleeue but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he fent his brother Titianus to the camp, and Proclus with him, Captain of the Prætorian guard, who indeed commanded all but in fight, Titianus had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenant. Marius Celsus and Paulinus followed after bearing the name of Counfellers and friends onely: howbeit otherwise they medled with nothing, neither had any authoritie giuen them. On the other side, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially whom Valens led. For when newes was brought of the coffict that was betweenethem in this ambush, they were angrie with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were flaine: infomuch that he had much ado to pacifie and quiet the, they were for eadie to haue flowne vpon him. So Valens at length removed his campe, and went and joyned with Cecinna. Howbeit Otho being come to his camp at the towne of BE-BRIACYM, which is a little towne hard by CREMONA, he confulted with his Captaines whether he should give battell or not. So Proclus and Titianus gave him counsell to fight, considering that the fouldiers were very willing to it, by reason of the late victorie they had wonne, and wished him not to deferre it for thereby he should but discourage his armie, which was now willing to fight, and also give their enemies leysure to stay for their Chiefetaine Vitellius, who came

himselfe out of GAVLE. But Paulinus in contrarie manner alledged, that the enemies had all

their force and power prefent, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to

ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas Otho looked for another armie out

Bebriacum a towns by Cremona. *Cultation of* gining bat.

Paulinus Othoes cap

Baine, ach

sweed for a

of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an army as his enemies had already, fothat he could tary his rime, and not ferue his enemies turne: and alfor that if the fouldiers being now but a few in numher were willing to fight, they should then be much more encouraged, when they should have greater company, and should also fight with better safety. Furthermore he perswaded the, that to delay time was for their auaile, confidering that they had plenty & ftore of all maner of prouifion: where the enemies on the other fide, being also in their enemies countrey, their victuals would quickly faile them. Marius Celfus liked very well of these perswasions; and so did Annius nallus, who was not present at this councell (but gone from the camp, to be cured of a fal he had from his horse) but he was written to by Otho to have his opinion also. So Annius Gallus returned answer, that he thought it not best to make haste, but to stay for the army that came out of Mysia, confidering they were onwards on their way. Howbeit Otho would not hearken to this counfell, but followed their minds that concluded of battell: for the which were alledged dinerse occasions. But the chiefest and likeliest cause of all was, that the souldiers which are called the Prætorian guard (being the daily guard about the Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to professe to be a souldier, and to line like a souldier, they lamented their continuing in Rome, where they lived at case and pleasure, feasting and banqueting, never feeling the discommodities and bitter paines of war: and did therfore so carnestly cry out to fight, that there their pleawas no staying of them, as if they should at their first cry & setting forward, have overthrowne their enemies. Moreouer, it feemed also that Otho himself could no more away with the feare & doubt of the vncertaine fuccesse to come, neither could any longer abide the grieuous thoughts of the danger of his estate, he was so effeminate, and vnacquainted with sorow and paines. This was the cause that caried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put al at adventure. The matter is thus reported by Secundus the Orator, & Oshoes Secundus Secretary. Others also do report, that both armies had diverse determinations and minds: as to the Orator, ioyneall together in one campe, and ioyntly to chuse among them, if they could agree, the worthiest man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a the Emps. placetogether, and there to fuffer the Senators to chuse such a one Emperour, as they liked best rour. of. And fure it is very likely it was fo, confidering that neither of the both which were then called Emperors, was thought meet for the place they had: and therefore that these counsels & confiderations might eafily fall into the Romains fouldiers heads (who were wife men and expert fouldiers,) that indeed it was a thing for them iuftly to mislike, to bring themselves into the like miserable time and calamitie, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to fuffer: first for Sylla and Marius fakes, and afterwards for Cafar and Pompey; and now to bestow the Vitellius a Empire of Rome either vpon Vitellius, to make him the abler to follow his drunkennes & glut- drunkard tonic or else vpon othe, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moued Celfus to delay time, hoping to end the wars without trouble & danger; and that caused otho otho tomake the more hast, being afraid of the same. How beit othe returning backe again into BR B s-SELLES, he committed another fault, not only because he tooke his mens goodwils from them liver. to fight, the which his presence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but because also he caried away with him for the guard of his person, the valiantest souldiers and most resolute me of al his host. A hour that time there changed a skirmish to fal out hy the river. S.D. resolute me of al his host. About that time there chanced a skirmish to fal out by the river of Po, the river of because Cecinna built a bridge ouer it, & Othoes men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they faw they premailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and dry wood. all rubbed ouer with brimstone and pitch, and setting them on fire, they sent them downe the streame. When the barges were in the middest of the streame, there suddenly arose a winde out oftheriuer, which blew vpon this wood-stacke they had prepared to cast among the enemics workes of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediatly after fell all on a flame; which did so trouble the men in the barges, that they were driven to leape into the river to save themselues: and so they lost their barges, and became themselues also prisoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the Germains vnder Vitellius, fighting with Othres fencers, which of them should win a litle Iland in the middest of the river, they had the vpper hand, and flue many of the fencers. The reupon Othors fouldiers which were in Babriaeval, being in a rage withall, and would needs fight, Proclus brought them into the field, and went and camped about fiftie furlongs out of the city; fo fondly, and to fo litle purpose, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the countrey thereabout full of brookes and rivers, yet they

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Battel betwist the Othonians and Vitellians. Lezions called by prety names, De. wourer, Helper. The vali. antneffe of the Batta . uii in wars. Notethe trim fernice of fen cers, and what fouldiers they The Otho. miansquer comeinbat tell by the Vitellians. The co. waraline ffe of the fre fowater foul. diers. Marius Cel. fus Oration **fouldiers**

to Vitelli.

notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the fame day, and were driven to march aboue an hundred furlongs. Now Paulinus perfwaded them to go faire and foftly, and not to make more hast then needed; and would not fo foone as they should come (being wearied with their journey and trauell) fet upon their enemies that were wel armed, & besides had leisure & time inough to settheir men in battell ray, whilest they were coming so long a journey with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of diuerfe opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from otho, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which othe commanded them to make all the haft they could, and to lose no time, but to march with all speed towards the enemie. So when the letters were read, the Captaines presently marched forward with their army. Ceciana vnderstanding of their coming, was assonied at the first, and suddenly for sooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he found the most part of his fouldiers ready armed and Valens had given them their fignall and word of battell. And in the meane time, whilest the legions were taking their places to fet themselues in battell ray, they sent out before, the choifest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor you what cause) that Vitellius Captaines would turne on Othoes side in battell, insomuch that when these men of armes came neare to meet with the voward of Othoes army, Othoes men did speake very gently to them, and called them companions. Vitellius men on the other fide tooke this falutation in euill part, and answered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight: Infomuch that those which had spoken to them, were quite discouraged; and the residue also beganto fusped their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to joyne battel. Furthermore, on the enemies fide alfo, all was out of order: for the beafts of cariage ran in among ft them that fought, and fo did put them maruelloufly out of order. Besides that also, the disaduantage of theplace where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, because of fundry ditches & trenches that were betweenethem, whereby they were compelled to fight in diverse companies together. So there were but two legions only, the one of Vitellius, called the Denourer. & theother of Otho, called the Helper: which getting out of these holes & ditches apart by themselves, in a good plaine euen ground, fought it out to a long time together in good order of battell. o. thoes foldiers were men of goodly personages, strong & valiant of their hands, how beit they had neuer serued in the warres, nor had euer foughten battel but that. And Vitelliusmen on the other fide, were old beaten foldiers, & had ferued all their youth, & knew what wars & battels meant. So when they came to joyne, Othors men gaue fuch a lufty charge voon the first onset, that they ouerthrew, & flue all the first ranke, and also wan the ensigne of the Eagle. Vitellius men were lo ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke heart againe vnto them, and ran in lo desperately vpon their enemies, that at the first they slue the Colonell of all their legion, & wan diverse enfignes. And furthermore, against othors fencers (which were accounted the valiantest men, and readiest of hand) Varus Alphenus brought his men of armes called the BATTAVII, which are GERMAINES in the lower part of GERMANIE, dwelling in an Iland compassed about with the river of Rhene. There were few of his fencers that stucke by it, but the most of themran away towards the river, where they found certaine enfignes of their enemies fet in battell ray, who put them all to the fword, and not a man of them scaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beafts & cowards, then the Prætorian guard. For they would not tary till the encmiescame to give them charge, but cowardly turned their backes, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowne; and so did both disorder them, and also make them afraid. This notwithstanding, there were a great number of Othoes men who having overthrown the voward of those that made head against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were conquerours, and so valiantly returned backe into their campe. But of their Captaines, neither Proclus nor Paulinus durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being afraid of the fury of the foldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbeit Annius Gallus received them into the city of BERIACVM, that came together after this overthrow; and told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But Marius Celsus gathering the noble men & gentlementogeperswading ther that had charge in the army, he fel to cosultation what they should do in so great a calamity, and extreme flaughter of the ROMAINE citizens. For if Otho himselfe were an honest man, he

hould no more attempt Fortune: confidering that Cate and Scipio were both greatly blamed for that they were the cause of casting away of many men in Africk E to no purpose (though they fought for the liberty of the Romaines) and only of felf-will, for that they would not yeeld to tolliss C.esar after he had won the battel of PHAR SALIA. For though Fortune in all other things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, she cannot preuent them to deremine the best for their safety. These perswassions straight caried away v Captains, who went nresently to feele the minds of the private soldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So Titianus perswaded them to send Ambassadours vnto the enemies to treate of neace; and Gelfus and Gallus tooke vpon them the charge to go thither, to breake the matter vnto Cuinna and Valens. But by the way they met with certaine Centurions, who told them how all hearmy of the enemies were coming onwards on their way to come directly to the city of Ba-BRIACY Moand that their Chieftaines had sent before to offer treatie of peace. Celsus & his companion Gallus being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would returne with them vn-10 Cecinna. But when they were come neare vnto him, Celfus was in great danger of his life: beculethe men of armes which he had ouerthrowne certaine dayes before in an ambush, coming before, when they spied him, they flew vpon him with great shouts. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his company, stepped before him, and closed him in: and so did the other Captaines that cried vnto them they should do him no hurt. Cecinna vnderstanding what the matter was, rodethither, and pacified the tumult of these men of armes; and then saluting Celsus very courcoully, he went with him towards BEBRIACYM. But now Titianus in the meane time, repeninghimfelf that he had fent Ambassadors vnto the enemies, he placed the desperatest souldiers helad vpon the wals of the citie, and incouraged the rest also to do the like, and to stand to the defence. But Cecinna came to the wall, and being on horse-backe, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more refistance, but those that were upon the wals, salured the fouldiers; and they that were within the city opened the gates, and thrust in amongst Vilellius men, who receiwithem, and did no man any hurt, but courteously imbraced them, and faluted each other. Then they all sware and tooke their oaths to be true to Vitellins, and so yeelded themselves vnto him. So do the most part of those that were at this battell, report the successe thereof: granting mwithstanding, that they knew not cuery thing that was done, because of the great disorder among them. But as I travelled on a time through the field where the battell was firiken, with Marius Florus that had bene Confull, he shewed me an old man that when the field was fought in that place, was yong & against his will was at the same battel on Othors part. Who told ve, that things that after the battel was fought, he came into the field to survey the number of those that were dead: things that are done at and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of those that came to view them. the battell. And faid moreouer, that he made inquirie of the matter, but he neither could imagine it himfelfe, nor be fatisfied by others. Now indeed it is likely, that in civill wars betweene countrimen of one selfe city, where one of the two armies is ouerthrown, that there shold be greater slaughtramong them, then against the other enemies, because they take no prisoners of either side: forthose they should take, would serue them to no good purpose. But after they were slaine, ometo be layed on heapes fo by another, that is a hard thing to judge. But now to the matter. The news of this ouerthrow came first but obscurely vpon othe, a common thing in a matter of fogreat importance: but afterwards, when some that were hurt came and brought him certaine newes of it, it was no maruell then to fee othors friends & familiars to comfort him, who prayed himto be of good cheare, and not to be discouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the private fouldiers shewed vnto him at that time, did passe and exceedall speech and expectation. For they for sooke him not, neither went they to submit themscheet their enemies the conquerors, neither tooke they any regard of themselves, to see their Emperor in that despaire: but all of them iountly together went vnto his lodging, and called him the Empe. their Emperor. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men represented in a triumph lying on the ground, & kissed his hands, with the teares running down their cheekes, and belought him not to for sake and leave them to their enemies, but to command their persons whilest they had one drop of bloud lest in their bodies to do him service. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongst others, there was a poore soldier drawing out his sword, derfull And write him: Know, ô Cafar, that all my companions are determined to die in this fort for thee, for for fully like of a food in the following with for of the forthers, who looking with for of the forthers, and the following with forthers, for others, and the following with forthers, for the forthers, for forthers, for the forthers,

Theneble courage of Otho before his death. and bis Oration to the foldiers.

The Empe-

For Ochses

his nephero

Cocceius.

a stout countenance round about him, and casting his eyes every where, spake vitto them in this maner. I think this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you first chose me Emperor: to fee you loue me so well, and do me such honor, with so great shew of loyaltv. But yet I beseech you not to deny me of a greater fauour, which is: To die valiantly and hono. rably, for the fafety of 10 many honest men as you be, and so good citizens of Rome. It by your election youmade me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne, I must now needs shew my selfe an Emperour, not sparing to spend my life for your and my countries safety. I ameer. taine that the victorie is not altogether mine enemies. For newes are come vnto me, that our armies of Mysia and Pannonia are in their way coming tovs, and that they are not farre of from the Adriaticke fea. As IA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT, & the legions that made warre with IVRY are all ours. The Senatetaketh our part, and our enemies wives and children be in our hands. But this warre is not against Hannibal, nor Pyrrus, nor against the CIMBRES, to fight who should be owners of WALIE: but it is against the ROMAINES themselucs. For in this civill war, both the conquerous and vanquished do offend their countrey: for where the conquerous have benefit, the countrey and commonwealth alwaies receiveth losse. Assure your selves Ihad rather die then reigne Emperor: confidering also that my life with victoric cannot so much benefite the Romaines, as the facrifice of the fame may do my countrey good, for the peace and quiernefle of my countrimen, keeping ITALIE thereby from feeing such another battellasthis hath bene. So when he had made this oration vnto them, and put those by, that would have perfwaded him the contrary: he commanded all the Senatours and his friends that were prefent, to avoid. Then he wrote letters to them that were absent, and also vnto the cities wherethrough they passed, to vie them very courteously, and to see them safely conveyed. Then came his nephew Cocceius to him, who was yet but a young boy, and he did comfort him, and bad him not be afraid of Vitellius, for he had fafely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as care. full of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his some though he was defirous to do it, vntill fuch time as he faw the end of this warre: to the end that if he ouercame, he should quietly reigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouercome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cause of his death. But this one thing onely I command and charge thee, my fonne, even as the last commandement that I can give thee : that thou do not forget alrogether, neither ouer-much remember, that thine Vncle hath bin Emperor. Whenhe had told him this tale, he heard a noise at his doore: they were the souldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him and would kill them, if they did not remaine with him, but would for fake their Emperor. Vpon this occasion he came out once againe among them, being afraid leaft the fouldiers would do the Senators fome hurt, and made the foldiers give backe, not by intreating of them, nor speaking courteously to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage:infomuch that they all shrunke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was athirst, and dranke a little water: and having two swords, he was proving a great while which had the best edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his feruants, & liberally to give out his mony among them, to fome more, to fome leffe, not prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being another mans mony: but discreetly gaue to every man according to his desert. Then, after he had dispatched them away, he laid him downe to fleepe all the rest of the night, and the groomes of his chamber heard him morr, he flept fo foundly. In the morning he called one of his enfranchifed bondmen, whom he had commanded to helpe to faue the Senators, and fent him to fee if they were all safe, and gone. So when he vnderstood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: Come on, said he then vnto him, looke to thy selfe I reade thee, and take heed the souldiers see

thee not, if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen meto kill my self. So, assoone as his enfranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he tookhis fword with both his hands, and fetting the point of it to his breast, he fell down vponit, seeming

to feele no other paine, fauing that he fetched a figh: whereby they that were without knew that

he had done himselfe hurt. Thereupon his friends made straight an out-cry, & all the campe and city was incontinently full of teares and lamentation. The fouldiers suddenly ranne with a great noise to his gates, where they bitterly bewailed, and lamented his death, falling out with themselues that they were such villaines so slenderly to have guarded their Emperour, that they kept him not from killing himselse for their sakes. So there was not a man of them that left his body,

Otho in his death, (ce med to fol levo Cato Viscan.

Otto flue him e fe.

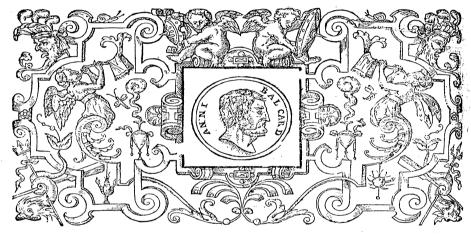
OTHO. though the enemies were hard at hand : but having honorably buried him, and prepared a great The fineflacke of wood, they coueyed him armed to the fire of his funerals, every man thinking himself happie, that could first set his shoulders to the cossin to helpe to cary him. Others coming to it, for. hereled downe on their knees, and kiffed his wound. Others tooke and kiffed his hands. Others that could not come neare him honored him, and did reuerence him a farre off; and fome there were also that after the stacke of wood was set on fire, slue themselues hard by the fire: who had neuer received benefit by him that was dead (at the least to any mans knowledge,) neither had they any occasion to be affraid of him that was conquerour. And truly me thinkes, never king nor tyrant was fo ambitioufly given to reigne, as they vehemently defired to be commandedby othe, and to obey him: confidering that their defire left them not even after his death. hut was foliuely rooted in their minds, that in the end, it turned to a deadly hate vnto Vitellius. Bur of this we will speake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried Othoes aftes, they did fet vp a tombe for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious E. nitabh. subject to enuy. For I haueseene his tombe in the city of BRESSELLES a meane thing, to Others and the Epitaph ypon ittranslated out of Latine, saith no more but this: This is the tombe of tomic in OMercus Otho. He died being but feuen and thirtie yeares old, and was Emperour but three Breffeuer. moneths: and there were as famous menthat commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he lived not much more honester then Nero, yet he died farre more hono- and reights. rably. Furthermore, when Pollio one of the Captaines would have compelled his fouldiers prefenily to have taken their oathes to betrue to Vitellins, they fell out with him: and understanding that there were yet remaining fome Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely roubled Verginius Rufus. For they came to his doores armed, and called him by his name, and commanded him totake charge of them, and to go as ambassador to intreate for them. How beit hethought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were alreadic ouercome, considering he refused it when they had ouercome; and also he was afraid to go ambassador to the GERMAINE s, because he had compelled them to do things against their wils. Therefore he went out at his backe-doore, and faued himfelfe. So when the fouldiers heard of it, they were at length contented to be brought to be fworne vnto Vitellius: and so ioyned themselues with Cecinnaes fouldiers, fo they might be pardoned for all that was past. The end of Othoes life. Xxxx 3





LIVES OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN.

Translated into French by Charles de la Sluce, and Englished by Sir Thomas North.



Hannibal.

The paren

tage of Hannibal

F we do call to mind the first Punick war the Carthaginians had with the ROMAINES, we shall find many Captaines who by the glorie of their noble deeds, haueleft great fame and renowne vnto their posteritie. Howbeit amongst all the Captaines of the CARTHAGI-NIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and fo commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then Hamilear, Hannibals father, otherwise sirnamed Barcha, a valiant man doubtlesse, and in his timea skilfull fouldier as any was. The fame Hamilear, first of all made warre with the ROMAINES, a longer time in Sicile then was looked for,

who had done great hurt to his countrey and commonwealth. After that also in the warres of AFRICKE (at what time the mercenarie foldiers through their rebellion did put the country of CARTHAGE in great danger) he did fo valiantly appeare the infurrection, that to every mans iudgement, he was reputed the onely preseruer of his countrey. Then he was sent Gouernour and Captaine into Spaine, and caried with him at that time (as it is reported) his some Hamibal, being but a young boy, where he did noble service. In fine, in the ninth yeare of his aboade there in that province, he died fighting valiantly against the Vetheons. After his death, Haldrubal his fonne in law (whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the aide and friendship of the BARCINIAN faction had made Generall of all their armie) remained Gouernour there the space of eight yeares. This Hasdrubal sent for Hannibal into Spaine,

after his father Hamilears death, against & minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to the end that as he had bene trained from his youth in the discipline of wars, in his father Hamilears life: egen fo in like manner; that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his bodie, to away with the paines and dargers of the warres. Now although at the first, the remembrance of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the fouldiers: vet he himselfe afterwards, through his diligence and industrie so handled the matter, that the old fouldiers forgetting all other Captaines; they only defired to choose him (and none other) for their gouernor, For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for in a noble Thesparte Captaine or Generall. He had a present and readie wit to give counsell what was to be done; in greatest attempts: and besides, he lacked neither manhood nor industrie to put it in execurion. He had a valiant and inuincible mind, even in greatest dangers and adversities of body: the which are wont to stay others from performing their endeuors and dutie. He would watch and ward as any private foldier, and was quicke and ready to do any kind of service, either like a valiant fouldier, or a good Captaine. In this fort Hannibal continued in service in the warres, the foace of three yeares, under the conduct of Hasarbal. In that time he so wan the hearts of all the army, that immediatly after Hasdrubals death, he was chosen to be Lieutenant generall, with the Hamibal common confent of all the fouldiers: and this honour was laid upon him without contradiction chofen Lieu? of any of the CARTHAGINIANS, through the friendship and good will of the BARCINIAN faction Hannibal was now fixe and twentie yeares old, when the fouldiers made him their Lieute- the death of nanigenerall. For at what time his father Hamilear brought him into Spaine, he was then but being but mineyeares old: and from that time vnto Haldrubals death (according to Polybius declaration) it 26-jeares was seventeene yeares moe. So he was no sooner made Licutenant generall of all the camp, and old. hiscountrey, but he bent himfelf to make war with y Romains: having long before determinedit. For first of all, he chiefly maintained almost a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS against the Romaines, because of the losse of Sicile & Sardinia. Besides also, he bare the Binersedu. secret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father Hamiltan: who of all the Captaines food Hamthe CARTHAGINIAN'S euer had, was the mortallest enemy vnto the Romaines. And it is writtenalios that at what time Hamiltar made his preparation to go into Spain E the compelled Han- the Ro. nibal (being but a boy) to sweare in a facrifice he made, that he would be a mortallenemy to the maines. ROMAINES, affoone as euer he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were still fresh in the yong mans mind, as the Idea (or Image) of his fathers hate, and still prougked him to spie out all the meanes he could, how to destroy the Empire of Rome. Besides also, the Barcinian faction neuer left to pricke him forward vnto it, because by wars he might raise The Barcin himselfe to greatnes, and so increase his estate. These causes, as well common as particular, inticed Hannibal to attempt war against the Romaines, and gauethe stout youg man occasion by these means to practise innouatio. There was a people at that time called § SAGVNTINES, who confined indifferently betwixt the Romaines & Carthaginians: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These SAGVNTINES cuerafter tooke part with the ROMAINES and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the Romaines alwaies found the very true and faithfull to the Empire of Rome. Hannibal therefore thought with himselfe, he could not deuise to make a better match to anger the Romains s withal, & to kindle the fire of his malice also against them, then to make war with the SAGVNTINEs their confederates, Howbeir, before he would be openly feene to fer upon the, he first determined to leade his army against the OLcade s, and other people on the other fide of the river Iberus: and after he had ouercomethem, then to find occasion to molest the SAGVNTINES, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begunne by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the OLCADES, he did fet vpo the VACCEIANS, spoiled their country, befieged many cities, & took HERMAN-DICE, and ARBOCOLE, great and rich cities. Now he had in manner ouercome all the whole countrey, when diverse fugitives from the citie of Hermandice, encouraging one another, The compiconspired against him, leavied men, and inticed the OLCADEs that were fled, to take their part. racy of the Then they perswaded the CARTHAGINIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree sodainely to fet voon Hannibal at his returne. They being a people that defired nothing more then mbal. to fight, and confidering also that they had received injuries by Hannibal, did easily hearken vnto that counsell; and thereupon leauying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thoufand, they went to affaile Hannibal at his returne from the VACCEIANS, by the river of Tagus. Tagus, Xxxx 4

Hannibals Arata.

The Iberians yeeld shem (elues ynto Hannibal.

Hannibal laieth fiege to the city of Sagutus.

> Two contrar; facti ons in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcini an: , and Hannians. Hamiltar Barca. Hanno, a grave coun-Celler and gonernor in peace. happie هر th ng to follow good counfell.

Wifecoun fell for gomernors to things at the begin.

When the CARTHAGINIANS discovered their army, they staied vpon it, and were maruellously affraid. And doubtlesse they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with those so ficre people, being affraid of their sodaine coming, and also loden as they were with so great spoiles. the which Hannibal deepely confidering, like a wife Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his armie ouer the river with as litle noise as he could, leaving the passage where the enemies might easiliest come ouer, vnguarded: because vnder pretence of dissembled seare, he might inticethe barbarous people to passe ouer the river, to take the oportunity and occasion offered them, Now indeed as he was the subtillest Captaine, and had the finest stratagemes of any other Captaine of his time: so his policie was not in vaine, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy for the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, suppos fing the CARTHAGINIANS had bene affraid, with great furie entred the river to passe over it. So they being greatly troubled, & out of order by this meanes, and specially before they could paffe all ouer the river, they were fet vpon by the CARTHAGINIANS, first by certain horsmen. and afterwards with the whole army; so that there was a great number of them slaine, and the residue were put to slight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the river of Iberus. yeelded themselues vnto him, fauing the Sagvatines: who, though they saw Hannibal at hand coming towards them, trusting to the friendship of the Romaines, they prepared to defend themselues against him; and therewithall sent ambassadors presently to Rome, to shew the Senate in what great danger they were, & also to pray aide against their so great enemy, that made wars so hotely with them. The Ambassadours that were sent to Rome, were scant gone out of SPAINE, when Hannibal made open war on them with all his army, & pitched his camp before the city of Saguntus. When this matter was reported at Rome, and confulted of for the wrongs that had bin done to their confederates, the Senators dealt but flackly in it, & by decree only sent P. Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Bebius Pamphilus vnto Hannibal, to will him to raise his fiege from Sagvarvs: and if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they should thence repaire to CARTHAGE, &to pray them to deliver their generall Hannibal vntothem, because he had broken y peace. Polybius writeth, that Hannibal did hearethese ambassadors, howbeit, that he made the a flender answer. Liuius writeth in contrary maner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his camp. Howbeit, they both agree thus far, that they came into SPAINE, & afterwards went into Africke, & from thence came to Carthage; whereafter they had deliuered their message vnto the Coucel, the BARCINIAN faction was so much against them, that they dishonourably returned to Rome, and obtained not their desire. Now in the Se. nate of CARTHAGE there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the first took his beginning from the government of Hamilear, furnamed Barca, & so descended as it were by succeffio to his son Hannibal, and grew afterwards vnto such greatnesse, that that faction (as wellabroad as at home) ruled all matters iudicial. The second faction came of Hanno, a graue man and of great authority in the same commonwealth: howbeit, a man more giuen to imbrace peace& quietnes, then otherwise disposed to war and trouble. It is he only (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the ROMAINS came to CARTHAGE, to coplaine of the iniuries done to their confederates, that did then in maner against the will of all the whole Senate, counfell them to keep peace with the Romains, & to beware of wars, the which one day might peraduenture veterly destroy their country. Doubtlesse, if the CARTHAGINIANS would have followed the grave counsell of Hanno, rather then to have given place to their defires, and had followed the author of peace, and not to have bene ruled by them that gaue counsell to make warres, they had not tasted of those miseries which their countrey afterwards came vnto:butgiuing place to the fury and ambitious mind of a yong man, they heaped fuch mischiefes on their heads, as afterwards fell out vponthem. Therfore it is very meete for wife magistrates & gouernors of comonweales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end:& euer to decide all matters by aduice & counsel, before they should take any wars in hand. Now the SAGVNTINE's feeing themselves besieged by Hannibal, & that against alreason & equitie he made wars vpon them, they notwithstanding valiantly defended the siege many moneths together. Yet in fine, though Hamibal had many mo men then they (hauing a hundred and fiftie thousand men in his camp) & that the most part of their rampars were battered & ouerthrown: they liked rather to abide the facke of their citie, then to yeeld themselues to the mercie of their

HANNIBAL:

mortallenemy. So some do report, that SA GVNTV's was taken the eight moneth after fiege was laid vnto it. But Linie seemeth not to agree to that, neither to set downe any certaine time of the continuance of the siege. Now the taking of this so wealthy a city, was a great furtherance di. gomui: terfe wates to Hannibals enterprifes. For many cities taking example of the lacke of SAGVNTVS. who before misliking to be subject to the Carthaginians, were ready to rebell, keptthemfelies quiet, and the fouldiers also waxed lively and couragious: feeing the rich spoiles that were divided in the campe. So Hannibal fent great presents of the spoiles of the Sagyntines. VIIIO CARTHAGE, whereby he wan the chiefest men of the city, and made them like the better ofwarres: whom he determined to leade with him againfi the ROMAINES, not in SPAINE, as many supposed, but into ITALY it selfe. Whilest these matters were in hand, the Ambassadors returned from CARTHAGE to Rome, and declared in open Senate, the flender answer they had received in maner at the felfe fame time when they had intelligence of the facke of SAGVNTVS. Hereupon the Romains greatly repented themselves (though somewhat too late) for that they aided not their friends & confederates in fo great a danger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very fory for it, and therewith also maruellously offended, they deuided the provinces vnto the Confuls to wit Spaine vnto Publing Cornelius and Africke and Sicile P. Cornelius alloyato Titus Sempronius. Afterwards, certaine of the noblest men of the city were sent Amhistadors vnto Carthage, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of the peace, Promiting and also to denounce vnto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to prodame open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of themfelies. This was as brauely received of the CARTHAGINIANS, as luftily offered vnto them: but mainer therein they were not so well aduised, as the successe of that war in the end sufficiently proued it with the settlers. Now Hampiled being aduertised how things were concluded in the Senare of Carthage. tothem. Now Hannibal being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CAR-THAGE, and thinking with himselfe that it was time to go into ITALY, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speed he could to prepare his ships and things readie, and fo required aide of the cities that were his best friends and confederates, and commanded that all the bands should meete him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appointed good garrifons in places most convenient, in Africk & Spaine, which he thought about all things elfe to be most necessary: because that when he should go into ITALY, the Ro-MATNS should not win it from him. Therfore he sent into AFRICK twelve hundred horsemen. and thirteene thousand footmen, all Spaniards; and besides, he brought out of diverse parts of Africk foure thousand soldiers, & placed them in garrison in Carthage, obtaining both hostages and fouldiers by this meane. So he left the government of Spain to his brother Hacdrubal, and gaue him an army of fifty ships of warre, two thousand horsemen, and twelucthoufand footmen. These were the garrisons he left in both those prouinces. Now he thought them not fufficient to with stand the power of the ROMAINS, if they bent their wars into SPAINE OF Africk E: but he thought them firong enough to flay the enemy from ouerrunning of the country, vntill that having brought his army by land, he had fet foot in Iralra Moreouer, he knew that the CARTHAGINIAN'S were strong enough to leavie a new army if they listed: and if need so required, to send him aide also into ITALY. For, after that they had driven away this so dangerous a warre, procured against them through the spite of the mercenary souldiers, having euer after obtained victory: first under the conduct of Hamilean: secondly, under Hasfdrubal: and lastly, under Hannibal: they were growne to such greatnesse and strength, that at what time Hannibal came into ITALY, their Empire and dominions were maruellously enlarged. For they had all the coast of Africk, which lieth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the alters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, vnto Hercules pillars, and containeth in negle of the length * two thousand paces. So after they had passed the straight which deuideth Africk B from EVROPE, they possessed almost all Spaine, to the mountaines Pirenei, which do deuide SPAINE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICKE and SPAINE, Hanni- is false. bal returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his army was ready for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his mentogether, and encouraging them with great and large promifes, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALY: and made Hannibal great account vnto them of the friendship of the Gavens, and in the endbad them be of good determines courage, and fet lustily forward. Thereupon, the next day following he departed from CAR-THAGE, and brought his army all along the coast, vnto the riner of Iberus. It is reported, that the

dreame at she river of

The head and course of the river of Rhone. Arar.fl.

The Volfces, people that

P.Cornelius Scipio Conseinft Han. mibal, and

The Boians and Infubrians, reuslt frem the Romaines, and take bart with Hen. nibal. Lugdumum. built by Planeus Munatius.

nextday following. Hamibal dreamed he faw ayong man, of a maruellous terrible looke and stature, who bad him follow him into ITALY; but afterwards, that he saw a snake of a wonder. full greatnesse, making a maruellous noise and being desirous to vnderstad what the same might fignific, that it was told him, that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be maruelled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALY made his mind to run of fuch fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or fuch other calamities of war. For they are things that happen often, as Cicero the Orator faith: that our thoughts and words do beget such things in our dreame, as Ennius the Poet writeth of Homerto wit, like to those his mind most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now after Hannibal had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had won the GAVLES hearts with bountifull gifts, in few daies he came to the river of Rhone. The head of the river of Rhone, is not farre from the heads of the rivers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENEVA. Then it runneth from thence towards the west, and deuideth the GAVLES a pretie way; and then being increased by the river of Arar (called in French, Saone)& with other rivers, in the end it falleth into the sea with divers heads betwixt the Volses & the CAVARIANS. The Volsces at that time inhabited both the fides of vriuer of Rhone, & were full of people, and the richest of all other GAVLES. They having understanding of Hannibalscoming, passed our the river, and armed themselves, and prepared on the other side to stoppethe CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not passe ouer. Now, though Hannibal had wonall the other GAVLES, yet those he could never win neither by gifts nor threates, to cause them ratherto proue the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore Hannibal perceiuing he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commanded Hanno the sonne of Bomilear, fecretly to passe ouer the river of Rhone, with part of the army and so to set vpon the GAVLES on the fodgine. Thereupon Hanno (as he was commanded) made a long journey, and haujng paffed ouer the river at paffable foords, he shewed himselfe hard by the enemies campe before they faw him, or that they knew what he was. The GAVL's hearing their shouts & cries behind them, and having their hands full of Hannibal before them, who had many boats ready to passe ouer his men: they having no leifure to confult of the matter, neither to arme the clues to fland to defence left their campe and fled for life. So they being driven from the other fide of the riuer, the rest of the army of the CARTHAGINIAN's passed ouer it with safetic. In the meanetime, P. Cornelius Scipio, that but a little before was come vnto Massilia, still heard newes of Hannibals armic. Wherefore, to be more affured of the matter, he fent a band of choise horsemen to discouer what the enemies intent was: who making great speed as they were commanded, met by chance with fine hundred horfemen of the NVMIDIANS, whom Hannibal had also fent to bring him word of the Romaines army. So, they first fodainly gaue charge vpon the Numi-DIANS, and after a hote and valiant conflict between both the parties, in the end the Romains ouercoming them, they made them flie, but with great loffe of their men: howbeit the greatest loffe and flaughter fell vpon the enemies. So Hannibal by this meanes found where the Ro-MAINES lay, and flood in a great doubt with himfelfe, whether he should keepe on his way into ITALIE, or else lead his armie against the Consul that then was, and so to proue his hap & succeffe. At length debating many wayes in his mind, and vncertaine which way he should determine, the Ambassadors of the Borans perswaded him to leaue all other deuises, & togo on into Italie. For before that Hannibal had passed over the mountains Pirenei, the Boian's having by craft taken the Romains Ambaffadors, and done great mischiefe vnto Manlius the Prætor, and intifed the Insubrians also, they were revolted from the Romaines, & tooke part with Hannibal, and onely because the Romains had replenished the cities of Placentia, & Cre-MONA with people, and had made the Colonics to Rome. So Hannibal being ruled by their counsell, raised his campe, and keeping the rivers side, still going against the river in few daies he came to the place which the GAVIEs do call the Iland, the which the riuer of Arar and Rhodanus coming from divers mountaines do make there. So at this present, there is the famous citie of Lions in Gavie, which they fay was built long time after by Plancus Munatius. Fro thence he came to the country of the ALLOBROGES, & having pacified the variance betwixt two brethren for the Realme, he came through the countrey of the Castinians and Vocontians, to the river of Durance. The head of this river cometh from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swift streame, falleth into the river of Rhone: & as it oftentimes changeth her course

sonathit in manner no passable foord. Yet Hannibal having past it over, he led his army vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine countries, as farre as he could: howbeit, as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Infomuch that some that were living at that time. did affirme, that they heard Hannibal himselfe say, that he had lost aboue thirtie thousand men, and the most part of his horsemen. For he was forced not oney to fight with the inhabitants of the Hannibal mountaines, but also compelled to make wayes through the straights: so that in certaine places of the highest rockes, he was driven to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fifteene dayes space, he came downe into the valley, not farre was the when the came downe into the valley, not farre from the citic of TVRINE. Whereby it seemeth to me, that he passed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one fide of it hath the river of Druentia, and on the piegar. other fide it goeth down to y city of TVRINE. Now it is hard to fay truly, what number of men The rather he had when he was come into ITALIE, because of the diversitie of mens opinions. For some write, that he had a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen; others also write, that he had twentie thousand footemen, and fixe thousand horsemen, all Africans and SPANIAR DS. But others reckoning the GAVLES and LIGVEIANS, do count four-score thoufand footemen, and ten thousand horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his army was so great as from The the first men report, and specially having passed through so many countries, and also received "ine. fuch loffe as he had; neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters do make it, if a man will confider the famous exploits and great enterprifes he did afterwards. So that Tlike their opinions best, which keepe the meane betweene them both: considering that he brought into ITALIE, the better part of four escore thousand footemen, and ten thousand hors- Hamibals; men, the which he had leuied in Spaine: as it is manifestly knownealso, that a great number army in of the Ligyrians and Gavies came to loyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMAINES, that gaue no place nor ground vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So Hannibal being come from TVRINE, into the countrey of the INSVERIANS, he was met withall by Publics Cornelius Scipio, who marching with wonderfull speede from Massizia and having passed the riuers of Po and Tesin, he camped not farre from the enemy. So shortly after, both the Generals being come into the field to view each others campe, the horfemen of either fide grew to skir- Hambals milh, which continued long, and was not to be differred which of them had the better. How-first onbeit, in the end the Romaine's feeing the Confull hurt, and also that the horsemen of the Ny-MIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compasse them in, they were drivento give ground; and so pretily retired, defending the Conful the best they could to saue him, and so at length recovered their campe. It is reported, that Publius Cornelius Scipio was faued at that time through his fons conful helpe, who afterwards was called African, and at that time was but a young strippling; whose hure, and praile, though it was wonderfull in so greene a youth, yet it is likely to be true, because of the bis enemies famous and valiant acts that he did afterwards. Now Scipio having prooued how much his e- by hitos. nemie was stronger then himselse in horsemen, he determined to place his campe so, as his footmen might be in best safetie, and also sight with greatest advantage. And therefore the next called denight following he passed the river of Po. & made as little noise as he could, and went unto Pla-CENTIA. The like shortly after did T. Semprovius Longus, who had bene restored fro banishment P. Cornelius by the Senate, and sent for out of Sicil E: because both the Consuls should gouerne the comon stitute and wealth by one felfe authoritie. Hannibal also followed them both with all his armie, and pitched T. Semprohis campe neare vnto the river of Trebia, hoping that because both camps lay so neare together, gus confuls, fome occasion would be offered to fight the which he chiefly defired, both because he could not againg long maintaine war for lacke of victuals, as also that he mistrusted the ficklenes of the GAVLES. who like as they foone fell in league and friendshippe with him, drawne vnto it with hope of change, and with the fame also of his victorie obtained: so he mistrusted that vpon any light occasion (as if the war should continue any long time in their countrey) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the Romaines, against him as the onely author of this warre. For these refgectstherefore, he deuised all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time Sempronius the other Confull met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with spoile, straggling up and downethe fields, whom he charged and put to flight. So, imagining the like fucceffe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall, he had good hope of victorie, if once both thearmies might come to fight. Therefore being maruelloufly defirous to do fome noble enter-Prife before Soipio were recouered of his hurt, and that the new Confull should be chosen, he

maines, and

lared by Hanniba Sempronins.

Hannibal fought with Semprenius the Confull at the river The Numi. in flying.

victory of the Confull Sempronius. determined to joyne battell against the will of his other colleague & fellow Conful Scipiowho thought nothing could be to leffe purpose, then to put all the state and commonwealth inico. pardie, specially having all the whole GAVI. B s in maner in the field against him. Now Hannibal had secret intelligence of all this variance, by spials he had sent into the enemies campe. Where, fore, he being politicke and subtill as he was, found out a place straight betweene both campes couered ouer with bushes and briers, and there he placed his brother Mago to lie in ambush, with a company of chosen men. Then he commanded the horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, to scurie to the trenches of the Romains, to intice them to come to battell; and thereupon made therefor due of his army to eate, and so put them in very good order of battell, to be readie vpon any oci casion offered. Now the Consult Sempronius, at the first tumult of the NVMIDIANS, sodainely fent his horsemen to encounter them, and after them put out fixe thousand footmen, and in the end came himselfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middest of winter, and extreme cold, and specially in the places inclosed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appe. nine. Now the NVMIDIANS as they were commanded, inticed the ROMAINES by litle and litle on this fide the river of Trebia, vntil they came to the place where they might discerne theiren. fignes: and then they suddenly turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of set purpose, and then to stay vponthe sodaine when they feetime, to charge the enemie more hotely and fiercely then before. Whereupon Sempronius incontinently gathered his horsemen together, and did set his men in battell ray, as time required, to give charge vpon his enemie, that stayed for him in order of battell. For Hapnibal had cast his men into squadrons, ready upon any occasion. The skirmish beganne first by the light horsemen, and afterwards increased hoter by supply of the men of armes: howbeitthe ROMAINE Knights being vnable to beare the shocke of the enemies, they were quickly broken; fo that the legions maintained the battell with such furie and noble courage, that they hadbene able to have refifted, fo they had fought but with footmen only. But on the one fide, the hosse men and Elephants made them affraid, and on the other fide the footemen followed them very luftily, and fought with great furie against famished and frozen men. Wherefore the Romain's notwithstanding, suffering all the miseries that vexed them on every side, with an vnspeakeable courage and magnanimitie, such as was about their force and strength, they fought still, vntill that Mago coming out of his ambush, came and sodainly assailed them with great shoutes and cries; and that the middle fquadron of the CARTHAGINIANS also (through Hannibals commandement) flew vponthe Cinomanians. Then the Romaines feeing their confederates flig. their hearts were done, and vtterly discouraged. It is faid that there were ten thousand footmen of the Romains gotto Placentia, and came through the enemies. The rest of the army that fled, were most part of them slaine by the CARTHAGINIANS. The Confull Sempronius also scaped very narrowly from the enemies. The victory cost Hannibal the setting on also for helosta great number of his men, and the most part of his Elephants were slaine. After this battell, Hanmibal ouercame all the countrie, and did put all to fire and fword, and tooke also certaine towness and with a few of his men made a great number of the countrimen flic, that were diforderly gathered together in battel. Then at y beginning of the Spring, he brought his army into the field fooner then time required: & meaning to go into THVs CAN, he was driven backe by a greatepest at the very top of the height of Appenine, and so compelled to bring his army about PLA-CENTIA: howbeit, shortly after he put himselfe again into the fields for divers vrgent & necessary rie causes. For had he not faued himself by that policie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the Gavles, who being angry with him that the war cotinued so long in their country, they fought to be reuenged of him, as the only author & occasion of the war. Therforeperceiuing it was time for him to avoid this danger, he made all the hast he could to lead his army into some other prouinces. Furthermore, he thought it wold increase his estimation much among strangers, and also greatly encourage his owne people, if he could make the power of the Car-THAGINIANS to seeme so great, and also their captaine to be of so noble a courage, as to date to make war so neare to y city of Rome. All things therfore set a part, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and so coming through the countrey of the LIGVRIANS, he came into Thys can by the way that bringeth the into the champion countrey, & to the marishesabout the river of Arnus. The river of Arnus at that time was very high, & had overflowne al the fields thereabouts. Hannibal therefore marching with fogreat an armie as he had, could not

annidit, but that he must needs lose a number of his men and horse, before he could get out of those cuill-fauoured marishes. Insomuch that he himselfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the oreat paines he had taken day and night without fleepe or rest, and also through the cuill aire: loss one of though he was caried vpon a high Elephants backe, which onely was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, C. Flaminius Confull, to whom the charge of Sempronius amie was ginen, he was come vnto Aretivm against the Senates mind, who were maruellously offended with him, because he left his companion Cn. Seruelius at Rome, and went vnto his prouince by stealth as it were, without the furniture of a Confull & his officers. This was a very serviting. hallie man of nature, & one that the people had brought to that dignitie & office: so that he was confult. hecome so proud & insolent, that men might see how he wold hazard all things without wit or indgement. Hannibal having intelligence thereof, thought it the best way to anger the Consult. andto do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Consult should come to ioyne with him. Therefore he marching forward with his campe through the countrey of Februa Aretium, he burnt & spoiled all the country thereabouts, and filled them all with feare, neuer leaving to destroy all before him, vntill he came to the mountains Cortonenses, and Montes foto the lake called Thrasimene. When he had viewed the place he went about to surprise his Cortonerfes. enemie by fome ambush: whereupon he conucyed certaine horsemen under the hils, hard by the finetimes. fraight that goeth ynto Thrasimene, and behind the mountaines also he placed the light horsemen. Then he himfelfe with the rest of his army came downe into the field, supposing that the Confull would notbe quiet: and fo it fell out. For hore stirring heads are casily intrapped, & fall Theindge. into the enemies ambush, and oftentimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow no counfelnor good aduice. C. Flaminius therfore feeing their country vtterly fpoiled, the corne deftroyed&cut downe, & the houses burnt, he made great hast to lead his army against the enemy contrary to all mens minds, who would have had him taried for his copanion Cn. Servilius the other Conful. So even at Sun set, when he was come to the straights of the lake of Thrasimene, he caufedhis campe to fray there, although his men were not wearie with the long journey they had taken by the way. So the next morning by break of day making no view of the country, he went over the mountaines. Then Hannibal, (who long before was prepared for this) did but stay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he faw the Romain Bs come into the plaine, he gaue a fignall vnto all his men to give charge vpon the enemy. Therupon the CARTHAGINIANS brea- Battell beking out on every fide, came before and behind, and on the flankes to affaile the enemie, being with Hapflurin betweene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrary manner, the ROMAINES, beginning to fight out of order, they fought inclosed together, that they could not see one ano- minist the ther, as if it had bene darke: so that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out fo long confidering they were compaffed in on every fide. For they fought it out Thrafeabout three houres space, with such surie and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that present time, neither did they offer to flie or stirre a footwatil they heard that the Confull C. Flaminius going from ranke to ranke to encourage his men, was slaine by aman of armes called Ducarius. Then when they had lost their Generall, and being voide of all usling the hope, they fled, some towards the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which diuerfe of them flying, were ouertaken and flaine. So there were flaine * fifteene thousand in the the noise of field, and there scaped about ten thousand. Furthermore, the report went, that there were fixe anearththousand footemen which forcibly (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and chaminius thereflayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon Hannibals pro- the confut misebutthey were betrayed, and slaine euery mothers sonne of them. After this great victorie, flaine. Hannibal did let divers ITALIAN prisoners go free without ransome paying, after he had vied them maruellous courteoufly because that the same of his clemency & curtesie should be known vnto all nations, wheras indeed his own nature was contrary to all vertues. For he was hafty and additions cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in wars, and exercised in murther, treason as many and ambushes laid for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor civil government. So by prisoners. this meanes he became one of the cruellest Captaines, the most subtile and craftics to deceive crassines to and intrap his enemie, that ever was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemy, fothose diffemble whom he could not our come in war by plaine force, he went about to intrap by fleight & policy. The which appeareth true by this present battel, and alto by the other he fought against the raidipos-Confull Sempronius, by the river of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leave this talke what

Extreme soy caufests sudat death.

The office of Dictator, of what ef 9.Fabius Maximus. created Di.

Haftineffe of cattaines oftentimes

The guide cruelly put so death by Hannibal.

till another time. Now when the newes of the overthrow & death of the Confull Flaminius Was reported at Rome, having lost the most part of his army: there was great moane and lamentation made through all the city of Rome bewailing the common miserie of the comonwealth. others lamenting their private particular loffe, & some also forowing for both together. But in deed it was a wofull fight, to fee a world of men & women to runto the gates of the city, euery one privately asking for their kin & friends, Some do write, that there were two women, who be ing very fory & penfiue despairing of the safetie of their sons, died sodainly for the extreme inv they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they faw their fons aline & fafe. At the felf fame time, Cn. Servilius, the other Confull with C. Flaminius, didfend him 4000 horfemen, nor vnderstanding yet of the battel that was fought by the lake of Thrasimene. But when they hear of the overthrow of their men by the way, & therefore thought to have fled into VMERIA, they were copassed in by the horsmen of the enemies, & so brought vnto Hannibal. Now the Empire of Rome being brought into fo great extremity, & danger, because of so many small offee one in the necke of another: it was ordained, that an extraordinary Gouernor or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an office specially vsed to be reserved for the last hope and remedy in most extreme danger & perill of the state & comonwealth. But because the Co. full Servilins could not return at that time to Rom B, all the wales being kept by the enemy: the people contrary to their custome, created Q. Fabius Dictator, (who afterwards attained the fur. name of Maximus, to fay, Very great) who likewise did name M. Minutius Getterall of the hors. men. Now this Fabius was a grave & wife counfeller, and of great authority, & estimation in the comonwealth infomuch as the citizens had all their hope & confidence in him only, perfuading thefelues, that the honor of Rome might be better preserved vnder the government & conduct offuch a Generall rather then under the government of any other man what soever. So Fabius knowing it very well, after he had carefully & diligently given order for all things necessary, he departed from Rome, and when he had received the army of the late Confull Cn. Servilin, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemy. Now Hannibal was gone from the lake of Thrasimene, and went directly towards the city of Spol Brum, to see if he could take it at the first affault. But when he saw that the townes-men stood vpo the rampiers of their wals, and valiantly defended themselues: he then left the towns and destroyed the countrey as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into Apvilla, through the marches of Anco-NA, and the country of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed himatthe heeles, and camped hard by the city of ARPY, not farre from the campe of the enemy, to the end to draw out the war at length. For the rashnesse and foole-hardines of the former Captains aforetime, had brought the state of Rome into such miserie, that they thought it a victorievnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemy, that had so often ouercome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the change and alteration of the Captaine: for though Hannibal had fet his men in battell ray, and afterwards perceiuing his enemies stirred not, went and destroyed the countrey, hoping thereby to intice the Dictator to fight, when he should see the country of his confederates fo fpoiled, as it was before his face, the Dictator, this not with standing, was not mooned withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. Hannibal was in a maruellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his campe, to the end that going diverfe wayes, some occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemy, or elfe to give battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he camevnto Samnivm. But because shortly after, some of Campania, who having bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasimene, had bin set at liberty without ransome: they putting himin hope that he might take the city of CAPVA, he made his army march forward, and took a guide that knew the countrey, to bring him vnto CASINVM. Now the guide ouerhearing CASINVM, vnderstood it CASILINVM, and so mistaking the sound of the word, brought the army a cleane contrary way vnto Calentiny m and Calenym, & frothence about Stella. So when they came into a countrey enuironed about with mountaines & rivers, Hannibal knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guide to death. Fabius the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patiently, and was contented to give Hannibal libertie to take his pleafure which way he would, vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his garrison, being places of great aduantage and commoditic. So the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS was in manner compassed in enery way, and they must needes have

died for famine in that place, or else have fled, to their great shame and dishonour; had not Hanmibal by this stratageme prevented the danger. Who knowing the danger all his armie stood in. and having spied a fit time for it: he commanded his souldiers to bring foorth two thousand oxen which they had gotten in spoile in the fieldes, having great store of them, and then tying torches of fire-linkes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light thein,& to drive the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the first watch. All this was duely executed according to his commandement, and the oxen running vp to the ni against toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them faire Diffator. and foftly. Now the ROMAINES that had long before placed a strong garrison vpon the mountaines, they were affraid of this strange fight, and mistrusting some ambush, they foorthwith forfooketheir pecces and holdes. Fabins himfelfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageme of the enemy, kept his men within the campe, and could not well tell what to fay to it. In the certains meane time Hannibal got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Swessa, which the countrimen do call, The tower of the bathes, and brought all his army safe into ALBA; and fhortly after, he marched directly as though he would go to Rome, howbeit he fuddenly turned tower of the out of the way, and went presently into Apvlia. There he tooke the citie of GLERENVM, avery rich and wealthy towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, city in Atand came and camped by LAVRINV M, not farre from the CARTHAGINIANS camp. So he being palia. fent for to Rome about weightie affaires of the state, there was no remedie, but that he must needes depart from thence with all the speede he could; howbeit before he went, he left Marcus Minutius Generall of the horsemen, his Lieutenant of all the armie, and commanded him inhisablence not once to stir nor to meddle with the enemies. For he was fully bent to follow his determination, which was: not to vexe the enemie, nor to fight with him, though he were prouoked vnto it. Howbeit Marcus Minutins litle regarding the Dictators commandement, his backe was no sooner turned, but he set vpon a companie of the enemies dispersed in the field a foraging, and flue a great number of them, and fought with the rest even vnto their campe. The rumor of this skirmish flew straight to Rome, and there was such great account made of it, that it was esteemed for a victorie: and the common people were so joy full of it, that they straight madethe power of the Lieutenant equall with the Dictator Fabius, the which was never heard ofbefore. Fabius patiently bearing this extreme injurie with a noble courage, having no way deserved it, he returned againe into the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one selfe time. Two Dictators (athing neuer scene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the army betweene the, torstogether, neuer either of them commanded his armie apart, as the Consuls were wont to do before. Marcus heard of be-Minutius thereupon grew to fuch a pride and haughtie mind, that one day he ventured to gine fore. battel, and made not his companion Fabius of counsell withall: the which Hannibal having so often ouercome, durst feantly have enterprifed. So he led his armie into fuch a place, where the enemie had compassed them in: infomuch that Hannibal flue them at his pleasure, without any hopeleft them to escape, if Fabius had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather respecting the honour of his countrey, then remembring the private injuriehe had received. For he comming fresh with his armie to the battell, made Hannibal affraid, that the ROMAINE legions had libertie to retire with fafetie. Whereby Fabius wan great fame for his wisdome and valiantnesse, both of his owne fouldiers, as also of the enemies themselves. For it was reported that Hannibal should say (returning into his campe,) That in this battell he had ouercome M. Minutius, but withall, that he was also ouercome by Fabius. And Minutius himself also confessing Fabius wisedome, and confidering that (according to Hesiodus saying) it was good reason to obey a better manthen himselse: he came with all his army vnto Fabius camp, and renouncing his authoritie. came and humbly faluted Fabius as his father, and all that day there was greatioy, and reioycing among the fouldiers. So both the armics being placed in garrison for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Consuls created, L. Paulus Amylius, and C. and C.Te. Terentius Varro, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Confull. So they had libertie and commission to leavie a greater army then the Generals before them had done. Whereby the legions were newly supplied, and also others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Confuls were come into the armie, as remeebe. they were of seuerall dispositions, so did they also observe diverse manners in their government. Panlus, and Lucius Paulas, who was a grave wife man, and one that purposed to follow Fabius counselland C. Torentias

fashions: he did desire to draw out the warre in length, and to stay the enemy without fighting Varro on the other fide was a hasty man, and venturous, and defired nothing but to fight, So it chanced, that not long after it was knowne, to the great cost and danger of the citie of Rome. what difference there was betwixt the modestie of Amylius, and the foole-hardinesse of Varra. For Hannibal being affraid of some stir and tumult in his campe for lacke of victuals, he departed from CLERENY M, and going into the warmest place of ApvLIA, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called CANNES. So he was followed with both the Confuls, who came and camped feuerally hard by him, but so neare one to another, that there was but the river of Aufide that parted them. This river (as it is reported) doth alone devide the mountaine of the Appenine, and taketh his head on that fide of the mountaine that lyeth to the fea fide, from whence it runner to the fea Adriaticum. Now Lucius Paulus finding that it was impossible for Hannibal being in a strange countrey, to maintaine so great an armic of such fundrie nations together: he was fully bent to protract time, and to avoid battell, perfwading himfelfe that it was the right and onely way to ouercome him, being as much to the enemies disaduantage, as also maruellous profitable and beneficial for the common wealth. And sure if C. Terentius Vara re, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that Hannibals armie had bene ouerthrowneby the Romaines, without stroke striking. Howbeit he had such a light head of his owne, and was fo fickle minded, that he neither regarded wife counfell, nor Paulus Amilius authoritie: but in contrary manner would fall out with him, and also complained before the fouldiers, for that he kept his men pent vp and idle, whileft the enemie did put foorth his men to the field in battell ray. So when his turne came, that he was abfolutely to command the whole armie, for they had both absolute power by turnes) he passed ouer the river of Auside by breake of day, and gaue the fignall of battell without the privitic of his companion A_{my} lins, who rather followed him against his will then willingly, because he could do none otherwife. So he caused a scarlet coat of armes to be put out very earely in the morning, for a sign nall of battell. Hannibal on the other fide being as glad of it as might be possible; that he had oc. casion offered him to fight: (considering that the continual delaying of battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his army ouer the river, and had straight put them in very good order. For he had taken great spoiles of his enemies to furnish himselfe very brauely. Nowthe armie of the Romaines stood South-ward, infomuch that the South winde (which the men Battell at of the countrey call Vulturnus) blew full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrariemaner had the vantage of the winde and Sunne vpon their backes, and their battell stood in this manner. The African's were placed in both the wings, and the GAVLES and SPANIARDS fet in a squadron in the middest. The light horsemen first begannethe skirmish, and after them followed the men of armes: and because the space betwixt the river and the sootemen was very narrow, fo as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time. though it lasted not long. So, the horsemen of the Romaines being ouerthrowne, the sootemen came with fuch a luftie courage to receive the charge, that they thought they fhould not have day enough to fight. Howbeit, the over-earnest defire they had to overcome their enemics, made their ouerthrow more miserable, then their joy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAVLES and SPANIARDS, (who as we have faid before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the Romain es, they retired towards the Afri-CAN'S in the wings. The ROMAINE'S perceiving that, ranne vpon the enemies with all the furie they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middest of them. Then the CARTHAGINIAN's that were in both wings, came and compassed them in beforethey were aware. Moreouer, there were fine hundred of the Nymidian horsemen, that colourably fled vnto the Confuls, who received them very courteoufly, & placed them in the rereward of the army. They feeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, and did sodainely give them charge. Then the armie of the ROMAINES was vtterly ouerthrown, and Hannibal obtained victory. Linie writeth, that there were flain in this battel*forty thousand footmen, & aboue two thousand seven hundred horsemen. Polybins faith, that there were many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the Romains had never greater losse, neither in the first war with Africke, nor in the fecond by the Carthaginians, as this ouerthrow that was full, flaine at the bat. giuen at CANNES. For there was flaine the Conful Paulus Amylius himfelfe, a man undoubted-

ly deferuing great praise, and that serued his countrey and common wealth cuen to the howre

nf death: Cn. Servilius (Confull the yeare before) was also flaine there, and many other that had bene Consuls, Prators, and others of such like dignity, Captaines, Chiefteines, and many other Senators and honest citizens, and that such a number of them, that the very cruelty it selfe of the the battell enemy was fatisfied. The Conful Terentius Varro, who was the onely author of all this war and flaughter, feeing the enemy victor enery way, he faued himfelfe by flying. And Tutidanus a Chieftaine of a band, comming through his enemies with a good company of his men, he came vnto Canvs IV M. Thither came also about ten thousand me, that had escaped fro their enemies. as out of a dangerous storme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole army was given ynto Appius Pulcher, and also vnto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwards did end this war. Thus was the end of the battell fought by CANNES. Newes flew straight to Rome of this ouerthrow, the which though they infly filled all the city with forrow & calamity, yet the Senate & people of Rom B keptalwaies their countenance and greatnesse, euen in this extreame misery. Infomuch they had - stancing not onely good hope to keepe their city fafe, but furthermore they leavied a new army, and the Remains madeyong mento beare armor, and yet left not Sieile and Spaine vnprouided in the meane tie. time fo that they made the world to wonder at them, to confider these things, how they could inso great calamity and trouble haue so noble hearts, and such wise counsell. Butto let passe the former ouerthrowes, and great loffes they sustained at Ticinym, at Tree in, and at the lake of The Ro-THRACIMENE: what nation or people could have bornethis last plague, wherby y whole force and power of the Romaine swan in manner veterly descroyed and overthrowne and yet the battels to people of Rome so held it out, and that with so great wisedome and counsell, that they neither Hannibal lacked manhood nor magnanimity. Befides, to helpe them the more, Hannibal being conqueror, trifling time in taking his leifure, & refreshing his army the gaue the ROMAINES leifure that were Trasment. ouercome to take breath again, and to reftore themselues. For doubtlesse, if Hannibal being conqueror, had immediatly after the victory obtained, brought his army directly to Rome, furely & ROMAINES had bene viterly vidone, or at the least had bin copelled to have put al in venture. Soitis reported, that Hannibal oftentimes afterwards repented himselie he followed not his vidory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counfell which wished him to let his fouldiers rest, then Maharbals advice, generall of his horsemen, who would have had him gone Maharbal fraight to Rome, and so have ended all this war. But he seeing Hannibals delay, told him (as it General of isreported) this that is now commo in every mans mouth: Hannibal, thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to vie victory. But what althings are not (as Neffor faith in Ho. Maharbals mer)giue to me altogether. For fome had no skill to ouercome, others knew not how to follow signing to their victory, and some also could not keepe that they had won. Pyrrhus king of the Epirotes that made war with the ROMAINES, was one of the famousest captains that ever was yet as men write of him, though he was maruellous fortunate to conquer realmes, he wold neuer keep the. Euenfo in like maner, some captaines have bin endued with excellent vertues, and yet not withflanding haue bene insufficient in martial affaires deseruing praise in a captaine, as we may reade indiners histories. Now after this battel fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALA-TINIANS, the SAUNITES, after them also the BRVTIANS, LVCANIANS, & divers other nations and people of ITALY, carried away with the fame of this great victory they all came and yeelded to Hannibal. And the city of Capva alfo (which Hannibal was defirous to have won long before) for faking their old friends and confederates, made new league and friend ship with Hannibal; the which wan him great estimatio with other nations. For at that time the city of Capva was very populous and of great power, and the chiefest city of estimation of all ITALY next to Rome. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the Thus cans, y which was first called Vulturnym, & after that Capua, by y name of their gouernor called Capius; or otherwife, (as it is most likely) because of the fields round about it; for The city of onevery fide of it, there are goodly pleafant fields, ful of alkinds of fruits growing on the earth, capua, how called in Greek, Kepi. Furthermore, all the country is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the feathere dwell the SVESANIANS, the CVMANIANS, & the NEAPOLITANS. Onfirme land also towards the north, are the GALENTINIANS and the CALENIANS. On the East & Southside, the DVNIANS & the Nolians. Furthermore, y place is of a strong situation, and on the one fide is compassed in with the sea, & on y other side with great high mountaines. Nowthe CAMPANIANS florished maruellously at that time: & therfore seeing the Romains in maner vtterly vndon by the battel they had lost at CANNEs, quickly took part with the stroger,

Pyrrhus

A ftrata geme of Ha * Flutarch in the life of Fabins faith, that there spere fifty 1 houf and Staineand fourteene thousand zaken pri-Coners. Paglus Aemylius Con

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against Hannibal

as it commonly falleth out; and furthermore besides that they made league with Hannibal, they received him into their citie with great triumph, hoping that the warre being ended, they should be the chiefest and wealthiest of all ITALY. But marke how men are commonly deceived intheir expectation. Now when Hannibal came into the citie of CAPVA, there was a world of people that went to fee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had won of the enemy. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto Pacuuius house, his very familiar friend, who was a man of great wealth and authoritic, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he made him a notable banket, to the which no citizens were bidden, fauing onely Inbellius Taurea a front man, and the sonne of Pacunius his host: who through his fathers meanes, with much ado, was reconciled to Hannibal, for that Hannibal hated him as he did, because he followed Decius Magius, who alwaies tooke the Romaines part. But now let vs consider a litle I pray you, how great men sometimes vnawares are subject to great dangers and misfortunes. For this yong man diffembling his reconciliation with Hannibal, watching time and occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feat. while they were making merry, he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and good will again. of the Romains, the which they had lost through their great wickednes. Then he told him how he was determined to kill Hannibal the enemy of his country, and all ITALY besides. His father that was a man of great countenance and authoritie, was maruelloufly amazed withall, to heare what his fonne faid: wherefore embracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he prayed him to leaue off his fword, and to let his guest be safe in his house. The which his sonne in the end yeelded with great ado. Thus Hannibal having before withstood all the force of his enemics, the ambushes of the GAVLES, and having brought with him also a great army from the fea, & the farthest part of Spaine, through so many great and mightie nations: he scaped killing very narrowly by the hand of a yong man, whileft he was at the table making merry. Thenext morning Hannibal had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promifes, and told them many things, which the CAMPANIAN's cafily beleeved; and therefore flattered themsclues, that they should be Lords of all ITALY: how beit they reckoned beside their host. And to conclude they did so cowardly submit themselves to Hannibal, that it seemed they had not only fuffred him to come into their city, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, likemen that neither remembred nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainly one example I will shew you amongst many. Hannibal willed them to deliner Decius Magius, the head of the country faction to him. Wherunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but work of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who because he would not for sake the ancient league and friendship with the Romaines, had shewed himselfe a more faithfull citizen to his countrey and commonwealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whilest these things passed thus in Carva, Mago (Hannibals brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happy victory to his countrimen, which they had won of the enemies: and withall, before the Senate to declare the noble exploits of armes done by Hamibal. And to proue the words true he spake, he powred out at the coming in of the Senatehouse, the golden rings which had bin taken fro the Romains knights: of the which there were (as some do report) aboue a bushell ful, and as other some do write, aboue three bushels full and a half. After that, he prayed a new supply for Hannibals army; which was granted them by the Senate with greater ioy then afterwards it was fent. For the CARTHAGINIANS, perswaded themfelues by the things present, that the war would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was faire. they thereupon decreed to continue the warre, and to aid Hannibals attempts, by leaying of foldiers. Now no man withflood this new fupply to be fent to Hannibal, but Hanno a perpetual enemic of the Barcinian faction. Howbeitthe Carthaginians weighed not his counsell and aduice then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsell for them, as oftentimes before he had vied the like, So when Hannibal had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his camp before the citie of No LA, hoping they would yeeld of themselues without copulsion. And certainly fo it had come to passe, had not the sodaine coming thither of Marcellus the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the fedition, and repulsed the enemy that was coming into the citie, by a fally he made vpon him at three feuerall gates, chasing and killing them euen to their campe with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valiant fouldier Marcellus, who

with a noble courage made the world know, that Hannibal was not inuincible. Hannibal percei- Marcellus uing that there was no other way, but to let Nola alone til another time the came to Aceres, vistorie of and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on further with greater power vnto Ca. at the stile SILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win the that lay there in garrifo: of Wola. but when he saw that neither his faire promises, nor otherwise his threats could prevaile, he left nart of his army to befiege the citie, and bestowed the residue in garrisons before the winter seaion. Howbeit he chose for his chiefest seate and strength the citie of CAPVA, which stood very pleasantly, and had plentic of all things. There it was that Hannibals fouldiers being yfed to lichard, and easily to away with cold, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, rank cowards, of strong men weaklings, and of seruiceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate perfons. through the dayly pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweete inticing pleasures do corrupt fouldiers thestrength and courage of the mind, and mans disposition vnto vertue: moreover they spoile marred hiswit, and take all good counsell from him, al which things are dangerous for men. And therefore Plato rightly calleth pleasure, the baite of all cuils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS, more then otherwise the highest Alpes, & all the the baite of armies of the Romaines did. For one onely winter passed ouer in such pleasure and wanton- all emils. nesse, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement courage in the soldiers, that when they were brought into the field at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightly have said that they had forgotten all martial discipline. Thus the winter being passed ouer, Hannibal returned againe to Casilinva, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeeld vnto him, afterthey had abidden fo long a fiege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extremity, before they would yeeld to their fo cruell an enemy, although they lacked victuals. Wherfore living first by spealt, or beare barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had received of the Romaines by the river of VVLTVRNVS: they held it out so long, that Hannibal in the end being angrie anstoline with the continuance of the fiege, he was content to take the citie vpon composition, the which during Hand hehadrefused before. Now this warre, in the which the CARTHAGINIANS had alwayes had great victories and good fortune, and received no losse worthy of memory, began at that time good forto decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the league that was made with Philip king of Macebon, and the new aid and supply that was sent from Carthage, and the taking of Petilia, Constantia, and of other cities of the countrey of the Brytians, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other fide, the great victories which the ROMAINES had wonne vpon the enemies of Spaine and Sardinia, did greatly encourage them, and gaue themalfogood hope that their affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen threeexcellent Captaines, Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, and Marcus Mircellus, a man Three famost worthy of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely gouerned the affaires of the start, that Hampiled found he should make warre with an enemy, no lette politicle and wife, there has that Hannibal found he should make warre with an enemy, no lesse politicke and wise, then hardieand valiant. For first of all, he was driven from the citie of Cymes, with great slaughter of maines, his men, by Sempronius Gracehus, and forced to raife his fiege: and fhortly after he was our come Maximus, by Marcellus, in a battell he fought at Nola. For there were flaine about a thousand Roman's and 6000 CARTHAGINIANS flaine and taken flying. Now it is eafily seene what great importance that battell was of: because Hannibal immediatly upon it, raised his siege from Nola, and went into Africa to winter his army there. By this meanes came the Romaines to recouer againe, as out of a great ficknesse, and sent a great power against the enemy; and were not content onely to keepe their owne, but they durst also inuade others. So their chiefest intent was, against HZ to befige the city of CAPVA, for the injurie they had but lately received of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the battell was fought at CANNES, they for fooke the Romaines, euen in the life intheir greatest extremitie and miserie, and tooke part with Hannibal that was conquerour, forgetting the great pleasures their citie had received in old time by the ROMAINES. On the other fide, the CAMPANIANS knowing they had made a fault, and being afraid of this new pre-Paration of the Romaines, they fent to Hannibal into Apvila, to pray nim to come and ayd thaginians their citie (being of the number of the confederates) in their greatest necessitie. Hannibal departed out of Apvlia without delay, and came on with great journeys into Campania, hundred and camped by TIPATA ouer CAPVA, whereby he rather deferred till another time, then preuented the plague hanging ouer the CAMPANIANS heads: fo spoyling the countrey round about NAPLES, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take Nola by treason.

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* Plutarch lus (peaketis of fine thou.

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nibal by treason.

For in Nola, the people & Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were like. wise in divers other cities of ITALY. The common people desirous of change, favored Hannibal and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of Rome. So when Hannibal went to take the city of Nora, Marcellus met him with his army in battel ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, even at the first meeting. There y Romain's over came and draue the enemy with such manhood and readinesse, that if the horsemen which had taken another way had come in in time, as Marcellus commanded them; no question the CAB-THAGINIANS had bin veterly ouerthrown. Hamibal after he had retired his army into his camp with great flaughter, he shortly after departed thence, and went into the country of the Salen, TINIANS. For certain yong TANENTINES that had bin taken prisoners in former battels, where the Romain's had bin ouerthrowne, and that were afterwards deligered free without ransome they to flew themselves thankfull, had put Hannibal in hope to deliver him the city of TAREN. TVM, so he would bring his army before the city. Hannibal inticed by their promises, did whathe could to obtaine it, because he might have some city vponthe sea in his power, the which he had defired of long time. And indeed, of all the cities vpon the sea coast, there was none so meeters TARENTYM, to bring aid out of GRECE thither, and also to furnish the camp with many things that were to be occupied daily. So though this thing was drawn out in length, by the garrifon of the ROMAIN'S that valiantly refifted: yet Hannibal neuer gaue ouer his enterprife, vntill that Nico and Philomenes, the authors of the treason, had deliuered him the citie into his hands. The Ro. MAINS kept only the castle, the which is in maner enuironed with the sea on three sides: & on the fourth fide, that lay upon the firme land, it was very ftrong with rampiers & bulwarks. Hannibal perceiuing that he could do no good on that fide, because of their great strength: he determined to shut withe mouth of the hauen of TARENTYM, hoping that was the only way to make the Ro. MAIN'S yeeld, when their victuals should be cut from them. Yet the enterprise seemed very hard because the enemies had all the straights of the hauen in their power, & the ships also that should befrege the iffue of the hauen, were flut vp in a narrow litle place, and were to be drawneout of the hauen, at the foot of the caftle, to bring them into the next fea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuise how to bring this enterprise to passe: Hannibal himselse perceived that these ships might be drawne out of the hauen with certaine engines, and then to cartthem through the citie to the sea. So having his cunning workmen in hand with the matter, the ships within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, & caried into the fea, & then came & flewed before the bar of the hauen. Thus the city of TARENTYM being wonagain after the Romains had kept it the space of a hundred years. Hannibal leaving the castle besieged both by sea & land, hereturned into Samnivm. For the Confuls of the Romains had spoiled & stripped the Cam-PANIAN'S that went out to forrage, & having brought their army before CAPVA, they determine ned (if it might be) to win it by fiege. Wherfore Hantbal being very fory for the fiege of CAPVA, he came with all hisarmy against the enemy: and seeing shortly after that the Romains did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward, & doubtlesse to fight, it wold haue proued a bloudy battel, had not Sempronius army fenered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA under the conduct of Cn. Cornelius, after they had lost Sempronius Gracchus in the countrey of LVKE. For they feeing this army far off, before they could know who they were, the Romaines & Car-THAGINIANS were both affraid, and so retired into their campe. Afterwards the Consuls went into seuerall countries, the one into Lvke, and the other towards CvMes, to make Hannibalremoue from CAPVA: who went into LVCANIA, and found occasion to fight with M. Centenius, who very fondly and desperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, against a subtill & dangerous enemy. The battel being begun, M. Centenius was flaine valiantly fighting, and few other escaped. After this also there hapned another losse; for Hannibal returning shortly after into A-PVLIA, he met with another army of the ROMAINES, the which Fabins the Prætor led, who also entrapped that army by ambushes, and slue the most of them: so that of 2000 men, 2000 scant escaped the edge of the sword. In the meane time the Confuls perceiving that Hannibal was gone, they came with all their army vnto CAPVA, and did befrege it round. This being come to Hannibals care, he came with his army into CAMPANIA, in very good order and well appointed: and at his first coming he set upon the campe of the Romaines, having first willed the Cam-PANIANS at the selfe same instant to make a sallie out on them. The Romaine Consuls at the first tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betweene them, and went against them. The

CAMPANIANS were easily driven againe into the city: how beit against Hannibal, the battell was very bloudy. For if euer he proued himselfe a valiant Captaine or noble souldier, that day he hewed it. He attempted alfoto furprise the Romains by some stratageme. For as his men were Hannibals about to breake into the Romaines campe, he fent one thither that had the Latine tong excellently well, who cried out by the commandement of the Confuls, that the ROMAINS shold faue themselves in the next mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their campe & strength. This cry made on y sudden had easily moved the that heard it, if the Romain's being throughly acquainted with Hannibal's subtilities, had not found out his deceit. Wherfore one of them incouraging another, they made the enemy retire, and compelled him in despite of his beard to fleinto the campe. When Hannibal had done what he could by all device and practife possible norallethe siege from CAPVA, & perceiuing al would not serue, being sory for the danger of his confederates: he then determined to call a counfel, the which he had passed ouer a long time, hauing reserved it for the last resuge. For he trussed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army and as quietly as he could, he passed ouer the river of Vulturnus, and coasting through the courries of \$ Sidicinians, Arifanians, & Cassinians, he came to Rome with enfignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them raise their siege, being so earnestly bent to win CARVA. This flying straight to Rom B by currers, they were so afraid there, as Rom B was never inlike feare it stood in then. For they faw their mortal enemy come to the with enfignes displaid whom they had fo often proued, almost to the vtter destruction of their Empire; and now they fawhim present, whom they could not resist being absent, threatning to bring the Senate & peopleof Rome into subjection. So all Rome being in feare & rumult, it was ordained that Fuluius Flacess (one of the Confuls lying before CAPVA) should be sent for home. And that the new Confuls Sulpitius Galba, & Cornelius Centimalus, should lie in camp out of the city: & that C. Cal- Sulpitius parains Pretor should put a strong garrison into the Capitoll, and also that the citizens that had Gallascorhorneany office or dignitie, should be appointed by their countenance and authority to pacifie the fudden tumults that might happen in the citie. So Hannibal marched forward without flay- confuls. ine, till he came to the river of Anienes, & there camped within 24. furlongs of Rome: & shortly after that, he came with 2000 horse so neare vnto Rome, that riding frothe gate Colling, vnto Hereules temple, he had leifure to view at his pleafure, the fituation and wals of fo great a citie. Faluius Flaccus feeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certaine men at armes of the ROUAINES against him: who coming with great fury to give charge vpon him as they were commanded, they easily fent him packing. The next morning Hannibal brought his army out of Hannibal the campe, and did fer them in battell ray, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the invade enemy to battell. The Romain's onthe other fide did the like. So, both armies marched one against the other with such life and courage, that to see them, they appeared men that seared no danger, fothey might obtaine the victorie that day. For on the one fide, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in manner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended your this battel, as being the last they shold fight. The Romatns in cotrary maner, they were to fight for their country liberty, & their goods, to fee whether they could keep them, or that they shold come into their enemies hands. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memory. For asthey were ready fet in battell ray, tarying but for the fignall of battell to give charge, there fell fuch a wonderfull great shower and storme voon them, that both of them were driven in spite of their tethes, to bring backe their army into their forts again. The next day following in like maner, VIIIO the which it seemed the battell had bene deferred, when they had againe both of them see their men in battell ray, there fell the like storme vpon them, which did as much hurt the Ro-MAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, as the first so that it forced them onely to looke to saue themselves, & not to thinke otherwise to fight. Hannibal perceiving this, he turned to his friends and toldthe, that the first time he thought not to win to Rome, & that at the second time the occasio was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled Hannibal, and that was this. That though he came so neare to Rome, with an army of horsemen and sootmen: yet he heard that the ROMAINE'S had fent aid into Spaine, and that he had redeemed the country where he had bene, at a farre greater price then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the goldsmiths and bankers shops of the ROMAINES citizens to be fold by the Cryer. Butafterwards casting with himselfe, what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of Rome,

orelfebeing afraid to lacke victuals (for he had stored himselfeonely but for ten dayes,)

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he raifed his campe, and remouing thence came vnto the holy wood of the goddeffe Feronia, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwards went thence into the countrey of the BRVTIANS and Lycanians. The Carvans having intelligence thereof, being left out of all hope, they yeek ded vp their city vnto the ROMAINES. The city of CAPVA being thus yeelded vp, & broughts. gaine to the subjection of y ROMAINES, it was of great importance to all the people of ITATIL and withall brought great defire of change. Hannibal himfelfe also following euill counfell did spoile and destroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did stirre vp the hearts of diners. nations against him. For where before when he was conquerour, he had often let prisoners en without ransome paying, through which liberality he had won the hearts of many mencuents at that present time, his barbarous cruelty made divers cities (misliking to be subject to the Case THAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take part with the Romaines. Amongst them was SALAPIA, the which was yeelded up into the Confull Marcellus, by Blacius meanes chiefeofall the Romaine faction and a band also of choise horsinen which was left there in garison, were in maner flaine enery man of them. This is the city where Hannibal fell in fancy with a gentle. woman, & therefore they greatly reproue his immoderate luft & lasciuiousnesse. Howbeitthere are others, that greatly commending the continency of this Captaine, say, that he did neuer care lying, and neuer dranke aboue a pinte of wine, neither when he came to make war in ITALY, nor after that he returned into Africk E. Somethere be also that say, Hannibal was cruell & vicon. frant, & subject to diverse such other vices howbeit they make no maner of mention of hisch. flity or incotinency. But they report that his wife was a Spaniar d, borne in Castvio, agood towner and that the CARTHAGINIAN'S granted her many things, and trufted her very much be. cause of the great faith and constancy of that nation. Now Hamibal after he had lost (as we have told you) the city of Salapia, he found the meanes to cry quittance, & to make the Romains lose more then he had lost. For at the felfe same time Fuluius Viceconsull lay besieging of Har. DONE A, hoping to win the citie without resistance. And because he stood in no feare of any ene. mie round about him (for Hannibal was gone into the countrey of the BRYTIANS) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martial affaires, contrary to the nature of the ROMAINE captaines. Hamnibal being advertifed thereof by spials, would not lose such a goodly oportunity; & therfore coming into Apvlia with his army ready, he came fo hastily vpo Herdonia, that he had almost stolne upon Fulnius, unprouided in his camp. How beit the Romains valiantly re. ceined the first charge with such courage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithstanding in the end, as the ROMAINS two yeares before that had bin ouercome not far from thence, with their Conful Fuluius; even so like wise under the conduct of this Fuluius Viceconful, the ROMAINE legions were viterly overthrowne, & their Captaine flaine, with the most part of his army. The Confull Marcellus was at that time in the city of Samnivm, who being aduertifed of this great ouerthrow, defired to be even with him: and though it feemed he cametoo late to helpe things past remedy, yet he brought his army into the countrey of the LveANIANS, whither he vnderstood Hannibal was gone after his victory, and came and camped directly our against his enemy, & soone after came to battel. The which the CARTHAGINTANS refused not, but gaue such a fierce onset on either fide, that they fought it out till Sunne-set, and no man knew who had the better, and fo the night parted them. The next morning the Romains shewing againe in field in battell ray, made it knowne that the enemies were afraid of them. For Hanmibal kept his men within the campe, and the next night following stole away without any noise, and went into Apvila. Marcellus also followed him foote by foote, and sought to put all to hazard by fome notable battell: for he bare himfelfe thus in hand, that of all the Romains Captaines there was none matchable with Hannibal but himfelte, either in counfell, wit, or policy, or else in martiall discipline, or warlike stratagemes. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any fet battell with the enemie; for after he had made a few light skirmishes, because he would not trouble his souldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed themin garrison for the winter time. At the beginning of the next spring, procured partly by Fabius letters (who was one of the new Confuls for that yeare) and partly also through his owne dispofition, he brought out his garrifons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his army against Hannibal, who lay at that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chanced, that through the nearflifts of the nesse of both their camps, and the good desire they both had to fight, in few dayes they fought three feuerall times. The first battel, when they had fought it out till night, in maner like hope of

both sides, and that it could not be judged which of them had the better they both of purpose retired into their campe againe. The second day Hannibal was conqueror, after he had slaine almost two thousand seven hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to slight. The third day, the Romaines to recouer the shame and dishonor they had lost the day before, they were the first that prayed they might fight, & so Marcellus led them out to battell. Hannibal wondring artheir valiantnesse, said vnto his people, that he dealt with an enemy that could never be quiet conqueror, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: because the Romaines did their best to be revenged of their losse, and the Carthaginians on the other side were mad in their minds, to see that the vanquished durst prouoke the vanquificts vinto battell. In the end, the ROMAINES being sharply reproued, and also perswaded by words of Marcellus to sticke to it valiantly like men, that the news of their victory might come to Rome, beforethe newes of their ouerthrow: they flew in among the preasse of their enemies, and nenerlest fighting, till that after they had thrise broken their enemies, they made them all slie. At the selfe same time Fabius Maximus tooke the citie of TARBNTVM againe, almost after the selfe fame forthit was lost. This being reported vnto Hannibal, he said: the Romaines have also their Hannibal. The next yeare following, Marcellus & Crispinus were chosen Consuls, who preparing Marcellus toput themselues in readinesse for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. Hannibal and crispi. despairing that he was not able to refift the in battel, he fought all the wits he had to deuise some offices way to intrap the by fubrilty, whom he could not ouercome by battel. So Hannibals head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for Betweene both camps, there was a prety groue, in the which Hannibal laid certaine bands of the NVMIDIANS in ambush, to intrapthe enemies passing too & fro. On the other side, Hamibal the Confuls by confent of them all, thought it best to fend to view this groue, and to keepe it if laith am. need required: left in leaving it behind them, the enemies should come, and so be voon their biffor the iackes afterwards. Now before they removed their army, both the Consuls went out of their campe, with a finall company of horfmen with them, to view the fituation of this place; and fo going on very vndifercetly, and worse appointed then became men of their authority & place, they unfortunately fell into Hannibals ambush. So, when they saw themselves in a moment compassed about on every side with enemies, that they could not go forward, and were also fought withallbehind: they defended themselues the best they could, rather by copulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So, Marcellus was flaine fighting valiantly: and Crispinus the o- The death ther Confull also very fore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies hads. Hannibal being advertised of Marei. that Marcellus was flaine, who was the chiefest man of althe Romain & Captains, that had most hindered the happy fuccesse of his victories, & had besides troubled him most: he presetly went and camped there where the battell was fought, & when he had found Marcellus body, he gaue ithonorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may see how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, The power are effected of all men: confidering that the cruell and most mortall enemy gaue honorable buriallto so noble and excellent a Captaine. The Romains in the meane time seeing one of their Confuls dead, and the other Confull very fore hurr, they drew straight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Crispinus had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertife them that Marcellus his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ring he fealed his letters withall, wherfore he wished them to beware of any letters written in Marcellus name. Crispinus messenger came but newly vnto Salapia, when letters were brought also from Hannibal in the behalfe of Marcellus, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they fent his messenger away, and carefully looked for Hannibals coming. About the fourth watch of the night, Hannibal came to the city of Salapia, who of purpose had put all the Romain Es that had fled, in the vaunt guard, because that they speaking the Latine tongue, might make them beleeue that Marcellus was there in person. So when the citizenes had suffered 600 of them to come in, they shut too the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the army, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the city. Thus Hamnibal being in a maruellous rage he had miffed of his purpole, he removed thence, & went into the country of the BRYTIANS, to aid the Lock IANS that were befreged by the ROMAINES, both by fea and by land. After all these things, at the earnest with the request of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous captaines, & va- Nero conliant fouldiers, Marcus Liuius, & Claudius Nero: who having deuided y army betwixt them, went

Sena a city of aquila Metaurum M.Linius. and .Ivero Confuls, .. uercame Hafdrubal. and flie 56000. of bismen.

Thechange and alteration of the Carthagimans good fortune.

The praise of Hanns halingest woold main the gonernment of his ermy. P.C.Scipio inucded Carthage.

The last battell Hanmibalfought in Italy was with Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Hannibal. Hannibal fent for to vaturne in to Africke after he had yeares in

vnto their seueral charge and prouinces. Claudius Nero went into the country of the SALENTH NIANS, & M. Liuius into GAVLE, against Hasdrubal BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alps & made hast to iown with his brother Hannibal, bringing with him a great army both of footma and horsemen. Now it chanced at the same time, that Hannibal had received great losse by Class dius the Cosul. For first of al, he ouercame him in the country of the Lycanians, vsing the like policies & fetches that Hannibal did. Afterwards again, meeting with Hanibal in Apvita, by the city of VENVSIA, he fought such a lusty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by itin the field. By reason of the great losses, Hannibal suddenly went to METAPONT, to renew his army again. So having remained there a few daies, he received the army from Hanno, the which he joyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. C. Nero lay not far from VENVSIA with his campe: who having intercepted letters of his enemies, he understood by them that Hafdrubal was at hand with his army. Therupon he bethought himself night & day, what policy hemight vie to preuent the ioyning of two fo great armies together as these. So, after he had taken aduice ofhimselfe, he followed in sight a dangerous determination, but peraduenture necessary, as the time required. For leaving the camp vnto the charge of his Lieutenant, he took part of the ar. my with him, & making great iourneyes, came to Pisenv M (being the marches of Ancona) fo that on the fixt day he came to SENA. There both the Consuls io yned their forces together, & fetting vpon Hafdrubal by the river of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell, For. as it is reported, there were fix and fifty thousand of the enemies flaine on that day: so that they almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the Romaines had received before at the battel of Can-NES. Now Claudius Nero, after this famous victory, returning as speedily voto VENY STARShe went thence, he set vp Hajdrubals head, where the enemies kept the watch: and did let certaine prisoners go, to carie news to Hannibal of this great ouerthrow. For afterwards it was knowne, that Hannibal knew nothing yet of Claudius fecret enterprise, nor of the speedy executio & great flaughter he had made. Whereat fure I can but wonder, that fo fubtle a Captaine as Hannibal, could be deceined by Clodius, confidering both their campes lay fo neare together: fo that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and of all his army, before he vnderstood any thing of the Confuls departure, or heard of his returne against the campe. Now Hamibal having not only received a generall, but also a particular great losse by the death of hisbrother, he faid then, he plainly faw the change and alteration of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune: and shortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the countrey of the BRYTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow given by the river of Metaurum, was a maruellous incouragement to the Romaines, and would also be a great log in his way, for the successe of this warre. This notwithstading, he gathered together all his power he had left in ITALY, after so many great battels and conflicts, and to many cities taken and maintained the warre with an inuincible courage. But the most strangest thing in Hannibal was this, that through his authoritie & wisdome, he kept all his army in peace and amity together (being a medley of Spaniards, Africans, GAVLES, and of diverse other nations) & never man heard that there was any brawle or tumult among them. Howbeit the ROMAINES themselues, after they had wonne Sicile, Sardinia, and SPAINE againe, they could neuer vtterly ouercome him nor drive him out of ITALY, beforethey had fent P. Cornelius Scipio into Africk E: who making warre with the CARTHAGI-NIANS, he brought them to fuch great extremity, that they were driven to fend for Hannibal home out of ITALY. Hannibal at that time (as we have faid before) was in the countrey of the BRYTIANS, making war by inrodes and sudden inuations, rather then by any fought battell: fa uing that once there was a battell fought in hast betwixt him and the Consull Sempronius, and immediatly after he came & fet vpon the same Sempronius with all his army. At this battell Hannibal had the victory: but at the fecond, Sempronius ouercame him. Since that time, I can find in no Greeke nor Latine Author, that Hannibal did any famous act in ITALY worthie memorie. For being fent for into Africke by the Carthaginians, he left Italy fixteene yearesafter this Africk E war was begun, greatly complaining of the Senate of Carthage, & of himfell alfo. Of the Senate, because that all the time he had bene in his enemics countrey so long, they had allowed him so litle money; and so scanted him besides with all other things necessary for the wars. And of himself, because that after he had so often ouercome the Romains, he had al wayes delaied time after the victory, and had given the enemy liberty to gather force againe. I is reported also, that before he imbarked and tooke sea, he set vp atriumphing arch or pillar, by

HANNIBAL.

the temple of Iuno Lacinia, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Pu- Hannibais nickeand Greeketongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind ferued him so well. that in few daies he arrived at LEPTIS, & lading all his army, he first came to ADRVMENTYM, & Hammbal afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiving advertisement how the affaires of the CARTHAGINI- departed ANS prospered, he thought it best to denise some way to end this war. For this cause he sent vnto scioio, to pray him to appoint him some convenient place where they might both meet, & talke rogether of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainely knowne, whether Hannibal didthis of his owne head, or by commandement of the Senate. Scipio refused not to come to parly. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous Generals of mightie nations, in Hamiltonia agreat plaine together, either of them having his interpreter; to talke together of diverse matters and Scipios touching peace and warre. For Hannibal was altogether bentto peace, because he saw the affaires of § CARTHAGINIANS waxeworfe & worfe tuery day: that they had loft Sicil B; SAR. DINIA, and SPAIN E: because the warre was brought out of ITALY into AFRICKE; because Sythan (a mighty king) was taken prisoner of the ROMAINEs: and also because that their last hope ronfissed in the army he had brought into Africk E, which was the only remaine and reliefe of folonga war as he had made in ITALY: and also because that the CARTHAGINIANS had so small apower left (both of strangers, and also of citizens) that there were scarce men inough to defind the city of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade Scipio with a long Oration he made, ratherto agree to peace, then to resolue of warre. Howbeit scipio that lived in hope to bring this warreto a good end, would not seeme to give eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either fide, in the end they brake off, & made no agreemet. Shortly after, wasthis famous battel striken by the city of ZAMA, in v which the Romains obtained victory. Scipioes ** For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army, so they of the that they did put all Hannibals horsemen out of order And I alive and Massille, upon models of Carthagini. that they did put all Hannibals horsemen out of order. And Lalius and Masinissa, who made both amatrice the wings, increasing their seare, gaue the horsemen no leisure to gather themselves in order a- battellof game. Howbeit the footmen fought it out a long time, and with a maruellous great courage: infomuch that the CARTHAGINIANS (trusting in their former victory) thought that all the safety and preservation of Africk f, was all in their hands, and therefore they layed about them like men. The ROMAINES on the other fide had as greathearts as they, and befides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeed did the Romaines great service to helpe them to the vidory and that was, Lalius and Masinissaes returne from the chase of the horsemen, who rustedinto the battell of the enemy with great furie, and did put them in a maruellous feare. For atheir coming, the CARTHAGINIANS hearts were done, and they faw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slaine that day, about twentythousand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners. Hannibal their Generall, after he had taried to see the end of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the Thoff, ing great flaughter. Afterwards when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to help to sauchis country, he of Hanniperswaded the Senate not to hope any more in wars, but did couled them, that setting all devices apart, they should send vnto Scipio the ROMAINE Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condition. When the ten Ambaffadors had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto CAR-THAGE of the articles of peace, it was reported that there was one Gifgo, who milliking to heare talke of peace, made an Oration, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the Ro-MAINES. Wherefore Hannibal perceiuing that diverse men confirmed his opinion, and being Hannibal much offended to fee such beasts, & men of no vnderstanding, to dare to speake of such matters, sould not in sodangerous a time: he cast himselfe downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his Oration. So when he faw that the citizens and all the whole affembly thought this too presumptuous a part ofhim, & vnmeet altogether for a free citie, he himself got vp into the pulpit for Orations, and hid; Letno man be offended, if a man that from his youth had bene alway out of CARTHAGE, and brought up all his lifetime in wars, be ignorant of the lawes & ordinances of the city. After that, he spake so wisely of the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authority of so great a person, they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offered them. The articles out of doubt were very extreme, and fuch as the vanquished are wont to receive with all extremity by the conquerours. But befides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were bound to pay the ROMAINES an anuall tribute, vntill a certaine time were runout. So when the day came that the first pension was to be

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fay, that Hannibal being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS, he fell alaugh ing. And when Haldrubal Hadus reproued him because he laughed in such a common cala-

Hannibal in his mife rie, fled vn. to king An-

mity of all the city, he answered, that it was no laughter nor reioycing from the heart, but a scor. ning of their fond teares, that we'pt when there was lesse cause (and onely because it touched cuery private mans purse) then before, when the Romaines took from the Carthaginiant their ships, armor, and weapons, and their spoiles of the great victories which they had wonne before and now gaue lawes and ordinances vnto them that were vanquished. I know some An. thors write, that Hannibal immediatly after he had lost the battel, fled into As 1A, for that he was afraid they would deliuer him into Scipioes hands, that perhaps might demand him of them, But whether that was done fuddenly, or some time after the battell was lost at ZAMA, it makes no great matter:confidering that all the world knoweth, that when he faw things brought to extre. mity, he presently fled into Asia vnto king Antiochus. So it is most true, that king Antiochus receited him with great courtefie, and vied him very honorably: infomuch as he made him of councell with him all in all, both in private and publike causes. For the name of Hannibal carried great reputation with all men befides that he had a comon and mortal hate to the Romaines. which was a pricking spurre still to move warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hour cinto that countrey, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king s. gainst them, but also to set wars at liberty against the ROMAINES. So he told him, that the only way to make warre with the Romaines, was to go into Italy to leavy Italian fouldiers, by whom only that victorious countrey of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred thips, 16000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen onely. With this small army he promifed to inuade ITALY, and that he would maruelloufly trouble the ITALIANS: whom he knew yer to stand in no small feare of him, for the very sound of his name onely, because of the late warres he had made there, so fresh yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke heart againeyn. to him to renew the warres of Africk E if the king would licence him to fend men vnto CAR. THAGE, to stirre up the Barcinian faction, whom he knew hated the Romaines to death. When he had gotten the king to grant him his request, he called Ariston TYRIAN vnto him. a fine fubtle fellow, and meete for fuch a purpose: to whom he made large promises, and per-Iwaded him to go to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to carie them letters from him. Thus Hannibal being a banished man, and fled out of his country, raised warre in all parts against the ROMAINES. And furely his counfell had taken good effect, had king Antiochus rather followed his aduice, as he did at the first, then the vaine perswasions of his fine courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes courts, bread Hannibal great enemies. For they being afraid that by his counsels he should grow in great fauour with the king (for he was a wiscandpoliticke Captaine) and that thereby he should be are great sway and authority: to preuentit, they lacked no deuice to bring him in difgrace with the king. And it fo chanced at that time that P. Villins, who came Ambassador vnto Ep HESVS, had often conference with Hannibal. Hereupon his privice enemies tooke occasion to accuse him, and withall, the king himselfe became so italous of it, that from thenceforth he neuer more called him to counfell. At the felfe fametime alfo, as fome do report, Publius Cornelius Scipio African (who was one of the Ambassadours fent vnto king Antiochus) talking familiarly with Hannibal, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truly, whom he thought the worthiest Captaine of all others. Hannibal answered him. First he thought Alexander, king of MACE DON the chiefest next vnto him, Pyrrhu, king of the Epinores and thirdly, himfelfe. Then Scipio African fimiling, asked him: what wouldest thou say Hannibal, if thou hadst ouercome me? Truly said he, then I would bechie feft my felfe. This answer pleased Scipio maruellous wel, because he saw he was neither dispiled nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peerelesse, by some secret state tery of Hannibal. After these things Hannibal found occasion to talke with king Antiochus, and began to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, & bewray the malice he had alwayes borne VNTO the ROMAINES: whereby he fo satisfied the king, that he was againe received into his grace and fauour, which he had almost vtterly lost. Thereupon the king was determined to have made him Admirall of his army by sea, the which he had put in readinesse for Iraly, and alfor o make proofe of his great courage and feruice, whom he knew to be a worthie man, and a mortall enemie to the Romaines. But one Theas, Prince of the Atolians, thwarting

plaque and porfon of Princes Court

Enuy, the

Scipio African met nibal at Ephefus. Hannibals iudgement of the moft famous Captaines

this opinion, either for malice, or elfe for that his fancy was fuch he altered the kings mind, and rleane changed his purpose, the which was a matter of great importance for the war he preteded to make. For he gaue counfell vnto Antiochus, that he should go himselfe into Gi i e e ,& direct hisown affaires: & that he should not suffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this war. Hamnibal So king Antiochus shortly after went into GRECE, to make war with the ROMAINS. Within few counfelleth daies after, when he cofulted whether he shold make league with the THESSALIANS, Hannibals clousto opinion was specially asked who spake so wisely touching the state of the THESSALIANS, & the make war chiefest matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, & gaue their consents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they should not need much to care for y Thessalians, but rather to make all the means they could to get king Philip of Mac a Don to take their part, or els to perswade him to be a. Newter, and to take neither part. Furthermore, he gaue counsell to make war with the Romains in their own country, & offered himfelf to aid him the best he could. Euery mangaue good eareto his words, but his opinion was rather comended, then followed. Wherforceurry man maruelled, that fuch a Captaine as he, that had fo many yeares made warre with the ROMAINS (who had in maner conquered all the world) should then be so light set by of the king, when it specially stood him vpon, to have such a mans help & counsell, For, what captaine liuing could a man haue foud more skilful or politike or meeter to make war with the Romains then him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him at the first beginning of this warre, but fortly after, difdaining all their counfell, he confessed that Hannibal onely saw what was to be King Antidone. For after the Romains had obtained victory in the warre he made in Grece, Antiochus ment of Hedout of Evrope into Ephesvs, where making merry, and following pleafure, he hoped Hammbal. toline in peace, little thinking the ROMAINES would come with an army into Asia. Now, thefe flattering courtiers fed ftil his humor:a perpetuall plague to kings & princes, that fufferthe felues to be flattered, & are cotented to be deceived, because they give good eare to that that pleaseth them. But Hannibal, who knew the power & ambition of the Romaines, perfwaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, & bad him trust to it, that the Romains would never stay. till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third partof the world, as they had done in Africk, & Evrope. Antiochus perswaded by the authority of fuch a man, straight comanded Polyxenidas, a very seruiceable man, & skilful in sea seruice, that he should go meet with the army of the Romaines that was coming thither. Then he sent Hannibal into Syria, to leavy a great number of ships together, and afterwards made him and Hannibal Apollonius (one of his fauoured courtiers) Generals of his army by sea: who notwithstanding rates Antithat Polyxenidas was put to the worst by the Romains, they went & fet vpon the Rhodians, that were confederates with them. Hannibal in this battel affailing Eudamus the Captaine of the by fea toge-RHODIANS, that led the left wing, he had already compassed in the Admirall galley, and doubtlesse had obtained the victory, but that y other wing came in to rescue, after they had followed Apollonius in chase, and tooke the victory from him, that was his owne. After this battell by sea. which had no great good fucces, we do not find that Hannibal did any thing worthy of memorie. For king Antiochus being ouercome, besides other conditions, the ROMAINES offered him, they defired that Hannibal (the mortall enemy of the countrey) should be deliuered vnto them. Hamibal foreseeing this long before, he suddenly stole from Antiochus, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrown. So, after Hannibal had wandred vp and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto Prusias king of BYTHINIA, for succor. Now he did not fo much trust to his friendship, but because he fought for the meetest place fedto Pru. he could come by, as also for the safest, the which he most defired: considering that the Ro- flat king of MAINE's had the most part of the sea and land in their subjection. Some say, that after king Aniochus was ouercome, Hannibal went into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumour ranimmediatly, he had brought a great masse of gold and filuer with him. Wherefore being a-fraid lest the CRETANS should offer him some violence, he denised this shift to scape the danger: he filled earthen pots with lead gilt, and fent them into the temple of Diana, faining that he was maruellous carefull for them, as though all his treasure had bene there. On the other side he had hidall his gold in images of braffe, the which he had left carelesly lying on the ground in the house. In the meanetime, whilest they watched the temple carefully, that these earthen pots should not be carried away without their privity, Hannibal hoised faile, and sted into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the sea side, which the countrey men cal LIBYSSA, of the

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which by some mens saying, there ranne an old Oracle and Prophecy in this forts The land of Liby (la shall couer under mold

The valiant corps of Hannibal, when he was dead and cold. There Hannibal lay, not spending his time idly, but passing it away in exercising of the marriners. riding of horses, and training of his souldiers. Some Authors also do write, that at that time Pruhis made war with Eumenes, king of PERGAMVS, who was a confederate and friend of the Ros NAINS and that he made Hannibal his Lieutenant generall of his army by fea: who affailing Fig. king Prusi-as Generall menes with a new found and vnknowne deuice, wan the victory of the battell by fea, For before they began to fight, it is reported that Hannibal had gotten an infinite number of Inakes into gainst Eu. earthen pots, and when the battell was begun, & they builly tending their fight: hethrew thojmenes, king pots with snakes into the enemies ships, and that by this fearefull and strange deuice he made them flie. Now whether this was true, or not, the old Chronicles do make no maner of mention. but only Amylius and Trogue: and therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diffention betwixt these two kings, Prusias and Eumenes being brought to Rome, the Senare sent T. Q. Flaminius Ambassador into As 14, whose name was famous for the noble victories he had obtained in GR BC B to the end (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt these two kings, Flaminius being come vnto king Prulia, he was maruelloully offended, and fory in his mindto fee Hannibal yet aliue (that was the mortallest enemy of the Romaines) after the conquest of so Titus Quintius Flami. many nations, and the facking of so many people: therefore he was very earnestly in hand with king Prussas, to deliver him Hannibal. Hannibal from the first beginning mistrusted king Prussas inconftancy very much, & therefore had digged diverfe vaults in his house, & made seven seven rall vents to flie out at if he were fuddenly taken. The report of Flaminius coming did increase his suspition the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in Rom B: both general. ly for the hate he bare vnto all y Romains, as also particularly for the remebrance of his father Flaminius, that was flaine in the battel fought by the lake of Thrafymene. So Hannibal being ful of care & griefe (as it is reported) he found deuices to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the kings guard which were sent to take him, had copassed his house about, Hannibal thought to flie at their first coming, & to saue himselfe by the secretest vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the guard, then he determined torid himself out of the Romains hand, by destroying himself. So some do report, that he was strangled by one of his men, whom he had comanded to helpe to dispatch him. Others write againe, that he had drunke buls bloud, & when he had drunke it, died, as Clitarchus, & Stratocles do fally report of Themistocles. Howbeit Titus Livius, that famous Historiographer writeth, that Hannibal called for the poy fon he had ready for fuch a mischiefe, & that holding this deadly drinkeinhis hand, before he dranke, he faid: Come on, let vs rid the Romains of this paine & care, fith their fpite & malice is fo great, to hafte y death of a poore old man, that is halfe dead already. The ancient ROMAIN's aduerrised Pyrrhus king of the EFIROTE'S, who came with enfignes displaied to the very wals of the city of Kom B, that he should looke to himself, & beware of poysoning and these Romains now do make a friend forgetting his kingly state & faithfull promise, vilely to betray his poore guest. After he had said, bitterly cursing king Prusias, he poysoned himself, being 70 yeares old, as some writers do testific. His body was buried in a tombe of stone by LIBYSSA, on the which was engrauen no more but this: Here lieth Hannibal. The ROMAINS being aduertised of his death, every man said his opinion, as his fancy served him. Some greatly blamed T. 9. Flaminius cruelty, who to make himselfe famous by some notable act (ashe thought) made a poore old man put himselse to death, that was in maner halfe dead by age, and besides, was past doing the state of Rome any more hurt, they being conquerors in maner, of all the world. But fome again on the other fide commended Flaminius for it, & faid, it was a good deed of him, to rid the Romain Es of their mortallenemy: who though he had a weake body, yet he lacked no wir, wife counfell, & great experience in wars, to intice king Prufias to make war, & to moleft all As I a besides, with new wars. For at that time, the power of \$\dagger\$ king of BITHYNIA was so great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, Mithridates king of the same BITHINIA, did maruelloufly molest the Romains both by sea & by land, & moreover fought battels with L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, famous Captaines of the Romaines. And fo the Romaines might also be afraid of Prusias, and specially having Hannibalhis Captaine. So some judge, that T. & Flaminius was specially sent Ambassador vnto king Prusias, secretly to practise Hannibals death. Howbeit

Hanniba poyfoned himfelfes being fenentie reares old. Hannibals sembe by Libyffa.

Howbeit it is to be supposed, that Q. Flaminius was not so desirous to have Hannibal so suddenly purto death, as he would haue bin glad otherwise to haue brought him again to Rome, that had done fuch mischiefe to his country; and this had bene a great benefit for Rome, & much honor alfo ynto himfelfe. Such was the death of Hannibal the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubtleffe, and highly to be commended for martial praise, setting his other vertues asside. So we may Thepraises eafily judge, of what power and force his noblemind, his great wisdome and courage, and his perfit skill of martiall discipline was in all things. For in all the wars the CARTHAGINIANS had for whemently, and with fuch great preparation enterprifed, they never thought themselves ouercome, till Hannibal was ouerthrowne at that great battell by ZAMA. So it appeareth that all theirstrength and skill of warres began, and also ended with Hannibal their Captaine.

THE LIFE OF

Scipio African.





Vblius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the family of the Cornely (who was the first Romaine Captaine against whom Hannibal fought in Italie) Theparen. was the father of Cornelius Scipio afterwards furnamed African, the first: tage of fo called, because he had conquered that nation. The same Scipio, after he had obtained many great victories in Spaine, and done notable feates of armes, was in the end flaine with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and encouraging of his men from placeto place, thronging in the greatest danger and fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother Cn. Scipio also end his life, much after one

felf maner, & was flaine valiantly fighting. So these two Captains, besides the same they atchieuedby their noble deeds, left behind the great praise of their faithfulnesse, modesty, & courage: the which made them not only wished for of their souldiers that were then living, but also of all the Spaniar Ds besides. Cn. Scipio had a son called P. Cornelius Nasica, one that had bin Consul, and had also triumphed: who being but a yong man, was thought the meetest man of all the city of Rome to receive Idea the mother of the gods. This Publius had two sonnes, the so famous Scipioes: of the which the one was called Asian, because he conquered Asia: and the other African, because he subdued Africk at that famous battel of Zama, where he ouerthrew Hannibal and the Carthaginians, as we faid before. Whose life we purpose now to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (fo famous by all the Greeke and Latine Authors) the greater by

The first Couldier fare of P. Cor.Scipio, being but fewenteen yeares old.

P.Scipio referred his father from being taken of the ene. mies.

Honers done to Scipio, being but a yong man.

Scipio Vice . confull at foure and twenty geares of

Scitices great mind

our history, as for that we would make all menknow the order of his noble deeds, & morall ver. tues to the end that all Princes and noble Captains in reading it, should behold the lively image of perfit vertue, which many moue an earnest desire in the to follow the example of P.C. Scipioes life, who from his childhood gaue great hope and shew of a noble nature, and excellent vertue. after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the fecond war with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but 17 yeares old, and in a very short time grew so toward and forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paines like a fouldier, that he wan great commendation of his own father, and befides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit and noble courage, that he made him beloued, and also feared of his enemies. For this Scipio was present at the battell of the horsemen, where P. Cornelius Scipio the Confull fought with Hannibal, by the river of Thefin: & some writers do affirme, that Corne. lius the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemy, had not his son Scipio saued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so yong. After that also, at the battell that was fought by CANNES, to the great losse, and in maner vtter destruction of the Empire of Rome. when the 10000 menthat fled to CANVSIVM, had all together with one consent referred the gouernment of the army vnto Appius Pulcher, that had bene Ædilis, & vnto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very yong; the same Scipio shewed then by his deeds, what noble mind and courage was in him. For when he faw certaine yong men confult rogether betweene themselues to forfake ITALY, he thrust in among them, and drawing out his sword, made them all sweare they would not for sake their country. These, and such like deeds done by him with a linely courage and noble mind, being then but a yong man, wan him fuch fauour with the Romaines, that not respecting his yong yeares, nor their ancient custome, they called him forward, & laid offices of great charge and gouernment vpon him. Infomuch that when he fued for the office of Ædilis before his duetime, norwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his suite, because he was so young a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, and fo was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voyces. So after his father and vnkle (both samous and noble Captaines) had bene flaine one after the other in SPAINE, and that the ROMAINES were in confultation to appoint some worthy Captaine in the roome: they could find no man that durst vindertake this so dangerous war, considering the losse of two so great Captaines beforc. Wherfore the whole affembly being called to chuse a Viceconful, all the other Princes and Peeres of the Realme being filent at fo worthy a motion: Scipio only of all the rest, being but 24 yeares old, stood vp in the middest of them, and said, with a good hope and considence he wold willingly take the charge vpon him. He had no sooner offered this promise, but he was presently made Viceconfull of SPAINE, with the wonderfull good wil and fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voices. Howbeitthe Senators afterwards confidering better of the matter, against what Captains and nations he should make warre, they thought it vnpossible so yong aman could performe so weighty a charge. Wherfore mens minds were wonderfully changed againe on the sudden, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voices & election. Scipio perceiuing it, called an affembly presently, and made such an Oration of his age, and discipline of wars, that every man that heard him wondred at him, and the people began againetorenew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not only a noble courage in him, being indued with so many fingular vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comly of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance: all which things together, are great meanes to win him the loue and good will of euery man, Moreouer, euen in his gesture and behaulor, there was a certaine Princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline being joy ned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature, it was to be doubted, whether civil vertues made him moreacceptable vnto strangers, then wonderfull for his skill in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples hearts with a certaine superstitious seare, because he did daily (after he had taken the mans gowne) vie to go vp to the Capitoll, and fo into the Church without any company: infomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned fome fecret things in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that Numa Pompilius was taught by the Nymph Ageria. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of scipie, as in old time they had of Alexander king of Macedon, to wit, that oftentimes there was a snakeseene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. Scipio departing out of ITALY with

tenthousand footemen, and a fleete of thirty galleys, every one of them having five oares to a scipios banke, he failed into Spaines & in few daies arriving at Emporia, he landed his men, and marchedby land to TARRACON. There he kept a councell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their confederates came thither, who being courteoufly received, returned to their lodgings with fuch answer as they liked. After this, Scipio being carefully bent to prosecute the warre he had taken voon him, he thought it best to joyne the remain of the old bands with his army, which had bin faued through the manhood and valiantnesse of Lucius Martius. For after both the Scipioes were flaine, and both Spaines almost lost, and the Romaine legions also overthrowne and put to flight, Lucius Martius a Romaine Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both ar- The vallmies, refisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies pussed up with glorie of the victorie they hadgotten, and with great valiantnesse, and vnspeakeable industrie he maintained warre in Martius SPAINE, against three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now Scipio being come to this a Romaine army that lay in garrison for the winter time, every mandid certainly perswade themselves that the warre should prosper; and when they saw him, they remembred their old Captaines, insomuch that there was neuer a fouldier could have his fill with looking vpon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the fouldiers for their noble courage, not despairing for the calamity of their country, he greatly honored Lucius Martius: to shew, that who so trusteth in his owne vertues, need not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being past, he tooke the old and new bands out of the garrifons, and first of all determined to go & lay siege vnto new CAR-THAGE, For of all the cities of Spaine it was the wealthiest, and none more meete to make war both by fea & land, then that, Moreouer, the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS had bestowed inthis city all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the city, and cassell. But the Gaptaines themselves were devided in diverse countries, to the end that they there might keepe the whole region fro spoile, least of all looking then, that CARTHAGE should bebesieged. But Scipio having put all in readinesse, he came and besieged new CARTHAGE with Scipiole. all his army both by sea and land. This seemed to be a maruellous hard enterprise, and would seguinese continue long both because the city was your strong of the long hard for the care of the care o continue long, both because the city was very strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within spaine, itwere so couragious, that they did not only thinke themselves able to defend the city, but their hearts served them also to make sallies out vpon the enemy, and to skirmish with them, even to the very trenches of the Romaines campe. Howbeit it hapneth often, that what a man cannot obtaine by force, he may winne by industry. Now Scipio knew, that the lake or meare which isnot farre from the wals of CARTHAGE, did ebbeand flow with the tide, and that it was pafsable by foord on that side where they might easiliest come to the wals: so, he thinking to imbracethis occasion, & that he could not possibly meete with a better device to take CARTHAGE: when he saw his time, he set his men in battell ray, and having devided them into severall squadrons, gaue a more desperate assault vpon the city, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a band of the valiantest men he had, and commanded them to wade ouer the lake. and to scale the wals on that side, where they within the towne made least account of it. So, these fouldiers that were commanded to give this attempt, after they had passed over the lake without any let or trouble, they found that part of the wall without any watch or guard, because the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other side of the citic. Therefore they easily getting vp on the wall, came and affailed the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of thegarrison, perceiuing they were vnwares fallen into that great danger, they immediatly forsookethe wals, and seeing themselucs charged on enery side, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The ROMAINES purfued them fo horly, that they wan the citie, and facked it: where supposes they found a wonderfull great spoile, and abundance of all things necessarie for warre. Scipio the site of greatly praised his fouldiers, and did reward them, for that they had done so valiant service. new car-Howbeit when he should come to give the scaling crowne of the wals, vnto the first man that affails. got vpvponthe wals, there were two fouldiers at fuch variance for the matter, that all the army was in danger of division and mutiny vponthat occasion. Thereupon Scipio called his men together, and in open affembly told them, that he knew they both got up on the wall together, and so gauethem both a scaling crowne: and by this meanes their tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he fent vnto all the cities of SPAINE, the hostages that were found in yeary, which were a maruellous number: the which wanne him great fame for his courtefie and clemencie, whereby he allured many nations to yeeld themselves vnto the Romaines, and to forsake the

Zzzz 4

The creat chastity of Scipio.

Mago Hafcinian.and Ha(drubal Gifcothe three fa. 22045 Captaines of the Cartha-

Befula fl.

Scipioes liberalisato hu enemies.

Vertues meete for a

Scipio called King by the Spaniards.

> Haldrubal fent into Italy to his brather Hannibal with an arnıy.

CARTHAGINIANS. But one thing aboue all the rest chiesly increased his praise, and wanne him great loue and goodwill, as a mirrour and example of all vertue. There was a yong Ladie taken prisoner, that in beautic excelled all the women in CARTHAGE: whom he carefully caused tobe kept and preserved from violence and dishonour. And afterwards when he knew that she was maried vitto Luceius Prince of the CELTIBERIANS, he sent for her husband, that was a very yong man, and delivered her vnto him, vntouched or dishonoured. Luceius not forgetting his noble courtesse vnto her, did let all his subiects vnderstand the great bountie, modestie, and tare excellencie of all kind of vertues that were in this Romaine General, and shortly after, he returned again to the Romaine's camp with a great number of horsinen. The three Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS (Mago Haldrubal BARCINIAN, and the other Haldrubal; the sonne of Gileo knowing that the losse of new CARTHAGE did them great hurt; as well in the impairing of their credit with other strange nations; as also by the coiecture divers made of the successe of this war. they first practised to dissemble the losse of it, and then in speech to make light of it, as muchas they could. Scipio having loyned to him divers nations and Princes of SPAINE, (among the which were the two litle kings, Mandonius and Indibilis,) vnderstanding where Hasarubal Bar. CINIAN lay, he marched towards him with his army to fight with him, before Mago and thenther Hasdrubal came to joyne with him. Hasdrubal BARCINIAN lay in campe by the river of Befula, & was very defirous to fight, trufting wholy to his strength and army: but when he heard that Scipio was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of prety strength. The ROMAINE legions followed him, and gaue him no respite, but pursued so neare, that he came and assaulted his campe at the first coming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampires, as if they had bene at the affault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIAN's trufting to the strength of the place, and driuen vnto it of necessitie (which maketh cowards most desperate,) they valiantly resisted their enemies the best they could. The Romains in contrary maner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out luftily like men, and the fight was fo much more cruell, for that it was in the fight of their Generall scipio, & of all the army besides: insomuch that their valiant service there could not be hidden. Therfore they neuer gaue ouer the affault, vntill that having done their vttermost indeuour, they got vp vpon the rampiers, and entred in divers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. Hafdrubal Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, faued himselfeby flying, with a few with him, before the ROMAINES entred into their fort. After this battel. Scipio according to his maner, caused all the Spanish prisoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart without paying of ransome. Among the prisoners, there was a yong Gentleman of the kings bloud, & nephew vnto Masinissa, who when he had vsed very honourably, he sent vnto Masimisa, with great and rich gifts: to shew therby, that a Generall of an armie, should be as bountifull and full of civill vertues, as otherwise skilfull and expert in martial distipline. For the end of war is victorie: the benefite whereof confisteth in bounty and clemencie. From thence cometh the glorie and all other praises due to Captaines: as it happened in those things whereof we now treate. For a great number of Spaniards being present, wondering at the great elemencie of the General of the Romains, they could do no leffe but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But Scipio strake that word dead straight, the which wasno comon found to the Romaines eares, & therfore he would by no means allow that title, which he knew to be hateful to the Noble men of his coutry, & also vnmeet for the liberty of the Ro-MAINES. He only prayed the Spaniards, that if they had any mind & defire not to shew themfelues vnthankfull to him, that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of Rome. So whilest these things were done by Scipio, the other two Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS, (Mago, and Hasdrubal the sonne of Gisgo) after they understood of the ouerthrow of their men by the river of Besula, made all the speede they could to ioyne together: and shortly after came and met with Hafdrubal BARCINIAN, to confult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and confidered all things, they concluded thus: that Hafdrubal BARCINIAN should go into Italie to his brother Hannibal, where theware was greatest and that Mago, and the other Hasdrubal should remaine in Spaine, should send for aide from CARTHAGE, & should not fight with the Romains until all their forces looked for, were affembled, and so might make a great and puissant army. When Hasdrubal was gone into ITALY, Hanno was sent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practifing in his journey to make the CARTHAGINIANS to rebell, M. Syllanus came and set vpon him by Scipices commandement,

and was so fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Now there was a Hanno the city which the country men called ORINGE, the which wasvery wealthy, & meete to renew v chiefe of the war Lucius Scipio was fent thither with part of the army to befiege it; but finding it a very firong contrary for the dion water fination, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he environed the towne, and within Hasarubal few daies took & facked it. Winter came on apace, & the time of the yeare made the both to rerire into their garrisons, for the winter. So Scipio having had so good fortune in this war, he went battel, and VIIIO TARRACON: Mago, and the other Hafdrubal, the fonne of Gifgo, went to the fea fide, The taken prinext sommer, wars growing more bloudy & cruell then before in the lower Spaine, the Ro-MAINES & CARTHAGINIANS met, and loyned battell by the river of Befula, & fought fet batrels. After they had fought a long time together, Scipio at length got the victory, and made the enemies flie (of the which there were flaine a great number in the field) and giving them no leifureto gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them, & followed the chase so hotly, that Hasdrubal and Maga were driven to leave the maine land, & to flie to Ga-DES, after they had lost all their army. In the army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a yong man of a noble courage, and very wife, called Mafaiffa, who finding meanes to have fecret conference with syllanus, he was the first man that offered him friendship, either being brought to ithrough Scipioes liberality, or else because he thought the time was come, that it was the surest friendship way to take part with the Romains, which were the conquerors. It is that Masinissathat afterwards (through the goodnesse of the Romaines) became the great and mighty king of Nvшылы and indeed he was diverse waies a profitable friend vnto the Romaines. Furthermore. the selfe same yeare (which was the fourteenth of the second war with the Africans) Spain B was the first nation and people of the voland men dwelling in the heart of the Realme, that was conquered vnder the happy conduct of the Viceconfull Scipio: howbeit it was the last Realme that was made a province long time after, by Augustus Cefar. Now Scipio not cotenting himselfe with the great victories he had obtained, in very short time in Spaine (for he had an imaginatio and good hope also to conquer Africk) he thought it his best way, to make all the meanes he couldpossible, to get Syphax king of the Mas # SYLTANS, a fried to the Romains. Wherfore af- syphax ter he had felt the kings mind, perceining that he was well inclined to make league with the Ro-MAINES, he presently set all his other affaires aside, & sailed into Africk with two galleys only, at fine oares to a banke. At the selfe same time also came Hasdrubal, the son of Gifgo thither, from GADES: so that both these valiant and lusty Captaines came of purpose to the king, enuyingonethe other, to craue the kings goodwill, vnto their countrey and commonwealth. Syphan welcomed them both into his court, and did vie them very honourably and courteoufly, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lie in one selfe chamber, because the one should not thinke his entertainment better then the other. It is reported that Hasdrubal wonderingatthe magnanimity & great wildome of Scipio that was present, he considered with himself. the great danger the city of CARTHAGE and all AFRICKE besides was in, through that mans meanes: for he faw him yet a yong man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, Haldrubals and that had continually obtained fuch victories: and therefore confidering the lufty youth indgenera of this gentleman, he imagined that it was impossible to perswade him to embrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was afraidalso that Sypban, moued by the personage and authoritie of himthat was present, would take part with the ROMATNES: and indeed his mind gaue him rightly, for so it happened. For though Syphan at the first shewed himselfe indifferent to them both, & had moued talke to end the war betwixt the Romains and the Carthaginians: yet afterwards when Scipio told him he could conclude no peace without consent of the Senate of Rome, he rejected Hafdrubal, and inclining to Scipioes request, he made league with the people of syphax Rome. So Scipio being returned againe into Spaine, himselfe partly by force, and partly also king of the by L. Martius meanes, conquered ILITVRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refiled to yeeld themselves vnto the Romaines. And to the end nothing should be lacking for league with allkind of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunately obtained so many famous victories: the Ro. when he was come to new CARTHAGE, he caused the sencers to prepare the selues to fight with great pompe, where there were many great estates, not onely to see that pastime, but also they themselnes to handle the weapons in person. But amongst other Spaniards of noble smattefight houses, there were two called, Corbis and Orsica, which were at strife together for the kingdome: of two coubut that day they ended their quarrell, the one being slaine by the others hand. The fight was mainer.

The rebellion of the Romaine Conidiers a. gainft their Cattaines. in Scibioes fichneffe. two kings of

> wifedome suppressing.

Scipines great wifedomein pu-

very lamentable and grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was flaine, troubled them much more, for they were both confin-germains. After all this, scipio having his mind fill occupied in matters of greater weight & importance, then those which he had already brought to passe, he sell sicke. His sicknesse being caried through all Spaine, and as it happeneth often. his discase being reported to be much greater and dangerous then it was indeed: thereupon, nor onely the nations of Spaine began to rise in hope of change, but the army it self also of the Ro-MAINES, the which he had left at SvcRo. First of all, martiall discipline was corrupted through the absence of the Generall. Afterwards also, the report of his sicknesse, and danger of his life being spred abroad in the armie, raised such a rebellion among them, that some of them littlem garding the authoritie and commandement of the head Captaines of the bandes, they draue them away, and chose two meane souldiers for their Captaines; who presumptuously tooke vo pon them the name given vnto them by men of no authoritie, and yet with more arrogancie. made the bundles of roddes and axesto be caried before them. Such folly doth furicand vaine ambition oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other fide, the Spaniards flept not, & fige. cially Mandonius and Indibilis: who aspiring to the kingdome of SPAINE, came to Scipio when he was conquerour, after he had taken new CARTHAGE. But afterwards, being offended to fee the power of the Romaines increase daily, they sought occasion to made some alteration, So after they had heard, not onely of Scipioes ficknesse, but also how he was at deaths doore, and did beleeue it: they presently leauied an army, and went and made warre with the Swessitans which were confederates of the Romains. But Scipio being recovered again of his ficknes, like as vpon the false rumour of his death enery man beganto rife: enen so after the truth was known indeed of his recouery, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durst proceedany further in their rebellion. Scipio being more skilfull in martial discipline, then acquainted with fedition and rebellion, although he was maruelloufly offended with the fouldiers that had committed this folly; yet in the end, left following his anger, men should have thought him to have exceeded all bounds of reason in punishing of them, he referred all vnto the Consult. The most part of them gaue aduice, that the authours of the rebellion should be punished, and all therest pardoned: for by this meanes, faid they, the punishment shall light upon a few that have described it, and all the reft shall take example by them. scipio followed that aduice, and prefently lent for all the feditious bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receive their pay. The fouldiers obeyed his commandement, some of them making their fault lessethen it was, as men do often slatter themselues:others also trusting to the Captaines elemencie, as knowing him not to be extreme in punishment. For Scipio was wont to say, that he had rather faue the life of one Romaine citizen, then to kill a thousand enemies. This rumour ran also, that Scipio had another army readie, the which he looked for to ioyne with them, and then to set vpon the kings (Mandonius and In-*dibilis) who made warre with the Swessitans. These fouldiers departing from Svero, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto Carthage. How beit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironed with all the legions armie. Then the ROMAINE Generall fitting in place of judgement, shewed himself beforeall the company in as good health and good disposition of body, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a sharpe and bittet oration, full of grieuous complaints: infomuch as there was not one of all the fouldiers that were vnarmed, that durst cast vp their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face, they were so ashamed. For their consciences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the scare of death did take their wits and sences from them, & the presence of their gracious Capraine, made them blush as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherfore there was a generall and forowfull filence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he caused the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be brought forth before the wholeassembly: who after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were prefently beheaded, the which was a feareful and lamentable light to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other soldiers to be thors of the fworne again, and then went and proclaimed war against Mandonius and Indibilis. For they confidering with themselves, how the ROMAINE souldiers that had rebelled in the camp, were put to death, they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an armie of twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMAINS. Scipto having intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, &

that other nations could rebell the departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speed as he could to meet with y enemy. The kings were camped in a very flrog place, & trufted foro their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor all to refuse y battel if it were offered them. Howbeit it chanced by the nearenesse of both campes, that within few daies, they being prouoked by the Romains, came downe and fet their men in battell ray, & joyned battel with Scipio: fo that a good while together, the fight was very bloudy & cruell. But at length the SPANIAR DS feeing themselves compassed in behind, & being driven to fight in a ring to defend

the enemy on enery fide, they were ouercome: so that the third part of them scarcely saucd the selues by flying. Mandonius and Indibilis seeing themselues vtterly vndone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left, they fent Ambailadors vnto Scipio, humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy and to pardon them. But Scipio knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the Romains, yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemy by curtefie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, & only commanded them to give him mony to pay thing to 6.

his souldiers. In the meane time Masinissa came from GADES, & landed: because he would him-Else in person confirme the friendship he had offered Scipio in his absence, by the meanes of M. Sollarus, & also speake with him face to face, who he judged to be a worthy man, for the famous Masiniffa

victories he had obtained. And in truth Masinissa was not deceived in the opinion he had of the sosibio. valiantnes & vertues of scipio, but found him the felfe fame man whom he before had imagined him to be in his mind: the which but feldome happeneth so notwithstanding. For besides the

great rare gifts of nature that Scipto had aboue all others, there was in him alfo a certain princely Aprincely grace and maiesty. Furthermore, he was maruellous gentle & courteous vnto them that came to Scipies Scipies

him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to win enery man. He was very graue in his personage. gesture & behauior, and euer ware long haire. Masinissa being come to salute him, when he saw him, he had him in such admiration, as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes off him, nor hauehis fill of looking on him. So he thanked him maruelloufly for fending his nephew vnto

him, & promised him that his deeds should confirme & witnesse the friendship agreed upon betweene them: the which he euer after inuiolably kept vnto the Romaines, euen to the houre of his death. So all the nations of Spaine became subject to the Empire of Rome, or at the least

their cofederates: wherupon those of GADES also following vexample of others, came & yeelded themselues vnto the Romains. This is a very ancient nation, & if we may credit the report The Antiofit, as Carthage was in Africk, & Thebes in Boeotia, fowas Gades vpoy fea, a Colong of the Type and Science from the had connered al Spanish of the feather the had connered all the feather the had connered al Spanish of the feather the had connered all the feather the feather the had connered

lony of the Tyrians. Scipio after he had coquered al Spaine, & driven out the Carthagini- Gade. ANS, confidering that there remained nothing more for him to do, he left the gouernment of the province vnto L. Lentulus, & to Manlius Acidinus, and returned to Rom B. When he was arrived Scipioeste-

at Rome, the Senategaue him audience out of the city, in the temple of Bellona. There, when he turneout of had particularly told them of the things he had valiantly and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diuerse foughten fields, and also put to flight

four earmies of the enemies, and driven the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAINES, and that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the Romaines: the Senate gaue iudgemet, that al these things were worthy of a noble triuph. But because neuer man yet was suf-

fered to enter into Rom E in triumph, for any victories he had obtained, whilest he was only but Viceconfull, and had not yet bene Confull . The Senators thought it not good, and Scipio him-

felfealfo made no great fuite for it, because he would not be an occasion, to bring in any new citflome, and to breake the old. So when he came into the city, he was afterwards declared Con- Scipio made

full, with the great goodwill and confent of the whole affembly. It is reported that there never confull. came fuch a world of people to Rome, as were there at that time, not only for y affemblies fake, but more to fee Publius Cornelius Scipio. Wherefore not the ROMAINES onely, but all the stran-

gers also that were there, all their eyes were vpon Scipio, and said both openly and prinately: that they should send him into Africk E, to make warre with the Carthaginians, at home in their owne countrey. Scipio also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske aduice of

the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthy enterprise. For amongst the Peeres and Senators, there were some that vehemently inueyed against that opinion, and amongst the

rest, Fabius Maximus specially, a man of great fame and authoritie. Scipio went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to ouercome

the CARTHAGINIANS, and to drive Hannibal out of ITALY, but that only; and that all other

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counfels were in vaine, & unprofitable. After this matter was long debated in councel, Significant was appointed vnto Scipio: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with his army into AFRICKE, if he thought it meete and profitable for the commonwealth. The decree of the Senate being published energy mans mind ran of fo great enterprises, that they persuaded themfelues Africk B was already their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit Scipio faw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this journey, because of the pouerty of the com. mon treasure, and for lacke of yong men, the flower and choise of the which was vtterly gone. by the former great losses and ouerthrowes Hannibal had given them. Howbeitto satisfie every mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speed he could, to prepare things necessary for the warres. So diverse people of Thyscan, and of the VMBRIANS, offered to help him to their best powers fome of them gaue him timber to build his ships others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kind of victuals, and munition for his army. The ships being built, and all the army by sea put in a readinesse, in the space of five and form dayes, a thing incredible to many, Scipio departed out of ITALIE, and failed towards Sicile. But when he came to take muster of his army, he specially chose those that had served long time in the warres, under the conduct of M. Marcellus, the which were all esteemed for very expert fouldiers. And for the Sicilians, he partly wanne them by courtefic, and partly by compulfion compelled them to give him aid for the war he tooke in hand, the which he meant to make in Africk E, when the time of the yeare should serve for it. Among other things, it is reported that Scipio chose out of diverse cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the faid prouince, and commanded them to meete at acertaine day appointed, every man with horse and armour. They then coming at the day appointed, according to his commandement, the Confull bad them chuse whether they would follow him in the warres of AFRICKE, or els deliuer vp their armor and horse to as many other Romaines as they werein number. So when they all prayed they might be difinified from the warre, Scipio appointed 300, other yong Romaines in their places, whom he had brought out of Italy with him vnarmed, becau sche would mount & arme them at the Sicilians cost, as indeed it chanced. Afterwards they did him great feruice in Africk, in many great battels. Now time was come on for Scipio to put his army in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syracvsa, taking order not only for the preparation of war, but also for the affaires of Stelle, There when it was told him by complaint of divers, that there was a great company of ITALIAN fouldiers in that city, who wold not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the wars, but kept the still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoyeed them by speciall comandement to make restitution to the Syracvsans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commandement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hearts of Sicile, and was reported to be a just and vpright Confull. In the meane time he was aduertised by Caius Lalins, that returned out of Africk E with great spoile, how king Masinista was very desirous of his coming thither, and that he inftantly prayed him he would come into Africk a, as soone as he could possible, so it were without the prejudice of the commonwealth. Moreouer, that diverse nations and people of Africk a had the like defire who hating the government of the Carthagini-Ans, defired nothing more then fome good occasion to rebell. Now this journey was not deferred through Scipioes fault or negligence, confidering that fuch a Captaine could hardly be found that was more careful & diligent in his charge then he. How beit the affaires of Sicize, and the oportunity he had to recouer Lock Es again, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpole to passe according to his mind. Furthermore, his Lieutenant Pleminius disorder grieued him much, because that having left him at Lock Es, he fell to all forts of insolencie, as to defloure women, and to spoile the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruellously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subject to the government of so vile and wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of Lock as being arrived at Roma, and exhibiting their complaints in open Senate, of the great wrongs and iniuries Pleminius didthem: the noble men tooke the matter fo grienoully, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same Pleminius, but also against P.C. Scipio himselfe. Whereupon Scipioes enemies having gotten matter inough to accuse him, they were P.C.Scipio then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offered the Locatans, with the licentiousnesse of Pleminius, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had inferred all these things more negligently, then became the office or duty of a Consul. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in Sicil was altogether vnruly & vnseruiceable. and regarded not the ordinances of the camp and that the captaine himself was carelesse, and al- 2. Fabi together given over to pleasure & idlenesse. But about al others Fabius Maximus was his heavy enemie, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modestie werfary va andreason, and thought good to call him presently home out of Sicile and to dismisse him of issepto. his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreme. Wherefore, following Ountus Metellus counfell, the Senators appointed ten Ambaffadors to go into Sicile, to make diligent inquiry, whether the accusations objected against Scipio were true; and if they found him in fault, that then they should command him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other fide, if they found that he was vniustly accused, and onely through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detracters: the that they should send him to his army, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this war. So when the Ambassadors were arrised in Sicil & after they had made diligent inquiry according to the articles of their comissionthey could not finde that Scipio was faulty in any thing, fauing that he had too lightly paffed merthe wrongs and injuries Pleminius had done vnto the Loca IANs. For Scipio was very libe- Scipios nafallin rewarding of his men, and exceeding curreous, & merciful also in punishing of them. But ture. when they faw his army, his ships, and all his other furniture & munition for war: it is reported that they wondered so much to see the great abundance, and good order taken for althings, that whenthey returned to Rom E, they greatly commended Scipio, and rejecting all the acculations of his accusers, they did promise the Senat & people of Rom Bassured hope of victory. So when althefe home-troubles at Rome were take away, there chanced other outward troubles abroad that grieuced him much. For y Ambassadors of king Syphan came and told him, that their master King Si. hadmade new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become friend vnto Hafdrubal, whose pharrened daughter he had maried; and therfore that he wished him if he meant to do his country good, to make no attempt vpon Africk E, for he was determined to reckon the Carthaginians his mainet, fiends, & alfo to fet vpon them who the CARTHAGINIAN'S account their enemies. Scipio quicklyreturned the ambaffadors againe vnto Syphax, because the effect of their comming should not beblownabroad in his camp; and gaue them letters, in which he praidking Syphax, that remembring his league & faithful promise, he shold beware he attempted nothing vinworthy the name ofaRomain, & faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told them that the Ambassadors of king Syphax were come into Sicil E, to coplain of his long tarying, as Masinissa had done before. Therfore he was to hasten his journy to go into A FRICK, and therupon commandedallhis fouldiers to put themfelues in readinesse, and to prouide all things necessary for their journy. The Confuls comandement being published through al Sicil B, there repaired immediatly vnto LILYBEA a multitude of people, not only of those that were to faile into Africk, but of others also that came to see the fleete & army of the Romain Es: because they never saw marmy better furnished, nor fet out with all things necessary for warre, nor better replenished with fouldiers, then that. So Scipio, althings being ready imbarked at LILYBEA with fo earnest a desire to passe ouer the sea, that neither oares nor wind did cotent his mind. Yet he was brought infewdaies failing, to the promontory or mountaine called Faire, & there he put all his men on land. The newes of his arrival flying straight to CARTHAGE, althouity was presently in such an vprore, that sodainly they sounded the alarme, and guarded the gates & walles, as appeareth by tellimony of some in writing. For from M. Regulus time vnto that present day, it was almost fifty yeers space since any Romain captain ener entred Africk with force of armes. And therfore it was no maruell though they were afraid, and grew to vprore. The name of Scipio did increase their feare the more, because the CARTHAGINIANS had no captaine marchable with him. Has drubal the sonne of Gifeo had the name at that time of a lusty Captaine, whom they knew had

notwithstanding bene ouercome, and driven out of Spaine by Scipio. Howbeit putting all the

hope and fafety of their country in him, and in king Syphax that mighty king: they never left in-

treating the one nor perswading the other, to come and help the affaires of AFRICK, with althe

speed they could possible. So, whilest these two were preparing to joyne both their armies toge-

thet, Hannibal the fon of Hamilear, being appointed to keepe the next country adioyning to it,

came against the Romain Bs. Scipio after he had destroyed the country, and enriched his army

with great spoile, he camped by the city of VTICA, to see if it were possible for him to win so

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lous great flaughter of the Carnoble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the wars both by sea and land At the selfesame time Masinissa came to the Romains camp, and was inflamed with a vehement defire to make war against king Syphax, by whom he had before bin driven out of his kingdom & inheritance, Scipio that had known him in Spains, a yong Prince of an excellent wit, & quick & valiant of his hand, he fent him to discouer the army of the enemies, before the CARTHAGI MIANS could gather any greater power, and willed him to vie al the device and meanes he could possible to intice Hanno to fight. Masinisas he was commanded, beganto prouoke the enemie and drawing him out by litle & litle, he brought him where Scipio lay with al his legions armed looking for a good houre to fight. The army of the enemies was now wearied, when the Ro. MAINES came to fet vpon them with their fresharmy. Hanno at the first onset was ouercome & flaine, with most of his men: and all the rest fled and dispersed themselues here and there, where they thought they might best scape. After this victory, scipio returning back againe to besiege the city of Vrica, the fodaine coming of Hafdrubal and king Syphax, made him to leane office enterprise, for that they brought with them a great army both of footmen and horsemen, and came and camped not far from the ROMAINES. Scipio perceiuing that, raised his siege immedia atly, and came and fortified his camp vpon a hill, from whence he might go and fight with the enemy, and molest them of Vrica, and also keepe his ships safe that rode at anker. Howbeitthe time of the yeare being come, that both armies were to dispose their me in garrisos for the winter season, he determined to send vnto king Syphax to feele his mind, and to make him leauethe friendship of the Carthaginians if it were possible. For he knew welit was his mariage with Sophoniba, which through her flattering perswasios had broght him to that fury, that he had not only for faken the friendship of the Romaines, but also meant to destroy them, contrary to his faith and promise; and that if he had once satisfied the heate of his love with her, he thought then he might becalled home againc. Syphax having understood Scipices message sent him, heanswered, that indeed it was time, not only to leave the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but allow give vp all thought of war; and so promised, that he would be a good meane to make peace. Sci. piogauegood care vnto it, and caught hold of an excellent fine device. He chose the valiantest fouldiers in his army, apparelled them like flaues, and made them waitevponthe Ambassadors, and gaue them instructions what they should do. These fellowes, whilest the Ambassadors and King Syphax were in talke together about the articles and conditions of peace, and that the confultation held longer then it was wont to do, they went and walked vp and downer through the enemies campe, to fee all the waies and entries into it, according vnto Scipioes instructions. After they had done this divers times, they came againe to Scipio. Truce was take for a time, the which being expired, Scipio seemed to make preparation for wars, (as being out of hope of any peace) and to make his army ready by fea, preparing engines of battery to returne to befiege VTIGA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumorthrough althe country to perswade his enemies that it was true: howbeit having called the Captaines & pettie Captaines of his army together, he made them privile to his intent and enterprise. He told them that both the enemies camps lay not farre a funder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents and cabines of wood; and the building of the other camp was all of reeds, for that they were both eafle to be burnt. Wherupon having sent for Masinisa and Cains Lalius to come vnto him, he gave them charge about midnight to give alarme vnto Syphax camp, and to fet it on fire: & that he himselfe on the other side, would fet vpon the CARTHAGINIAN'S camp. They two obeyed Scipioes commandement, performed his will without delay, & came at the houre appointed them to affaile the NYMIDIANS camp, and so did set the houses of reeds on fire; which took fire in such fort, as the slame was immediatly roud about the camp. The NVMIDIANS at the first thinking the fire had come by milfortune, ranne thither straight vnarmedto quench it. But when they found themselues among the legions of the Romaines, and that there was nothing but killing downeright, seeing themselues so compassed in on al sides, they saw their best remedie was to slie. On the other sidealso, where Scipioes army was, the CARTHAGINIANS camp was almost alburnt, and the enemies put to flight with such cruell slaughter, that some writers affirme, there were slaine that night about forty thousand men, aswell Carthaginians as Nymidians. This great ouerthrow and flaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in such a feare and terror, that fomethought best to send for Hannibal out of ITALY, & others gaue aduice to make peace with Scipio. Howbeir the Bancinian faction which was rich and wealthy, and altogether against the

neacemakers, they so prevailed, that they leavied a new power to begin war againe. King Syphas and Haldrubal having leavied a great multitude of footmen and horsemen againe, renged their armie sooner then was looked for, & came againe to pitch their campe directly ouer against the enemies. Scipie hauing understanding of that, would not taric, but determined to give the battel, whilest his men were in good heart & willing to fight. So it chanced at the first, by the nearenes of both their camps, that there were certaine skirmishes: but in the end, the armies came to joyne battel & the Romains fought with fuch courage & terror; that at the first onset they made the Nymidians & Carthagintans flie, and flue the most part of them. Haldrubal & Syphax scaped, by flying out of the flaughter. Scipio fent Masinisa and Cains Lalius with the light horsemen to give the chase. Syphax being come into Nymidia, and from thence into his own realme and kingdome, he leavied an army in hast of all forts of people, and came to meete with Masinista & Caim Lelius, & was not afraid to give them battell But it was a fond part of him, confidering that hewas nothing like fostrong as his enemy neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelihood of fouldiers. For neither the fouldiers nor captaines of his army were matchable with the fouldiers and captaines of the Romaines camp: and therfore king Syphan was eafily ouercome by such skilful fouldiers, & moreouer was himselferaken in battel, with many other great noble Makelimen, whom Masinissa would hardly have looked for: and then they were brought vnto Scipio. At antonorthe first there was a maruellous ioy among them, when it was told them that king Syphax should taken in bebrought prisoner vnto the camp: but afterwards when they saw him bound, they were alsory basted. to fee him in fuch pitifull state, remembring his former greatnes & regall maiefly. For they called to mind how famous the name of this King had bin but a litle before, what wonderfull great wealth he had, & also the power of sogreat a realine & kingdome. Howbeit Scipio the Romain Confull received him very curreoufly, and gently asked him whathe meant to change his mind in that fort, & what moued him to make war with the ROMAINES. The the king remebring his former friendship & faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the love he bare to his wife Sophonisba, who only had procured him to deale fo dishonorably with the Romaines; howbeit, that he had so smarted for it, as al others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreme misery to see that his mortal enemy Masinisa was so taken with that frenzie and mad humor, wher with he before was possessed. For after Syphax was ouercome & taken, Masinisa went into CYRTHA, the wan the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found Sophonishathere, with whom he felin fan- city of cyrtiewho after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitful flatteries & kindnes, he promised heralfo to deliuer her out of the Romains hands and because he might the better performe his lour with promise made, he took her to his wife & maried her. When Scipio was informed of these things, itgrieued him maruellously. For it was knowne to all men, that Syphax was ouercome vnder the conduct, & through the Romains meanes: and therfore althat was belonging to Syphan, was at the disposition of the Romains. Wherfore if Masinisa had without Scipioes consent, vndertaken to defend sophonisbaes quarell, then it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, and the maiefly of the people of Rome. Furthermore, his filthy lust did aggrauate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intolerable, by how much the cotinecy of the ROMAIN Consul was the greater, the which Masinisa saw daily before his eyes, and might have bene apaterneand example vnto him. For Scipio besides many other proofes & shewes of his vertues, in of scipio. alplaces where he obtained victory, he alwaies kept the women undefiled, which were take prifoners. So Scipio being offended with Masinista, (though he shewed it not before company) reteiuedhim very louingly at his returne to the camp; yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a seuere captaine. Whereupon Masinissa went into his tent and wept, and could not tel what way he should take howbeit shortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpossible for him to keep promilewith Sophonisba, which grieued him to the heart : he fent her poy son, and a message withall; possend her the which she dranke immediatly, and so willingly made her selfer away: Furthermore, the CAR
Alasinistas

THACTAY And affect they had accounted such wonders. Il care to self-strong to the control of THAGINIANS after they had received such wonderfull great losses & overthrowes, one after an presurement. other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to such a straight & extremity, that they were nomore to looke after the enlarging of their dominions, but only to confider which way they might keepe their own country: they fent for Hannibal to come out of ITALY. Who returning Maly, tere-With great speed into Arrick, before he did anything else, he thought good first to talke with

Sobbanieba.

The battell al Zama, & Scipioes victory of the Cartha. ginians. of Hannibal

P.Scipio about peace: either because he was afraid of the good fortune of this yong man, or elle for that he mistrusted he could not otherwise helpe his countrey and commonwealth, which he faw decaying & like to be destroyed. Wherfore a place was appointed, where they might meet according to his defire: where when they were both met, they had long talketogether about the ending of this war. In the end Scipio offered Hannibal fuch conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the ROMAINES were not weary of war, and that Scipio himselfe being a yong man, had better hope to obtaine victory, then great defire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being fet afide, they brake off their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthy Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared themselves to battel, either to give or takeawav in short time from their common-weales, the seigniorie and Empire of all the world. The place where they employed altheir force, and where this famous battel was fought, as it is reported was by the city ZAMA: in the which the ROMAINES being conquerours, did first make the Eles phants flie, then the horsemen, and in the endbrake so fiercely into the footmen, that they ouer. threw al the armie. It is reported that there were flaine & taken by the Romaine's about font thousand Carthaginians. Hannibal fled out of the fury of the battel, & saued himself, though that day he had shewed himselse like a valiant & famous Captaine. For at this battell he had see his army in better order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it both with the commodity of the place, and reliefe beside: and euen in the very fury and terror of the battelhe fo bestirred himself among his souldiers, that the enemies themselves did commend and praise him for anoble Captaine. After this victory, Scipio meeting with Vermina king Syphax fon, that brought aide to the CARTHAGINIANS, he put Ifim to flight, and came and brought his army to the walles and hauen of CARTHAGE, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that the CARTHAGINIANS would fue to him for peace. For as the CARTHAGINIAN's before had bene very good foldiers. and ready to make wars: so were they now become timorous and faint hearted, specially when they faw their General Hannibal ouercome, in whom they chiefly reposed at their hope & trust, for defence of their country. Wherefore they being (as I have faid) out of heart, fent ambassadors vnto Scipio, to pray him that according to his accustomed elemencie, he would grant them peace. Now was great suite made at Rome, to have the gouernmet of the province of Africk and one of the new Confuls made hafte to come and make war, with such charge and preparation as was meet for his dignity and calling: and therefore Scipio doubting that another should carie away the glory for ending of so great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAGINIAN ambassadors requests. So the capitulation of the articles of peace was offered vnto the CARTHAGINIAN'S, according to the conquerors mind: and besides all other things, the whole fleet of all their ships and gallies (in the which their hope consisted much) were taken fro them. For when the whole fleet was burnt, it was such a lamentable fight vnto them al, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if CARTHAGE had bindestroyed and razed to the very ground. For as some do write, there were fine hundredships burnt of all forts. These things therfore should make vs al beware of humane frailty, the which we often forget in our prosperity. For they that before perswaded themselves to conquerthe world, after they had wonne so many great battels & victories of the enemy, and in maner conquered all ITALY, and so valiantly besides besieged the city of Rome, were in shorttime after brought to such misery and extremity, that all their power and force being onercome, they had no more left them but the walles of CARTHAGE, and yet they were not fure to keepe them, but through the speciall grace and fauour of the enemy. After these things were done, Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not onely restore King Masinisa to his Realme againe, but also adding thereunto the best part of all king Syphax countrey, they made him one of the mightiest kings of all Africk: and afterwards he gaue honourable gifts vnto euery man as he haddescrued. In fine, after he had set all the affaires of Africk a at good stay, he brought his army back agains into ITAL Y:at what time there came to Rom a world of people, to fee fo great & famous a captaine, returning from such wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Kom with pompeof triumph, Terentius Culeo following him with a hat on his head, because that through his fauor and friendship he was taken out of bondage. Polybius writeth, that king Syphax was led intriumph: howbeit some say he died before Scipio triumphed. Indeed divers that did triumph, some before him during the warres of the CARTHAGINIANS, and others afterwards in the warres of MACEDONIA & ASIA, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold & silver in their triumph,

dred Ships of the Carthaginians

Scipioes re-Rome.

Scipio.

Scipines tri umph as Rome for the Cartha

and led also a great number of prisoners: howbeit one only Hannibal that was our come, and the glory of fogreat a warreended, did make the triumph of P. Scipio fo excellent and famous, that it far passed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphs. For after Africk E was conquered, no nation then was ashamed to be ouercome by the Romaines. For he made this province as it were a bridge and open passage to increase and enlarge the Empire of Rome, hoth in Macedon, and also in Asia, & in other parts of the world besides. Now Scipio (whom Imay rightly call African, after y conquest of Africk) being returned to Rome, he lacked notemporall dignities nor honours. For in the Counsell holden for the election of Censors, although there were divers others of the noblest houses of Roma that sued for that office, yet he himlelf, and Alius Pettu were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, Aliun Fe they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietnesse. Afterwards the Cenforsthat followed them, did still one after another chuse Scipio African Prince of the Senate: Scipio the which dignity was wont to be given to them onely, that obtained the type of all honour, Prince of through their great conquests and benefits done to their country. Shortly after, he was againe the Senate. chosen Consul with Sempronius Longus, the sonne of that Sempronius whom Hannibal overcame Scipis and in that great ouerthrow, at the battell by the river of Trebia. They two were the first (as it is reported) that deuided the Noblemen and Senators from the people, in the shew-place to see pafime. This separation was very odious to the people of Rome, and they were mariellously offended with the Consuls for it, because they tooke it, that increasing the honour of the state of the Senators, they thereby did discountenance and imbase them. Some say also, that Scipio A-FRICAN afterwards repented himselfe that he had taken away the old custome, & brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variance betwixt Masinisa and the Carthaginians, touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate fent Scipio thither with two other commissioners: who after they had heard the cause of their quarrell, they left the matter as they foundit, and would proceed no further in it. And this they did, because that the CARTHAGI- The craftie NIANS being troubled with civill warres at home, should take vpon them no other warres a- counsel of broad, neither should have ley fure to attempt any alteration otherwise. For the Romaines had greatwar with king Antiochus, and Hannibal CARTHAGINIAN was there with him, who still firred vp the old enemies against the Romains, and practised to raise vp new enemies against them, and in all things to counsell the Carthaginians to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the Romains nad brought the into under the title of peace, & to proue the friendship of thekings. Howbeit shortly after, the ROMAINES having obtained victory, & driven king Antiochus out of GRECE, they intended allo to conquer As IA: and therfore all their hope was in Scipio African, as a manthat was borne to end wars of great importance. Howbeit Lucius Scipio and Caius Lalius were Consuls, and either orthern made suite for the gouernment of As 14. The matter being confulted vpon, the Senate flood doubtfull what judgement they should give, betwixttwo fo famous men. Howbeit, because Lelius was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater estimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when P. Cornelius Scipio AFRICAN, the ederbrother of Lucius Scipio, praied the Senate that they would not dishonour his house so, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides very wise, and that he him. selfealso would be his Lieutenant: he had no sooner spoken the words, but the Senators receiuedhim with great ioy, and presently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordained in open Senate, that Lucius Scipio should go into GRECE to make warre with the Arolians, and that from thence he should go into As IA, if he thought good, to make war with King Antiochus: and also that he should take his brother Scipio African with him, because he should goe against Hannibal, that was in Antiochus army. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection The natural of Publius Cornelius Scipio African, the which he first shewed from his youth vnto his father lone of Sci-Cornelius, and afterwards also vnto his brother Lucius Scipio, considering the great things he had to his brodone? For, notwithstanding he was that AFRICAN by name that had ouercome Hannibal, that ther Lucius had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praise of martiall discipline: yet of his own good nature he made himfelfe inferior to his yonger brother, because he might haue the honour of obtaining the gouernement of that province from his fellow Conful Lelius, that was fo well beloued, and of great estimation. Lucius Scipio the Consul brought great honourto his country by that war, for that he followed the found and faithfull counfell of his brother. For first of all going into GRECE, he took truce for fixe moneths with § ÆTOLIANS,

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through the aduice of his brother AFRICAN: who counfelled him, that fetting all things apath he should straight go into Asia, wherethe warre was rifest. Afterwards also he wanne Prusa king of Bythinia from Antiochus friendship, who before was waucring vp and downe, doubt full which fideto take, and all through his brother African's meanes and practife. So the au. thority of the African wasvery great, and all those that would obtain any thing of the Con. ful came first to the AFRICAN to be their meane & interceffor. Now when he came into Asia. Antiochus ambassador, and Heraclides Bizantian; came unto him to offerto make peace, and after they had openly told their message perceiving that they could not obtaine reasonable conditions of peace, they privatly talked with Scipio African, as they were commanded, and Dra. Clifed the best they could to make him king Antiochus friend. For they told him, that Antiochus would fend his yonger sonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the gouernement of all his Realme, onely referring the name and title of King. Howbeit P. Scipio, excelling no leffe in faithfulneffe and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he told them, that for his sonlie would take him for a maruellous friendly gift: & that for a private good turne, he would dothe beft he could to require him with the like: Howbeit, that he would counfell the King about things to leave off thought of warre, and to receive those offers and conditions of peace which the Senate and people of Rome would offer him. Shortly after, Antiochue fent P. Scipio his son according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had bin taken prisoner from the first beginning of the war, as he went from CHALCIDE VINTO ORICYM: or as other writers fay, as he paffedby in a pinnace. Yet some hold opinion, that he was taken as he went to discouer the counsell'of the enemies, and that he was then fent againe vnto his father, lying ficke at the city of Elea. This great curtefic of king Antiochus was maruellous well thought of by the African, & not with our cause: for to see his son after he had bene away so long, it did greatly lighten his spirits, and diseased body. But P. Scipio to shew some token of a thankfull mind, prayed the Ambassadours that came vnto him, greatly to thanke King Antiochus for the exceeding pleasurehe haddone him, to fend him his sonne. Afterwards he gaue Antiochus aduice also, that he should not gine battell, till he understood of his returne from EL BA to the camp. So Antiochus being perswaded by the authority of so worthy a man, he kept close in his camp for a certaine time, and determined to draw the warre out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to speake with the Confull, by the African's meanes. But afterwards, the Conful camping hard by Magnesta, did so vexe and prouoke the enemie, that the King came out to battell, and set his men inbattell ray. It is reported that Hannibal himselse was present at the battell, being one of the Generals for the King. So Antiochus being ouercome, and his army discomfited, perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires, he came vnto the African, (who being newly recovered of his ficknesse, came to the campe a little after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtained of the Confull to be contented to talke of peace. When Antiochus ambassadours were come to the campe, and had humbly craued pardon in the behalfe of their King, and also prayed that they would give them fuch conditions of peace, as they best liked of: Scipio A FRICAN with the confent of them all answered them, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to yeeld to aductfity, neither also to be proud in prosperity: and therefore that he now made him the selfe same offer and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the king should not meddle with EVROPE: that he should surrender vp all he had in Asia, from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the river of Tanais: that he should pay tribute twenty yeares together: that he should also put in such hostages as the Consull would chuse out: and that specially about all the rest, they should deliuer Hannibal CARTHAGINIAN Vnto the Consull, who was the only author and procurer of this warre. But he, as we have written in his life, perceiuing that king Antiochus army was ouerthrowne both by sea and by land, escaped the Romaine's hands, and went vnto Prifias King of BYTHINIA. Antiochus hauing accepted the offers and conditions of peace, faid, that the ROMAINES vsed him very fauourably, to rid him of so great care, and to appoint himso small a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and ouer-much wealth which every man covereth, are full of great and fundrie troubles: infomuch that Theoriens words are as true, as otherwiseescellently written.

Great king-domes and wealth are full of tron-

being ouer-

The things I wish are neither wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne, Nor yet of swiftnesse and of strength to beare away renowne;

But singing with a merric heart in simple shed to looke Aloofe voon the troublous feas, that are fo hard to brooke.

So when the mighty King of Asia was our come, and that so great a war was so easily ended beyond all mens opinion; the Confull L. Scipio returned to Rom B, and made his entrie into the city, shewing a great and honourable triumph. He also deserved the surname of the province and countrey subduced by him. Sothat, as his eldest brother was called African, for that he had conquered Africk: euen fo was Lucius Scipio furnamed As IAN, for conquering Asia vnto Rome. And P. Scipio, through whose counsell his brother Lucius had brought his watres to happieend, he went not cleare without honour also. For shortly after, two noble Censors, 7. 9. Flaminius, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus chosehim Prince of the Senate the third time. of Mis. Now at that time, the house and family of the Scipioes and Cornelians flourished with supreme nin, de.c. degree of honour: and the authority of Scipio African was growner o fuch height and great. degree of nonour; and the authority of scipto African was growners fuch height and great-nefle, as no private man could wish to be any greater in a free city. Howbeit the secret malice of the time of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greatnesse and authority, began at length to the souriburst out, and to light vpon those that were the authors of so great things. For two Tribunes of some formers the people, suborned (asit is reported) by Porcius Cato, accused P. Scipio African for keeping The inconbacke king Introchus mony, and because he brought it not into the common chamber or trea. Saucie of furie. Scipio African knowing his innocencie, being called by the Magistrate, shewed himselfe worldly obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenance, and there made an oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his country and commonwealth. The rehearfal of the fethings did not mislike the common people that were present: because he did it rather to avoid the danger prepared for him, then otherwise for any vaineglory or oftentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no iniurious words, but accused him as though he had indeed bene in fault, howbeit vpon suspicion, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commanded to come before them againe, he appeared at the houre appointed, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole affembly, & went up to the pulpit for oratios When he faw that enery ma kept filence, then he spake in this maner: I remember, my lords, that on such a day asthis, I wan that famous victory of Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leaving asidethis contention, I think it good we go vnto the Capitol, to give God thanks for the victory. So he departed thence, and all the whole affembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but also to all the other temples of the city, leaving the two Tribunes al alone with their Sergeants. That day was the very last day of the African's good fortune, for the great affembly and multinde of people that waited upon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that fortunate day forward he determined to get him into the country form that for the day of the day forward he determined to get him into the country, farre from all ambition, and the company of people : and fo went vnto Linternymin a maruellous rage, that for reward of his fo great seruice, and so sundry benefits, as he had brought vnto his country, he received but shame. The volunand reproch: or elfe for that indeed being (as he was) of a noble mind, he thought it more honor willingly to give place to his enemies, then to feel to maintaine his greatnes by force of armes. willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to feek to maintaine his greatnes by force of armes. Sowhen the Tribunes did accuse him of contempt, and that his brother Lucius did excuse his Rome. ablenceby reason of his sicknesse: Tiberius Gracebus, one of the Tribunes that was against the T. Gracebus AFRICAN, tooke his excuse (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did so well defend Scipioes cause, sometime honourably praising him, another time also threatning his enemies, that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruelloufly offended for the great iniurie they did him. Some do write that P. Scipio himself, before he went vato Linternym, did with his own handsteare the booke his brother had brought vato the Scnate, to deliuer the account of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit or pride, but with that felfe boldnesse of mind he aforetime vsed to the treasurers, when he did against the law require the keyes of the common treasure, to supply the present need of the State. Now Divers opi. fome there be also that say, it was not the African, but Scipio Asian that was accused before nions about the Tribunes: and that Scipio African was fent incommission at that time into Thyscan. the accusation of the scan was fent incommission at that time into Thyscan. Who, vnderstanding of his brothers accusation, at his returne to Rome, and finding his brother African, Lucius condemned, and the Sergeants waiting on him to carrie him, being bound, into prison, he was in such a rage withall, that he rescued his brother by force out of the Sergeants hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beside, that Tiberius Gracchus

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one of the Tribunes, complaining first that the authority of the Tribuneship was trode vnder fecte by a private person, he afterwards letting fall all the malice and envie he bare vnto the seiproes, defended their cause, because the Tribunes should rather seeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a prinate person. They said moreouer, that the selfe same day the Senate suppedin the Capitol, he perswaded the African to let Tiberius Gracebus marrie his yonger daughter. This promife was no fooner made, but P. Scipio coming home to his house, told his wife that

he had be flowed their daughter: wherupon she being angry, told him againe, that he should not have maried her without confent of her mother, though he could have bestowed her vpon Tiberius Gracchus. This answerliked Scipiomaruellous well, when he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the mariage of their daughter. I know it is thought of some, that it was attribu-

ted to Tiberius the sonne, and to Appins Claudius his father in law. For Polybius, and other ancient writers affirme, that Cornelia, the mother of Caius and Tiberius Gracchi, was maried vnto Gracchin

after the Africans death. For Scipio African was maried vnto Amylia the daughter of L. Paulus Emylius Conful, that was flaine at the battel of CANNES. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldest was maried vnto P. Cornelius Nasica, and the yonger vnto Tiberius Gracchus, either before or after the death of his father. Now touching his sonne, there is litle mention

made of him in writing, that a man may write of certaintie to be true. We have spoken of his yonger sonne that was taken by king Antiochus, and afterwards frankly sent vnto his fatherof whom notwithstanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, saving that some say he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of Cicercius his fathers Secretaric.

There appeareth in writing also, that the yonger African was adopted by the son of P. Scipia. Cicero in his booke intituled Cato Maior faith, how weake (faid he) was the fonne of P. African that adopted thee his fon? And in his fixt book also derepub. Amylius the father exhorteth sal

pio his son, to follow instice and pietie, as his grandfather Scipio African had done. And touching the death of P. Scipio African, writers do diverfly varie: for some say, that he died and was buried at Rome. And for proofe thereof, they do bring forth the monument that was fet

vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which stood three statues or images, two whereof were the images of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third was of 2 Emnius the Poet. And furely that steeme of which Cicero wrote, scemeth to confirme it true: our Ennius, faid he, was maruellously belowed

of African the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buried in Scipioes tombe. Other authors write alfo(& furely they agree best with the common report) that Scipio Africandied at LINTERNYM, & that there he was buried at his own appointment; because his country form. Poet, by the

thankfully acknowledging his feruice, should do him no honour at his death; and that therethey fet him vp a tombe, and his statue vpon that, the which afterwards was blownedowne by a

tempest of wind, and the which Linie himselfe wirnesseth he saw. Furthermore, by CALETAthis Linternum.

Epitaph was grauen in a plate of copper, set in a marble tombe. The man that vanquisht Hannibal, and conquer'd Carthage towne,

And eke increast the Romaines both in Empire and renowne,

Lies here a heape of dust and earth, bid underneath this stone:

His deeds, bis proweffe, and his life, are altogether gone.

Whom neither Europe could with stand, nor Africke in times past, (Behold mans frailtie) here he lies in little roome at last.

Now touching the time of his death, having made great fearch for it, I have found in certains Greeke authors, that the African lived foure and fiftie yeares, and died shortly after. Further more he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of al commendation for martiall discipline, and befides excelled in other vertues: the which did fo delight his mind, that he was wont to fay, he was neuer lesse idle, then when he tooke his ease: neither lesse solitarie, then when he was alone. For fometimes he would withdraw himselfe out of the assembly, and from all mens companie, and thought himselfe safe when he was alone. The same of his noble deeds was so great, that wherefoeuer he went, all forts of people would come and fee him. The common report went,

that when he was at LINTERNYM, there came certaine rouers vnto him, to see so famous a man, and to kiffe that so faithfull and victorious a hand. For vertue hath

great force and power with all forts, of people: because it doth not onely make the good, but the cuill allo to loue and honour it.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF

Hannibal with P. Scipio African.



POW let vs compare Hannibal and Scipioes deedes together, as touching their civil discipline. First, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifest, that both of them have bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they have not onely bene comparable with the noblest Kings and Princes in their time (being also in that age when warres flourished most) but with those also that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they hauing great and heavie enemies in their countrey, (who fought to ouerthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly goe through

with so great matters, and to obtaine such happie and famous victories, in strange and forreinewarres. Therefore passing ouer all other matters, what ado had Publius Scipio before he could obtaine to be sent into Africke, to make warre with the Carthaginians? Fabius Maximus, and other Noblemen of the city being greatly against it. Againe, what enemie had Hannibal of Hanno, who was prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now they both having overcome such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bring things to endworthy perpetuall memorie: not by chance, as it happeneth vnto many; but through their industrie, great wisdome, and counsell. So divers do wonder greatly at Hannibals courage and noblemind: who after he had facked the citie of SAGVNTVS, came boldly from the farthest part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great army of footemen and horsemen. and came to make warre with a great State and common-wealth, the which his predeceffors alwaies dreaded; and after he had wonne many battels, and slaine sundrie Consuls and Captaines of the Romaines, he came and camped hard by the city of Rome it selfe, and procured strange Kings and farre nations to make warre with the ROMAINES. He that was able to do logreat things as these, men cannot otherwise thinke of him, but that he was a great and valian Captaine. Othersalso speaking of Scipio, do greatly praise and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which hee defeated and put to fightin Spaine, and also for that he ouercame and tookethat great King Syphax prisoner. In fine, they come to praise that famous battell, in the which Scipio ouercame Hannibal at ZAMA. Forif Fabius (faid they) were praised, because he was not overcome by Hannibal, what estimation will they make of the African, who in a pitched battell ouercame that so famous and dreadfull Captaine Hannibal, and also did end so dangerous a warre? Besides also that Scipio did alwaies make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemie in plaine field: where Hannibal in contrary manner did alwaies viecraft and subtilitie, and was full of stratagemes and policie. And therefore all Authors, both Greeke and Latine, do count him very fine and subtill.

at the time of his death.

Scipio Afri-

can 54.

yeare old

The power of yersue.

offered him: and for that he was maruellous angry with the people of Rome, because they would have made him perpetuall Confull and Dictator; and confidering also that he commaunded they should set up no statue of him, neither in the place of the assembly, nor in the judgement seate, nor in the Capitoll: all which honours afterwards were given by the citizens vnto Cafar, that had ouercome Pompey. These were the civill vertues of the African, which were great and true praises of continencie. Now therefore, to deliuer you the summe and effect of these things, these two so famous Captaines are not so much to be compared together in their civill vertues (in the which Scipio chiefly excelled) as in the discipline of warres, and in the glory of their famous victories. To conclude, their deaths were somewhat alike: for they both died out of their countries, although Scipio was not condemned by his country as Hanni- .

> the citie. The end of Plutarchs lines.

bal was, but would by voluntary ba-

nishment die out of

Phormio Peripateti. ding Phi-los ophie in Ephesus.

Hannibale wittie anfwer vnto king Antio-

Furthermore, they greatly commend Hannibal for that he maintained this armie of fo fin drie nations, so long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMAINES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other fide, they blame him againe because he did not follow his victorie, when he had ouercome the ROMAINES at that famore battell of CANNES: and also because he spoyled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were so changed, that they seemed to be other souldiers then those that had ouercome the Romaines, at the fundry battels of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All writers do reproue these things in Hannibal, but specially his cruelty. For amongst other things, what crueltie was it of him to make awa man with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwards to burne them aliue? What shall a man say of them whom he cruelly put to death in the temple of lune 14. cinia, when he departed out of ITALY? For Scipio African on the other fide, if we shallow ther credit the best authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious with ters, we may fay, he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely lively and valiant in fight, but also curteous and mercifull after victory. For oftentimes his enemies prouedlik valiantnesse, the vanquished his mercy and elemencie, and all other men his faithfulnesse. Now therefore, let vstell you what his continencie and liberality was, which he shewed in Spaint vnto a young Ladictaken prisoner, and vnto Luceius Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: dothir not describe great praise. Now for their private doings, they were both vertuously brought va and both of them embraced learned men. For as it is reported, Hannibal was very familia with Socillus Laced Emonian, as the African was with Ennius the Poet. Some fay allo that Hannibal was fo well learned in the Greeke tongue, that he wrote an historie in Greeke touching the deeds of Manlius Volfo. Now truly I do agree with Cicero, that faid in his book de Oratore, that Hannibal heard Phormio PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, discourfing very largely of the office and duty of a Chieferaine and Generall, and of the Martiall lawes and ordinances: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philosopher, he should answer in no very perfect Greeke, but yet in Greeke, that he had seene many old doting sooles, but that he had neuer seene a greater doterd then Phormie. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, and Hannibal had a sharpe taunting wit in his answers. When King Antiochus on a time prepared to make war with the Romaines, and had put his army into the field, not so well furnished with armour and weapon, as with gold and silver : heasked Hannibal if he thought his army fufficient for the ROMAINES! Yea Sir, quoth he, that they be, were the enemies neuer fo couetous. This may truly be faid of Hannibal, that he obtained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the destruction of his countrey. Scipio in contrary manner did preserve his countrey in such safety, and also did so much increase thedo. minions thereof, that as many as shall looke into his deserts, they cannot but call Rome va thankfull, which liked rather that the African (preserver of the city) should go out of Rome, then that they should represse the furicand insolencie of a few. And for mine owner opinion, I cannot thinke well of that city, that fo vnthankfully hath suffered so worthie and innocent a person to bee injured: and so would I also have thought it more blame-worthic, if the city had bene an aider of the iniurie offered him. In fine, the Senate (as all men do repon) gaue great thankes vnto Tiberius Gracchus, because he did defend the Scipioes cause: and the common peoplealfo following the African, when he visited the temples of Rome, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shew how much they did love and ho nour the name of the Scipioes, And therefore, if we should judge the citizens hearts and goodwils by those things, men would rather condemne them for cowards to have suffered such outrage, then vnthankfull for forgetting his benefits: for there were very few that conferted to so wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very sorie for it. Howbeit Scipio, that was a man of great mind, not much regarding the malice of his enemies, was content rather to leave the citie, then by civill warres to destroy it. For he would not come against his countrey with enfignes displayed, neither would he solicite strange nations and mighty kings to come with forceand their aide to destroy the city, the which he had beautified with so many spoiles and triumphs, as Martin Coriolanus, Alcibiades, and divers others did, by record of ancient stories. For we may easily perceive how carefull he wasto preserve the libertieof ROME, because when he wasin Spaine, he refused the title and name of King which was

OF EPAMINONDAS, OF PHILIP OF MACEDON, OF DIONYSIVS THE ELDER, AND OF OCTAVIVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: COLlected out of good Authors.

Also the lives of nine excellent Chieftaines of warre, taken out of Latine from EMYLIVS PROBVS, by S.G.S.

By whom also are added the lines of Plutarch and of Seneca:
Gathered together, disposed, and enriched
as the others.

And now translated into English by Sir THOMAS NORTH Knight.



Printed by GEORGE MILLER, and are to be fold by Robert
Allot, at the figne of the black Beare in Pauls Churchyard. 1631



TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE ELIZABETH,

By
THE GRACE OF GOD OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND
QVEENE, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

HE Princely bounty of your blessed hand (most gracious Soueraigne) comforting and supporting my poore old decaying life, of right challengeth the trauels in my studie, the tabours of my body, and the prayers of my denotions, to be wholly employed for your Highnesse, and altogether dedicated to your

fernice. Wherein whilest f strive to bring in open shew some small performance of my most humble duty to your sacred Majestie, mine owne vnworthinesse amazeth me with trembling feare for my presumption, but that your Highnesse matchlesse grace to so many your most admirable vertues offer my pardon. Vnder which I present in all humble-nesse into your Majesties sacred hands, this my second translation of the late addition of sisteene other lives, vnto those former in Plutarch, published for benefit of my countrie, vnder protestion of the most royall name of your most gracious Maiestie. And albeit in respect of my selfe f offer but dutie, which f wish I could in other and better sort performe: yet f am the rather emboldened herein, for that the samous me-

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

morie of renowmed Emperours, mighty Kings, worthie Chieftaines and Generals of armies, yea and of two famous Philosophers Plu. tarch and Seneca, being the whole subject of this second translation. is worthily published under your Majesties patronage. Whose rare vertues and wonderfull wisedome, neither former mighty Kings, nor learned Philosophers might equall: from whose blessed fortunes many oppressed Kings and distressed kingdomes, have sought and found their fuccours: and whose most honorable and most happy peaceable governe. ment is worlds wonder to all posterity.

Wherefore most gracious and most bleffed Soueraigne, I beseech your Princely fauour to accept with grace the simple performance of your poore vnworthy servant his most bumble service, whose soule with beartiest prayer according to his most bounden duty, continually callet vnto God for preservation of your most royall person, in all honour, health, and happinesse, and so
still to reigne over vs.

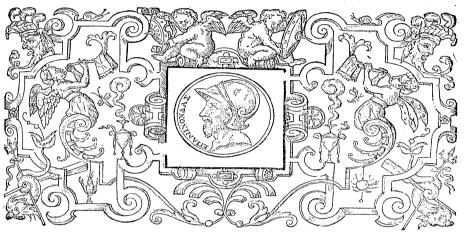
> Your Majesties most humble and obedient seruant,

> > THOMAS NORTH.

THE



THE LIFE OF Epaminondas.



O onely like thy selfe the world alwaies Admireth thy great valour grace and wit: And thinking to have all good parts in it, By having thee triumpheth in thy praise.



Riters of histories report that Cadmus the sonne of Agenor having taken sea out of Phenicia into Evrope, by commandement of an Oracle he left the countrey of Thracia where he haddwelt, and came into Bozoria, where he had great doings against a certaine neighbor-people called Sparrans: of whom having overcome part of them by fubtilities, he made alliance with the chiefe of those that were left aline, and grew into such fauour with them, that hedrewthem and their people vnto Theres, where these great men which were of noble house tooke them wines, and so had a great number of worthy men

of noblerace descended from them. Of which some of them were very rich men, and attained to the tipe of royall dignity: as Creen and Iocastus. Now because they were deuided into two principall houses, it is hard to judge out of which of the two families of the Chronians or Echionides, Polymnis the father of Epaminondas was descended. Some are of opinion that he came out of the house of another chiefe man of the Spartans, called Vdaus, from whom descended thediuine Tiresias. But howsoeuer it was, he descended from one of the most noble and ancient houses of the Thebans, of whom they report this notable thing: that the most part of this noble lines exist man their holds over for a normall hind. this noble linage caried upon their body even for a naturall birth-marke from their mothers wombe, a Snake: and so did they beare it in their armes in deuice of their Scutchions. Touching this matter, I hold the faying of the Poet Euripides to be true: that the honor of noble houles falleth to decay, if once their goods faile them. For the pouerty wherof some of Epaminon-B b b b b 3

ชื่อกใจเขาหน่ father to Epaminon. Epaminondas his ver-

> Choolemafer to Epaminondas.

Epaminondas exercifer in his youth. Epaminon.

das ancestors made profession of vertue, seemed to be the cause that they were made small ac. count of. Otherwise I cannot allow that the said Poet spake of, that a noble and vertuous man is no body if he be poore. For one Epaminondas onely throughly confuted this opinion, who notwithstanding he was exceeding poore, obtained neuerthelesse the chiefest places of honor in the common wealth: for he was one of the best learned and most excellent Philosophers of the world, being Platoes follower & familiar, and the most renowmed man of all the GREEKS. as appeareth by the discourse of his life. Now Polymnis had two sonnes, to wit, Caphissas, and Epaminondas, whom he was very carefull to fee well brought vp and taught all the liberall and honest sciences, especially Epaminondas, who had the most stayed wit, and best inclined to vertue, desirous to hearken and to learne, humble, obedient, and wonderfull apt and docible. and according to the discipline of the THEBANS, he learned of one Dionysius to be very skilfull in fong and playing vpon inftruments. And as for learning, and in Philosophy chiefly, it happened well for him that he fell into good mens hands by fuch a meane. When the colledges and companies of the Pythagorian Philosophers that were dispersed through the cities of ITALY, were banished by the faction of the Cylonians: they that kept still together, met in councell at METAPONT to determine of their affaires. But fome feditious persons arose against them, setfire on all parts of the house where they were, and burnt them all together, sauing Philolaus and Ly. fis, who being young and lustie, faued themselues through the fire. As for Philolaus, he recounred the country of the Lycanians, and kept there with his friends: but Lysis went further, and got to THEBES, where when he was arrived, Polymnu received him, and prayed him to be Epaminondas schoolemaster, who was but a young boy, but yet of good capacity, and of very 27/6: agood great hope. This Philosopher imployed his endeuour to manure this noble and quickewit of Epaminondas, and in short time made him ready and perfect in all science and vertue: so that it is hard to find a more wise, graue, and vertuous person then he was, of whom it is fit we should fay somewhat more at large. When he was but fifteene yeares of age, he gaue himselfe to all manner of exercises of the body, as to run, wrestle, play at the weapons, and to practise all manner of armes : and being quickly skilfull in all thefe, he then gaue himfelfe to his booke, being naturally filent, tearefull to speake, but never wearied to heare, and to learne. Whereupon spinthares the TARENTINE having benea long timewithhim in THEBES, said, he never spaketo any man that knew so much and spake so little as Epaminondas. If he fortuned to be in any company where there was talke of Philosophy, or of state matters, he would never from thence till he faw the matter ended that was propounded. Furthermore, he had no great liking of these darke & mysticall arguments of some, that think to hide vertue in the obscurity of their words, but he gaue himselfe wholly to the true practise thereof: though otherwise he was as pleasanta man to giue a fine slent in discourse, as could be possible to be found, as the disputation betwixt him and T beanor, touching pouertie and riches doth witnesse, which worthily deserueth tobe mentioned here, as in his proper place.

EPAMINONDAS.

Lysis after he had lived a long time in THEDES, died, and was honorably interred by hisdifciple Epaminondas, who had honored and entertained him whilest he lived, & at his death omitted no ceremonies requisite at his funerall. Arcesus, one of the chiefe of the Pythagorian Philosophers that stayed in Sicilia, understanding that Lysis was at Thebes, through age notableto go to him: appointed by his will and testament, that they should bring Lysis aliue againe into ITALY if it were possible, or at least wife the rest of his bones, if so it happened he were dead. The warres that fell out in the interim were a hinderance that that could not be done so specdily. But when the wayes were open and free, the Pythagorians fent Theanor of their fecto THEBES, where he found Lysis dead and buried: and so coming to Epaminondas, after salutation ons and preambles, told him before Polymnis and Caphifias, that his companions which were very rich, willed him to give Polymne and his children a good summe of money, in recompense of their courteous entertainement which they had giuen to Lysis. Whereupon after pleasantexcuses made, Epaminondas concluded, that none could be received: and added further that Isfon a Captaine of the THESSALIANS thought I had given him a rude and vnciuill answer, when he having earnestly intreated me to take a good summe of gold which he gaue me, I sent him word that he did me wrong, and began to make warre with me: for that he afpiring to make himselfe a Lord, would corrupt me with money, a plaine citizen of a free towne, and liuing vnder the law. But for thee, Theaner, I commend thy good will, because it is honest EPAMINONDAS.

and vertuous, and I loue it with all my heart: but I tell thee, thou bringeft physicke to men that be not ficke. Admit then that thou hearing we had bene in warres, haddeft brought vs armes to defend vs, and then in the same place thou haddest found vs quiet, and in good peace and amitie with our neighbours: thou wouldest not have thought it good to have bestowed these armes, and left them with those that had no need of them. Euen so thou art come to relieue our nouerty, as if it were a gricfe vnto vs: whereas to the contrary it is an easie and pleasant thing for vsto cary, and we are glad we have it in our house amongst vs: and therefore we need no armes descontents nor mony against that that doth vs no hurt at all. But thou shalt tell thy brethren there, that ment with they do yse their goods very honestly: and also that they have friends here which yse their ponerty well. And as for Lysis entertainement & burial, he himself hath fully recompensed vs. hauing taught vs amoght many other goodly things, not to be afraid of pouerty, nor to be gricued tofee it amongst vs. After Theaner had made some reply touching the good or euill of riches, as that if pouerty were not euill of it selfe, neither was riches to be had in contempt, and despised; No.truly faid Epaminondus:yet confidering with my selfethat we have a world of couctous defires of many things, some naturall as they call them, and borne with vs, bred in our flesh by the lufts pertaining to it; others ftrange vnto vs, grounded vpon vaine opinions, which taking a feeling and habit in vs by tract of time, and long vie through euill education, oftentimes doe pluckevs downe, and withdraw our foules with more force and violence, then those that be naturall vnto vs. For reason, by daily exercise of vertue and practise thereof, is a meane to take many of those things away from vs that are borne and bred within vs: yet this notwithstanding, we must vie continual force and exercise against our concupiscences that are frangers yntoys, to quench them in vs., and by all possible meanes to represse and subdue them. Now hauing made fufficient proofe of that, there is also, said he, an exercise of Iustice against greedy controusnesse of getting, which is not, not to go rob and rifle his neighbors houses in the night, nor not to rob men on the high way fide, nor if any man betray not his friends nor his country formony: fuch one doth not exercise himselfe against couerous herse, for law possible, or feare, bridlethhis couetous defire to offend any man: but that man that oftentimes willingly abstainutifrom just gaines, which he may lawfully take, he it is that by continuall exercise keepeth himselfe farre off from vniust and vnlawfull taking of money. For it is vnpossible that in great pleafures, yea wicked and dangerous, the foule should containe it selfe from coueting of them. valesse being oftentimes at his choise to vie them, he had not contemned them. And it is not caffe to oue recome them, nor to refuse great riches euill gotten being offered, unlesse he had long before killed in him this couetous defire of getting, the which belides many other habitudes and actions, is still greedily bent shamefully to gaine, pleasing himselfe in the pursuite of iniuffice, hardly sparing to wrong another, so he in any thing profit himselfe. But to a man that distaineth to receive liberality and gifts of his friends, and refuseth to take presents offered him by kings, and that hath rejected the benefits of fortune, putting by all couctous defires of glifteringtreafure layed before him: he shall neuer be affailed or attempted to do that that is vniust. nor his mind shall never be troubled, but will content himselfe quietly to do any thing that is honest, carying an vpright heart, finding nothing in it but that that is good and commendable.

But his life is farre more excellent then his discourse; and as touching that, I will yet speake somewhat ofit. Diomedon Dyzicenian, at Artaxerxes request, promised to win Epaminondas totake the Persians part. To bring this to paffe, he came to Theres, & brought a great maffe of gold with him, and bestowing three thousand crownes, he bribed a yong man called Mycithus, whom Epaminondas loued dearely. This young man went to Epaminondas, and acquainted him with the occasion of the other mans coming to THERES. But Epaminondas straight answeredhim, Diomedon being present: I have no need of money: if the king wish well to the THE-BANS, I am at his commandement without taking one penny: if he have any other meaning, he not be won hathnot gold nor filuer enough for me: for I will not fell the loue I beare to my country for all by bribes the gold in the world. As for thee that hast now attempted me, not knowing me, haply thinking with the meto belike thy felfe, I pardon thee: but get thee away quickly or of the city, lest thou seduce Persans. some other, having failed to corrupt me. And for thee Mycithus, deliuer him his crownes againe: and if thou doest it not presently. I will send thee before a Justice. Thereupon Diomedon befought him he would let him go away with fafetie, and cary that with him he brought thither. Yes mary, faid Epaminondas, but it shall not be for thy sake, but for mine honor; being afraid that

B b b b b 4

to take mo-

if thy gold and filuer should be taken from thee, some man would accuse me that I had a sharein that which I refused to take openly. Then he asked him: Whither wouldest thou I should cause thee to be conneyed? Diomedon faid, to ATHENS: which was done, and he had a very good conuoy with him: and because he should not be troubled by the way betwixt the gates of THERES. and the hauen where he should imbarke himselfe, Epaminondas gaue Chabrias the ATHENIAN charge of this man, that he should see him safe at his waies end, and so he straight returned backe

Ebaminon. das his tem berance in apparell 😙 Epaminondas redecned prifor

Now though he was very poore, yet he would never take any thing of hiscity or friends he was fo well acquainted with pourty, which he bare more patiently through his studie of Philofophy. For on a time having the leading of an army of the THEBANS into the country of Pr. LOPONNE SVS; he borrowed about flue crownes of a citizen for his expenses in his journy, Pelo. pidas being a man of great wealth, and his exceeding good friend, could not possibly euer make him take any part of his goods, but rather Pelopidas learned of him to loue pouertie. For Epani. nondas taught him to thinke it an honor to him to go plainely apparelled, to eate moderally, to take paines willingly, and to make warre luftily. But to releeue others, he would make bold to vie his friends goods, and in fuch a cafetheir goods were common to him. If any of his citizens were taken prifoner with the enemy, or any friend of his had a daughter to be maried, and was not able to befow her the called his friends together, and feiffed every man of them at a certaine fumme, and afterwards brought him before them that should have this money, and told him how much every man had bestowed upon him, that he might thanke them all. But on a timehe went far beyond this for he fent a poore friend of his to a rich citize of There's, to askeofhim fixe hundred crownes, and to tell him that Epaminondus willed him to let him haue them. The citizen being amazed at this demaund, went vnto Epaminondas to know what he meant to charge him fo deepely, to make him disburfe thefe fix hundred crownes vnto him. It is, faithhe because this man being an honest man is poore; and thou that hast robbed the commonwealth of much, art rich. He lived to foberly, and was fuch an enemy vnto all superfluitic and excesse. that being on a time inuited to supper to one of his neighbours, when he saw great preparation of fine meates, baked meates, made diffies, and perfumes: he faid vnto him: I thought thought dest made a facrifice, not an excesse of superfluity, and even so went his way. Even the like he spake of his own table, saying, that such an ordinary neuer received treason. On a time being at a feast with his peeres and companions, he drank vineger. And when they asked him what rea. fon he had to do fo, and if it were good for his health? I cannot tell, faith he, but well I wote its good to put me in remembrance how I line at home. Now it was not for that his nature milliked Tweet meates, that he lived thus firstly, and did love and embrace poverty, for he was manuellous high and nobly minded: but by his straight and vareprougable life he led, he thoughto bridle many infolencies & diforders then reigning among it the THEBANS, and to reduce them to the former temperance of their ancestors. As vpon a time a cooke giving vp an accountto him and his fellowes of their ordinary expences for certaine daies, he could find fault with nothing, but with the quantity of oyle that was spent. His companions maruelling at it: Tush, said he, it is not the expence that offendeth me, but because they have powred in so much oyle into their bodies. The city of THERES made an open feaft, and they were all of them in their banquets, feasts, and great affemblies one with the other: but Epaminondas to the contrarie, he went drie vp and downe the towne very fad, without being annointed with any oyle of perfume, or decked with braucapparel. Some of his familiar friends met him in this estate, & wondering at him, asked him why he walked to alone, & ill apparelled through the city? Becaufe, faid he, you might in the mean time fafely gine your felues to drink drunke, and make merie, taking thought for nothing. Thus have we spoken enough touching his temperance and as for his other vertues they are most famous in armes, the which he with great good fortune and happinesse managed for the good of his countrie.

to the The-

Now his modefly would in no wife fuffer him to feeke his aduancement, but contrariwife he withdrew himfelfe from gouernment, onely to give himfelfe quietly to the studie of Philofophic. Howbeit it happened that the LACED EMONIANS on a time prayed aide of the THE-BANS, at that time being in league with them, who fent them certaine foot bands. Epaminondate being about fine and thirty yeares of age, armed himselfe, and went with the rest. Thenit was that that friendship began betwixt Pelopidas and him, which constantly continued evento the

end. For they being both in battell ray, the one by the other, against the ARCADIANS, whom Theoreasson they had in front against them in the plaine of MANTINEA, it chanced that one of the points of of friend. the battell of the LACED EMONIANS, in the which they were retired, & many of them left their Epaminonal rankes: but they being resolute, determining rather to die then to flie, stood to it like men, vn- das and Fe. illihat Pelopidas being hurt in feuen places, fell downe vpon an heape of dead bodies: then Enaminondas though he tooke him to be but a dead man, stepped manfully before him to defend hisbodie and armes, and he alone fought against many, resolued to die in the place, rather then tolcaue Pelopidas among the dead men, vntil that himfelf being thrust into the breast with a pike and wounded in thearme with a blow of a fword, (ready to give ouer) by good fortune, and ina happie time, King Agespolis came on with the other point of the battell; and saued them hoth. Afterwards the LACED EMONIAN'S finely wanne the castle of THEBE'S called CADMEA. putinastrong garrison there, and gaue the gouernment of the citie vnto Archias, Philippus, and Leontidas, authors of all the mischiefe. Whereupon to avoide their violence, Pelopidas and many others with speed fled and saued themselues, and were banished by sound of trumpet. And as for Examinendas, they faid nothing to him, but let him alone in the city: for he was contemned as a man of no reckoning, because he was so given to his booke; and if he should have had any will to have stirred against them, he could have done them no hurt for his povertie. Now whilest Pelopidas and his companions being at ATHENS, had layd a plot to free THEBES, Epaminondas making no shew of any thing, had long before deuised another practise, which was, to lift up the hearts and courage of the young men of THEDES. For when they went out to play and exercifetheir bodies, he alwaies found a way to make them wrestle with the LACED EMONIANS. Afterwards when he faw the LACED EMONIAN'S fiercely throw them, and give them shrewd falles, they being the stronger, he rebuked the Thebans, and told them, it was a shame for them for want of courage to fuffer y LACED AMONIANS to fet their feet vpon their throats, that were not halfe so strong, rough, and boisterous as they were. All this while Pelopidas & his followers went on with their complot, and they had so good successe in their purpose, that one night they got privily into the city of THEBES, and met at Charens house, where they were to the number of eight and forty. Epaminondas knew all well enough, and fome towards night taking him aside, went about to perswade him to joyne with them in this enterprise, and to take armes with them to fet vponthese tyrants; maruelling much, that hee would be so backward, the liberty of his countrey standing upon it. He answered, that he had taken order with his friends and Gorgidusthat they should put themselves in readinesse vpon any occasion; howbeit that he would put none of his citizens to death, vnleffe they were condemned by law: yet if you will make an attempt for delivery of the city, so it be without murther, and shedding the bloud of the citizens, I will helpe you (faid he) with all my heart. If you will not beleeve me, but persevere in your determination, I pray you let me alone, pure and undefiled with the bloud of my citizens, and fo blamelesse to attend occasion, whereby I may justly take hold of that which may turne to the good of the commonwealth: for the murrher that wil be committed, cannot possibly be contained within reasonable bound. I do certainly beleeue that Pherecides and Pelopidas peraduenture will specially set upon the authors of the tyrannie: but Eumolpidas and Samiadas, both cholericke andfiercemen, taking the liberty of the night, they will neuer lay downe their armes, nor put their swords vp into their sheathes, before they have filled all the city with murthers, and slaine discreptible chiefe personages. Moreoucr, it is very convenient for the people of THERES, that some be left free, and blamelesse of this murther, and guiltlesse of al that shall be done in this futicefaction: for fo the people shall least suspect that we give any encouragement to their rising, although to good end. Notwithstanding al this the enterprise was executed, and the tyrants put The tyrants to death, the city restored to her ancient liberty, and the castle of Ca D in B a rendred vp by com-Polition, and Lyfandridas the LACED AMONIAN, and other commanders within, suffered to depart, with fafetie of their goods and the fouldiers. These were the beginnings of the long wars of the LACED EMONIANS against the THEBANS,

with whom the ATHENIANS ioyned in league. For Epaminondas, he quietly gaue himselfe to his book hot with standing he was put forward by Pammenes, a principall man of THEEEs, & he began to follow the wars very hotly, and in divers encounters made great proofe of his wifedome, hardinesse and valour: insomuch that by degrees he attained at the length to the highest highest detharges of gouernment in the commonwealth. And his citizens having made no further recko-

das freed Greece from fernitude.

The Thebans defend themfelues against A. gesilau, & are reuen ged on him.

Plabidas and soo of bis men flaine.

The Thebas hauing vepulled Age. Class dee triumth. Epaminondas a good captaine.

Africand victory of

Al Greece Saue the Thebans. with the King of Persia.

> Epaminon das maketh a notable oracion in

ning of him being a man of forty yeares old: after that they came to know him, and had truled him with their army, he faued the city of THEBES that was like to have bin vindone, and freedal GRECE from the feruitude & bondage of the LACED EMONIANS: making vertue as in a cleare light shine with glory, shewing her effects when time serueth. Furthermore, Agesilaus being entred into Bo For I A with an army of twenty thousand footmen, and five thousand horse, preyed and spoyled all the plaine countrey, and presented the THEBANS in open field that which they would not accept, finding themselves the weaker: howbeit they defended themselves so well through the alle of the ATHENIANS, and of the wife conduction of Epaminondas and Pelopidas. that Agestlaus returned home with his army. But after he was gone, the THEBANS went with their troupes before the city of THESPIES, where they surprised and put to the sword two hundred men of the garrifon, and afterwards gaue divers affaults one vpon another vnto the wall, and feeing their labour loft, they returned with their army back against o Thebes, How. beit Phabidas the LACED EMONIAN, hee that had taken the castle of CADMEA by treason. (whereupon rofe all this warre that followed) and was then gouernour of THESPIES, made a fallie out of the towne, and rashly went to give a charge vpon the THEBANS in their retreate. where he loft fine hundred of his men, and himfelfe was flaine in the field. Not long after, the LACED EMONIANS with the felf same power returned agains to make war with the THEBANS, who having wonne certaine streights and places of advantage, so blocked up the way, as they could not our rune the country, and spoyle it as they had done before. Neuerthelesse, Agestianu had so harried and troubled them, that by little and little they came to a maine battell, which held very long and cruell. Now though Agefilaus at the first had the better, yet the THEEANS charged him to hotly, that at the length he himselfe was hurt, and conftrained to retire, being well payed for teaching the THEBANS militarie discipline. And this was the first time that the THEBANS knew themselves to be as strong and lustic as the LACED #MONIANS: whereupon they triumphed in figne of victory, and from that time forwards they waxed more couragious to make head against the enemy, and to present them battell. But the onely thing that did most encourage them, was the presence of Epaminondas, who counselled, commanded, and executions ted very wifely, valiantly, and most fortunately. A certaine time after that, they went with a great number of good chosen men before ORCHOMENE, where they prevailed not because there was a strong garrison of the LACED EMONIANS, that sallied out vpon them to give them battell, which was very sharpe between them. And yet, albeit the LACED & MONIANS were many against one, the THEBANS gaue them the ouerthrow, which neuer happened to thembefore; but what nation focuer they had bene, they thought they had done a great feate, if with a greater number by many, they had opercome a small number of the LACED EMONIANS. But this victory, and the encountring of TEGYRE, where the THEBANS obtained another victory vnder the conduct of Pelopidas, lift vp their hearts on high, and made their valure more famous then before.

The next yeare following, Artaxerxes king of PERSIA, meaning to make warre in Agree, and therefore to retaine divers firangers, determined to appeale the warres against the GREEKES, in hope that they being at peace, would more eafily be contented that fouldiers should be leavied in their countrey; and thereupon sent his Ambassadours to all the townes of GREECE, to perswade & intreate them to be at peace together. The GREEKE'S were very willing to hearken vnto it, being wearied of all fides with folong a warre, and were eafily drawne to treate of peace; wherby it was especially agreed and concluded, that all the cities of GRERCE should be free, and vse their owne lawes; and commissioners were sent all about to withdraw the garrifons in enery place where any was kept. Vnto this the THEBAN'S onely refused to a gree, that every towne should by it selfe severally capitulate this treatie, requesting that the townes in the countrey of BOEOTIA should be comprehended under the city of THEBES Thereunto the ATHENIANS mightily opposed themselves, and there was one of their Orators called Callifratus, that touching this matter made a notable oration before the affembly of the States of GREECE. And Epaminon das on the other fide also, made a wonderfull and wehement oration indefence of the right of the THERANS: infomuch as this controversie was left undecided, and the treatie of peace was vniuerfally agreed and concluded amongst all the other GREEKES, the THERANS onely excepted, who were not comprised within the treatie. So through the motion of Epaminondas, they were bold to withstand the decrees of all the rest of GREECE. GREECE. For the ATHENIANS and LACED EMONIANS that many yeares before had conten- The Ather ded for the principality of GREECE, made then division together: so that the one should command by sea, and the other by land. Thus they could not like in no wise, that the THEBANS monians hould afpire to be chiefe, and therfore they fought to difmember the other towns of Bo Bot IA Parethe from the city of THEBES. And the rather for that the THEBANS being strong and lusty of government between the hodie, and encouraged for that of late they had oftentimes beaten the LACED EMONI- to keepe ANS. Would strive with them for the superiority of GREECE by land, but especially they had a Thibes on. wonderfull confidence in the wisedome and prowesse of their Captaines, but specially of Epaminindas. Matters resting thus doubtfull, the citizens of PLATÆES, a towne of BOEOTIA, defrous to be at league with the ATHENIANS, they fent to request some soldiers of them, promifine to put the town into their hands. The gouernors of the country of Bororia having intelligence of it, defirous to preuent the garrison of the ATHENIANS, brought a troupe of fouldiers against them, and they alcame before PLATÆES, before the townes men had any knowledge of their coming: infomuch that part of them were furprifed in the fields by the horsemen, and theother fled into the towne. But having no body to aide them, they were compelled to receineand accept fuch composition as it pleased the THEBANS to grant them: which was, to leaue their towne, and to go fafely with bagge and baggage, and neuer to return e againe into the COUNTRY Of BOBOTIA. After this, the THEBANS razed the city of PLATÆES to the ground, and The Thebans had the facke of the towne of THE SPIES, enemy vnto them. All the GREEK's folicited againe razePlaby the ambassadors of Persia, thought it good to make a generall peace, and so assembled the father commissioners of al the townes at Sparta. Epaminondas that was yet scarce knowne, because he loued nor to shew himselfe, and in all his exploits of warre had ever preferred the advancement of his great friend and companion in armes Pelopidas, before himselfe: yet famous among the GREEKE'S for his great knowledge and experience, was fent thither by the THEBANS. Epaminudas finding that the other commissioners did leane to Agesilaus, began to speake boldly and plainely, and made an oration, not onely in the Thebans behalfe, but for all Grece also: making them plainely fee, that war did ftill increase the greatnesse of the city of Sparta onely, andkeepe all the rest of the townes of GRECE vnder. Therfore he gaue counsel to alto establish afirme peace indifferently betwixt them, that thereby it might have the longer continuance, when all comprized within the contract should be equals. Agefilaus perceiving all the GREEKS affiliant at this affembly, to give very attentive care vnto him, and to be tickled, hearing him speakeso freely of peace: he asked him aloud if he thought it iust and reasonable, that all Bo BO- day round ris should be set at liberty. Eparainondas on the other side, did presently and boldly aske him and sharpe againe, if he thought not also that it was just and reasonable, that all LACONIA should be set at liberty. Thereupon Agestlaus in anger stood vp on his feete, and commanded him to answer laus. plainely, if they should not restore all the prouince of Bobor in to her liberty. Epaminondas returned the felfe same speech againe vnto him: if they should not also put that of Laconta in her liberty. This did so anger Agestlaus, besides that it did him good to have this colour for an old grudgehe barevnto the THEBANS, that forthwith he put the names of the THEBANS out of the in of those that should be comprized within the peace, and immediatly proclaimed open war against them. But this being done had euill successe afterwards, and by reason of the sodaine and Talhenterprise of the LACED & MONIANS, it turned to their vtter ouerthrow. For the THE-MANS, there was no remedy but they must beare the whole brunt alone: for there was not a townethat durst send them any aide, because they were all agreed and sworne to this peace, insomuch as euery one thought them vtterly cast away and vndone, Many pitied their estate, and they that loued them not, rejoyced: they made fo full account, that the LACED EMONIANS

should find nothing that could stand before them. Sothe LACED EMONIANS made king Cleombrotus march with his army towards THEBES: fix comfetand being come neare to CHERONEA with ten thousand footmen and a thousand horse, he lors for afficient pitched his camp there to flay for the rest of his allies. The THEBANS having intelligence of the approch of the enemy, chose Epaminondas to be captaine generall, giving him the charge of this two fores warre, with fixe other Councellers, whom they call Bastarches, as who would fay, Gouernours of BOEOTIA, to be of his counsell, and to affist him. Now there came Oracles to the Therans bowshey from all parts: some promising victory, others threatning ouerthrow. He commanded them toletthose on the right hand of the chaire for Orations, that promised victory: and those that

chiele can-

das incom. ragab bis fouldiers

threatened overthrow, on the left hand. They being thus disposed of the got vp to the chair fail Orations, and faid to the THEBANS: If you will be obedient to your Captaines, and couragions of heart to encounter your enemies, these here (shewing the good Oracles on the right hand) are yours: but if for faint hearts you refuse danger, those there (shewing the bad on theleft hand) shall be for you. Thereupon enrolling all the THEBAN'S names that were of age to beam armes, and of fome parts of Bo For IA those that he thought fittest for wars; word was brought him that a very honest and valiant man of his person died in his bed. O Hercules, said he, what had this man ley fure to die in all these troubles? His presence reioyced, and made all his army lively: also all the time he was Captaine of the THEBANS, they never fawany of these terrous happen in this campe without manifest cause, which they call sodaine feares. He was wonten fay, that there was no death more honest then to die in the warres: and that the body of a loul. dier should not onely be kept in exercise like the champions that fight for mastery, but rather more hardned to endure any labour or paines meet for a good fouldier. And ther fore he could notabide very fat men, but caffiered a whole band of the for that cause only: saying, that scarce three or four etargets could couer fo great a belly as did keepe him that he could not fee his own privities. So he drew his army out of THEBES, having in all but fixe thousand fighting men. P. uen as they were marching away out of THEBES, divers of the fouldiers thought they had had many valuckie fignes. For as they were going out of the gates, Epaminondas met on his wava Herald, that following an ancient ceremony and custome of theirs, brought an old blindman as if he hadbenerun away, and the Herald crying out aloud, Bring him not out of There so, nor put him not to death, but cary him backe againe, and faue his life. The old men tooke this mee. ting and cry for an cuill figne: but the young men kept filence, and spake neuer a word for feare it should be thought that their hearts failing them, they would feeke to diffwade Epaminonda from going the journey he had vindertaken. And he himfelfe, vinto fome that were bold total him, that it were well done before he went any further, to confider first what successet the first what successes the successes ing of the birds did promise vnto him, answered this verse of Homer:

It is a happy signe, to fight for his countrey. Such a present and franke resolution stopped the mouthes of all those that were not very constant. But there happened yet another signe worse then the first. For there went a Secretariebefore him carying a Iauelin, vnto y which was tyed a fcroll, to make the foldiers know that they should do what the Generall commanded them. The wind rose and blew of this scroll and caried it away, folding it vpon a fquare pillar that flood vpon a tombe of certain LACED AMONI-ANS, and PELOPONNESIANS that had bene flaine in that place when Ageflaus brought his army thither. Alfo there came againe certaine old men vnto him to speake with him, perswading and protesting that he ought not to go any further with his army, fince the gods were so manifeftly against it. All this notwithstanding he never ceased to march with his campe, thinking that the conscience and resolution to fight in a good cause, ought to be much stronger and of more force to put him in good hope, then these euill figues that appeared, to make him mistrust the worst. And as in marching to meete with the LACED EMONIANS they heard it hunder: they that were neare vnto him, asked him, what that thunder meant? That, faith he, betokeneth that the enemies braines are troubled & aftonied: feeing they having hard by them so commodious places, to campe in they now lye encamped where they are. Indeed they halted, staying for divers of their allies that came not all of them having at better ley fure confidered of the dicourse Epaminondas made in Sparta in open affembly of all the commissioners of every towne, against the ambition of the Laced Amonians. Epaminondas therfore applying to good purpose at that time all the goodly discourse he had learned by the studie of Philosophie, for the present time the common people blamed him much; but after the fortunate successe of his intention, euery manthen judged him to be a man ripely vinderstanding the dutie of a wise and valiant chieftaine of war. For making his army march with speed, he wanne the straights hard by the city of CORONEA, and camped there. Cleombrotus on the other fide, understanding that the THEBANS had gained that paffage, despairing he could not paffe that way, made his army goa great compasse about the countrey of Phocips; and marching along the sea side in a very troublous and dangerous way, at the last he pierced into the country of Borotta without any danger. And as he went also he tooke in little townes, and certaine gallies that lay along that coast, and in the end arrived at L By CTRES; and there fate downe to refresh his men a litle,

Epaminon . das winneth credis in the end.

Cleombro-EAST king of monians. retireth

ouer wearied with trauell in their journey. The Bosotians marched presently that way to meete with them, and so passing ouer some little mountaines, they discouered them in the plaine

of Levetres, which did amaze them, seeing so great an army.

The Baotarches thereupon came together to consult whether they should go forward, and to connell & fight one against many or else retire, and find out some better place of advantage. In this counfell their opinions fell out to be equall: for three of them thought it good to retire: the other in war. three with Epaminondas, said, they must tarrie and fight. So the conclusion of this counsell being doubtfull, and the Baotarches disagreeing, Pelopidas captaine of the holy band came to them, who was of the second opinion: so that they all agreed together to put it to the hazard of battel. But The policy of Enaminondas seeing their souldiers affraid through the superstition of these signes, deuising by fome like remedy to put this mistrust out of their heads: to bring this to passe, some being newly come from THEBES, he will them to fay & giue it out enery where, that no man could tell perfitious at THEBES what was become of the armes that hung vp in Hercules temple: but that the voice feare. was all the town ouer, that the ancient demigods their ancestors had come and taken them away, for the aide of their descendants at this present time. He suborned another also, that gaue itout he was newly come from Trophonius truncke or hole, and that the god which giveth the Oracles in the same, comanded him to tell the Bobotians that after they had direcome their enemies in the plaine of Levetres, they should celebrate yeerely plaies in the honor of inpiter. And thereof it came that & BOEOTIAN's long time after that did yearely celebrate a feast, which is made in LEBADIA. Now to end the painting of this artificiall denice, Leandrias a Spartan, being a banished man out of his countrey, and fighting at that time for the Boeotians, being brought before the fouldiers, whom they encouraged to fight like men the day of the battel:he did sweare vnto them that the LACED EMONIAN'S had an ancient Oracle, that said they should lose their principality, when they should be our come by the THEBANS in a pitched field, in the plaine of Levetres. It is true indeed that the LACED EMONIANS had had many oracles and forewarnings to bid them beware of the anger of Levetres: but the common people vnderflood not what this warning meant, but were deceived by the equinocation of the word: for that there were three Levetres: towit, in LACONIA, ARCADIA, and BOEOTIA. Howbeit, the vision of Pelopidas, whereof is made large mention in his life, and the facrifice he made of the yong Filly that came into his camp, confirmed all the former inventions, and made them bold that were most discouraged. Adding withall, that Epaminondas having affembled all his army, began to encourage them with these strong and lively reasons to shew their valour: insomuch, that being freed from this superstitious feare, they longed for nothing more then to come to blowes. Epaminondas cuer concluded all his orations in this manner: O worthy men, embrace How Epafacred death, advancing your felues to the most honorable and famous fight for your country, minorates concluded for the tombes of your ancestors, and for the holy things. Euen at the same time came to the bis orations. THERANS an aide of fine hundred horse, & fifteene hundred footmen THESSALIANS, conducted by Islan: who practifed with both fides to make a peace for certaine daics, telling them he Thebans was not wise that seared not the euents. Some judge it was not at that time that Infon trauelled with 500. betweene them both, but rather it was after the iourney of Leverres. Howbeit, I have followed that which Diodoras the Sicilian writeth, as a thing most likely. Now as Cleombrotus men. retired with his army out of Borotia, he met with a great fupply of naturall LACED EMONI-Ans, and of some of their allies, brought to him by Archidamus, Agestlaus sonne. The LACE- senter cle-DEMONIANS secing the THEBANS so resolute, and fearing their desperate boldnesse: sent these ombroiss. two troupes the casilier to daunt the courage of their enemies. These two being ioyned together they were ashamed to be afraid of the Boeotians, and whether it was that the truce taken was neare expired, or that they forced not of it, they returned on the fodaine again into the plaine of LEVCTRES fully bent to fight. The BOEOTIAN'S also for their part shrunke not an inchbacke, Epaminonand so on both sides they set their men in order of battell. For Epaminondas, he set his battell after a new fashion, neuer before shewed by any other Captaine. For having chosen out of his army the best men and valiantest souldiers he had, he placed them together in one of the points of fastion. his battel, where he should be himselfe & fight in person, seconded with Pelopidas, with his three hundred chosenmen, called the holy band: and in the other corner he placed his weaker men,

commanding them expresly not to abide the charge of the enemies that should come to assaile

them in front, but faire and foftly to retire when they faw them come nearethem. So the matter

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city of Mantinea; that was the cause the Thebans loyned with the Arcabians, and being

followed with their allies, led by Epaminondas, they entred into Laconia with an armie of

ATHENIANS fent Iphicrates Captaine with twelve thousand men to aide the Spartans but be-

fore his comming Epaminondus entred into LACONIA in divers places, and facked all the

whole countrey, which had not bene laid wast by any enemy in fixe hundred yeares space be-

fore, when the Dor ian's came to inhabit there. The Spartan's feeing their countrey wafted

and destroyed before their eyes, were desirous to go out with all the force they could make: but

Jeeflans would not fuffer them, telling them how dangerous it was to leave the city, to fet

voon fuch a mighry enemic. So they were quiet, and Epaminondas in the meane space def-

cended the mountaine Taugete with his army, towards the river of Eurotas, the which at that

time was rifen very high by reason of the winter. He fought what he could to draw Acessaus

to fight, who beholding Epaminondas a great while, marching in battell ray along it the river fide

at the head of his troupes; he wondred at his boldnesse and valour, but would by no meanes

come out of his fort. Infomuch as after this army had preyed and foraged all LACONIA, Epami-

nondas led them backe againe laden with booty. And though Agestlans had won himselfe great

honour for his wisedome, in looking to the safetic of his city: yet Epaminondas had made his

power it had before. Furthermore, notwithstanding all the aide of the ATHENIANS, and the

experience of Iphicrates, Epaminondas returned with his whole armie as he came. And the

more to keep the Laced Amonians still under their feet, & to heape new troubles you them:

hegane counfell to the ARCADIANS and other their allies, to reed fie and replenish the city of

the space of four escore and fine daies having reedified the ruined houses, he set on foot against

one of the noblest and most ancient cities of GREECE, and left there a strong garrison: for the

forty thousand men of warre, and with thirty thousand others that followed the campe. The

fell out as he wished: and he hoped to determine the battell by the vertue and prowesse of that point where he had placed all the flower and choife of his army.

Now the figne to fight being given, the LACED EMONIAN'S marched of even hand with the two horns of their battel, ordered in forme of a Cressant. On the contrary part, one of the wings of the battell of the Bosorians began to give backe, and the other with great fury rar neto charge the enemie in the flancke: straight they were both come to the sword together. Andat the first, because either side fought very desperatly, the victory was doubtfull for a certain time: but at the length Epaminondas troupes brake in amongst the LACED AMONIANS, and killed the most part of them that were about king Cleombrotus. So long as the king was aliue, he kept backe the THEBAN'S from victory, because he was accompanied with all the most valiant men of his army, valiantly fighting about him. But after he fell downe dead on the ground, having received an infinit number of wounds, and striken downe many of his enemies: then they thronged together on all fides, & there was a cruell fight about his body, where were heapes of mens bodies flaine one vponanother. And although Epaminondas did sharply follow his point, yet the LACED EMONIANS made such refistance at the last, that they did a little repulse the Boe of IANS. and cleared the body of the king out of the presse and multitude: but that held not long. For Epaminondas through his perswasiions did so lift vp the hearts and courage of his men, that they gaue a second and so fierce a charge vponthem, that they wholly ouerthrew the LACED AMO. NIANS, & made them flie for life. Then Epaminondas ficrcely pursuing the flying enemies, made great flaughter, and wan one of the most gloriousest victories that ever Captaine did: having in a pitched field ouercome the most noble and warlike nation of all GREECE, with a farre smaller number of men then his enemies had. Also he tooke more glory of that aboue all his other exploits, and specially because it hapned vnto him in his father Polymnis life time. And oftentimes he had these words vp in his mouth: that of all the honest and happie fortunes that euer chanced vnto him, nothing loyed his heart more, then that he had vanquished the LACED EMONI-ANS at the battel of LEVCTRES, his father and mother that begat him being both aliue. And to fay truly, he that day preserved the life of his father and mother, and of his whole country befides: for the LACED EMONIANS were fully resolued veterly to destroy the THEBANS. Now he vfing at all other times to shew himselfe amongst them, fine and near, with a pleasant countenance: the next day after the battel at Levetres he came out openly very fad, heavy and penfine. Whereupon his friends asked him prefently if he had heard any cuill newes, or fome miffortune had happened to him. None, faidhe, but I perceined by my felfe yesterday, that ouerioyed with the victory that I obtained, I lift up my felfe more then became me: and therfore to day I correct this ioy, which yesterday was too exceeding in me. He knowing that it was the maner of the Spartans to hide and couer (as well as they could possible) all such missortunes: defirous openly to expresse and shew the greatnesse of the lossethey had sustained, he would not fuffer them to carrie away their dead bodies by great all together, but every city one after another; and so by this meanes it appeared that there were about a thousand LACED EMONIA ANS slaine. Some make the number of the dead to be greater, and say they were foure thousand naturall LACED EMONIANS, but that must be understood of them and their allies: and of the BOE OTIANS, there were not about three hundred or thereabouts found dead. This battell of

LEVETRES was strickenat the beginning of the 2. yeare of the hundred and second Olympiade. The LACED EMONIANS having at that battell lost the greatest part of their honour & greatnesse, which men had seene before in their estate, lost northeir courage for all this: but to keepe their youth still in heart, and to take away all feare which had possessed them that had escaped from this ouerthrow, Agestlaus entred Arcadia with anarmy, and was contented to take a finall towne of the MANTINEANS, and to prey and spoile the country; which done, he returned homeagaine. Some thinke that this was the cause that brought Epaminondas into LACONIA. Othersome report it otherwise, and say that Agesilaus would not suffer the Mantineaus to reedifie their city. And there be that are of another opinion, which is: that Lycomedes Captaine of the Arcadians having made a rode hard to Orchomene, he flue vpon an encounter Polytropus Captaine of the LACED EMONIANS, and 2. hundred Spartans with him, his purpose being to win Orchomene: and thereupon they finding themselues too weake to stand against the LACED ÆMONIANS, they sought the alliance and aide of the THEBANS. Howsoeuer it was, the LACED EMONIANS and ARCADIANS being enemies, by reason of their chiefe

ombretus

King Cle-

Epaminon dasouer · comerb the Lacedamo.

country to poore with the former loffes sustained, especially at the ouerthrow at LEVETRES: Sparta in that Sparra could neuer afterwards recouer that losse againe, nor grow into that reputation & pours speed

MESSINA with new inhabitants againe, which the LACED EMONIANS had long before that Epaninondestroyed. All the whole councell giving their consents vnto it, he made diligent inquirie forthwith to feeke out all those that till that time had beneancient inhabitants in MESSINA: and in berequired

which he was as much estremed and rather more, then for any other service he had ever done. The LACED EMONIANS being lightened of a maruellous great feare, made an agreement with the ATHENIANS, and left them the chiefe command by fea, referring to them felues that by land. Afterwards through the aide of the Athenians, and the supply that was sent vnto them out of Sicilia, they wan their townes againe by litle and litle. The Arcadians to ftop their course, affaulted the city of PALLENE in LACONIA, put althe garrison there to the sword, razed the towne, and preyed all the countrey thereabout: and doubting that the LACED Æ-MONIANS Would be reuenged, they prayed aide of the THEBANS, who fent Epaminondas this ther and the other Bæstarches, with fix thousand footmen, and five hundred horse. The Athe-NIANS having intelligence thereof, fent their army before under the leading of Chabrias, who marched directly to Corinth, and there had supply of souldiers, of the MEGARIANS, PAL-LENIANS, and Corinthians, to that he had made up a regiment of tenthonfand men. And afterwards the army of the LACED EMONIANS and of their allies, being arrived at the very place of Corinth, they made all together the number of twenty thousand fighting men. So they determined to repaire and fortific althe passages and entrances into the country of PELO- The Lace. PONNESVS, to stop the passage of the Bosorians. And beginning from y city of CENCRES demonians vnto the hauen of LECHEVM, they shut and blocked up all the waies from the one sea to the fortifiethe other, with mighty great peeces of timber acrosse, and with a maruellous deepe ditch. And this to pelopongreat peece of worke was followed with such speed, both by meanes of the great multitude of nesses, from people, as alfothrough the goodwils of those that laboured it hard: that they had finished and fearester. done all before the Bo E OTIANS could arrive there. Epaminondas at his comming having diligently viewed and confidered this fortification, perceived that the eafiest way to be forced, was that which the Laced Amonians themselves kept. So he sentto give them defiance, though they were thrice as many men in number as his own. For all this that they had the defiance, they durst not come out, but kept them close vader this fortification, which receiving certain affaults, they were repulsed. Now al of them doing their best indeuour, being occupied, some affailing, other defending, Epaminordas chose out the best men in all his armie, and lustily charging the

The Latedamonians policie to keepe their youth in

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Ebaminonde entresh into Pelofonne w by force of a)met.

Thaminoncame the Corinthians

Chabrias a valiant

his enemies.

guard of the LACED EMONIANS enforced them to give him way, and in despite of them he entred into Peroponnesvs, which was a wonderfull and memorable exploit of alothers. Fro thence he marched towards the cities of EPIDAVRE & TROEZEN, and so foraged all the country: howbeithe could take none of the townes, because they were defended with strong garri. fons. Neuertheleffe he put Sicyone, Phevnte, and some other townes in such feare, that they yeelded themselves vnto him. That being done, he went to Corinth, & there ouercame the CORINTHIANS in a fet battell, and beate them home fighting cuento the wals of their citie. There were some of his men so rash, and presuming of their valour, that they entred hand ouer head with those that fled, even within the gares of their city: which put the Corinthia Ans in such a terrible feare, that they ran with all speed possible to get their houses ouer their heads. Chabrias beatethem out againe, and killed some of them. Wherupon he caused a token of triumph to be fet vp, as if it had bene an ouerthrow. Epaminondas laughing him to fcome forit faid he should not call it a Trophec, or token of triumph, but rather Hecateste, as one would say, a statue of Proferpina: because in times past they commonly serthis image of Proferpina at the first gallowesthey found before the gate of any city. The Bo BOTIAN's therefore came on with their battell as neare vinto Corinth as they could, and Chabrias with his troupes camped without in a very strong place of aduantage for him: so there were many skirmishes betweene them, in the which Chabrias shewed such valour, that he wan great fame and reputation even of Epaminondas himselfe. Who being asked on a time whom he thought the greatest captaine, himselfe. Chabrias, or Iphicrates: It is hard to judge, faid he, whileft we are all aliue. Another brought him word that the ATHENIANS had fent an army againeinto PELOPONNESVS, furnished with new armours. Well, answered he, doth Anigenidas weepe when he knoweth that Tellin hathnew flutes? This Tellin was a very bad player of the flute, and Antigenidas excellent good and skilfull. Touching the supply of this army, they were ten thousand Spaniards and Gavies, whom Dionylius the tyrant fent out of Sicilia to aide the Laced Emonians, having payed them for fine moneths. They had ferued reasonably well in this war, and so in the end of sommer returned home againe.

Now it fortuned in these last encounters, that Epaminondas having forced the LACED EMO-NIANS that flood to the defence of the fortification about mentioned, and having them in his power to have flaughtered a great number of them at his will: he contented himfelfe only with this glory, that in despite of them he had entred into Peloponnesus, and sought to do them no more hurt: which gaue those occasion that did enuichis glory to blame him, and to accuse him of treason, as having willingly spared the enemies, because they should particularly thanke him onely. But now that we have begun to speake of this matter, we must see how he behaved himselfe among his citizens, and the wisedome he vsed in defence of his integrity. Among all those that could not endure the glory of his vertues, was Meneclides the Oratour, an eloquent man, but withall most wicked and malicious. He finding that Epaminondas wan such honour by warres, neuer left perswading the THEBANS to embrace peace, and to preferre it before warre: because they should not line alwaies under the obedience and command of one man. Examinonaustold him one day in open councell: Thou wilt deceive the THEBANS, going about to counfell them to leaue warres; and highly commending eafe, thou goeft about to put iron bolts vpon their feete. For warre begetteth peace, the which cannot hold long but among those that know how to secke and keepe it with the edge of the sword. Then speaking to the citizens: If ye will haue the principality and command of all GREECE, before all others: you must shrowd your selues in your tents and paullions in the open field, and not follow games & wrestlings here at home. Also he knew well enough that the Bobotians spoiled and vidid themselves by ease and idlenesse: which was the cause that he constantly bare this mind to keepe them continually in wars. Whereupon when time came that they fell to choosing of Captaines, and that they went about to chuse him Baotarche: he said to the citizens: My masters, I pray you consider of it now you are at ley sure, before you chooseme: for I tell you plainely, if I be chosen your captaine, you must to the warres. He called the country of Bo E o TIA, which is all plaine champion, the scatfold of war: saying it was vnpossible to keepe it, vnlesse the inhabitants had their targets on their armes, and their fwords in their hands. This was not because he did not loue peace, and folitarinesse to studie Philosophy, and that he was not more fearful of them he had in his charge then for himselfe, vsing alwaies to watch and forbeare his meate, when the Thebans were at

their banquets and feasts giving themselves to all pleasures: but he knew them well enough, and Epaminon. he was neuer more carefull of any thing, then to keepe his army from idlenesse. For on a time the Arcadian's intreating that his troupes might enter into one of their towns, to lie driethere his army incouert all the winter, he would by no meanes yeeld to it. For now (said he to his fouldiers) from idlethat they see you exercise your selues in arms, they wonder at you as braue & valiant souldiers: but if they should see you at the fire side parching of beanes, they would esteeme no better of vou then of themselves. No more could be endure coverousnesse: for if sometime be gave his men leaue to go a booting, his meaning was, that what soeuer they got should be bestowed in furnishing of armes. For if any man went about to fill his purse with mony, he thought him vnworthie to be a fouldier. As on a time when he perceived that his Target bearer had received a great summe of money for the ransome of a prisoner, he said vnto him: Giue me my target, and go thou thy waies, and buy theea Tauerne to leade the rest of thy life there: for I perceive thou wilt no more like an honest man put thy selfe in danger in the warres, as before thou hast done; because thou art now rich and wealthy. Now Epaminondas being such a one as you have heard. Meneclides notwithstanding would never cease controlling of him:and one day he went so farre asto reproch him that he had no children, that he was not married, & that he magnified himself more then ever king Agamemnon had done. Epaminondas answered him, thou hast nothing to do to counsell me to marrie: for in that respect there is neuer a man here in all this councell whom I would leffe vie then thou. And this he spake, because the other was suspected to be an adulterer. And where thou thinkest that I do enuie the glory and same of Agamemnon, thou art fouly deceiued: yet I tell thee he was not a little troubled to win a town inten yeares; where I to the contraty putting the LACED EMONIANS to flight in one day, have delivered our city and al GREECE from them. But thankes beto you, my Lord THEBANS, (speaking to all the whole assembly;) through you I did it, and ouerthrew and ruined the power and gouernment of our enemies. Neuerthelesse, Pelopidas and he were very euill recompensed for this good service of theirs: for at their returne from LACONIA, they with some other of the Baotarches were accused, for that after the time of their charge & gouernment was expired, they had kept it foure moneths beyond the time the law had appointed them. With much ado Pelopidas was absolued: but Epaminondas willed his companions to lay all the fault vpon him, as being forced vnto it by his authority: and that for his part his words could be no better then his deedes. So vpon this he being called before the Iudges, and after he had instified that he had passed the time limited of his authority: in stead of excusing himselfe, he went and told brauely his worthy exploits he had done in this iourney at that time: adding withall, that he was willing and ready to die, so they caused his condemnation to be written upon the pillar of his tombe, to the end the GREEKES should underfland that they had put Epaminondas to death, because he had compelled the THEBANS, against their wils to burn the country of LACONIA, the which in fine hundred yeares before had never once bene spoiled; that he had restored the city of Messina with inhabitants againe, two hundred and thirty yeares after the LACED EMONIANS had laid it wast that he had brought all the people and townes of Arcadia to be as one bodie in league together, and had fet all the GREEKES at liberty: and all these things, said he, we did in our journey. The Judges vnderstanding this worthy and true defence, they all rose from their seates and laughed a good, and would neuer take their bals to ballot against him.

But as for his second accusation, that he had shewed fauour vnto the Laced Emonians Epaninonfor his own particular honour, he would make no answer before the people of THERES to this day refuseh false imputation, but he rose out of the Theater, and passing through the assembly walked into in saferer the parke of exercises. The people being in vprore against him, made no choise of him againe imparation, as they were wont to do, although there was great need: but created other Bastarches to go into THESSALY. And the more (as they thought) to despite Epaminondas, they commanded him to go that voyage as a private fouldier: the which he refused not, but went very willingly, and vpon this occasion. Pelopidas being sent the second time into THESSALY, to make accord betwixtthe people and Alexander the tyrant of PHERES, was by this tyrant (not respecting the Pelopidus dignity of an Ambassador, nor of his countrey) made prisoner with Ismenias. Whereupon the imprisoned. THEBAN'S being justly offended, sent thither an army of eight thousand footmen, and five hundred horse, howbeit under the leading of unskilfull Captaines, who wanting judgement to vse the time, thought it good to returne home againe without doing any thing. But as they went

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Epaminondas chofen generall for Thessalie.

Epaminondas prefer. Safety of bis friend before his own Yebutation.

Epaminen. das delinereth Pelops.

their way, Alexander being stronger in horsmen then they, followed them, and gaue charge voon the rere, killed some, and grieuously wounded others. So they knowing neither how to go forward nor backward, were in great distresse, & the rather because their victuals fell shorter enerv day then other. But being now almost out of all hope to retire home with saftetie, Epaminondas being then amongst the foote, was earnestly intreated by the souldiers and Captaines to helpe to redresse this disorder. Thereupon he chose certaine footmen light armed, and all the horse. men, and so falling himself amongst them in the rereward of the army, he so lustily repulsed the enemies, that the rest of the army afterwards marched in great safetie and did so well, fighting at times, making head as occasion served, and keeping his troupes in so good order, that he brought them all away fafe. This act crowned him with a new glory, confounded his ene. mies, and wanne him great honour every where, besides the love and good will of his citizens: who set great fines vpon their Captaines, because they had behaued themselues so cuill in this iourney. Againe, the people feeing that by fo many worthy deeds Epaminondas razed out all the flanders and accusations which his euill willers had vomited out against him : they chose him anew their Captaine generall, to returne into THESSALT with another army. At whose coming all the countrey straight reioyced for the reputation of so great and famous a Captaine. and there wanted little euen to breake this tyrants necke altogether, his friends and Captaines stood in such feare, and his subjects in good mind to rebell, and very joyfull for the hopether had shortly to see the tyrant at one blow well recompensed for all his cursed and wicked deeds he had done long before. Neuertheleffe Epaminondas setting aside the consideration of his honour and glory, in respect of the deliuerance and safety of his friend Pelopidus, and being afraid that Alexander, when he should see his estate in danger to be ouerthrowne. would take reuenge in his madnesse vpon Pelopidas: he purposely drew this warre in length, wheeling about in enery place, refraining to fet on him in earnest, dissembling to make his preparations, and still delaying, because he would prepare and soften the heart of this tyrantby this deuice, not to leave him too much to his bold vnbridled will; neither to stirre vp(to the danger of Pelopidas) the sharpe and inhumane anger of this bloud sucker. Who being a monster. compounded of cruelty and cowardice, was so afraid onely of the name and reputation of Epaminondas, and hanging the wing, as they fay: that he presently sent men vnto him to excuse and iustifiehim. But Epaminondas would not that the THEBANS through his slacknesse should make peace and alliance with fo wicked a man, but onely he was contented to take a truce with him for thirty dayes, taking Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands. So with them he returned backe againe to THEBES, and alwaies continued faithfull friendship with Pelopidas, refusing everto haue any part of his goods, but did still perseuere in his wonted simplicity and discipline, Now speaking of this friendship, they report that Epaminondas having committed a man of bale condition for some light fault to prison, Pelopidas prayed him to set the poore man at liberty, but he denied him: and yet afterward being intreated by a woman he kept, he did it at her request, faying that harlots were to be granted fuch requests, not Captaines.

This boldnesse he shewed in all places, and to all men yet mingled with a great sweetnesse, and with a good lively grace: whereof we will bring many examples, besides that he spakeat SPARTA against the LACED EMONIANS & Agesslaus, in the presence of all the commissioners of GRECE. The ARGIANS having made league with the THEBANS, the ATHENIANS fent their Ambassadors into ARCADIA, to see if they could gaine the ARCADIANS to be their friends. So these Ambassadors began roundly and hotly to charge and accuse both the one and the other: insomuch as Callistratus speaking for them, reproued the other two cities ORESTES and OEDI-PVS. Epaminondas being present arthat affembly of counsell, stood vp, and said: My Lords, we confesse that in times past we had a man that killed his father in our city, and in AR GOS one that killed his mother: but for vs, we have driven out of our countrey, and banished all such wicked murtherers, and the Athenians haue received them both. And to the Spartans that had layd many great and grieuous imputations vponthe THERANS: If they have done nothing else, my Lords of Sparta, answered Epaminondas, yet at the least they have made you forgetto speake litle. The ATHENIANS had made league with Alexander the tyrant of PHERES, mortallenemy of the THEBANS, who promifed the THEBANS that he would let them have a pound of flesh for an halfe peny. Epaminondas hearing of it, Well said he, and we will find them wood that shall cost them nothing to seeth this flesh withall: for we will go fell and cut downe all the trees they have in their country, if they goe about to make any alteration other then good. So when he went into Thessaly, and brought backe Pelopidas againe, the Athenians made no great flirre against him: and the tyrant that promised siesh so good cheape, had much ado at that time to keepe his skin whole. But afterwards he had his payment, as you may reade in the latter end of Pelopidas life. But that which did excell in Epaminondas, and did cut the throate of enuy it felfe, was his moderation and temperance, knowing how to vie any state or condition The mode. offered him, & neuer to rage against himselfe nor others, alwaies bearing this mind, that howsoever they tooke him, and in what place focuer they fet him, he was well contented, and all for of Epamis the good of his country: for proofe whereof I will shew you this example. His enill willers on atime thinking to bring him in difgrace, as they fay, for spite they made him superintendant and ouerfeer of al the customes, whilest others his inferiors, vinworthy to be compared to him, were placed in the most honourable offices. This not with standing he despited not this office, but did discharge it very faithfully; for, said he, office or authority sheweth not onely what the man is, but also the man what the office is.

EPAMINONDAS.

But now further: shortly after Epaminondas returne out of THESSALY, the ARCADIANS Were ourcome by Archidamus and the LACEDEMONIANS, and they lost not a man: and therefore this dayes iourney was called for them, the teareleffe battell. Epaminondas for efeeing that the Arcadians should yet have a storme, gave them counsell to fortific themselves; whose counfell they following, they built the towne which afterwards was called MEGALIPOLIS, fimated in a very convenient place. Whilest they made warre with the Elians their neighbours. Epaminondas heart neuer fainted, but his minde was alwaies given to high enterprifes for the good of his country; where being respected and honoured about all others the made an oration vito his citizens, perfwading them to make themfelues ftrong by fea, and to attend the conquest of the principality, making themselves Lords of it. This oration of his had bene long thought of Eloquence before, being full of lively reasons, which did shew and prove vnto them that the enterprise was ble in a cap both honourable and profitable, as well by other arguments he alledged, as also for that he told sains. them it was an easiething for them that were now the stronger by land to make themselves also the strongest by sea: and the rather for that the ATHENIANS in the warre against Xerxes, notwith standing that they had a med and set forth two hundred galleys well appointed with men. they neuertheleffe willingly fubmitted themselves vnto the LACED EMONIANS. So alledging many other reasons to this purpose, he prevailed so much, that the THEBANS inclined to yndertake the enterprise by sea. Thereupon the people gaue present order they should build a hundredgalleys, & withall an arfenall with fo many roomes, to lay them under couert in the docke: and that they should send to them of RHODEs, of CHIO, and of BYZANCE, to pray them to further them in this enterprise. And for this purpose Epaminondas was fent with an army vnto these cities. So in this course he met with Laches, a captaine of the ATHENIANS, and a good number of ships in his fleete, sent of purpose to hinder the intention of the THEBANS. Notwithstan. ding, Epaminondas made him so afraid, that he draue him backe againe: and he holding on his Voyage, brought the cities before named to make league with the THEBANS, who on the other fide were at warre with the city of Or CHOMENE, which had done great hurt and mischiese in their estate. So they having won it by assault, they flue every man that was able to beare armes. and moreouer made all the women and children flaues.

Sometime after Pelopidas death, certaine private men of MANTINEA, fearing to be called to account for their bad behaulours and robberies they had done, if the ARCADIANS & ELIANS fell to agreement: they practifed so, that they raised vp a new quarrell within the countrey deuided into two factions, of the which the MANTINEANS were chiefe of the one fide, and the quarrell be-TEGEATES on the other part. This quarrell went fo farre, that the parties would try it by twint the Mantiness armes. The TEGEATES, they fent to demandaide of the THEBANS, who choic Epaminon- and the Tedas their Captaine generall, and fent him with a good number of men of warre to aide the TE- genes. CEATES. The Mantineans aftonied at this aide coming out of Boe ot 14 to their enemies. and at the reputation of this Captaine: they immediatly sent vnto the Athenians and Lage DEMONIANS, the greatest enemies of the BOROTIANS for aide, which both the cities granted. Wherupon there fell out often and many great skirmishes indiuerse parts of Peropone sys. Epaminondas being not far off MANTINEA, understood by the same country men, that Agesilaus and the LACED EMONIANS were come into the field, & that they wasted althe territory of the

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A wonderfull Brataprifed by

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rity come to the height.

TEGEATES. Whereupon imagining straight that there were few men left in the city of Spare TA to defend it, he went about a great exploit, and a wonderfull stratageme of a man of warre. and had brought it to passe, if the maruellous great good fortune of Sparta had not hindred it. So he departed from TEGRA by night, the MANTINEANS knowing nothing of it, and taking another way then Agesilaus, he had taken Sparta without one stroke striken, but fora post of Candia that with speed brought Agestians word of it: who forthwith sent out a horseman to give them intelligence that were left at Sparta, that they should beware they were not surprised vpon the sudden: and he himselfe came speedily after, and arrived there a litle before the THEBANS coming thither: who being very neare the city by breake of day. gaue affault to them that were within to defend the towne. Then Agefilais bestirred him throughly, beyond the power of an old man. But his sonne Archidamus, and Isadas the sonne of Phabidas, fought valiantly on all parts. Epaminondas feeing the Spartans in order of battell, began then to mistrust that his enterprise was discouered. This notwithstanding, he left not off to force them all he could, albeit he fought with great difaduantage for the inconuenience of the places he occupied: and continued alwaies couragiously doing and recei. uing hurt, vntill the army of the LACED EMONIANS came on, and the night also: where upon he made them found the retraite. Now he being aduertifed that the MANTINEANS came on also with their forces, he drew his troupes somewhat further off the towne, and there camped. After that he caused his men to refresh themselves with victuals, and hauing left certaine horsemen in the campe, he commanded them to make fires in the morning, and he himselfe went in the meane space, to surprise those that remained at MANTINEA before any man wift he was gone. Neuertheleffe he failed of his purpose, albeit he had forethought him of all misfortunes that any man possible could have considered in so weighty a cause. But the prosperity of the THERANS was come to his height, and the course of Epaminondas life drawing neare to an end, would very shortly deprine GRECE of this noble and famous perfon, from whom was taken a most notable victory, and that twife, by a most strange accident. For at this second time, when he was neare vnto MANTINEA, left without guard and defence on the other fide of the towne there arrived fix thousand Athenians led by their Captain Heele eus: who having put sufficient force into the towns, he ordered all the rest in battell without the towne wals, as though he meant to have fought a field: and immediately after them came also the LACED EMONIANS and MANTINEANS together, who prepared themselves to put all to the hazard of a battell, and therefore fent for their allies out of all parts. They were in all five and twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horse. The Arcadians, Bobotians, and their partakers, made the number of thirty thousand footmen and about, and three thousand horse, First the horsemen charged with so great furie as was possible, insomuch as the horsemen of the ATHENIANS finding § THEBANS in front, were the weaker; not because they were less valiant and hardy then the other, but because they had not so good leaders, and had few archers among their troupes. The THEBANS on the other fide they were wel appointed, & specially of THES-SALIANS amongst others, men very skilfull in their bowes, who so plied the Athenians, that they brake them, and put them all to rout. Yet they did not flie amongst their footmen which made them somewhat recourt heir honour they had lost by running away, and all because they had not broken the rankes of their allies. On the cotrary part, as they fled they met with certain troupes of fouldiers of NEGROPONT, whom the ARCADIANS fent to take in certaine hils hard by the plaine where the battell was fought, and they put them all to the fword. The men atarmes of the Theban's feeing them turnetheir backes, did not pursue them at all, but gaue charge vpon a great battalion of footmen, forcing them all they could to breake & run through them: fo the fight was very cruell and sharpe, but in the end the ATHENIAN's left the place. This notwithstanding, the Colonell of the horsemen of the Elians being appointed for the safety of the reregard, defended them, and comming to the encounter of the Borotan's herefilted them, and made them speedily give backe: and this reformed the fault againe of the left point of their army. But in the right point, after the horsemen had charged one vpon another, the fight was foone tried. For, by reason of the great number of the men at armes of the THEDAN'S and THESSALIANS, the partakers of the Mantineans were presently put to rout, and after they had lost a great number of their men, they succoured themselves about y battalion of their footmen. And this was the fucceife of the fight of the horsemen. As touching the battalion of the

footmen,

footmen, after they came once to the fword, it was a maruellous bloudy and most cruell fight; for neuer before that time was there so great number of GREEKES in battell one against the other, nor so great Captaines, nor of better fighting and more valiant men. The two nations that at that time bare the name to be the brauest souldiers for footmen of althe world, to wit, the THEE ANS, and LACED EMONIANS, they were set in front in the battel one directly against the other. So y first began to charge, neither sparing life nor limme. The first charge they gaue was with their pikes, which being broken by force of the great blowes they gaue to each other, the they fought with their swords, and laying about them body to body, there was no kind of slashing and wounding but they both gave and received; and neither part shrunke nor gave over, but flucke to it manfully. And so continuing this dangerous fight along time, by reason of the valiantnesse of either sides the victory stood doubtfull a great while, and could hardly be judged Adoubtful which fide were like to haue the vpper hand. For every one that fought had this resolution in fight. hisheart, not to feare death what soeuer hapned : but rather desiring to make proofe of the va. lour of his person, worthily gaue his life in prey, to win honour in exchange. By reason whereof, though the fight was most sharpe and violent, the euent of it remained a long space betwixt two irons, not to be discerned of whether side the victory should fall. Vntill such time as Epaminondas seeing that there was no remedy, but that the resolution of this doubtfull fight depended vpon his owne vertue and valour: he resolued with himselse to venter his life vpon it. Sohe presently gathered about him all the best and choise men of his army, and of them having made a company of resolute men, he ran with great furie into the greatest presse of all the enemies, marching himselfethe foremost man before his troupe, with a speare in his hand, with the which at the first blow he gaue, he slue the captain of the LACED EMONIANS, straight way the other began to affaile their enemies. But Epaminondas killed so many in the place with his owne hands, and did so terrifie the others, that at the last he opened the battell of his enemies, and layed on them so lustily, that they not able any longer to defend themselues against the valotous force of himselfe and his followers, were enforced to give backe, and to leave the place to the Bo fotians: who were straight at their heeles, beating and following them so eagerly that in a short space all the field was coucred with dead bodies, lying on heapes one vpon another. But in the end, the LACED EMONIANS feeing they could by no meanes faue then selucs, because Epaminondas followed them so neare (given over too much to his passionate counge) they gathered a troupe together, and running all on heapes they fet vpon him, throwing infinit numbers of darts at him, of the which he put by some, and received others upon his target: but yet there were many that flucke in his body, which he pulled out himselfe, and with the selfe same weapons fought with them that had throwne them at him. At the last, when he had fought more then a man, and beyond all the force a man could vie to give his countrey the victory: a LACONIAN called Anticrates thrust him into the breast with a dart with such a Epaninos force, that the wood brake, and the iron with the tronchion remained in his body. Having wounded. received this great wound, he suddenly fell downero the ground: but then was there a wore cruell fight about him then before, with great flaughter of both sides: vntill that the Thebans which had much stronger bodies then the LACED EMONIANS, made them slie for life; and after they had followed them a little way, they returned againe to the campe where the battell was fought, to the end they might have the dead bodies in their power, and so the whole victory. Thereupon they founded the retraite, and thus the battell cealed, for the which both of them fee Vptokens of triumph, either fide pretending they had the better. For the ATHENIANS having overthrowne those of Negroport and their adherents which were sent to take the hils of that plaine: they kept the bodies in their power. The THEBANS on the other fide having overcome the Spartans, had the bodies of those that were dead in that battell in their power. being the farre greater number also: wherefore they said that they were victours. So standing inthese termes, it was a good while before they sent trumpeter or herauld the one to the other, tobury their dead: untill that the LACED EMONIANS sent first of all, and then they all tooke their dead bodies and buried them. And furthermore, he that had killed Epaminondas was fo wel thought of, and highly effeemed for this valiant act of his, for the great feare all the Spartans had had of Epaminondas in time past: that they gave him many great presents and honours, and besides, made those that came after him free from all publike charges and contributions in the common wealth. And Plutarch also said, that in his time one Callicrates, a nephew of Anticrates

Epaminon dea bis death.

The com mendation of Epami. nondas.

aboue named, did then enjoy that freedome. Touching Epaminondas, he was brought yet alive into his tent: howbeit the physicions and surgeons being called together to dresse him, they all agreed, that so soone as ever they pulled out the head and splent of the dart out of his body, he must needs die. So he made a most worthy and noble end of his life: for first he called for his target-bearer, who was alwaics at his hand in battell, and asked him, Is my target fafe : He brought it straight to shew it him. Then he asked who had the victory: The Bo EOTIANS, faid the target-bearer. Then he commanded they should bring him Diophantus and Iolidas : butbeing told they were both dead, he willed his citizens to make peace with their enemies, for that now they had no more Captaines of skill to leade them to the warres. Adding further to that aboue spoken, It is now time I die, and so commanded them to plucke this spell of the dartout of his body. At that word all his friends about him fetched grieuous fighes and cried out; and one of them weeping, said vnto him: Alas Epaminondas, thou diest now, and leauest no children behindthee. No that I do not, faid he: but I leave two faire daughter behind me, whereof the one is the victory of LEVETRES, and the other that of MANTINEA. Immediatly they pelled out the spell of the dart, and at that instant he gaue up the ghost, without shewing any figne or token that he was troubled in his mind. And thus did he embrace that bleffed death: that fortuning vnto him which he often had in his mouth; that warre is the bed of honour, and also that it is a sweete death to die for his countrey. Now may we well see, that he excelled all the Captainesthat ener were before him, did accompany, or follow him. For who focuer would compare all their vertues with the deeds and glory of Epaminondas, he shall see that the vertue of him was more noble and excellent, then any of theirs. For in them will appeare at the first fight fome speciall thing more eminent then all the rest, which hath made their same great and glorious: but in this man onely were joyned together all the vertues and good parts that could be wished for in grave, politicke, and a great Captaine, to make him perfect and complete in all things. For in the liberall sciences, in experience, ripe vnderstanding, force of eloquence, strength of body, disposition of his person, in height and greatnesse of courage, in temperance, wisedome, watching, sweetnesse and courtesse: and moreouer in hardinesse, prowesse, good iudgement, and sufficiencie in military discipline: I know not where there is to be found so compleate a man. For my opinion, I compare Epaminondas to himself. Also in his time he wanto his country by force of armes, the principality of GREECE: but after his death his citizens loft it immediatly, and fell daily to decay: that at the last Alexander the Great vtterly ouercame them, made them that were aliue flaues, and destroyed their city to the very ground. To conclude, before, and after Epaminondas, THEBES was under foote, and yet commanded all others whiles he stood on his feete. And so we must conclude, that THEBES was vtterly ouerthrowne in the battell of MANTINEA, and that Epaminondas at that time wan an immortall glory. And as in his life time he had caried himfelfe modestly, and alwaies detested couetousnesses.

so after his decease the THEBANS brought him to his graue at the common charge of the towne, because they found no money in his house to defray the least charges of his funerall.

The end of Epaminondas life,

THE

THE LIFE OF Philip of Macedon.



Philip: that wisedome booteth not at all, Which Corning instice, hopes to clime on high. Let Princes that behold thy sudden fall, Loue right and meekeneffe, left like thee they die.



Myntas, the second of that name, and seventeenth King of MACEDON, Philips po. of the race of Temenides or Caranides, descended from Hercules, and that degree, reigned foure hundred and ninety eight yeares, reckoning from Caranus vnto Antipater, in whom began another race: he had three sonnes by his first wife called Eurydice, borne in ILLYRIA: to wit, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander having succeeded his father, reigned but one yeare, during which time he made warre with his base brother Ptolomaus Alorites. But to appeale the strife betwixt them, they sent for Pelopidas, who was atthattime in THESSALIE. Hetookevp all their

quarrels, restored those that were banished ento their houses, and (because this peace should be more surely kept) he tooke of them for hostages, Philip, and thirty other of the noblest Philips mens fonnes in MACEDON, and brought them all away with him to THEBES. Now during the frace with time that Perdiccas reigned, which was the space of five yeares, Philip kept at Pammenes house, 30. others. with whom Epaminondas was very great: and hereofit came, that some thought Philip was a hearer of Lysis Epaminondas schoolemaster, and that they conferred together in Philosophie. Howbeit Epaminondas was then much older then he, and furely it can hardly be that they were scholers together: except they will say that Epaminondas continuing all his life time to profit by the study of wisedome, made Philip desirous to heare him sometime, and to follow him also. And it may be well inough also that he had learned of Epaminondas to be so quicke and sudden of execution in the wars, as he was: which was but one of the least parts of Epaminondas vertues. But as for his continencie, iustice, magnanimity, and elemency, which were the parts that intruth made him great: Philip, neither by nature, nor by education, nor by study, ever attained vnto it: for all this, he wanted not great gifts of body and mind, as shall appeare in the discourse of his life: and as Theophrastus testifieth, he was greater then any other of the kings of MACE-DON, not only in prosperity of fortune, but also in wisedome, bounty, and moderation of man-Acts. So it came to paffe that Alexander, notwithftanding the accord Pelopidas had made, was

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

1129

Alexander and Perdie cas Philips elder brethren are flaine, and Philip foc ceedeth in the crowine.

Philip dif-

Somfiteth

Argaus.

traiteroufly killed by Ptolomy furnamed Alorites, who vfurped the kingdome, and was flainehim: selse by Perdiccas: who after he had bene ouercome in a great battell by the SLAVONS, in the which he was flaine: Philip which was the last of the three brethre, stealing away from the place where he was in hostage, fled into MACEDON, and came to succeed in the kingdome, the which he found in great trouble. For there were flaine at the last battell about four thousand MACE. DONIANS, and those that escaped were so beaten and astonied with blowes, that they thought of nothing leffe then to take armes against the SLAVONS. On the other side the HVNGARIANS made inrodes into Macedon, and the SLAVONs mustered agains to return thither. There was one Paufanias also that aspired to the kingdome, by the support of the king of THRACIA. And the Athenians also, they would establish one called Argans, and to this end sent a great fleete by sea, and three thousand footmen well armed by land, led by Mantias. Philip taking heart to him in these rude beginnings, began to embolden the MACEDONIANS by wile perswasions; he reestablished military discipline, furnished his souldiers very well, making them armethem felues, and gaue order they should be continually trained and exercised. It was he that amongst other things deuised how to close his footmen, and that framed the square battell, which cuer fince was called the Macedonian Phalange. He was very gracious in his words, and by his promises and gifts he wan the hearts and good will of his subjects.

Now finding himselfestrong, although he was yet but young of yeares, he resolued to make head against all his enemies, yet not by open force, but where there was need: being alwaies of this mind, to buy time and men as much as he could possible. So perceiving that the ATHENI-ANS did their vitermost indevor to win the city of Amphipolis againe, & that by this meanes they fought to bring the kingdome of MACRDON into the hands of Argaus: he made them leaue it, and thrust out their garrisons. As for the Pannonians (others reade P.E. NIANS) OF HV NOARIANS, having fent ambaffadors to them, he corrupted some with money. and wan others by faire promifes: infomuch that they were all contented to liue in peace with him. And by the same meanes he brake the hope of Pausanias, having by presents gained the king of THRACIA that aided him. And for the regard of Mantias captaine of the ATHENIANS. he marched with his army vnto the city of Methona: but he remained there, and fent Argam with the fouldiers strangers whom they had brought with them, vnto the city of ÆGES. Argaus approching neare the towne with his troupe, lent to feele the inhabitants, if they would receiue him, and be the first that should be cause of his entrie into the possession of the kingdome of Macedon. But perceiuing they cared not for him, he returned againe. Philip that followed him hard at his heeles gaughim battell, killed the most part of his men, and drauethe rest vnto a little mountaine, where he besieged them so straightly, that they were forced to deliver him all the banished men of Machdon amongst them: whereupon he let them goe their lives and goods faued. This first victory of Philip put the MACEDONIANS againe in heart, and made them bold to enterprise any thing afterwards. Hereupon he made peace with the ATHENIANS, and understanding that the king of Hungarie was dead, he entred into their country with a maine army, ouercame them in battell, and made them subject vnto him. Of all his enemies there were left none but the SLAVONIANS, whom he went to affaile with ten thoufand footmen, and fixe hundred horse. But fince they could not agree together, Bardyllis their king trusting in the victories he had gotten before time of the MACEDONIANS, and in the valiantnesse of his SLAVONS, he came into the field and presented battell. The which having bene fought a long time, Philip behaued himselfe so valiantly with his men of armes the Maca-DONIANS, that he ouerthrew the SLAVONS, leauing feuen thousand of them dead on the ground and the restescaped by flying away. Shortly after they were agreed together, and restored to Philip all the places they held pertaining vnto Macedon. Now the Amphipoli-TANS had of long time borne Philip cuill will, and whilest he was occupied in other places, they did him many iniuries: wherefore he determined to make a sharpe war vpon them. He hauing befieged them with a puissant army, and having brought his engines of war hard to their wals, he beat them with such furie, that he made a sufficient breach, and entred the towne by force: out of the which he draue those afterwards that were his enemies, and very courteously vsed and intreated the rest. This towne being seated in a very commodious place, vpon the frontiers of THRACIA, and of the countries neare adioyning thereto, stood him afterwards in great stead for the furtherance and increase of his greatnesse. For by meanes of that he presently had

the city of PYDNE, and made league with the OLYNTHIANS, of great power at that time: by reason whereof he and the ATHENIANS enuying one the other, they both practised to winne them. But Philip having wonne Potibea, draue out the garrifon of the Athenians, and vied them very honeftly: for he fent them home to their houses, their lines and goods saued, not be- The policie cause he loued the people of ATHENS, but for that he feared the power of their city. After he of Think had taken in the city of Py DNE, he gaue it to the OLYNTHIANS, with altheterritory belonging vnto it. Then he returned to CRENIDES, the which he having augmented with a great number of inhabitants, he changed the first name of it, and called it by his own name, PHILIPPI. Within that territory he had mynes of gold, the which he opened and digged fo diligently, that he drew out yearely new made, about the fumme of fix hundred thousand crownes. By this means in ashort time hee gathered together a great treasure, and dayly the kingdome of MACEDON grew great, because it had one of the chiefest finewes and props of war. So he coyned a number of peeces of gold called Philippus, where with he waged a great number of men, and bribed many private GR BEKS: who afterwards fold him for ready mony the townes of their country. as we shall see hereafter. In all this businesse, Alexander the tyrant of PHERES in THESSALY, having bene slaine by his wife Thebe, and by her brethren called Lycophron, and Tisiphonus, at the first they were honoured as menthat had deliuered their countrey of a cruell tyranny: but very shortly after, these two men changing their mindes, by money wanne the souldiers whom Alexander kept for the guard of his person, & put themselues in his place whom they had killed. putting many citizens to death that withflood their enterprise; and having gathered together a great number of fouldiers, they made themfelues Lords of Pheres. The Allevades, men of authority, and greatly followed in the countrey for the ancient nobility of their house, would haue opposed themselues against this new tyranny. But finding themselues to be too weak, they made meanes to Philip: who entring into THESSALY with his army ouercame the two tyrants. and fetting the townes at liberty which these tyrants held in subjection, he shewed great loue and fauour to the Thessalians. By which occasion, in all his conquests he obtained afterwards. he found the THE SSALIANS alwaies ready to do him feruice, and to aide him in all his affaires, and not himselfe alone, but also his sonne Alexander. But the greatnesse of Philip grieued his greatnesse neighbours, infomuch as the kings of THRACIA, HVNGARIA, and SLAVONIA, not being ftrong "muied at. enough of themselues, they to yned forces together to make warre vpon him, and to be reuenged. Whilest they were preparing to joyne their forces, Philip went before, and compelled them to do what he would.

after the battell of MANTINEA, the holy war began amongst the GREEKES, which continued bolywar. ten yeares space; and this was the occasion. The THEBANS not being contented with the victory they obtained at the battell of Levetres, framed a complaint against the Laced MONIANS in the affembly of the Estates of GREECE which they call the Councell of the Amphietyons: and followed the matter so hard, that the LACED EMONIANS were condemned in a great summe ofmony because they had in time of peace surprised the castle of CADMEA. The PHOCIANS alfo, they having plowed vp a great deale of a certaine land facred to the gods, called the land of CIRRHE, were condemned by the Amphietrons in a great fumme of money; and because they would not pay it, the Councell pronounced, without longer delay and refufall, all their townes and lands to be confiscated to the gods, and that all other which were condemned (of which number were the LACED EMONIANS) should be compelled to pay their fines, and if they refufed, they should be taken for excommunicate, and the other GREEK'S should make warre with them as against accursed and execrable men. Philomelus, a man of great authority among the PHOCIAN'S, did fo much, that he perfeaded them not to pay it, but contrariwife to defend their country with armes, and to win \mathbf{D}_{ELPHE} s. Whereunto they giving their confents he gathered together a great army, and in despight of all hindrances made himselfe master of Delement significant alunder with sheares the decrees made by the Amphityons engrauen vpon marble pillars; posses. icd all the gold and filuer that was in the Temple; and afterwards rendred a reason of his fact, &

prepared himselfe to make war against the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, and

wannethree great battels of them. But being ouercome at the fourth battell, he threw himselfe downe off a high rocke. In the meane space, Cerfobleptes, the sonne of Clotis King of THRACIA,

About this time, to wit, in the last yeare of the hundred and fift Olympiade, fifteene yeares The begin.

hauing rendred vpto the Athenians the towns of Cherrone svs, partly for y good will he D d d d

feth one of his eyes.

Onomarchus

Onomarchus sucrebrowne by Pinlip.

Onomarchus hanged.

No towne fo overcome by

bare the ATHENIANS, and partly for the hatred he had to Philip the people of ATHENS fenting habitants thither to keepe and defend the towns. Philip perceiving that those of Methone len out their towne to all them that would make war against him, went & laid siege before it. They that were befieged, did valiantly defend it for a time; but in the end finding themselves too weak to make refistance, they yeelded upon condition, that the inhabitants should go out every man with one only gowne. As soone as ever Philip had the towne in his hands, he razed it even to the ground, and gaue the country alabout vnto the Macedonians. At this fiege he was wounded with an arrow, that put out one of his eyes. Afterwards he led his army also at y instance of the THESSALIANS, into the country against Lycophron, that began again to tyrannize those of PHE. RES: who having demanded aid of the PHOCIANS, they fent thither Phayllus with 7000 fighting men, whom Philip ouercame, and draue them out of THESSALY. Then Onomarchus that fucces. ded Philomelus in the charge of generall, hoping to have won THESSALY, made great speed this ther with al his army vnder colour to bring aid vnto Lycophron. Philip went against him with the THESSALIANS, but because Onomarchus had the greater number of men, he ouerthrew him, and killed many of the Macedonians, infomuch that Philip himselfe was in great danger. For his menalfo were fo afraid, that they would have for faken him, and he had much trouble to keepe them together; and in the end was constrained to retire home into his kingdome. Onomarchus departing from thence, entred into the country of Bo BOTIA, ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battel, & took the city of Coronea. But Philip returned immediatly with a great force into THES. SALY to drine out Lycophron: who having called in the PHOCIANS, Onomarchus returned thither, followed with 20 thousand footmen, and fine hundred horse. Hereupon Philip perswaded the commons of THESSALY, that they must all together undertake this war. And he could so well folicite them, that he affembled in one camp twenty thousand footme, & three thousand horse, Then was there fought a most cruell battell, whereof the victory fell to Philip, through the vali. antnesse of his THESSALIAN men of armes. For Onemarchus and his men, they fled on foote towards the sea, where was by chance Chares the ATHENIAN captaine failing all alongst the coast with certaine gallies. There was great flaughter of \$PHOCIANS there, followed by the victors. Others to flie with more speed, threw downe their armes, and leapt into the sea, by swimming to get to the gallies of the ATHENIANS. There were flaine in battell and flight as wel of natural Phocians, as of strangers that came for pay, aboue six thousand me, & there were taken prisoners to the number of three thousand: Onomarchus that was one of them, was hanged, and all the other drowned as facriledgers, by the commandement of Philip: vnto whom Lycophron yeelded the towne of Pheres, & fo retired out of Thessaly, which by this meanes was fet at liberty.

As for Philip, he marched with his army towards the way of THERMOPYLES, to make war with y Phocians, within Phocide it selfcibut the Athenians stopped his passage. Wherfore he was constrained to returne back into MACEDON, where he staid not long at rest, but determined to bring the towns of CHALCIDE in subjection to him. So he took by affault a fort called Gyre, the which he razed. But this was fuch a terror to the other small towns, that they put themselues under his obedience. Passing from thence into THESSALY, he draue away Pytholaus that had made himselfe master of PHERES. And intending to bring the towns of HELLESPONT vnder his subjection, he tooke in without paine or danger (rather by treason) the rownes of Mi-CYEERNE, & of TORONE. Afterwards he went with a great army against the city of OLYNTHE, the greatest & of most power that was in that marches; where first he ouercame y Olynthians in two great fights, so that he made them leave the field, & shut them in within their own town, vnto the which he gaue many affaults, and loft a great number of his menthere. But having with great sums of mony corrupted Euthicrates & Lasthenes gouernors of the towne, at the length he had it by treason: and having sacked it, he sold the towns-men for slaves by the drum. The taking of this towne, brought him a great quantity of filuer to help to defray the charges of his war, & did also make the other towns afraid, which had taken armes to resist him. Now after he had bestowed many rich presents vpon his Captaines and souldiers that had done him good service in this war, he gaue also all about great sums of mony to the heads of the townes, and found merchants also among them that sold him their owne country and fellow citizens: insomuch that he himselfe confessed he had enlarged his kingdome more through gold and silver, then hedid by force of armes: according to an answer that was made him, when he began first to put himfelfe forward: for being desirous to know how he should carie himselfe, the oracle answered:

With filuer speares begin and end thy warre,

So shalt thou topsie turny turne all things what ere they are. Now the ATHENIAN'S being icalous of his greatnesse, did euer helpe them whom he would stille dehurt, and fent Ambassadors to all the cities, to perswade them to maintaine and preserve their thoriests. liberty, and to put their townes-men to death whom they found willing to betray the Common-wealth: promifing them to ayde them all, and declared themselves open enemies vnto Philip. Hee that fet them most against him, was Demosthenes, the most eloquent man of all The force of GRECE at that time, and that did more trouble and hurt Philip with the blowes of his tongue, and his continual motions, then all the Captaines of GREECE did him besides. All this notwithflanding, with all the diligence and labour ATHEN'S could vie, they could neuer bridle the wicked disposition of some private persons, but they still sought to sell their countrey: for he that bought, fowed filuer without any spare, and there were a great number of traitors at that time through all GREECE. And touching this purpose, they say, that he being desirous to win avery strong hold, he sent some men before to view it: who returning, reported that it was vnpossible almost to approach it, and did by description set it downe in all points impregnable. Then he asked the if the place were so hard to come to, that a poore Asseladen with gold could not come neare it: for hee had oftentimes with filter very eafily wonne that, which otherwife was not to be had by force of armes. And this was the cause that he practifed to have traitors in enery towne by gifts and penfions, calling them that received him, his hoftes and friends. corrupting mens manners besides by vnworthy and dishonest meanes. As after that hee had wonne OLYNTHE, he made sumptuous and magnificent facrifices to his gods, to thanke them for the victory they had given him: and so having set downe a day of triumph for tilting and tourneying, and common sports, thither repaired a great number of strangers that came to see the feast. So keeping open Court, he inuited many of these strangers to come to his sumptuous feasts he made, and in them he shewed all the familiarity and courtesie that might be to entertaine them. For he dranke to fome, and then gaue them the cups wherein he dranke to them: to others he gaue great presents, and vnto al generally he gaue good words and large promises; infomuch that many fought how to obtaine his love and favour. So it is reported, that one day atabanquet he espied Satyrus, an excellent Comedian and player, that he was very fad: and that heasked him why he did not craue fomething of him, that he might shew his liberality vnto him. Satyrus answered him againe, that he would be glad to obtaine a suite at his hands, but he durst not aske it him, being afraid he should be denied. Philip liked his answer well, and bad him aske boldly. Then he told him, that a friend of his had two daughters among others prisoners, both of them mariageable, and befought him that hee would bestow them vpon him; not for any other pleasure or profit he should have of them, but because he would marrie them both at his owne charge, before they should be forced to their dishonour. Philip thanked him for his honest petition, and presently caused these two maides to be deliuered vnto him. Thus he be-

meanes to deliuertownes and countries into his hands. But now to return again to that we had begun to speake of the holy war. The Phocians that had three very strong holds in Boeotia, to wit, Orchomene, Coronee, & Corsies, did ordinarily from thence make incursions into the countrey of the Boeotians, with great number of fouldiers strangers whom they kept in pay, and did burne & lay wast all the territory thereabouts, and euer had the vpper hand in all their inrodes and skirmishes they had with the countrymen. Vpon this occasion the Borotians being weake of men, and wanting money, fent in the end to demaund aid of Philip: who was not a little glad to fee them brought fo low, for he defired their pride might he pulled downe, which had lift them vp to high fince the battel of Levetre es. So he sent them a good number of souldiers, not for any desire he had to aide them, but to make them thinke that he made great account of the Temple of DELPHES, which Hyporifice. the PHOCIAN'S had spoyled. After diversexploits of warre, the one side and the other seeing themselues wearie and bare, the Bobotians prayed Philip to come and ayde them: which he granted them: and taking a supply of Thessalians with him, he came to Lockide with a goodarmy, and put himselse in order to end this warre at one battell. But Phallecus Generall

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flowed many such courtefies every where, whereof he made his profit afterwards with great

vsurie. For a number being drawne by the sent and odour of so many good turnes, studied with

themselues, enuying one another, which of them might do him best service, and find out most

Philip fammoneth a Councell or

greatneffe.

of the Phocians, finding himselfe not frong enough to fight with him fent vnto him to treate of peaces fo he was suffered to go safely with his men whither he would. Whereupon under the affurance of this peace, he retired with eight thousand men into Peloponnesvs. The Phoch-ANS then left without all hope, yeelded themselves to Philips discretion. Thus having ended this holy war without froke firicken, beyond all mens opinion, he called a Councell of the Boso-TIANS and THESSALIANS in the which it was determined that there should be an assembly of Parliament of the Amphietyons, vnto whom they would wholy referre themselues for deciding of this matter. Whereupon the Commissioners for the Parliament of the Amphieryons were all fembled, and there among other acts it was ordained, that from thenceforth it should be lawfull for Philip and all of his race to fit in this Councell of the Amphietyons, and that they should have the two voices which the Phocians (by him lately conquered) had before. Also, that he & his thenceforth should have the government and superintendancie of the sports PYTHIANS, with the Bogotians and Thessalians: because the Corinthians had bene partakers with the facriledge of the Phocians. The rest of their decrees concerned those of Phocians at the safety of the temple of Delphes, and the vnion of the Greekes. Philip having broken vp the armo. ries of the Phocians and of the strangers that had fought in their pay, he defaced their townes, and made them fell their horses. After he had received of the Amphicityons the greatest honour and thankes they could deuife, he returned into his realing of MACEDON, having won him the name of a deuout and valiant Prince, and layed the foundation of the greatnesse, vnto the which his sonne Alexander came afterwards. For he singularly defired to be chosen Captaine generall of all GREBCE, with full power and authority to make war with the king of PERSIA. as he did. Furthermore, the hereditary quarrels he had against the SLAVON'S, being as irreconciliable, he entred with his army into SLAVONIA, where having spoyled a great part of that country, and taken many townes, he returned backe into Mac E D on laden with booty. After that he went into THESSALY, and draue out the tyrants there, which held the townes in subjection. By this meanes he wannethe hearts of the THESSALIANS, whom indeed he had great care to vie well hoping that if the THESSALIANS remained his faithfull friends, he should cassly gaine the other GREEK'S to defire his friendship. & so it hapned for the people neighbours to Thes-SALY, did prefently enter into league with him. Soone after that, he led his army into Thracia to represse Cersobleptes, who troubled all the townes of Hellespont next adiopning to his realme. When he had beaten the THRACIAN'S in divers encounters, he compelled the vanquifled to pay yearely vnto the Macedonians the tenth part of their revenues; and forrifying a few good townes in the best parts of their countrey, he bridled the boldnesse of these barbarous people: whereupon the townes within those marches being deliuered from warres, they

very willingly entred into league and alliance with Philip. Thus waxing greater every day then other, he held his army before the city of Perinth, be. cause that stood against him, and tooke part with the ATHENIANS. So he layd siege vnto it, and brought his engines of battery before it, among the which there were rams of 80. foot long, and built vp towers of wood higher then the highest towers of stone that were within the towne: vpon the top whereof he maruelloufly annoyed the befreged; and battering the wals with these rammes, he made them fall downe in divers places. The Perinthians on the other fide very luftily defended them felues, and reared vp other walles within, in place of them that were fallen downe. He plyed them continually with wonderfull affaults, the affailants and affailed shewing all their possible force and endeuour. Now Philip had great Crosse-bowes and other engines of all forts to kill farre off, great arrowes long and sharpeat the end, which did wound those that came to the cranewes of the walles; and those that were besieged, lost many of their men cuery day. But at the length they were supplied with armes and men, whom the BYZANTINES fent vnto them: whereupon equalling their enemics, they beganne to be couragious againe, and resolutely offered themselues vnto any danger for defence of their countrey. For all this, the battery begundiscontinued not, and Philip deuiding his men into divers troupes, gave them many affaults, continued by turnes one in the necke of another night and day. Which hee might cafily do, confidering he had thirty thousand fighting men in his campe, with an inestimable number of missile weapons, with engines to bestow great shot a farre off, and of all sorts of engines to beate downe townes, with the which he wonderfully plagued and hurt the befieged. Neuerthelesse the siege drew on inlength, and many of the townes-men died, besides those that were hurt and wounded: and because that victuals also waxed scantamones them: fothat they hourely looked for no other thing, but to take PERINTH. But it fell out cleane contrary: for the fame of Philips greatnesse being blowne abroad throughout all As 14, the king of Perinth Parsia being affraid of such a power, writ vnto his Lieutenants vpon the sea coasts, that the Persan they should aide the Perinthians all they could possible. Thereupon his Sattapes having confulted of this matter together, fent vnto the befieged agreat supply of men of warr, store of gold and filuer, plenty of corne, of armes, and of all other necessarie prouisions for the warres. The BYZANTINES on the other fide fent them the best experienced Captaines and fouldiers they had. By this meanes the two forces of the befiegers and the befieged being equal I ofnew againe, the warre began to be hotter then before. For Philip beating at the walles without cease with his rammes, made very great breaches, and with his engines to shoote farre off, kept them that none durst stay at the cranewes of the walles: and at one instant made his men to give an affault at the breaches of the walles throwne downe, and caused others to scale the walles that were yet standing whole, and so fighting with their swords, many were slaine in the place, and others fore wounded, both valiantly fighting for the reward of honour and victory. The MACEDONIANS hoped to have the facke of a rich and wealthy city, and more then that, to have goodly presents of the King. They that were besieged on the other side, setting before them all the calamities and miferies of the taking of a citie, did luftily endure any paines and danger to preuent fo great a mischiefe. Besides that, the situation of the towne was a great helpe vnto them, not onely to hope well, but also that in the end they should be masters. For the towne of Perinth flood all vponthe fea fide, vpon a hauen of halfe an Iland that flood of a great height, and this hauen was about halfe a quarter of a league long. The houses there were very narrow and high, and because they stood high vpon the hanging of the coast all the towne being underneath it on the ground, they were built much higher then those that stood beneath: foto fee them aboue, they shewed like y degrees of scates in a Theater. And although that they without did still beate downe some part of the wall: that vantaged them nothing for all that. For those within did nothing else but mure vp the entrance into the streetes which were narrow. and they alwaies defended themselues, making rampiers before the low houses, as if they had bene the best wals in the world.

So Philip having gotten the outward walles of the towne, with all the troubles and dangers Philip bepossible: he found other walles ready built stronger then the other, as if they had bene done Byzantines ofpurpose: besides that the BYZANTINE'S did alwaies furnish them with any thing they wanted, Philip confidering this, devided his army into two, and left the halfe of them to continue the them of Pesiege, under the charge of the best captaines he had:and taking with him the other halfe, he went to befrege Byzanc E it felfe, & gaue it a most braue affault: whereat y Byzantines were amazed, because their souldiers, their armes, and all other necessary prouisions for war were in the city of Perinth But the Athenians fent them immediatly an army by sea to aide them as alforthose did of Chio, of Rhodes, and our of other places. Chares went thither, sent by the ATHENIANS, buthe did nothing of worth, nor worthy of the fleet he brought thither; because he was suspected of his friends, and despised of his enemies. So that they sent Phocion thither. Phocion a who before that time had fought brauely with Philip in the Ile of Evbora, (which he thought to have won by means of traitors) had overcome the Macedonians in battel, & had done many other notable exploits. Howbeit after his departure Philip being the stronger, departing from thence came to befrege PBRINTH, and after that BYZANCE, into the which Physion entred with his troupes: who did so valiantly in all fights and affaults, that Philip (who before that time was thought fo terrible in armes that none could refift him, neither durft any man present himselfe in battel against him) rose from the besieging of PERINTH, and retired from BYZANCE and our Philip raise of HELLESPONT, and did nothing, but lost much of his reputation. For, besides the menthat were killed at these two sieges, he lost some of his ships, and many strong holds, out of the some and which his countries. which his garrifons were throwne, and his friends forraged by the Athenians. This was loft. the cause why hee offered articles of peace, fearing the forces of the ATHBNIANS, desirous to forward his affaires fome other way, or rather to meddle no more with them. Phocion counfelled the ATHENIAN'S to hearken vnto it, and to accept the conditions vnto the which Philip submitted himself. But the Counsellers (especially Demosthenes) that bare the sway at that time, moued the ATHENIANS to a new league, the which Demostheres prepared against Philip: who

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The Greeks refuse the peace offe-red by Phibethinking himselfe, determined to employ all his meanes to subdue the cities all at once, to the end that he might afterwards passe further. So he leavied an army with great speed, and having ouercome certaine troupes of the townes in league together neare vnto AMPHISE, he marched into the country of ELATIA, and afterwards wan PHOCIDE; and being lift vp with such profperous beginnings, he refolued to go to ATHENS. Whereof the ATHENIANS having intelligence, they were straight in armes enery where, the people being so amazed, that none durstbe fo bold as to speake, and they knew not what to do. They rejected the wise counsell of Photion. of which Demosthenes was the cause. Wherefore to repaire his fault, he stepped out and counfelled the ATHENIANS to feeke the friendship of the THEBANS. So thereupon they fent himto put it in practife, and happily he obtained it, notwithstanding all Philips oppositions to the contrary:who being altonied more then before with these crosses which the eloquence of one man did against him he sent agains to offer the GREBKBS peace. But they kept themselves close, and made strange of it, expecting the euent of all this great tempest : not being disposed at that time to hearken to pacification. But as if the time of their bondage had bene at the gate; they refused all conditions, yea contemned the very oracles of DELPHES, and Demosthenes had it often in his mouth, that the Prophetessedid Philippizate, to wit favoured Philips affaires. These oracles threatned both the one and the other, and especially the GREEKE's. Now Philip, though he faw he was deceived of the friendship of the Bo E OT I ANS, yet he resolved to fight with theone and the other. Therefore keeping his campe certaine daies, looking for the forces of his friends that were not yet come vnto him: he entred into Bo Bo TIA, with thirty thousand footmen, and about two thousand horse. So both campes being ready to give charge vpon each other, they both had like courage and resolution to do well. But as touching the number of men, and skilfulnesse of Captaines, Philip did passe them farre: for having done in many places so many wor. thie exploits of armes, he was become very expert in military discipline. To the contrary, on the ATHBNIANS side, their best captaines, as Iphicrates, Chabrias and Timotheus, were dead. Phocionalfo, he neuer thought well of this warre; and the factious, they had hindered the best they could that he should have no charge. Then was there but Chares and Lysceles, that were too weake to take such a great charge vpon them, & were much inferiour to many of the Captaines Philip had then with him.

Philip oner throweth the Atheni

The day being broken, and both armies fet in battell the one against the other in the plaine of CHERONEA: Philip placed his fonne Alexander, comming but newly out of his infancie, in one of the points of his army, attended vpon by the best Captaines he had: and he placed himselfe in the other point, with the valiantest men in his army, gining order and direction in all things according to time and place. The ATHENIANS, having taken one of the points of their battell, left the other vnto the Borotians. So the fight began very sharply, and many were slaine on both fides, and it could not be difcerned yet whether fide had best occasion to hope of victory: untill that Alexander at the length, defirous to make his father see some proofe of his valour, and many other valiant men seeing the courage of this young Prince, following him, they with him brake into the battell of the enemies, and there was a maruellous cruell flaughter. Philip on his fide also giving charge vpon the greatest presse and multitude of his enemies, not enduring that any should take the honour from him, no not his owne some: set vponthem so fiercely that withstood him, that he put them out of order, and made them flie for life. There died in this battellaboue athousand Athenians, and there were taken prisoners to the numberoftwothousand. And of the Borotians in like manner there were many killed in the field, and a great number taken. After this battell, Philip caused a token of triumph to be set vp, and suffered the enemies to take away the bodies of their dead, and to burie them. Hee made sumptuous sacrifices vnto his gods, to give them thankes for his victory: and honoured them that had done good service in this battell, every one according to his degree and defert. Howbeit he committed certaine infolencies: for after he had drunke wel with his friends, he went to the place where the dead bodies lay, and there he fell a finging in mockerie, the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had propounded, whose counsell they following, the ATHENIANS concluded to warre against him, lifting vp his voice, and keeping measure with his foote: Demosthenes, the sonne of Demosthenes Pæanian set out this. But afterwards when he beganne a little to come to himselse againe out of his drunkennesse, and that he had thought a little of the danger he had bene in: then his haire began to stand vpright on his head,

when he entred into the confideration of the force and vehemencie of fuch an Orator, that had brought him in a peece of a day, to put his whole effate and his life to the hazard of a battell. And when the ATHENIAN'S fent vnto him to treate of peace, he presently set his countenance, rubbed his eye-browes, and laying afide all madnetse and wantonnesse, made them a very fober and aduised answer. Others say, that he dranke too much at the feast of his sacrifice, and that after supper he danced and made a mummerie with his minions; passed by the prisoners, and gaue them sharpe taunts in mockerie, touching the misfortune of their ouerthrow: and that Dimades then being one of the number, was fo bold franckly to fpeake a word Demades tohim, which was of such efficacie, as it made him refraine from his insolencie. O King, sayd he,it being now thy fortune to play Agamemnons part, thou art not ashamed to shew the deedes the quicke, of Thersites. Philip finding himselfe touched to the quicke with this word so well fer, he prefently changed hisapparell and countenance, cast downe to the ground his garland of flowers estimation he wore on his head, caused all the other fignes of mockerie which were carried after him to be with him. broken, and from thenceforth began greatly to esteeme of Demades, and would have him about him. Demades, being passing eloquent aboue others of his time, did so well entertaine Philip, that he caused him to deliuer all the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, without paying of any ransome. And further yet, humbling the conquerours fiercenesse, he made peace with the ATHENIANS, but put agarrifon within THERES, and moreour granted peace vnto the BOEOTIANS.

But that which principally brought him to incline vnto it, was the defire he had to be chosen The canse Captaine-generallof Greece. And to this end he caused them to give out abroad, that hee would vindertake to make warre for the Greekes against the Persians, and to be reuenged of them for the outrages and facriledges which they had committed against the Temples with the of the gods in GREECE; and fought to gaine the good will and friendship of all the GREEKES, by all kinde of courtefies he could possibly deuise or thinke of, as well openly as secretly. So hemade a motiue, that he defired to speake with the townes openly, and to communicate fomethings vnto them, which concerned the good of all their common-wealth in generall. And for this purpose there was appointed a generall assembly of the States in GREECE in the city of Corinth, in the which he propounded this, to vndertake the warre against the Persians: and putting them in great hope of happie fuccesse, he perswaded the commissioners of cuery towne, which were present in this assembly of counsel, boldly to conclude this enterprise. He folicited his matter in fuch fort, that the GREEKES with generall confent chose him their Captaine-general with fourraigne authority. Then he began to make great preparation for this general of war, and having made a description and sesse of all the contributions, as also the number of men Greece. of warre which energy city should furnish for this enterprise: he returned into MACEDON, and fent from thence two of his chiefe Captaines before into As IA, Attalus and Parmenio with a part of his army, commanding them to deliuer the GREEKES cities of ASIA out of bondage. But his death brake the voyage, so that they went not very farre. Now hitherto have we seene Philips naturall disposition in the middest of his deeds, and what is commendable and reprochfull info great a Prince. But before we go further in the rest of his life, it may peraduenture not be much impertinent to infert in this place some of his sentences and memorable actions, whereby he may be the better discerned, to compare him afterwards with the others. For mens words and fashions among it their familiars, be the very liuely tables of the affections and passions of the foule: it being vnpoffible for any man-alwaies to counterfet fo, but that they may oftentimes fee his heart at his tongues end.

So then, newes being brought him in one felfe day of three great prosperities: The first, impresperithat he had wonne the prize at the courses of coaches with foure horse in the folemnity of the Olympiangames: The fecond, that his Lieutenant Parmenio had ouercome the DARDANIANS aduerfits. in battell: The third, that his wife Olympiade had brought him a goodly sonne: he lifted up his hands to heauen, and faid: O fortune, I befeech thee fend me in exchange of this, some reasonable aduerfity, against such and so great happinesse. Lasthenes an OLYNTHIAN, that for a Phillips greatsumme of mony had sold him the towne of OLYNTH, complained to him one day that Barpesen. some of his minions called him traytor. He answered him againe, that the MACEDONIANS were rude plaine men, that called all things by their name. He seemed to repute the ATHENI-Ans happie men, for that they found yearely ten Captaines in their towne to be chosen: and

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peth his ears

Philips in Bice and other good qualities.

that he to the contrary in many yeares could find but one, and that was Parmenie. After he had ouercome the GREEKES, many aduised him to put good and great garrisons in the townes, that they might with more fafety be kept vnder. But he answered them: I had rather be called a long time courteous, then a short time Lord. And when his familiars gaue him counsell to banisha malicious person, that did nothing but speake euill: he answered them he would not, fearing lest he should every where else speake evill of him. There was an ACHAIAN called Arcadion. that made profession to speake cuill of him every where, and warned every man to flie so farre from Philip, as none could tell there what man he was. Arcadion being by chance met in MACE. DON, the courtiers would have had Philip to have punished him, and not to let him escape our of his hands. Philip to the contrarie spake him faire, and sent him presents to his lodging, Shortly after, he commanded they should make enquirie what talke Arcadion had of him a mong the GREEKES. Euery man brought him word, that he did wonderfully commend and praise him wheresoeuer he came. Then faid Philip vnto them: I am a better physition for enill freech then you are. Another time in the affembly of the Olympian games, as the GREEKES fpake euill of him, his friends faid. That fuch ill speakers would be seuerely punished to speake fo much evill of him that had done them so much good. Nay, but what would they do then. answered he, if we did hurt them? Smicythus did often accuse Nicanor Vnto him, telling him that he did nothing else but speake euill of Philip: so that his best familiars thought it good he should be fent for, and be punished according to his deferts. Yea but (replied he) Nicanor is one of the honestest men of Mace Don: were it not better therefore to enquire whether the fault bein vs, or not: And forthwith having made diligent fearch whence this discontentment of Dilla. Philiprelie nor came, he found that he was a man oppressed with extreme pouerty, and that no man would releeue him in his necessity: whereupon he sent him immediatly a good present. Afterwards Smicythus brought word, that Nicanor enery where spake great praises of Philip. See then, faid he, how it depende th ypon our felues to be well fpoken of. He was wont alfoto fay, that he was much beholding vnto the counsellors of Athens, for that they speaking euill of him. were cause to make him an honest man of word and deed: For, said he, I do dayly enforcemy felfe both in my deeds and words to make them lyers. He fent home (as hath bene spoken before) all the ATHENIANS prisoners at the battel of CHERON EA, without paying any ransome. and yet moreouer they asked for their beds, their apparell, and al their baggage, and complained of the MACEDONIANS, because they did not deliuer it vnto them: When Philip heard of this. he fell a laughing, and faid vnto them that were necre about him; How fay you, do not you think these ATHENIANS, suppose they were our come by vs at the play at bones. He said also that they which gaue him counfell to deale sharply with the ATHENIANS, were men of anill iudgement, to counsell a Prince that did and suffered all things for glory, to destroy the Theater ofglory, which was the city of ATHENS, by reason of learning. There was a great number of prisoners taken at a battell, and he was present to see them sold by the drumme, fitting in his chaire, his gowne being turned up a litle higher then was decent. Then there was one of the prifoners that was a felling, that cryed out aloud vnto him: I befeech thee, ô King, to pardon me that I be not fold, for I am thy friend from father to the sonne. Philip asked him, how and from whence this friendship should come betweenevs: I will tell thee in thy earc, answered the prifoner. Philip commanded they should bring him to him. Then the prisoner coming neare to him, told him softly: O king, letthy gowne fall downe before a litle, for as thou fittest, thou shewest that that is vnfitto bescene. Then spake Philip aloud to his men, Deliuer him, andlet him goe: for he is indeed one of my friends and wel-willers, but I had forgotten it. Such was his behauiour to his enemies, and those that spake euill of him.

Let vs now speake somewhat of his instice, and of divers other affections worthy to be noted in him: the which do appeare something in his words, and by the effects that followed. And they doe shew more and more, that this Prince had learned very much with Epaminondas, but aboue all, to be nobly minded, patient, and defirous of honour without shame: qualities that had bene much more excellent in him, if he had not made fuch merchandize with wicked men as he did, that fold their country: be fides that they faw in him an ardent ambition, as also in that he coueted to be Captaine generall of all the GREEKES, and the triumphs preceding his death, and all his life do shew. And to this purpose he counselled his some Alexander to speake graciously vnto the Macedonians, to winne their good wils, whilest he had leisure now to be

courteous vnto them, another reigning in the kingdome: as if he would have faid, that when he came to be King, he should carie the gravity of a master and of a Lord, and that he should do inflice. It gave him counfell alfo to lecke to get the love of those that bare credit and au- Philip githority in good townes, as well of the wicked as of the good, that he might afterwards vie good comthe good, and abuse the enill. But now to returne to his instice againe: Being a Judge betweene two bad men, hee ordained that the one should flie out of MACEDON, and the other should runne after him. It is reported of him, that hee had gotten together a number of the wickedest and most disorderedst men that were in his time, whom he lodged all together in atowne which hee had caused to be built, and called it PONEROPOLIS, the towne of Thetowne knaues. Hee had on a time bestowed the office of a Indge vpon one recommended vnto him by Antipater: but vnderstanding afterwards that he vied to paint his haires and beard, hee tooke it from him, saying, that he that ysed deccipt in his haire, would hardly deale truly in a 200d cause. Machetas pleaded a cause on a time before him whilest he slept, so that not conceiuing nor understanding well the matter, hee wrongfully condemned him. Whereupon Machetas beganto crie out, that he did appeale. Philip being angred at that word, asked him presently, vnto whom he did appeale from him : Before thy felfe, ô King, answered he, when thou are awake, and wilt give good care to conceive of my fact. These words touched Philip to the quicke, whereupon he rose vp on his feete, and calling himselfe better to minde, knew that he had wronged Machetas in his fentence, and yet neuertheleffe he would not renoke his judgement: howbeit he himfelfe with his owne money difcharged the matter, wheremonthe fuite was brought before him. Harpalus had a kinfinan and a friend of his called Crates, attainted and conuicted of great crimes: hee befought Philip, that paying the fine, fentence hould not be pronounced against this Crates, that hee might avoide the shame and disgrace. But Philip answeredhim againe, It is better he should beare his owne blame and discredit, then Amemora-Ifor him. A fouldier of his, a valiant man of his hands, having by falle report obtained of him Marifirats, thegift and forfeiture of the goods of a Macedonian: it fortuned that the Macedonian ill willing to put vp fuch an outrage, bewrayed vato Philip the vnthankfulnesse of the souldier whose life he had faued. Philip was so offended with the villanie of this souldier, that after he had renoked his gift, he made him quaile in fuch fort, that his wickednesse was knowne of enericone, and the Macebonian restored againe to all his goods. A poore old woman being in fuite of law, befought him to give judgement, and pressed him continually : but he excused himselfe, and told her, he was not at leisure to heare it. The old woman cryed out aloud: The bold Leave then to be King. He being aftonicd and lively pricked with this word, did heare her, woman to and all others in order. As for his friends, Philo a gentleman of THEBES had done him many Philop. pleasures at the time when he remained in hostage in the city of THEBES: for he was lodged in his house, and after that he would never receive any gifts or presents of him. Whereupon Philipsaid vnto him: Take not from me the title and honour of inuincible, being ouercome by thee of courtefie and liberality. Word being brought him of the death of Hipparchus, borne in the Ile of Ev BOEA, he was very forie; and as one that stood by, told him he was ripe and ready to die for age: Yea, said he againe, for himselfe, but not for me, to whom he is dead too soone: for he is dead before he received any recompence of me, worthy the friendship he bare me. As touching houshold matters, he fell out on a time with his wife olympias, and his fonne Alexander: in which time of his anger, Demaratus a Gentleman of Corinth went to vifit him. Philip then asked him, how, and after what manner the GREEKES lived one with another. Truly, answered Demaratus, thou carest much for the peace and vnion of He that the GREEKES, fince the persons that touch thee so nearely, and those whom thou oughtest cannot or to make much account of, are so separated from thee. This word made him consider so well owne famiof it, that afterwards he appealed his anger: the cause thereof is shewed in the beginning 11, milit of Alexanders life; and fo reconciled himselfe vnto them. Being told him that his some singdome, Alexander misliked it, and complained that he begot bastards of other women: he told him, Since thou feeft now that thou shalt have many competitors with thee for the kingdome after my death, endeuour thy selfe to be an honest man, that thou mayest come to the crowne not fo much through me, being mine heire, as through thy felfe, for that thou art worthy. He perswaded him much, diligently to studie Philosophie vnder Aristotle, to the end,

faid he, thou do not many things that I have done, whereof now I hartily repent me. Being on a

PHILIP OF MACEDON.

1139

Nature cotent with a litle.

Philipbeguileth his friends at a

Philip deambiguo**us**

Cleopatra Philips daughter meried with great folemnities.

time fallen backward, lying all alongst the place where they exercise wrestling; and wallowing vp and downe, as if he had seene the figure and print of his body in the dust: O Heronles, said he, how little quantitie of ground will ferue vs by nature, and yet we couet to inhabite all the world. He would on a time lodge his campe in a faire ground; but being told that there was no forrage for the beafts, he was constrained to dislodge from thence, saying: What is our life, since we must take care enen to place Asses: There was an host of his, that on a time bad him to supper with him. So, as he was going, he met diuers by the way, whom he caried thither with him. Whereupon perceiuing his hoft was much troubled, because he had not meate enough to feede fo many mouthes: Philip feeing it fent fecretly to tell every one in their eares whom he brought with him, that they should keepe a place in their stomacke for the tart. The other beleeuing that he spake in carnest, did forbeare to cate, whereby there was meate enough for them all. That which is already faid, is fufficient to make vs know the naturall disposition of this great Prince: whoseend we are now about to describe vnto you. He vndertaking to passe into As 1 A, to make war with the PERSIANS, in the state of Captaine-generall of the GREEKES: being defirous his voyage should be fauoured of the gods, he asked of the prophetesse of Delphes, whether he should ouercome the king of Persias She answered him:

The one is crowned when his end is neare at hand, To offer him in facrifice, a man doth ready stand.

This oracle being doubtfull and obscure, Philip tooke it for his advantage; as if Apollo had told him, that the king of Persia should be flaine by him, as an oblation of facrifice. But cleane co. trary, the oracle threatned him with death in a day of a folemne feast: and that he should be slaine as a bull, whom they crowne with garlands and hats of flowers, when they go about to facrifice him. Notwithstanding supposing that the gods did fauour his enterprise, he was very pleafant, perswading himselfe that Asia should shortly be tributarie to Macedon. So he prepared fumptuous and magnificent facrifices in honour of the gods, and made preparation for themariage of his daughter Cleopatra. Now he being desirous to draw to this feast as many GREEKES as he could possible, to that end made proclamation every where, that there should be games of prize for learning and musicke, and sent to summon all his hosts and friends, in what part of GREECE focuer they were, to come to this mariage: and commanded the Lords of his Court that they should do the like for their part. For he defired to shew the GREEKs al signes of friedship, and to make them the best cheare that could be possible, in recompence of the honourthey had done him, to chuse him their Captaine-general. There was a wonderfull affembly of people from all parts at this feast; and the mariage was folemnized betwixt Alexander king of Epinvs and Cleopatra, and the games alfoat ÆGES a city of MACEDON. Where not only Philips private friends, and the most notable men of the GREEKS but also the principall & chiefest townes of GREECE(& among others ATHENS) gaue him prefents of many rich crownes of gold. The decree of the people presenting a crowne of gold, & openly proclaimed by a herald; the effect of it was: that if it hapned any man having conspired or attempted ought against the person of King Philip, should flie to Athens in hope of priviledgethere, that he should be delivered into the hands of the king. In the middest of this great feast at the mariage, there was an excellent player of tragedies, called Neoptolemus, that rehearfed verses touching the enterprise of Philip: and as if he had meantro haue reproued the pride of the King of Persia, he lively touched that of his master Philip; and before he was ware, foretold his death in couert termes, and which might be applied (as also Philip did, blinded and astonied with his prosperity) vnto the estate, and vnto the king of Persia. Among other verses the beginning of it was very neare to this effect:

Abone the skies extell thy pride, Surmount all haughtineffe that is Within this earthly vale fo wide: Promise thy selfe aworldly bliffe, And prosperous life for ener fure, Yet canst thou now no longer dure. For some already have begun Thyruine, which thou canft not foun: And death neare to that breast of thine, Shall shortly breake off thy designe.

The day after this royall mariage, the games began to be played, and the people ranne from all parts to the Theater to fee them, even vntill it was dark night. And in the morning at the breake of day there was a procession, in the which (among many other sumptuous and magnificent showes) they carried the images of twelue principall gods of GREECE, wonderfull cunningly wrought with great art; and then after them was borne the image of Philis for the thirteenth, as ifhe would have placed himselfe in ranke with his gods. When the Theater was full set with people, Philip himselfe came in the end, apparelled all in white, having commanded all his guard with the to follow him a farre off: defirous to shew the GREEKES, that because of the great confidence 3ods. he had of their faithfull friendship, he thought he needed no guard for his body. But at that time he was put to death after a strange fort: and that we may know by what occasion, we wiltake the matter further off.

There was in his Court a Macedonian gentleman, called Paulanias, borne in the coun- The occasion trey of Or E stripe, one of the gentlemen pensioners of Philips guard, that sometime was belomed for his beautic. He perceiving that the King lound another whose name was as himselfer. ned for his beautie. He perceiuing that the King loued another, whose name was as himselfe. Paulanias: began to gall him with injurious words, calling him Androgyne (as much to fay, as womanish man) and reprodued him that he abandoned his body to any that would. This second Paulanias very impatiently bare these words in his heart, yet made no reply to them, but onely imparted vnto his friend called Attalus what he meant to do; and within few daies after lost his life after a notable manner. Philip fought a battell with the SLAVONS, in the which this young man behaued himselfe very valiantly, right before the person of Philip, and received vpon his body all the blowes they strake at him, so that he died in the field. This va- The second liantnesse of his being blowne abroade through the army, Attalus that then was in great fauour with the King, intreated the first Paufanias to come and suppe with him, and having made him drunk, he left his body to all the horse-keepers and mule-letters to be carnally abused. His drunkennesse hauing left him, he was so grieued at his heart for the outrage Attalus had done him, that hee went and complained to the King him felfe. Philip was maruelloufly offended withall, because of the villanie that was offered him. But because of the loue he bare to At- Private retalus, and also for that he stood in need of his service, and for that he was vnkle to Cleopatra, special the last and well beloued wife of Philip, and appointed his Lieutenant for the warre of Asia, inflice, inflice. hemade as though he knew it not. But to appeale Paufanias, he gaue him great presents, and placed him amongst the number of them of the guard about his person. Pausanias having made his complaint to Olympias, vnto Alexander, and to some other, had fundry answers, but no iuflice at that time. Wherfore keeping this despite in his heart, hee resolued not onely to be reuenged of him which had done him this injurie, but also of Philip that would do him no iu. flice. But to further him in this diuellish purpose, amongst others a Rhetoritian called Hermoagainst trates did set him on, whom Pausanias frequented to learne of him. Discoursing one day toPhilip. gether, he asked him how a man might in a short time make himselfe famous, to be spoken of of enery body? Hermocrates answered, in killing one that had done many great things: for, faid he, it is of necessity, that remembring his facts, the name of him that killed him must also becomprised. Pausanias applying that to the purpose of his anger, having no patience to prolong time, his heart being fo full of choler and griefe, determined with himfelfe to execute his enterprise the same day the playes should be: the which he did, as followeth. Heclayed horses ready at the gate of the Theater, and went about it, having a fword vnder his gowne, after the fashion of the GAVLEs as they weare it. When the time was come that Philip would himselfe go to the Theater, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen that attended upon him, went into the Theater before him, who had commanded all the Gentlemen of his guard to come a good way behindhim. Then Paulanias seeing Philip going all alone, ranne to him, and gauchim such a Philip trasblow with his fword ouerthwart his flankes, that he ranne him through and through, so that he fell downe starke dead. The blow being given, hee ranne away straight vnto his horse, and Paulanies. some of the guard ranne to Philip, others swiftly followed the murtherer, among which was Leonidas, Perdiccas, and Attalus. Howbeit Paufanias that had gotten the start before, had easily mounted on horsebacke before the others could have come neare him to overtake him, had it not bene that in the way as he fled, he flumbled at the roote of a vine, which ouerthrew him. Then Perdiceas and the rest lighted on him as he rose, and thrusting at him, killed him in the Pansania place. Behold how Philip that was the greatest King in his time of Evrope, and for the great-

The wines s children

Philips con-

subines.

nesse of his power, placed himselfe among the gods: was brought low, even to ranke with the weakest of the world, and died being but sixe and forty yeares old, having reigned 24. yeares. That therfore whereof hegloried most, was in his skill of wars, and in the actions which he managed brauely, preferring that farreaboue all exploits of war. For (faid he) in victory all that fight in the battell haue their part; but in those things that I haue atchieued vnto, hauing wisely directed them, none is partaker of the honour but my felfe only. He had fine wines, the first was Olympias the daughter of Neoptolemus king of the Molossians, of the line of Aacus, of whom were borne Alexander firnamed the Great, and Cleopatra. Alexander succeeded his father; and for Cleopatra, she was maried to her vnkle Alexander king of Epirvs, and brother of Olympias. The second wife of Philip was Audate, a Lady of SLAVONIA, of whom he had a daughter called Cyne, maried vnto Amyntas his cofin germaine: who being flaine, she was betrothed vnto Lagarus king of the Agrianians, who died before consummation of mariage. After the death of Alex. ander the Great, she being of a manly courage, and opposing her selfe against those that would depriue the children of Alexander of the crowne of Macedon, was flaine by Perdiccas com. mandement. The third was Phila: and the fourth was called Mede, the daughter of the king of THRACIA. These two had neither of them any children. And lastly being too old to marrie. he maried Cleopatra, the daughter of Hippostratus, and Attalus neece: at the mariage of whom he would have killed his sonne Alexander, for throwing a cup at Attalus head: after the which followed great trouble and foule stirre betwixt Philip, Olympias and Alexander: but Demaratus the Corinthian falued allthat againe. Of this last wife, he first had a daughter called Europe. and then a fonne called Caranus, whom Olympias put to a cruell death. For his concubines, the one called Arsinone, being gotten with child by Philip, she fell into Lagus hands, vnto whom she gaue Ptolomie afterwardsking of ÆGYPT. The second was a girle of LARISSENE, called Phi. linna. of whom he begat Aridaus: who first of all was poysoned, and in the end cruelly murthered by Olympias: being the last King of the race of Temenides in MACHDON. For the issue of Alexander, they were rejected by Caffander. The third was Nicafipolis, a woman of THESSALY. and Iafons fifter, tyrantof PHERES: of whom he had a daughter called The falonica, whom Caf-Sander maried, and was afterwards flaine by Antipater. The end of Alexander, of his mother, and of his children and fucceffors, was lamentable in divers forts. And thus we fee in Philip and in his race, how many waies the high Iudge of the world hath in his power and hand to ouerthrow the greatest, when

they are drunke with their prosperity. The end of Philip of Macedons life.

THE



THE LIFE OF Diony fius.



Base Tyranny is wrongs unhappy mother, Witnesse this wretch, in shew both grave and wise. Tet he himselfe beguiling, and each other, Shew'd that his heart was fierce and full of vice.

Nthe second year's of the second Olympiad, Archias a Corinthian, Archiasthe not daring to return again into his city for a foule fact committed founder of by him in the person of an honest youth called Action: he tooke the sea thecity syand failed into Sicilia with certain Corinthians & Dorians, and there built the city of Syracvsa, the which by processe of time became fo great, that it had within it as it were foure townes, of the which the one was called the Ile, the second Acradine, the third Tyche, and the last Neapolis: the one neare vnto the other, with a fort called Hexapyle, which commanded all the other, and it was in the top of a

high place which they called *Epipoles*, as much to fay, as ouer all the other townes. It was gomerned at the first, by the command and power of Archies onely: but he being killed by Telephus, whom he had abused in his infancie, the Syracvsans gathered together of diverse parts, brought their estate to Aristocratia, which slourished for a time. But being come to passe that Tyndaris one of the Lords of the towne caried himselfe after such a manner, that he made many icalous that his drift and policy was to make him felfe chiefe Lord: the other Lords made a law called Petalisme, to meete with this practise: howbeit it was that that increased his enterprife. The effect of this law was, that the name of him that aspired to make himselse absolute for five Lord of the city, should be written in an olive leafe, the which being put into the hand of this yeares. Lord, without further ceremony it was to tell him that he was banished the city for flue yeares, much after the fashion that is reported of the Ostracisme of the Athenians. By meanes of this Petalisme, the Lords banished one another, so that in the end, the people became Lord. arifornite Buthereupon a dangerous sedition happening amongst them, Gelo, Lord of the city of GELE, brought to democracie, did so wisely look into the troubles of the Syrac vsan sthat they chose him king in the second and that to yeare of the threefcore and twelfth Olympiade. After him fucceeded Hieron, who at the begin. monarchie ning caried himselfe very cuill: but afterwards falling into acquaintance with the Poets Simoni-

des, Pindarus and Bacchylides, which taught him many good things, he reigned very prudently, So, he having reigned about twelve yeares, left his brother Thrasybulus his successor: who for his cruelties and infolencies was driven out of Syracvs a by force, and went to Lock Es, and there ended the rest of his dayes. Then the Syracysan's established the gouernment of Lords, which continued fixty yeares: in which time they make warre with the AGRIGENTINES, and compelled them to fue for peace: they destroy the TRINACRIANS & their town: they set vpon the LEONTINES, which are aided by the ATHENIANS under the conduct of Laches and Carces. das, who behaued themselues so cuill, that at their returne home they were banished. Shortly after the new troubles betwirt y Syracvsans & the Leontines, the Athenians fent Phase into Sigilia to kindle the firea litle, and to mutine the one against the other. How beit it had no good fuccesse, but rather raised a cruell warre betwixt the Syracvsans and Athentans, in the which at the last Nicias and Demosthenes were overcome by sea and land both, and after. wards put to death, & the fouldiers of ATHENS that were prisoners most cruelly vsed. The Sr. RACVSANS lift vp with this victory, did put downe their Lordly gouernment, and brought itto a popular state againe. Then thinking to be reuenged of the CARTHAGINIANS that were cometo the aide of the Segestans against the Selinontines, which were their friends: they fent Diocles with fourethousand good men against Hannibal the sonne of Gisco, who lay in campe at that time before HIMERA, the which he wan after he had ouercome Diacles, and flaine the most part of his troupes. The Syracvsans casting their anger for this losse vpon Hermocrates one of their chiefe citizens, they banished him with the Petalisme, and drauchim out of the towne. He helping himselfe with the meanes he had in his hand, made vp and armed fine gallies, and afterwards with certaine banished men of HIMERA, attempted to put in againe into Syracvsa. But seeing he could not prevaile, he landed and possessed the ruined towneof SELINONTE, he repaired it, called home againe althe inhabitants dispersed through Sigilla, fortified himselfe there, and in few daies got together a troupe of fix thousand men. With these forces he set vponthem of PALERME, and MOTYE, in league with the CARTHAGINIANS, ouercame them in a pitched field, maintained his friends, and followed his victory. The Syra-CVSANS hearing good report of Hermocrates valour, bega to repent them that they had fo diffionourably vsed him. He on the other side being advertised by his friends of the good affection of the citizens vnto him: to win their good fauour ag sene, he was very carefull to gather together the bones of those that were killed by HIMERA VINCler the leading of Diocles, and sent themto Syracvsa, in carts very richly fet out. For all this they fent not for him home, the Syracvsans being affraid of him, for that he was a man of such courage and wisedome, lest he should make himfelfe Lord of the towne. He feeing himfelf thus refused, went backe to Selinonte, and shortly after being solicited by his friends, he found meanes by night to come into Syra-CVSA, and possessed the Acradine. The SYRACVSANS tooke armes immediatly, fought with Hermocrates, killed him in the great market place with part of his traine, and banished those that fauoured him. His friends faued some of them from the violence of the citizens, and amongst others Dionysius the sonne of Hermocrates, a plaine citizen of Syracusa, whose life we presently write of.

Harmocrates father of Dion) fins flaine.

Dreamer foreshewing his qualities

Himerakil . Dionyfius. for Speaking

Now it is reported, that his mother being with child of him, dreamed that she was brought to bed of a Satyre, and that the Soothfayers being asked their opinion, answered, she should haue a fonne that should be famous about all the GREBKES. Furthermore, a yong gentlewoman of Syracvs a called Himera, some time before Dionysius made himself Lord of y city, dreamed that she was taken up to heauen, by a guide that having caried her too & fro, in the end brought herbefore Iupiter, at whose feet she saw a yong man with a yelow haire, bound with iron chains: and asking her guide what he was: It is, faid the other, the cruell scourge of Sicilia & Italy, the which shall spoile a great country, assoone as his bolts be off his feet. Within few yeares aster, Dionysius having already seized vpon the estate, as he came to make his entrie into Syracvsa, and that the citizens went out to meet him to do him honor: Himera being there by chance, knew him, and straight cried out: This was the yong man that she saw in heaven. This being reported to Dionysius, he caused them to kill the yong damosell. Another time his horse falling in the mire that he could not get out, Diony fins left him fast there: but the poore beast with strugling got himselfe out, and ranne after his master: bringing in his maine a swarme of bees. This did hearten him, especially through the counsell of his Soothsayers, to follow his purposetosubthe his country: the which he obtained by this meanes. The CARTHAGINIAN'S defirous to The occosion make themselves great in Sicilia, fent thither their Captaine Himileo with a great army: of Diony Gas against whom the Syracysans made head, wan a battell, and killed fixe thousand of his men. Notwithstanding this, he went and besieged AGRIGENTE, and having upon surprise overthrownethe army of the Syracusans by sea, he enforced them that were besieged to saue themselues as they could, entred into this great rich city abandoned, and tooke the spoile of it. The Agrigentines that escaped gaue yallarine, through al Sicilia, & retiring the school to Syrac vs a their friend town, began in full affembly of the city to accuse the Captaines of Sy-RACVEA, faying, that by their treason the country was fold vnto their enemies. Dionysius, the fon of Hermorates, a yong man of a front hart, and that did embrace great matters in his mind, being in this affembly, tooke hold of the occasion offered; and seeing the people out of countenance. hestepped forth, charged the Captains very much, and gaue counsell that they should do instice: whereupon the magiftrates did fet a fine on their heads. And having found Philifus inclined that way, and gotten money of him (who was very rich) to pay this fine, with promife to furnish others if they were condemned the followed his purpose in other assemblies, having speech at will, & a comely maner with al, so that almost for litle or nothing, he wanthe harts of the peoble, who moued by his oration, did caffeere the old Captaines, and chosenew, & among others Dinysius, who was a good fouldier, & had made proofe of his valiantnesse in divers encounters against the Carthaginians. But after they had chosen him captaine, he neuer came to coun-fell with his other companions, nor would not be acquainted with them: but vnder hand, made afoule report run abroad that they practifed with the enemies. This made men of good indgement to prefume that he himselfe went about to make some alteration; and they could not for. Generalizate beare to blame him for it. Neuertheleffe the people not looking fo inwardly into it, they effecmedhim very much. Hereupon many affemblies were made to think of their affaires in wars, in one of the which Dionylius perceiving the Syracus and aftenied, gave addice that they should call home their banished men, saying; that it was a great mockery to run into GRECE & ITALY for aid fince they had heard at their doores fuch as had bene citizens, who had rather dielike vagabonds, then scruethe enemy. And that the fauour they should shew them, would spurre them forward to do their country good feruice. The wifest men durst not gainfay this aduice, perceiuing that the people did incline vnto it: that if they hindred that, it was to get as many entmies as there were banished: and that they being called home, should thanke none but Dionysius, at whose commandement they would ever be afterwards. No man speaking a word the decree ofrepeale was authorized by the people, and the banished men returned to Syracvan. In the middeft of all this bufineffe, letters were brought from Gala, which demanded aide. Dionyfius offered himselfe firaight, & was sent thither with 2000. footmen, & 400, horse. Being arrived at by practifes Geles, & finding the city in trouble, he tooke the peoples part, accused the principals, made the to apprete be put to death, & their goods for feited. With which for feiture he payed the ordinary garrison greatness. of GELE, & promised double pay to them that followed him from Syrac vsa: vnto the which hereturned immediatly, having the favour of his fouldiers. So all the people ran about him in multitudes, asking him where the enemics were, and what they did? You do not confider, faid he, that your enemies indeed are in your towne. They that governe in your estate are more to be feared, then the Carthaginians: for whilest you are busic about your playes and feasts, they deuide the common treasure among themselves, and pay not the souldiers. In the meane space Himileo prepareth himfelf to come & befiege you, whereof your gouernors make no reckning. neither do they give any order for it. I knew this well enough before, but now I am most affured of it: for *Himileo* fent a trumpet vnto me, vnder colour of certaine prifoners, and fecretly bad him tell me, that he wold give me more the any other of my companions, fo that I would not fearch him too narrowly:& if fobethat I would not helpe him, at the least yet that I would not hinder him. And therforethinke with your felues to find another captaine in my place: for it is no reafon whilest others sell the town to the enemies, that I should go hazard my selfe with my fellow citizens, & in danger in the end that they should thinke of me I should be partaker with the wicked practifes of others. Those that heard what he spake, being maruellously offeded, caried these words immediatly all about the towne. But for the present time enery one went home to their house, sad, and troubled in their minds. The morrow after, as those that should speake before the People did draw by lot of letters, that they might know in order how they should speake, and

or shrewd

that the letter F. came to his lot: some stander by told him, this F. signifieth * Foole, Die nyfin, because thou wilt tell vs great follies. No, replied he quickly: that I shall be a Monarke. Presently the people being assembled, and his turne being come to speake, he accused his other companions with great vehemency, was heard very attentiuely, and with great praise of all the people, whom the day before he had angred very much: fo that in the end there was some of the affembly cryed out, that necessity required that Dionysius should be chosen alone Captainegene. rall, with all authority & fourraigne power, and that it was no tarying till the enemies be vnder our wals, and that he was a fit man to take care of this businesse: and as for the traytors, that they should thinke of them at better leifure. Hereupon the people chose Dionysius their Captainege. nerall, gining him full authority, and power of the affaires of the common-wealth, and praying him to confider of all that should be expedient to resist the enemies.

Dionylius chofen Cap. taine gene-

Hee feeing his enterprife fo well grounded, propoundeth a decree to the people, that the fouldiers pay should be doubled over that it was before: for that would make them more couragious and willing to do good feruice. And as for money, that the Syracus ans should take no thought for that, for he knew away how to come by it well enough. This fo fuddenadnancement, and his bold promifes iouned with the disposition of this yong man, mademany fuspect him that had any understanding and judgement: insomuch that some began to goe and come to houses to conferre together to find meanes betimes to withstand the tyranny, which had now (as they fay) put the irons in the fire. But Dionyfius having an eye abroad, and a num. ber of spies that slily fell into companies, being afraid they would do him some hurt, determined to prouide for it by a farre fetch to fight, but very fit to ferue his turne: which was, to ob. tain licence to chuse a guard for his person, vnto y which he came, as followeth. He proclaimed in the towne that those that were able to be are arms should follow him, and to make their rende-vous with their armes at a day fet down at the towne of the Leontines, and bring victuals with them for one moneth. There was then in that towns a garrilon of the Syrac vsans: the banished, and all forts of men withdrew themselves, whom Dionysius hoped would have taken his part, for that they were men which defired nothing more then change and alteration, and perfivaded himfelfe that few of the Syracvsans would follow him. Hereupon he went himselse into the field, and being encamped nere the towne, one caused his friends to give the alarme, and to cry helpe, as if the enemies had enuironed him to kill him in his tent: and making as though he had bene maruelloufly afraid, he fled, and faued himfelfe by fwiftnesse within the castell of the towne, where he passed all the rest of the night, made fires all abour, and fent for his fouldiers in whom he put most trust, as a man that is afraid, seeing his enemies lie in waite for him. The next morning some of the people of Syracusa being gathered together in the towne of the LEONTINES, in open affembly he made a long discourse of that that had passed, to make them beleeve that his cuill willers would have surprised him, and could speake so well, that the people appointed him fixe hundred souldiers to guard his person, such as he himselfe would chuse out. Immediatly he chose young men to the number of a thousand, which had nothing to lose, hardy and desperate to put any thing in execution that they were commanded. These he furnished with all things necessarie, and made them great promises: fo that he wan their hearts, and got vnto him the souldiers strangers that were in the Syracysans pay. Howbeit he changed the Captaines from their companies, and put in their places some other made to his hand. And afterwards he sent Dexipus a wise and valiant Captaine Laced Emonian, backe againe into his country, of whom he stood in seare, and perceived he would be a barre in his way to hinder that he went about. Ouer and aboue that he fent for the fouldiers of the garrifon of Gelegand gathered together all them that were banished, all theeues and rogues that would come and serue him, judging them to be firmen to serue the turne he purposed. When he had gotten a great troupe of such rakehels, he straight for a Tyrat. returned to Syracvsa, and lodged his forces in the Arfenall, and then shewed himselfe openly Lord, and tyrant, without any longer diffimulation. This amazed and grieued the Syracysans most extreamely: neuerthelesse they were enforced to bearethis yoake which they could not helpe, because the towne was full of souldiers strangers, and for that also they were afraid of the Carthaginians that were neare vnto them with a mighty armie. All this happened, Dionysius being but fine and twenty yeares old, in the third yeare of the ninetic three Olympiade, and in the three hundreth seuen and fortieth

Theewes rogues and rakehels fit assistants

Dionyfius

veare of the foundation of Rome. Thus you fee how this yong man, of a base condition, meanely borne, made himfelfe Lord of one of the greatest common-wealths in the world at that time. and continued this vour pation all the daics of his life, which was the space of 38, years.

This being done, he made them all rich and wealthy that aided him in this enterprife, draue outall those he could find that withstood these his attempts, put to death before all the people Daphneus and Demarchus, two of the chiefest men, and of greatest power that were at that time and Dein Syracvsa, and that had most crossed him of all others in the device of his purpose. After-marchy ward, because he would yet strengthen himselfethe better, he maried Hermocrates daughter, a put to death Syracvs an Captaine, that ouercame Nicins and the ATHENIANS, and maried his fifter vnto Polyxenus, brother in law vnto Hermocrates. Whileft things passed thus, the CARTHAGINIANS, being masters of Agrigente, after they had spoiled, burnt and razedit, they marched away with their Generall Himileo, and went and befieged the city of GELE, friend to the Syracy-SANS, in maner of a like distance from Syracysa and Agrigente, very farre in land, where the other two wereports of the fea. The befieged did wonderfull valiantly defend themselves. their Towne being weake and kept by the citizens onely, accompanied with their wives and children that would not for fake them. Diony fins hearing of their necessity, brought a strong aide unto them of thirty thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, besides agreat number of gallies, that lay off and on vpon the Ile, to cut off victuals from Himileo, and to land also. But when they came to joyne, Dionysius having divided his bands into three troupes to trouble his enemy the more, he could not do so well but the CARTHAGINIANS had the better, and slue many of his men. He very hardly escaping with his troupe entred into the towne, and there called his friends together to counsell what they were best to do. They seeing the place dangerous, and ofgreat difaduantage to hazard battell in, gaue him counfell to retire againe. He fent a Trumpet ouer night to Himileo, to pray him to furcease armes till the morning, that he might gather the dead bodies together to bury them. In the meane space, in the first watch of the night, he flight so made all the people come out of the towne, and dislodged himselfe about midnight, leaving wardly out theretwo thousand men lightly armed, commanding them to make great fires and noise, that of Gale. the enemies might thinke that he and his men were still in the towns; and that they at the breake of day should come to their troupes. Dionysius having escaped thus, came vnto CAMARINE. atowne halfe-way betwixt Geleand Syracvsa, and commanded all the inhabitants to diflodgeand come to Syracvsa, that they might avoide the crueltics of the Carthaginians who facked Geles. So, all the inhabitants of these two townes compelled to leave their houses and country, all the fields and high-waies were full of women, children, and of poore people ofthe country. This moved the fouldiers against Dionysius, who accused him that he had done The fouldithis of purpose, that he might more easily scise vpon the other cities of Sicilia, which should ere incensed bedeftroyed by the barbarous CARTHAGINIANS; and thus they complained one to another of Dionylus. the litle aide he had given to the town efmen of GELE: how the fouldiers of his gard had dealt cowardly in their feruice, and ran away without the losse of a man of theirs, and no body purfued after them. Vpon this discontentment, the ITALIAN souldiers that came out of ITALIE. tooke their journey to return home. And the men of armes of Sicilia at the first began to lye in waiteto kill Dionysius on the way: but seeing that the souldiers of his gard were never from him, nor he from them, they departed all together, and went with speed towards Syr'a. evsa, and found them that were left there in garrifon, lodged in the place of the Arfenall, who knew nothing what had happened before GELE. By this meanes being entred without refistance, they sacked the pallace of Dionysius, where they met with great riches, and did so villanously abuse his wife, that for griefe she killed her selfe. But about the time that they departed Diomsius from the campe, Diony fins imagining by the way what would follow after this, chose out cer- pullate late taine footmen and horsemen which he thought he might best trust about his person, and went wife raniwith all speed possible with them to Syracvsa, supposing he should not our come these social men of armes, vnleffe he did as they. And even as he thought fo it came to paffe: for they perfwading themsclues that Dionysus could not well tell what course to take, whether to follow them, or to keepe with his army: thought they had won all, and walked vp and downe the towne telling stories of the cowardlinesse of Dionysius: who having marched well neare ninetcene leagues at one iourney, came about midnight to the gates of ACRADINE, with about an hundred horse and six hundred footmen; and finding it shut, caused store of sagots, reeds, and sedge

Ecceea

of the fennes to be laid against the gate, wherewith the SYRACVSANS vse to burne their lime

which they found there ready at hand. Whilest this gate was burning, his men that could not

follow him fo fast, arrived one after another. And so the gate being burnt he entred, & found in

the market place some of thesemen of armes, who in hast had set themselves in order of battell.

The Carthaginians the plague demand

Dionyfins second mariage with

Dionyfius fortifieth Strongly a. gainst future dagers.

Dionifice war again? the tree ci. ties of Sici-

but on the fudden they were engaged, and killed with pikes & darts. Diony fine on the other fide. he ran through the towne, putting them all to the fword he met here and there in the freets, that were running to aide their men. And not flaying fo, he entred into their houses whom he knew to be his enemies, killed some of them, and draue others out of the City. The rest of the men of armes fled fome here, fome there, and the next morning all his forces arrived at Syra cysa, But they of Gele & of Camarine being angry with him, went into the city of the LEONTINES. In the midft of all these stirs and doings, the plague being hot in the campe of the CARTHA-GINIANS, enforced Himilto to fend an herald vnto Syracys a to demand peace. Dionyfus ac. cepted it very willingly. So peace was cocluded, that the CARTHAGINIAN's should have the SI. CANIANS, befides al the towns which they had before the war in their power: That they of SE. LINONTE, Of AGRIGENTE, Of HIMERE, Of GELE, & Of CAMARINE, might returne hometo their houses, dwell in their country, and in their townes without wals, paying a certaine yearely tribute vnto the Carthaginians: That the Leontines, those of Messina and all other the SICILIAN'S should be tree. & enjoy their liberties & priviledges: That the SYRACYSAN'S should remaine under the government of Dionysius: That the prisoners and gallies taken in this warre should be restored againe on either side. By meanes of this peace Dionysius got the CARTHAGI. NIAN 2 Out of Sicilia, established his principality furer then euer, & maried againe two other wives together: the one a stranger of the city of Lockes, called Doruthe other of Syracysa called Aristomache, the daughter of Hippariness the chiefe man of all the citizens. He had askeda wife of them of RHEGE, but they refused him, & scotned his tyranny: of whom he was cruelly reuenged, as we will tell you hereafter. It is reported that he maried them both in one day, &it was neuer knowne which of them he knew first; for the rest, that eyer afterwards he shewedthe both a like fauour. They did ordinarily eate together with him, and both of them by turneslay with him. They of Syracvs a were defirous that his wife of Syracvs a should be preferred before the stranger. But *Doru* had this good hap, to bring forth *Dionysfus* eldest sonne: whichser. ued his turne well to defend himselfe, that she was a forreiner. Aristomache to the contrary was maried along time to Dionysius & had no children, though he was very defirous to have one by her. Infomuch that he put Dors mother to death, charging her that she had by charmes and forceries kept back Arifomache from conceiving. But afterwards she had children to wit two sons. Nifaus, and Hipparinus: and two daughters, Arete, and Sophrofyne. Dionyfius the yonger, maried his fifter Sophrofine; and Arete was maried vnto Thearides, brother to Dionysius the elder and her fecond husband was Dion, the brother of Ariftomache. Furthermore, confidering that the Syna-CV SANS being delivered from the war of the CARTHAGINIANS, should have leifure to thinke to recover their liberty againe; and perceiving that the quarter they called the Ile was stronger of situation, & easier to keepe then any other of the three the enclosed it in with a strong wall fro the rest, and built there many great and high towers, pallaces to keepe his Courts, hals for his Counfell and publike assemblies, goodly galleries, and spacious gatehouses to containe a great number of people. And to retire himfelfe vnto vpon any fudden emotion of the comon people, he built a maruellous (trong Castle, within the compasse wherof he enclosed the Assenal, where might lie in docke threefcore gallies : and there was a gate alfo to fhut too, into the which could enter but one galley at a time. Then chufing out the goodlieft and best place of all the territory of Syracysa, he deuided it among his friends, and gaue it vnto them that had charge of men of war under him. That which remained he diffributed by equal portions unto other inhabitants of the towne, as well naturall borne citizens, as strangers, come from other parts to dwell at Syracy sa, concluding under the name of citizens the bondmen enfranchifed, whom he called the new burgesses and distributed to the people also the houses of Syracys a those reserved of the quarter of the Ile, which be gaue vnto his friends and fouldiers. So, having as he thought well affured his estate, he began to make war ypon the free Cities of

Sicilia, vider colour that they had fauoured the Carthaginians. Herbesse, a City in firme land neare vnto the mountaines, in the hart of the country, was the first he attempted, and went and befreged it. But the Syracvsans that were a great number in this army, and well appointed,

pointed, began to have fecret meetings, and to blame themselves, for that they joyned not with the men of armes to drive out this tyrant. He whom Dionview had given them for their Captaine called Doricus, was aware of their conferences, and threat ned one that spake louder then the others: who replied fo fiercely againe, that the Captaine came to him in choler to firike him:but his companions took the quarrell, and did fo contest against him, that they killed the captaine in the place. Then stirring up their fellow citizens to recouer their liberty, they sent Dionifical for the men of armes of the Syracv sans, who were retired into the fort of ATNE. Dionyfices a- familiers mazed with this change, presently raised his siege, and with all expedition tooke his way towards Syna cv sa, that he might be there first. After he was gone, those that had mutined chose him. them for their leaders that had killed Captaine Doricus, went and encamped themselves with the men of armes before Syracysa, in a place called Epipoles to make warre with the tyrant, hauing stopped all the passages that he could not come out into the field. And forthwith they sent to them of RHEGE and MESSINA, to pray them to fend them aide: which they obtained, to wit. ninety gallies well appointed. Furthermore, they promifed by open proclamation, a great fum ofmoney to him that would kill the tyrant: and to the strangers that were in pay to make them Burgesses as themselves, if they would take their part against him. They provided engines of battery to beate downe the walles of the Isle, and enery day gaue new affaults vnto them, and made very much of all the fouldiers strangers that tooke their part. Whereupon Dionysius seeing himselfe shut out of the field, and that his men forsooke him euery houre, affembled his friends to confult with them what was to be done. Some counselled him to tarie, alledging that tyrannie and absolute power vsurped by him, was a faire tombe. Polyxemus his brother was of the mind, that he should saue himself on the swiftest horse he had in his stable, in the lands which the CARTHAGINIANS held in Sicilia. But Philiftee, who afterwards wrote the storie of his gelts, said then, that Dionysius should neither flie away, nor yeeld vp his tyrannie, the which he hould never forgo but by force, and his feet forward. Diony fins tooke hold of this opinion, and resolued with himselfe to abide al extremity rather then to yeeld vp his place. Being in this case abide all he fortuned to come to see a butcher slaughter an oxe, and having observed that at one strong rather then he fell downe starke dead: Alas, said he, were it not great shame that for searce of death which la
strong the first then file. steth so litle while, and is so soone gone, I should leave so goodly and great a Seigniorie? But knowing what people he had to deale withall, he fent ambaffadors vino them that kept him in foffraightly, to beleech them to permithin with fafety to come out of the towne with his followers. Euen at that instant he fent men to the fouldiers CAMPANIANS, to promise them al that The double they wold have, so they would come and besiege Syracvsa. The townssmen having suffer they would have so they would come and besiege Syracvsa. The townssmen having suffer they would be they would bea red him to go his way with fine ships, slept quietly in hope that he would be gone: and caffiered apart of their fouldiers, supposing they should need no longer to besiege it. So that their soldiers dispersed themselues here and there in the fields, cuen as if the tyrannie had bene put downe. But the CAMPANIANS allured by Dionysius promises, came into the field, and being come to A-GYRIDE, they left their cariage, to be so much the sooner before SYRACVEA. They were twelve hundred horsemen, and made such speed, that they surprised the Syracysans, and in despite of them rode through the towne vnto the castle of Dionylius, in whose aide also at the very same time there arrived by feasthree hundred other foldiers: To that now he became more couragious then euer he was. The Syracvsans on the other fide began to disarme themselves, some being of one minde forme of another: which Dionyfius vnderstanding, he made a fallic out vpon them that kept the quarter called NEAPOLIS, or new towne, and put them all to flight: howbeit many were not killed: for Diony stus riding every where about, willed his men to kill none that fled. Thus were the Syracy san's driven and dispersed in the field, where there gathered about the horsem eaboue seven thousand. Now for Dionysius, he having caused them to be buried that were flaine in this conflict, he fent ambaffadours vnto ÆTNE to them that were retired thither, Dionyflus to intreate them to be at peace, and to returne home to their houses, promising them by oath, craueth that he would neuer be reuenged for any thing they had practifed or done against him. Those them of that had wines and children at Syracvsa, were compelled to trust to his words and promises. Aline. But when the ambaffadours alledged to the others, the humanity of their mafter inburying the dead: they answered, that the tyrant deserved to have as much done to him, and that they prayed y gods they might quickly requite him. For althis they would not flirre out of ATNE, expecting oportunitie to fet vpon their enemy: who being escaped from so great a danger, he

Treacherous

Aristusa

strengthen

the tyrant.

Dionysius

winneth

ercason.

townes by

well payed the CAMPANIANS, he put them out of the city, suspecting their inconstancie and treason. They departing from Syracvsa, went unto the city of ATELLE, where they preuai. led fo much, that they were received into the towne to dwell there. But their wickednesse burg out into fuch extremitie, that one night they fet you the naturall inhabitants, killed every man that was able to beare armes, and afterwards by force thrust out their wives; and by this meanes made themselues masters of the towne, and of all the territorie thereabout. At the same time Ariflus, one of the chiefest men of LACED AMON was sent unto Syracusa, vpon a rumourgi. uen out amongst the people, that it was to drive out the tyrant : but the effect shewed that it was butto negotiate with him, and to bind him vnto them, to ferue their turnes in their affaires. Arie flus then immediatly after his arrivall having had fecret conference with Dionyflus, he began to mutine the Syracvsans, promifing them althe aide he could, for the recourie of their liber. tie. But afterwards he himfelfe killed Nicoteles the Corinthian, who had promifed the Syra ever an e to be the head of this enterprise and accusing them that gaue credit to his words he made the tyrant more bold and stronger then ever. So did he also begin to shew himselse more then before: for he found the meanes to fend the Syracvsans into the fields to get in their corne and haruest, and in the meane space whilest they were out of the City, he went into the houses himselfe, and fetched out all their armes that had any. Then he entironed his Castle round about with another second wall, built diverse ships, and assembled a great number of souldiers strangers, whom he afterwards entertained. Now he thinking himselfe too little a Lord. vndcrtooke to conquer some frontier townes neare vnto the territory of the Syrac vsans, and before he would affaile them, he brought his army before ÆTNE, which he wan prefently. From thence he came to befrege the city of the LEONTINES, the which having refifted him. after he had foraged and preyed the countrey about, he turned vnto the townes of the naturall SICILIANS, making as though he meant to fet upon them, to the end that those of CATANE, and of NAXE, feeing the warre in another place, should care the lesse for themselves. So being neare vnto the towne of Enne, he put into Limnestus head, a citizen of the same, that he should take vpon him to make him felfe Lord of the towne, promifing him to helpe him in it: which the other executed. Howbeit he kept the towne for himselfe, and shut the gates against Diong. fus: who being angry with this repulse, counselled the Ennians to drive out this new tyrant, The people being fee on by him, ran one day in armes into the market place, and cried, Liberty. Dionyfus understanding that followed with some of his faithfull friends, tooke hold of Limneflus, and deliucted him to the Ennians, and went out of the town again immediatly, to make others to truff him, From thence he went vnto CATANE, and wanthe towne through the treafon of Acefilaus Captaine of the fame: tooke all the armes from the inhabitants, and left a good garrifon there. Procles Captaine of MAXE shortly after, played even the like part that Arcelilans had done, and was well recompensed for it: and all his kinfmen and friends were given him: but the other inhabitants were fold by the drum, their Towne destroyed, and their lands given vnto the Sicilians, neighbours to Syracvsa. For those of Carane, they were also sold to them that would give most within Syracvsa, and their towne given to the souldiers CAMPANIANS. This made the LEONTINES hold up their hands, leaue the towne, and go dwell at Syracvsa. Now Dionyfius fortified Syracvsa anew, and having determined to close in the quarter called Epipoles with wals, he affembled threescore thousand labourers diftributed by troupes, and ferning skilfull mafters, accompanied with Masons that had their dayworke. These men encouraged by his presence, by his promises and gifts, finished the wall in three weekes of a reasonable height and thicknesse, being little lesse then two leagues about. The banished men of Syracvs a being fled to RHEGE, did what they could possible to mouethe

labourers eo build and

> these two Cities would be very expedient for him, made peace with them. So having afford himselfe onthatside, and considering that many GREEKES of SICILIA fled into the townes which were subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, and that there were townes vntouched

> inhabitants to make war against Diony sus. They laboured it so well, that in the end the RH BGI-

ANS Went into the field, and induced the Governours of Massina to keepe them company.

But a Messenian called Leomedon, having discouraged the troupes, every one went home a-

gaine, and did nothing : and as for Dionysius, he looked no further into them, but the RHEGIANS

and MESSENIANS having fent vnto him to treate of peace, he judging that the friendship of

untouched, vinto the which they caried their goods: he thought that fo long as he was at peace with them, diners of his subjects would be willing to do the like. How beit that in making warre with them, those whom the Carthaginians should ouercome by armes, would some to his fide. Furthermore, word was brought him that CARTHAGE was wonderfully afflicted with the plague, which did the more strengthen him in his resolution. But knowing that he had to Dionysius deale with mighty enemies of all the people of EVROPE, & that this war would not fo foone be preparation ended: he gathered together into Syracvsa out of all the coasts of ITALY; of GREECE, and of Carlbagini-Sicilia, the best workmen and artificers, vnto whom he gaue great wages, and great gifts vnto those that were most skilfull and diligent. Who labouring in enuie the one of the other, they built vp in a short time two hundred gallies, repaired an hundred and ten that had served a long times forged an hundred and forty thousand bucklers or targets, so many swords and daggers, asmany helmets and fallets: fourteene thousand corcelets, curates, and brigandines of all forts: engines of battery of all fashions, and of darts, an incredible and vnestimable number. Touching the galleyes, to arme them with pilots, mariners, and galley flaues, the city of Syras evsa furnished for the one halfe : and Dionysius for the other halfe payed the souldiers strangers. The furniture of these shippes, armes, and harnesse being readie, he began to gather his army together, and would not for fauing of charges put himselfe in readinesse before. He gathered together within Syracusa all those that were able to beare armes: he drew out of the townes fubicet vnto him, all that were meet for war:he leavied men out of LACONIA with confent of the Lords of Sparta, and got a great number out of all parts because he payed well, and gaue them very gracious entertainment that came to serue him. But aboue all the rest he shewed himself a maruellous friend to the Rhegians, and Messenians, that had a reasonable strong army in readines to be employed; being afraid that so soone as they should see the CARTHAGI-Exians passed into Sicilia, they would joyne with them: for to which side socuer these two chies would incline, they would helpe to make a great weight in the ballance, and to bring the victory to fall on their fide. It was at that time that he gave a great country of extent vnto the Messenians, and prayed the Rhegians to give him a wife of their towne. But they would not heare of that in any wife. Wherupon he went to y Locatans, who gave him her of whom we have spoken before: & for many daies together did nothing else but make banquets & feasts, aswell to his soldiers, as vnto the more part of the citizens of Syracvs a. For he had now changed his first sourenesse and cruelty of atyrant into gentlenes: he did vse his subjects in a more ciuill fort, put no more of them to death, nor banished any mo of them, as he did at the first beginning. Shortly after this mariage was past, he assembled the people of Syracysa, & did perswade them to make war with the CARTHAGINIANS, telling them that they were enemies of all the vniuerfall GREEKs, and of those especially that dwelt in SICILIA, whom they practised by all meanes they could to make subject vnto them. And that albeit they did not now make any alteration, it was because of the plague that tormented them much ; but so soone as they were free from that, they should see the effects of their malice against althe inhabitants of Sicilia, which they cast long before in their minds. And that it were better for him, since it must needs be, soon or late, to begin to make war vpon them they being now weake, then to tarrie till they were reconcred againe; and that it was a great shame to them to suffer the towns of GRECE so neare vnto them, to be made subject to barbarous people: that being desirous to recouer their liberty, so much more willing they would be to yeeldthemselves vnto the Syracvs ans, so soone as they should see that it were open war. These and other reasons were received and allowed by the Sy- Dionysius RACVSANS, who were no leffe defirous then himselfe to make war with them. For they hated his persuathe CARTHAGINIANS, because that for feare of them they were constrained to put themselues saile to vnderthe yoke. And next, for that they hoped Dionysius would vse them more gently, so long as make war on the one fide he should be afraid of the force of the enemies, and on the other, of the rebellion with the of those whom by force he kept vnder. And especially about the rest, for that they hoped being armed, if occasion were offred, they might one day stand for the recouery of their libertie.

Warre being concluded upon in this affembly, Dionysius suffered the Syracusans to spoile the PHENICIANS that trafficked in their hauen which they executed out of hand. The other Si-CILIANS did afmuch: fothat the CARTHAGINIANS were driven to run away, & those that they could catch were cruelly handled in enery place, for the hatred they bare them, because of the proud parts they committed in the wars past. Dionysius having all his army in readinesse, sent a

Warre denounced a gainft Car shage.

Herald vnto CARTHAGE with letters, containing that the SYRACVSAN'S haddecreed in their Councell to make warre vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, vnleffe they departed from the towns of GRECE which they held in Sicilia, and did leave them at liberty. The Senate and people of CARTHAGE amazed at it, knew that they had to fight with Dionyfus, neuertheleffe they refol ued to take armes, and fent to leavie men out of all parts. Diony fus on the other fide, he tooke the field with an army of fourescore thousand fighting men of foote, and three thousand horse and had at the sea nere two hundred gallies and ships of ower, accompanied with five hundred great flips of burden, full of all forts of engines of batterie, and of necessarie municions for fuch an army. All the rownes almost of Sicilia yeelded themselues vnto him, sauing Motte, An CYRE, SOLES, EGESTE, PALERME, and ENTELLE. Leptines his brother and Admirall, lay be. fore Mory E, and befreged it and himfelf ipoiled all the country of the Solentines, Paler. MITANS, and ANCIREIANS: and befreged Egeste, and Entelle, and gaue them diversaf. faults. Newes being brought vnto him that Himileo was at hand, he went and encamped before MOTYE, a towne firuated within a litle Isle of Sicilia, halfe a league from firme land, stately built, and very rich at that time. The which he affaulted by sea and by land, draue Himileo and his forces back, and wan the towne by affault but they fold their lives and towne very deare, hauing killed a great number of the enemies before they were forced. The Sicilian's yet angry in their harts for the mischiefes they had endured through the insolencie of the CARTHAGINI-ANS in the former wars: were fo brued in bloud, that al those of Motys were put to the sword, They that faued themselues in the temples, had their lines granted them: but Dionysius made them albe fold by the drum. Whilest he was occupied there, the Egestans made a sallievpon the campe which he had left beforethe towne, and fet it on fire, which burnt the most part of his foldiers, and the reft wel warmed, faued them felues as they could. But Dionyfius not much regarding this loffe, fet vpon all the townes of the Carthaginians with his army. They for # their part, gaue all the authority and power to Himileo, to prepare for this warre of Sicilia. He made an army of three hundred thousand footmen and of a great number of horsemen, and gaue the rende-vous to the shippes of burthen at PALERME: where he arrived with his fleetof gallics that followed him. The Admirall Leptines having descried his comming, set forward with his ships, and fought with them in the maine sea: he killed five thousand of his men, sinke fiftie flips, and two hundred carts of war; and the rest of them saued themselves by slying. But Himileo having landed his armie, went and affailed Morre, and wanne it againe of the Syrk-

Dienyfius Rieth not . withfian. ding his buge army of 300000.

The inhabi:

tants of Motye stain

won and ra. Carthaginio

feth zocoo

At that time Dionysius was before EGESTE, where word being brought him of the arrivall of the Carthaginians, and of the taking againe of Motye, he began to be affraid, and to take aduice to returne to Syracysa: he commanded the Sicilians to retire, and made their lands waft to difaduantage their enemies by so much the more. This sudden change of Dionyfine, was cause that many of his friends tooke part with Himileo, who seeing his affaires prosper To well, made his armie march to MESSINE : tooke in (passing by) the Ile and towne of LYPA-RE: and then befreged the MESSINEANS foftraightly, that in the end he wan the towne by affault. And there having refreshed his troupes, he razed the towne to the very ground, the which did so much amaze the Sicilians, that all, except the Assarins, turned vinto the Cartha-GINIANS. Dionyfins being at his wits end for fo many loffes, did fortifie the strong holds that were in the territoric of the LEONTINES, fentthe CAMPANIANS to ÆTNE, that dweltin the towne of CATANE: and taking order for his affaires the best he could possible, he went into the field with foure and thirty thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, and lodged under the mount Taur, where the banished men of Syra cysa, were placed, fauoured by the Carthagi-NIANS, and had fortified it, and made it in forme of a towne: whilft he made his abode there, newes came vnto him that the army of the Carthaginians was deuided into two, and that the one part of them went by land to CATANE with Himileo: and the other came towards him by sea, led by Mago. He hoping to make this fleet as nothing, commanded his brother Leptines to make out with his shipping against Mago. But Leptines was put to flight, with the losse of twenty thousand men, and well neare an hundred of his ships. This losse draue Dionysus into fuch a feare, doubting befides lest Mago following his victory should draw towards Sy-RACVSA, which was easie to be wonne having no garrison in it: he retired into his city, and from thence fent men into ITALY and into GRECE, to pray aidagainft the CARTHAGINIANS.

Himilto knowing his retraite, brought all his forces immediatly vnto Syracvsa, befieged it by Himilto beland and by sea, wan the suburbes of Acradine, and set up his paulion in the temple of Inpiter Olympian, all the other temples of the suburbes having bene rifled by the souldiers. In the meane time Polyxemus brought to the aide of the towne, thirty ships of their friends under the conduct of Pharacidas, a Captaine of the LACED EMONIANS. With this aide, and all the ships of burthen, Dionysius putto the seato go get victuals. But now whilst he was at the sea in his voyage, the Syracvsans being carefull to looke to their citie, and spying out all occasions to mischiefe the besiegers: they described a boatethat brought corne to the campe of Himileo. Whereupon on the sodaine they armed all their galleys, and fought so valiantly with the Car-THAGINIANS, that they tooke their Admirall with twenty others, and sunke foure of them, and followed the rest that sled, vnto the very place where their ships lay at anker within the great hauen, prouoking the to battel. But y CARTHAGINIAN saftonicd with this overthrow, stirred not.

Then the Syracusans fastened the galleys prisoners unto the poopes of theirs, and The Syrabrought them into the city. Whereupon they being couragious againe for this little aduantage coloris they had of their enemies: they began to talk camong themselves, how the tyranthad bene many times ouercome, and that they to the contrary without him had ouercome the CARTHAGI-NIANS. And thereupon gathering together by troupes, they went speaking one to another, that they were weary with feruing a tyrant, and now specially having meanes to put him downe for euer for before they were difarmed, but now by reason of the wars they had their armes in their hands. Notwithstanding they daily held this talke, Dienysius made the people to assemble, and praised them highly for the good service they had done perswading them furthermore to be of good courage, for within few daies he would make an end of this war. But as the affembly of the people was ready to go their way, Theodorus a Syracvsan, judged to be one of the best men of armes within the towne, stepped vp, & made a long oration, in the which after he had by peecemeale laid open all the tyrannies, cowardlinesse, and wicked deeds of Dionysius, whom he called grammarian, clerke, a careleffe man, ignorant of the affaires of war, oppreffor of al Sicilia, & fauorer of all theenes and ill men of the world: he perswaded them by diners reasons to indepor themselves to recover their liberty. And since that their allies of ITALY & GRECE were within thecity, that they should bring backe againe the power and authority to create such captaines as they should thinke good, into the hands of the citizens, according to the tenure of their ancient lawes, or else into the hands of their ancestors & first founders, which were the Corinthians oratthe least into the LACEDÆMONIAN's hands, who had then y seigniority of al GRECE. The Stracy san's being maruelloufly moved with fuch afpeech, beheld the countenance of their confederates affiftants in this affembly: vntill fuch time as Pharacidas being gotten vp into the pulpit for orations, made every man hearken, supposing it should be he that should begin first to a Spatian flir vp and encourage others to the recovery of their liberty. But to the contrary, he being particularly friend to Dionyfius, began to tell them, that his Lords had fent him to aide the Syracusans & Dionyfins against the CARTHAGINIANS, not to destroy them, nor to abolish his estate, fans. This speech being cleane contrary to that the common people expected, the souldiers strangers ran ftraight about him. Wherupon the Synacusan's ftirred not, fauing that to themselnes they curfed the LACED EMONIANS, because that hertofore they had fent them Aristus, who pretending he came to aide them for to recouer their liberty, was a traitor and fold them; and now that this Pharacidas had broken the harts of their courages, being well disposed to root out this tyranie. For Dionyfie, he spake smoothly for the time, being throughly asraid they would have set ypon him, and fo dismissed the assembly, ysing the most gracious words ynto them he could posfibly. To others he gaue presents, he sent for others to come & eate with him at his table. In the meane time the plague strangely possess the campe of the Carthaginians, and in a short The Caribatime killed wel neare 150000 of them: whereupon the most part of them were for saken aliue & giniant plants dead, the contagion was so horrible. Some imputed it partly to the discommoditie of the place, and excessive number of men living as it were on heapes together: partly vnto the vengeance of God punishing their pride, the insolencies, cruelties, and sacriledges of the CARTHAGINI-

ANS. Dianylius vinderstanding of this miserie, would not vainely let slippe such a fit occasion,

but armed fourescore galleys, vnder the conduct of Pharacidas and Leptines, and histroupes,

with whom he affailed Himileo by sea and by land, tooke his fortes, burnt and drowned the

most part of his shippes, brake the rest, and gaue his people of Syracusa meanes to set

The Carthaginians craue safe passage bomeward. 1152

Dionyfius hu feare.

vpon the litle barks, & to shut them within the city. To be short, he brought them to such extremity, that they fent fecretly vnto him to pray him to fuffer that which was faued from the ouerthrow the day before to passe the sea, and to retire home to Africk with safetic: promising to make him a prefent of an hundred and fourescore thousand crownes. His answer was that if was not possible al should be faucd, yet he was contented the natural CARTHAGINIAN'S should paffe. For he doubted much that the Syracysans and their friends would never fuffer him to respite those other, if they once understood it. But he did it of purpose, being vnwilling that the army of CARTHAGE flould be veterly destroyed, for feare that when the Syracvans should feethemselues free from this feare, they would remember the Oration of Theodorus, and put too all their force to recouer their liberty againe. The mony promifed him being deliuered, Himileo imbarked by night all the naturall CARTHAGINTAN'S that were left into forty gallies, and made faile immediatly towards A FR t C K E . Howbeit he was feant out of the hauen, but certaine CORINTHIAN'S perceived his stealing away, and suddenly came to tell it to Diony sim, who feeming to be very greatly busied, commanded to found the alarme, and that the Captaines should prepare themselves to follow him. The Corinthians seeing he went but faintly to worke, would tarie no longer, but cuen at the present houre imbarked themselues, drew vother ankers, and rowed hard after their enemies: fothat in a short space they ouertooke the rereof their veffells, and for udely hurt them, that they funke fome of them. Immediatly after, Dionifius drew his army into the field : but the SICILIANS, friends vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, had gotten the flart before croffing the country, infomuch that the more part of them got hometo their houses. For this cause Dinny size having left a guard to keepe the passages by the high waies, he brought his army backe against to the enemics campe. The barbarous people seeing themfelues betrayed by the Generall, for faken of the naturall CARTHAGINIANS and SICILIANS, their hearts were killed, and began to flie, stealing away, some this way, some that way: but all of them in manner fell into the hands of the fouldiers that guarded the high wayes. Those that were left came before Dionylius, and casting downe their armes, befought him to take pittle of them, and to faue their lives: the Spaniards onely excepted, who gathered themselves toge. ther with their armes, and fent vnto him to offer their feruice, if it would pleafe him to accept them: the which he did, and received them into pay among the fouldiers strangers. For therest, he tooke the other prisoners, and gaue their baggage in prey to his souldiers. For Himilto, after he had lived ignominiously and poorely at CARTHAGE, hee died distract of his wits. Some hold opinion that immediatly after he was arrived, not able to endure the shame he got in this war, he killed himfelfe.

Himilco

Dion fins ouert brow eth Mago, and war. reth against them of Rhege.

Peace concluded with conditions.

Dionyfius having driven the CARTHAGINIANS OUT OF SICILIA, he built vp MESSINA again which they had ruined. Then he went to befiege TAVROMENION, fortified by the SICILIANS who luftily gaue him the repulse, and made a fally upon him, & killed the most part of his men, having much ado to escape himself. On the other side, Mago chiefe of the African's in Sici-LIA, did courteoufly intreate his allies, and received into his protection all those whom Dionyfius oppressed. By which occasion having wonthe hearts of the most part of them, he became so firong in a short time, that he got a great army againe on foot, marched with the to MESSINA, and oueranne all the plaine country; where having gotten a great booty, he tooke vpon him to befiege the Abacenians confederates of Dionyfius: who being bound to aide them, he went against the CARTHAGINIAN's, beate Mago in a conflict, and killed eight hundred of his men. So having brought his troupes to Syracvsa and refreshed them, he armed a fleet of an hundred veffels, to go and make war with those of RHEGE, and comming to their hauen by night, at that instant time he did fiercely assaile them, set fire on their gates, and set vp scaling ladders in dinerse parts: neverthelesse the RHEGIANS defended themselves so couragiously, that he was forced to retire. And therupon receiving certain intelligence what great preparations they made at CARTHAGE to begin the warre againe: he left RHEGE, and returned againe to SYRACVSA. So the Carthaginians had gotten together againe fourescore thousand men, whom they fent into Cicilia vnder the conduct of Mago. But before they came to ioyne with the enemies, they concluded peace with these conditions, that every one should enjoy that they had gotten: That one of them should not quarrell with the other for any thing: That Dionysius might without breach of peace make war with the TAVROMENITANS. These being thus agreed vpon betweene them, Dionysius went and besieged TAVROMENION the second time, and did more furioufly furiously affault it then before: so that in the end, after long resistance of them that were besieged, he wanne the towne, draue out the Sicilians that dwelt there, and did replenish it with ftrangers whom he kept in pay. Afterwards because his army should not be idle and mutinous, hee chose twenty thouland footmen, and three thousand horse, and went into ITALIE with them, next adioyning vnto Sicilia, to subdue those Greeks which had dwelt there of long time. Newes being brought vnto them of Diony fius intention, they affembled al the effates of the country of Croins, where they al refolued to joyne together to repulse this common enemy; and making all the forces they could, establishing Elorica banished man of Syracus A their Chiefraine, they made their army march against Dionysius, who camped before the citie of CAVLONE. Hevaderstanding of their comming, raised his siege suddenly to go and meette with them : and the next morning after his departure, by breake of the day, he gaue charge vp- Dionifus on the GREBKES with his troupe well appointed, who marching diforderly, he killed their she Greekes Chiefraine, and the valiantest men of their army; and afterwards besieged the others that had that dwelf faued them felves in a rowne, and compelled them to yeeld for that they had no water. Yet con- in Italy. trary to all mens expectation, he yied them very courteoufly, and fent them home fafe without ransome. After he had won this goodly victory, he led his army into the territorie of the RHE- The Rheeide or an s, whom he hated to the death. They having no friends, and too weake of themselves to confrained relist such a mighty enemy, were constrained to make peace with him with very hard conditions. For he made them give him threescore gallies, an hundred and fourescore thousand bardondicrowness, and for hostage and observation of other articles, an hundred of the chiefest of the towne. From thence he returned to be fiege CAVLONE, and held them fo straight, that he wan it

DIONYSIVS.

by affault, deftroyed it, and gaue the lands vnto them of Lock Es.

But for as much as he could not forget the vnreconciliable hatred he bare vnto the Ruegi-ANS, he having demanded on a time one of their daughters in mariage, they report, that the answer they made in an open affembly of the towne vnto his Ambassadors, was that they wold giue him none of them, vnleffe he would marrie the hangmans daughter of the towne: this made him refolue that he would fee the end of it. And where before he had made peace with them, it was not for any good wil he bare them, nor that he defired their friendship, but because he would take their gallies from them, hoping that after he had left them bare at the sea, he pissured a should come closer to them, and have them at his discretion. Therefore whilest he was in ITA- in bird 23-LIE, he fought nothing elfe but to take an occasion to make warre with them, fothat he might rane. not be charged, that contrary to his faith he had broken the edict of pacification. Hauing therefore led his army vnto the ftraite, making as though he would paffe into Sterlin, he fent vnto the RHEGIANS to demand victuals for his army promifing to fend them so much againe vpon his returne to Syracysa. Which he did, to the end that if they refused, he might excuse himself Dionysius well if he did fervoonthem: and if they did give him any, it should then turne to the hurt of the towne, which if it came to be befieged, should be constrained for famine to hold up their hands breaketh to him. The RHBGIANS that least doubted his malice, furnished him with victuals for certaine dayes: but perceiving he taried there too long, now counterfeiting he was ficke, then that he vsed other delayes to prolong time, they began to see his fetches, and refused to victuall him any more. Thereupon he faining to be much offended, fent them home their hoftages, and came to befrege the towne: and coming hard to their wals, made daily & continuall affaults, beating upon the wals with great engines which he had made expresly of an incredible greatnesse. They having chosen a valiant man for their Captaine, called Phyton, and furnished all those that were able to beare armes in the towne, they defended themselves couragioufly, and did many waies hurt their enemies: and specially in a fally they made Dionysius was fore hurt with a launce in the flancke, that he was like to haue died; but being recourred and well againe, he purfued his purpose more obstinately then euer: whereby he tooke all hope of aide from them, and having continued siege there eleven moneths all together, in the end the RHEGIANS found themselves in great want of victuals of all forts: for a bushell of wheate was at fiftie crownes. After that all kind of corne failed them, first they did eate up their horses, and all kind of beafts of burthen. Then when they had no more to eate, they did feeth all their hides and leather they could finde within the towne, and fo lined awhile. And last of all, comming out of the towne, they did eate and deuoure vp fuch hearbes and rootes as they could finde by their walles, euen as wild beafts. Dienysiue perceiuing it, in stead of pitying

The Rhegians overcome, and their city

Diony fins evuelty toreards Phrton and his

cariage of Dionyfins. Flatterers the bane of Princes.

Selfe basred.

cy of Phi-

of them (nay rather defiring they should eate one another of them) he caused the grasse to be cut downe, and put his beaftes in the campe into it, to feede of all that was along the towne walles and ditches, to the end they should have nothing more to eate. So that in the end the poore RHE-A GIAN'S ouercome by necessity, were constrained to yeeld themselves and their towne to the difcretion of the tyrant. Who being entred into the towne, found heapes of bodies dead of that plague of famine; and fuch as were yet aliue, seemed rather ghosts then liuing persons. So he gathered together about fix thousand prisoners, whom he sent alto Syracvs a suffering not withstanding all that could ransome themselves, (paying a talent) to be redeemed: and the rest to be fold by the drumme to him that would give most. Amongst the prisoners there was Phyton and his fonne. Diony fines made his fon to be drowned first and the next morning after, he made the father to be tied to the highest engine of battery he had, and sent to tell him news of the death of his fon. He was happier by a day then his father, faid Phyton: who was drawne all the towne ouer, and whipped most shamefully: having a fergeant at his back that cried out aloud, that Diony, fim made him be whipped thus, because he had made the RHBGIANS take armes against him. But Phyton that had shewed himselfe like a valiant captaine and worthy man in this siege, and had lived honorably all his life time, did patiently endure the paine which the tyrant made him fine. fer. For he remained constant, speaking out aloud that every body heard him: That he was pur to death, because he would not betray his country, and deliver it into the tyrants hands; howbeit that within few daies the gods would be reuenged of him for this outrage. His constancie was such, that it moved Dionysius souldiers to compassion: who began already to murmureagainst him. Wherfore fearing lest they shold be so bold to take him out of the tormentors hands. he made them leave whipping of him, and commanded that they should drowne him in these with all his kinred, which was done: for the rest, the city of RHEGE was razed to the ground.

Thus have we made a large discourse of the practises and wars of Dionysius, Now let vs speake The private fomthing of his private government. He had wit enough, but troubled with many vices: &the more he grew in yeers, the more it was corrupted. The flatterers made an end of his destruction for they called his cruelty, the hate of wicked men, & good inflice; & made him beleeve that he was a most worthy man in all things: insomuch that he thought himselfe the onely man of the world, and would be so reputed. Being thus caried, and seeing himself at good ley sure, he entred into a course which he had somwhat discotinued during the wars, & wher with he was strangely taken: which was, to write verses, & to make tragedies. He fell to this study again with more diligence then before, & fent for Poets out of all parts, whom he honored, & gaue prefents vnto, because they should correct his works of Poetry. They seeking to gratifie him for their profit, said nothing but that which they thought should be most pleasing vnto him: so that being pust vp with their flatteries, he gloried more in his verses, then he did in his warres. Now amongst other Poets that followed him, there was one they called Philoxenus, a learned man, and excellent to write hymnes in praise of the gods. Diony sius one day gaue him a tragedy of his to peruse & correct; he croffed it all ouer from one end to the other; and one night being asked what he thought of certaine poefies which the tyrant made, he spake openly, that they were worth nothing. He answered so plainly, that Dionysius angrily said, it was of enuy that he censured his works so, and fent him forthwith to dig in the quarry pit. The next morning his friends intreated Dionysius to pardon him, which he did: would have him againe to supper with many others of his fort. In the midst of this feast, Dionysius that defired nothing more then to have his verses heard, rehearfed some of them, and of those especially which he thought best done. Then turning himselse The conflat to Philoxenus, he asked his opinion. But he answered him neuera word, but looking about him, called one of Dionysius guard, and faid vnto him: Cary meagaine to the quarry pit. Dionysius smiling at it, bare this nip well: and soone after taking Philoxenus apart, perswaded him not to be so sharpe. His friends also told him that he might easily forbeare to speake so freely to no purpose. Then Philoxenus made him an answer all new, saying, that from thenceforth he would keep such a weight on his words, that he would speake the truth, and keepe himself in Dionysius fauor, as he did. For Dionysius having rehearsed certaine verses sul of great lamentations, to moue the hearts of the hearers to pity, he prayed Philoxenus to fay his mind of the who answered him, that those verseshad filled him ful of pity. It was a sharpe gird of mockery which Dionysius perceiued not, no more then that which Melanthius spake of a tragedy after the like fort, that he could not see it, it was fo darke of speech. And so was Plato not much better vsed then Philosenus. Dion his

disciple and brother in law of Dionysius, had spoken so much good to this tyrant, that being at leviure he was contented to fee Plate, and to heare him. So they being together, their talke agenerally was all of vertue: but chiefly they disputed, what was true force and prowesse: Where Plate proued vnto him, that tyrants were nothing leffe then valiant men. Out of that, turning his talke to speake of Instice: he shewed him that the life of the just was very happy: and that to the contrary, the life of vniust men was most wicked. Insomuch that the tyrant seeing himselfe Dionysius convinced, could no longer endure talke with him: and was forie to fee those that were prefent fo much to effectine of him, and to take fuch fingular pleafure to heare him speake. So at the pake truth laft his choler being up, he asked him, what businesse had brought him into Sicilia. To seeke canfeth him an honest man, said Plato. And how: (replyed Dionysius) by the gods (to heare thee speake) it seemeth thou hast yet found none. Dion thought his choler should go no further, and so sent Plato away in a gallie, whom Polis captaine of LACEDEMON brought backe againe into GRECE. But Dionylius prayed this captain fecretly, that whatfoever he did he should kill Plaso by the way or at least wife fell him; adding to this least withall. He shall be neuer a whit the worse for that; for ifhe be a just man, he shall be as happy being a seruant as otherwise. And so Plate was fold in the Ile of ÆGINE for the price of 200 crownes, and afterwards bought againe by Annicerius a Philosopher, and sent to ATHENS.

Dionylius gaue him felfe to al Poësie, & sent for the best singers he could recouer in the games

Olympials, to rehearle and fing his verses before the people. The singers at the beginning were

heard with admiration of enery body, for the goodnesse and finenesse of their voices; but when

they came to examine their fongs, they were despised, mocked, & whistled at, which angred him

extreamely when he heard of it. So this passioned desire did so much increase in his head conti-

nually, that he became almost as a man beside himselfe: and said that his faithfull friends did en-

uie him, and began to be at defiance with them, as if they had bene traitors vnto him. To con-

clude, this fury of his did fo possesse him, that he did put many to death vpon false occasions, and

banished others, as Philistus, and Leptines his brother, both of them valiant men, and that had

done him great fernice in his wars. Howbeit afterwards he fent for them againe, and they were

his friends as before. But fince we are now to talke of his cruelties, let vs fay fomthing as we paffe

have come to him at night, but that he had it feiled in his mind to commit fuch an act in the day.

Leptines being defirous one day to describe Sigilia in his presence, tooke a halbard from one

of the fouldiers of his guard, & with the but end of it drew on the ground that which he would:

wherewith Dionysus was so angry, that he bitterly tooke vp Leptines, and put the souldier to

death that had given him his halbard. Diony lies one day being difposed to disport himselfe some

way, gaue his Bardaffe his fword and his cloke to keepe: which one of his familiars perceiuing,

faid. And what, do you trust this yong boy with your life ? The youth began to smile at it: but

Dionyfius made him be killed, because by smiling he seemed to allow of this word: and he also di-

spatched the other because he had shewed him the mean to kill him. He was determined to have

put his brother in law Polyxemus to death: but he having an inkling of it, fled out of Sicilia.

Dionysius sent to Tescha his sister, and child with her, because she had kept his slying away close

gone, I would not have taken sea with him, and have bin companion of his fortune? I knew no.

thing before he was gone, for it had bene more honorable for me to haue bene called the wife of

Polyxemus banished, then fister to thee a tyrant. Dionysius was blank at this speech, & the Syra-

evsans wondered at the vertue of this woman: infomuch that after the tyranny was destroyed.

they did not leaue to do her all the honor that they could have done to a Queene: and when she

was dead, all the citizens by common confent went with her body to the fepulture. A question

being moued one day, to wit; Which was the best copper: Antiphon answering quickly, that it

was that wherewith the ATHENIAN'S melted the statues of Armodius and Aristogiton Dionysius

made him to be strangled, and die in great torment. They report of him that he spared not his

by. One of his greatest friends called Marfyas, dreamed one night that he cut his throate. The The crueltyrant vnderstanding of it, put this poore dreamer to death: alledging that this dreame could not ries of Dio-

from him. But the answered him with a bold countenance: What thinkest thou, Dionysius, that I Abold anam a woman fo cowardly and faint hearted, that if I had knowne that my husband would have fire of

own mother, but caused her to be strangled, though she was very old. And as for his brother Le- Hespared ptines, he fuffered him to be killed by his enemies, albeit he might eafily haue faued & deliuered not his own him at that time. Some talked of his yrannie in a barbers shop, and said it was well established, brother.

Dionyfius eyrannifeth contraryto his writings

Prety (pee

deedsof

and also evill to be destroyed, as the Diamond to be broken. I maruell said the Barbar, smiling, how you say that of him, vpon whose throat I passe my razour so often? These words being brought to Dionylius, he hanged the Barber. He had put to death at divers times ten thousand of his citizens, and though he had written in one of his tragedies, that tyrannie was the mother of iniuftice: notwithstanding he had oftentimes this word in his mouth. That children must be decciued with plaies, & men with faire promifes. And he faid that the greatest pleasure, and cotents ment he found in all his government, was, that what he wold have done, was fodainly executed.

One day he would have had money of the Syracvsans: they complained and lamented, befeeching him to hold them excused, telling him they had no money. He to the contrarie, made them to be asked by others: which he did twife or thrife one after another. And as he continued ftill vrging of them yet further: it was told him they did nothing but laugh, as they walked in the market place. Then he commanded his receivers to preffe them no more; for it is a figne. faid he, that they have no more, fince they make no account of vs. His mother being pastage to marie, would needs marie a yong man. He answered her, that indeed it was in his power to break the lawes of Syracvsa, but of nature, not. He fenerely punishing all other malefactors, pardo. ned theeues that tooke away mens gownes and clokes whom they met by night in the firectes: to the end that for this cause the Syracusans should leave to make feasts and assemblies. wherein they could not keepe themselves from speaking and completting against him. On a time a stranger promised him aloud to teach him secretly, how he should know those that did practife any thing against him. Dionylius prayed him very earnestly. So the other going to him. Giueme fuid he, fixe hundred crownes, that the Syraevsans may thinke thou half learned of methe fignes to discover the conspirators. He gave them him, and fained that he had learned these meanes of him; greatly commending the subtill fashion to get money which this man had inuented. Hauing heard one day a man that played vpon the citherne paffing well, he openly promifed him the fum of fixe hundred crownes. The next morning he came to demand this Jum: Dionyflus told him:thou gauest me great pleasure yesterday to heare thee play : and so did I thee in making thee this promise; and so thou wert paid in the field for the pleasure thou gauest me, by that that thou received ft. One asked him on a time, If he were not idle. God forbid, faid he, that that should ever happen to me. He being enformed that two young men of the citie drinking together, had spoken many euill words of him and his tyranny at the table: senttoinuite them both to supper with him and seeing that the one after he had drunke a little, saidand did many foolish things: and that the other to the contrarie was very sober: and dranke but feldome: he pardoned the one, as being a drunkard and infolent of nature, and that through drunkennesse had spoken euill of him : but he pur the other to death, as one that bare him euill will in his heart, and being enemy vnto him of let purpose. Some of his familiars reproued him, because he had honoured and aduanced a wicked man, and euill beloued of the Syracysans. And he answered them, I will that there shall be one in Syracvs a, that shall yet be more hated then my selse. Once he fent presents vnto certaine ambassadors of Corint H, which came vnto him. They refused them, because they had a statute in their commonwealth, that did forbid ambassadors to take or receive any gifts of presents of Lord or Prince what soever. He was discontented withall, and told them that they did cuill to take away that onely good which is in tyrannies, that is, to have power to give: but they taught men also, that to receive any good of tyrants, is a thing one flould feare and fhun. Being enformed that a townefman of Syracvsa had hidden a treasure in the ground in his house, he commanded him to bring it him: the which he did, but not all for all that, for he referred a part with the which he went and dwelt in another towne, and bought fome land there: which when he vnderstood, he fent for him to come to him, and restored him all his gold and filuer: Since thou knowest now, said he, how to vse riches, and not to make that unprofitable which is made for the vie of man.

Now his crueltics and tyrannous behauiour made him maruellous odious to the world, by reason whereof he entred into such a mistrust of every body, that he made a trench be diggedabout his lodging where he lay, and because he would lye safely, he drew up a draw bridge, and shut himselfe in with great feare, having a great guard without round about him. His wines durst not come into his chamber before they had put off their gowns, he was so afraid lest they should bring a dagger under their gownes. Yea his brother and his owne fon were faine to put off their clothes, and the guard of his chaber should come naked what source he was that put his footinto

it: then there was another garment cast upon him. He was afraid of his owne son as much as of any other, doubting that when he felt his owne courage, and frequented men of vinderstanding. he would make fome complot against him, and in the end thrust him out of his seate and signiorie. He locked him vp in a chamber, and would fuffer no man to come and speake with him: where for lacke of other occupations, this yong man occupied himselfe to make little coaches or charrets, candleftickes, faddles, ftooles, and tables of wood. Neuertheleffe, after he had some more libertie, and that his father beganne to let him come abroad; he straight grew to be proud and diffolute as might be. And they fay, that when he had rauished a town fimans wife by force, his father being angrie with him, asked him: Whether euer he had feene him do any fuch thing or not? the fon answered him: No more had you a father that was a tyrant. But Dionysius Diony sius replyed vpon him againe: So shalt thou neuer haue a son at all, if thou leauest not to play mippingly these wicked parts. Another time going to see his son in his lodging, and seeing there great store by his son. of veffels of gold and filuer, he told him: there is nothing in thee of a Lord or Prince, fince I have given thee such a deale of gold and filuer plate, and yet thou knowest not how to get a friend. It was an ordinary thing with Dionyfius to tell wonders, & do litle, being so exceeding timorous. But specially after the execution of his Barber, & that his daughters were now waxen great, he would not abide that any should clip his haire with fizers: but he made an image-maker of ima- Dionystus ges of earth to come to him, who with a burning coale burnt his glib round about his head. Now he made himselfe to be knowne by a memorable fact he did: which was this. A certaine flatte- zers, singuit rer called Damocles, praifing the maiestic and riches of Dyonisius, & the magnificence of his pallace, maintained that the Sun neuer faw a more happie man. Diony fins to make him partaker of this felicitie, made him fit downe upon a litle bed very fumptuous, and inriched with wonderfall precious things. Then he caused them to set up tables laden with vessels of gold and filuer. and couered with wonderfull daintie meates, a number of fine Pages attending on his feruice, perfumes passing rare and most excellent sweet for the chamber, and daintie musicke both with voice and instruments. To be short, all the pleasures and pastimes possible to be thought of, did compasse this minion of court round about. But in the midst of all his magnificent furniture Dicompatie this minion or count round about. Dutilitie them of a longitus caused a naked word, glistering, and sharpe pointed, to be fastened to a small haire of a longitus caused a naked word, glistering, and sharpe pointed, to be fastened to a small haire of a longitus caused had so much horse, and to be hanged right ouer Damoeles head; who forgetting this felicitic he had so much a flatterer well served. commended, beforght Dionysius it might quickly be taken away. And like as he was cruell vnto men fo did he shew himselfe a despiser of his proper gods, wherof we will alleage some examples. Having facked the temple of Proferpine in the citie of Lockes, he tookethe fea, and ha- Dionysius uing a gale of wind at pleafure. You fee, faid he how the immortall gods do fauour facriledges. He tooke off a cloke of fine gold from Inpiter Olympian, in the towne of Syracvsa, which cloke weighed fourefcore and five talents, which are more woorth then fifty thousand crownes, and gaue him another of woollen, faying: that the cloke of gold was too cold for winter, and too heavie for fommer: and that the woollen cloke would be more convenient in both seasons. He rounded also the statue of Apollo, which had a glibbe of gold. And finding that money went low with him, by reason of his great expences in the wars he had against the CARTHAGI-NIAN s, he tookethe fea with a fleete of threescore gallies, with pretence to set vpon pirates, but indeed it was to spoile a temple of great fame, full of goodly and rich iewels that had bene offered vpthere, the which was feated vpon the edge of the quarter of a citie of TvscAN called A-GYLLE. Being arrived there in the night, and having landed his men: in the morning by breake of day he fudainly and without any danger executed his enterprife. For the place being guarded with some few men, he easily forced it, & afterward at his leysure sacked the temple, where he got to the fumme of 600000 crownes. Which the townesmen vnderstanding, came out vp6 him straight to see if they could defend the temple: but he ouercame them in battel, and having taken a great number of prifoners, he spoiled all their country, and then returned to Syra cysa,

where he fold his prisoners and his booty, for the which he had also 30000 crownes more. So being now well stored againe, he began to set up an army and because he saw the townes Dionysias fibiect vnto the CARTHAGINIAN's willing to revolt, he did intice them, & vfed the very gracioufly that came & took his part. The CARTHAGINIAN'S hearing that, fent vnto him to demand the carries their townes, otherwise they proclaimed warre against him. So on both sides they came into the ginians. field. For the CARTHAGINIANS, they dispatched Mago into Sicilia with a great armie. Dio. visitus being afraid of nothing, marched before with histroupes, and being camped neare to a

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Dion fius

prefents.

DIONYSIVS.

Mago a Carthagini an captaine with 10000 of his men flaine.

Diony/ius oueri brown & his brotines flaine,

Diony fius overcome by the Cartha ginians, falleth ficke

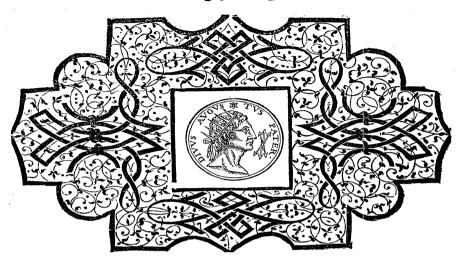
> Dionysus the yonger banished elties dieth

the chiefe city of Sici. lia brought into (ubic ction under

place called CARALEs:both the armies fiercely gaue charge vpo each other, & after a long fight Mago was flaine in the place with 10000. of his men, and 5000. taken prisoners. The CARTHA-GINIANS were not discouraged for all this, but chose the againe the son of Mago for their chiefe Captaine, a yong Gentleman, wife, couragious, and valiant. So after they had stayed Dionylius by a truce for a certaine time, the terme being expired, they presented him a battell, and fought it out fo resolutely, that after they had slaine his brother Leptines (whom he for sook at his need) and fourteene thousand of his men, with much ado he saued himselfe. But the conquerers being neuer a whit prouder of fuch a victory, they fent Ambassadors vnto him that concluded a peace for their aduantage. For beside the towns that remained vnto the, Dionysius paid them 600000 crowns to defray their charges in the wars. Also he kept not this peace long, but brake it shortly after for understanding that the plague was hot amongst the CARTHAGINIANS, and that they were fallen our amongst themselves: he tooke occasion of this advantage, and to give colour to his pretence, gaue it out, that the foldiers Africans had foraged the lands of his friends, wher. upon he leauied anarmy of 30000. footmen, and 3000, horse: with this army he began to make war againe, and in the first employment of his forces he wan Selinonte & Entelie and after that he marched to Lilybe e to besiege it: but seeing it well guarded, he returned backe againe. Hereupon newes was brought him, that fire had taken some of the arsenals of the CAR-THAGINIAN s:wherfore supposing all their ships of war had bene burnt, he began to scoffe at al their forces. But they having armed vpon a fodaine a fleet of 200. gallies, affailed vnlooked for 130.0f Dionyfus gallies, which wintered in the hauen of Er 1x, some of them he funk, & brought away the others. After this loffe Dionyfius retired into Syracvs a, and fell very fick. The which Dion perceiving entred into talke of his children, and of his fifter Aristomache. But the Physitians to curry fauor with yong Diony fins, hindered him that he could have no fit time to fay any thing to him. Or as Timaus writeth, they gaue him drinke (as he had commanded them) to make him fleepe, and by this meanes tooke from him his fenfes, joyning death with fleepe. Some others fay, that he was killed by his guard: others, that he was poisoned. But Diodorns y Sicilian fetteth downethe cause after another sort: which is this. He caused, said he, a little before, a tragedy of his intituled, The LENEIANS, to be plaid at ATHENS: & having gotten the victory, one of the musitians brought him word of it by sea: which did so please him, that after he had richly rewarded the messenger, he made a great sacrifice to the gods to give the thanks for this prosperity, & fumptuous feafts, vnto the which he inuited al his friends, and dranke fo largely, that he fell into a great ficknesse wherof he died. Now he had in times past an oracle, that had foretold he should dye then, when he had ouercome those that should be worthier then himselfe. He applyed this oracle to the Carthaginians, supposing it was meant by them, because they were stronger then he. This was the cause that oftentimes in the battels he had wonne against them, he being victor, fled, or willingly fuffered himselse to be ouercome because of this prediction. Howbeit he could not shun his destinie: for being an ill Poet, he was judged by the sentence of corrupt iudges, to haue excelled all the other Poets better then euer he was: and then came he to end his daies, as the oracle had foretold him. Now though he had reigned the space of 38. yeers full out, and had boafted many times that he would leave his fonne a Principality chained with strong chains of a diamond: this yong Dionysius ruled no long time, but being shortly after driven out of Syra cysa by the inhabitants themselves, secondly by Dion, and at the last by Timoleon, who ouerthrew him altogether he was sent to Corinth, where he ended the rest of his daies in mifery. Afterwards the Syracysans, maintaining their liberty for the space of 20. yeers: they fell into Agathocles hands, who also committed terrible cruclties. After his death, they being full of civill diffention, demanded aide of Pirrhus king of Epirvs against the CARTHAGINIANS. He having made a journy into Sicilia, was constrained to leave it, and had great war with the Ro-MAINS. By reason wherof the Syracvsans willingly yeelded themselves vnto Hieron y second of that name, vnder whom (a great friend of the Romaines) they prospered the space of fifty yeares. But after his death, his litle fon Hieronymus, a yong Lord and vnruly, took part with the CARTHAGINIAN s: and having reigned only fifteene moneths, he was killed by his guard. Now for that his death brought on great confusions and that the Syracysans enclined to the Car-THAGINIANS partithe Confull Marcellus went to befiege Syracus a, and tooke it in the fecond yearc of the 142. Olympiade. So that afterwards it was gouerned by Prætors, and according to the ROMAINE law, even to the declination of their Empire.

The end of Dionysius life.

THE LIFE OF Octavius Casar Augustus.



Thy youth Augustus, and thy tongues good gift, Thy valour wildome, and thy worthy feats, Thy countries love, thy lawes, and statues, lift Thy throne aboue all other princely feats.

THE

Ccia, the daughter of Accius Balbus and of Iulia the fifter of Iulius Ca- The descent far, was maried vnto the father of this man, whose life we write of faugustus now, and who was descended of the ancient race of the Octavians, iffued out of the country of the Volses, and knowne at Rome from the time of Tarquinius, and of Servius Tullus. Their sonne Ottavius was borne in the yeare of the Consulship of Cicero and of Caius Antonius, at that time when as the conspiracie of Catiline was discouered, and suppressed. He was called Thurinus: but afterwards, according to the tenor of his vnkles testament, who made him his heire, he was

called Caius Iulius Cafar, and lastly Augustus, by the advice of Munatius Plancus, and by the decree of the Senate. He was but foure yeares old when his father died, and at twelue yeares he made the funerall oration for his grandmother Iulia: foure yeares after that, he became a gownman, though he were but yong: yet his viikle gaue him a present at his returne out of Africk E. fuch as the fouldiers are accustomed to have of their Captaines. Shortly after he followed his vakle into Spaine, whither he was gone against the children of Pompey, and passed through many great dangers to ouertake him. This warre being ended, because Casarvndertooke other Augustu longer iournys, Octavius was fent into the city of Appolonia: and there plied his booke very fludied at diligently. And it chanced him, without having any minde to it, that being gone to see Theogenes a learned Astronomer, he cast his nativitie, and suddenly he leapt being amazed, and honoured him. The which made Octanius conceine great hope of himselfe, and in memory of this good hap, he caused certaine peeces of money to be coined, and he himselfetold Augustina the opinion of Theogenes. Being returned from Appolonia to Rome, after his vnkle was declared flaine by Cassius, Brutus, and their allies, he declared himselfe to be his heire, though his mother himselfe and Marcus Philippus were of another mind. And having put himselfe forward, he governed line cafar.

PAGE(S) MIS-NUMBERED,
BUT ARE IN CORRECT
READING ORDER.

Augustus ruled alone 44.ycares.

forfaking maried Liuia, whom he loved to

Augustus vajorsu mate in his posterity.

Augustus manersin his praate

the commonwealth of Rome, first with Antonius and Lepidus: afterwards with Antonius the space of twelve yeares: and lastly himselfe alone, the space of four and forty yeares. But before we speake of his government of common affaires in time of peace and warre, letys fav fornewhat (after Swetonius) of his family and his maners. He married being yet very yong the daughter of Publius Servilius Isauricus: but having made peace with Antonius after the Warre of Myting, and at the request of their armies, who were defirous to see them friends, he married with Clodia, the daughter of Publius Clodius and of Fuluia then wife of Intonius. Burbefore he knew her, he fent her to her mother, with whom he was somewhat discontented, and because of the warre of Perovse. Immediatly he married Scribonea, and kept not her long, because she was too troublesome: yet he had a daughter by her called Inlia. But forfaking her, he tooke another which he loued vnto the end: and that was Liuia Drufilla the wife of Tiberius Nero, whom he caried with him great with child as she was, and had no more children by her but one, and yet she went not out her time, and it had no life. His daughter Iulia was married vnto Marcellus, the sonne of his sister Octavia: and after his death vnto Marcus Agrippa, by whom she had three sonnes, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa: and two daughters. Iulia, and Agrippine. After the death of Marcus Agrippa, he chose for his sonne in law Tiberius the fonne of Tiberius Nero, and Linia Drufilla, at that time a knight of Rome, and compelled him to for fake his wife Vipfamia, of whom he had a fon called Drufus. But as he was fortunate in managing the affaires of the common-wealth, fo was he vnfortunate in his race: for his daughter and his neece Iulia committed so foule faults in Rome, that he was constrained to banish them. Agrippine was married vnto Germanicus, the sonne of his sisters daughter. Caint and Lucius died in lessethen a yeare and a halfe one after another: whereupon he adopted his nephew Agrippa, and his sonne in law Tiberius. But because Agrippa was of a churlish nature and vnhonest, he diddifinherite him, and confined him to Sverentym. His neece Iulia had a child after she was banished, but he would not know it, nor suffer it should be brought vp. He was very modest and continent in all the parts of his life, saving that he was somewhat given to women and play: for the rest, he liked not great pallaces, but was contented with meane lodgings: and if there were any ornament, it was in porches and parkes. His houshold-stuffeand apparell was nothing sumptuous nor costly. It pleased him well to make feasts; he very carefully made choise of his guests, and oftentimes he sate downe at the table a long time after every body, and would rife before others, which remained after he was vp. In his ordinary diethebanished superfluitie of meates, he delighted to be merrie and pleasant among his friends, orto bring in pleasant players of comedies to passe the time away. And he did not tie himselfe to any certaine howres to eate his meate, but when his stomacke served him he tooke something. So that fomtimes he supped not at al, and then when every man was gone, he made them bring him meate, neither dainty nor delicate. Also he drunke very litle wine, he slept in the day, and by times in the night, talking with some, or reading: so that oftentimes he slept not till the breake of day, and for that he tooke no rest in the night, he might chance to sleepe in his litter as they caried him in the streetes in the day time vp and downe Rome. He was a goodly Prince, and that kept himselse in good state from the beginning of his life to the latter end: nor curious to fet himselfe out, as litle caring to be shauen, as to weare long haire: and instead of a lookingglaffe, reading in his booke, or writing, euen whilest the Barber was trimming of him. Whether he spake or held his peace, he had so comely a face, that many of his enemies bent to do him hurt, their hearts would not serue them so soone as euer they looked on him. He had very cleare and lively eyes, but with time he was subject to many diseases and infirmities, the which he remedied with great care. As for his exercises, he left armes and horses immediatly after the ciuill warres: for he was neuer any great fouldier. He would play at tennis, at the ballone, he would go abroad in his coach to walke and stirre himselfe. Sometimes he would go a fishing, or play at the bones, or at nuts with yong children of the Moore's & Syrian's that had some prety maner and behauiour with them, and alwaies spake words to moue laughter. He was learned in the liberall sciences, very eloquent, and desirous to learne: insomuch that during the warre of Mytine, in the middest of all his infinite affaires, he did reade, he wrote, and made orations amongst his familiars. He neuerspake vnto the Senate nor people, nor to his fouldiers, but he had first written and premeditated that he would say vnto them, although he had speech at commandement, to propound or answer to any thing in the field. And because he would

not deceive his memory, or lofe time in superfluous speech: he determined ever to write all that he would fay: and he was the first inventer of it. If he had to conferre with any man, or with his wife in any matters of importance: he would put that downe in his writing tables, because he would speake neither more nor lesse. And he tooke pleasure to pronounce his words with a fweete voice and good grace, having continually about him for this purpose a fine man to frame his voice. But one day having a paine in his mouth, he made his oration to the people by an Herauld. He made many bookes and verses of diverse forts; but all is dead with the time. His speech was as the rest of his life, eloquent, well couched together, and sententious. He delighted to reade good authors, but he gathered nothing other then the fentencesteaching good maners: and having written them out word by word, he gaue out a copie of them to his familiars: and fent them about to the gouernours of provinces, and to the magistrates of Rome and of other cities. He was formewhat, and too much given to divinations; he was maruelloufly afraid of thunder and lightning: he had a great confidence in dreames, and in fuch like vanities. But peraduenture we are too curious fearching out his private life: yet that may fometime difcouer great personages more then their publicke actions, in the which they are more carefull to frame their countenances, and do counterfeit most.

Now, as we have lightly runne over his private life before spoken of: so shall the memora. ble deedes done by his authority be briefly represented: being vnpossible to comprehend in a memorate distance. few lines so many notable things, vnlesse a man would make a great booke of them. This is to be white he noted in him, that fo young a man having fo small beginnings, coming out of a meane house in reigned. comparison of others, hath excelled all other young and old men in wisedome and greatnesse of courage: should rife fo high, that before he had bene Prator the Senate gaue him the name of Ingustus, created him mafter of the horie, when as yet he neuer had charge of a company ofmen at armes:proclaimed him Emperour and Soueraigne captaine, afore he had bene placed many publicke office by authority of the Senate. Furthermore, for the first time he was chofen Confull when he was but twenty yeares old: and he was thirteene times Confull, and twenty times called Sourraigne captaine. Afterwards, when he was not yet four and thirty yeares old, the Senate and people of Rome gaue him this goodly name of father of his country, because he had maintained and preserved the commonwealth. It is a wonderfull thing that he could wind himselfe out of somany great affaires and warres, that he could within source and twenty yeares of age, reftore againe into fo good effate the common wealth of Rome, turmoikd and troubled with fo many profcriptions and civill warres as it was. And that afterwards fo long as he commanded alone, he did so firmely establish this Monarchie, that not with standing the infinite troubles received vnder other Emperours, yet it flood vpright and in fo great prosperitic for fo many hundred yeares. After the death of Iulius Cafar, this man being but bare eighteene yeers old came to Rom Bawhere he was welcomed, and immediatly did contest with Antonius, hated of Cicero and of many others: from whence the advancement of this yong Cafar came, and the declaration of the war against Antonius, judged an enemy of the commonwealth, and ouercome by the Confuls Hirtus and Panfa. Cefar who was their affociate, was called Soueraigne captaine, though he had not yet fought: both the Confuls being dead of their hurts. But the Senate after this ouerthrow, beginning to change their mind, he perceiuing that they were flow to grant him the Confulfhip, resolved to possesse it by force of armes, and began to acquaint himselfe with Antonius and Lepidus which were joyned together the made that the souldiers promifed by oath the one to the other, that they would fight against none of Casars troupes, & fent 400. men to Rome to aske for him, in the name of althe army, the office of Conful. They having delivered their charge vnto the Senate, Cornelius the Centiner chiefe of this legation or ambaffade, perceiuing they would give him no present answer, casting vp his cassock & shewing the Senate the pommell of his sword, said vnto them: This shall do it, if you will not do it. So they being returned without obtaining their demand, Cafar made Antonius & Lepidus come into ITALY, and he for his part having passed the river of Rubicon, marched with 8. legions right to Rome. This put all Rome in such a feare, as they sent to present him the Consulship: Augustust and twife fo much ingift, as they had promifed the legions. Now whileft the Ambaffadors were the confuton their way, the Senators beginning again to take hart to them, encouraged by the arrivall of fire by the legions of Africk, they determined to try al meanes before they wold betray the liberty arms. of their country, being minded to call backe that which they had fent to Cafar, and so disposed

before, to affure the people that he would make no tumult at all: he drew his legions neare, and made himselse Lord of Rome without one stroke striken: and contrariwise, the people and Senate received him with shew of greatioy. Then, in the assembly of all the people he was chosen Consull, iust at the full accomplishment of twenty yeares of his age. So he demanded in the field that they should proceed criminally against those that had killed his father Casar. 2. Pedius his fellow Confull published the decree. So were Brutus and Cassius, and all their friends condemned, with interdiction of water and fire. But for as much as Jugustus had too small meanes to set Vpon Brutus and Cassius, he reconciled Antonius and Lepidus with the Senate, and made alliance with them, followed with great armies. They ioyned, and were in confultation of their affaires the space of three daies together, neare vnto Bolonia, or vnto Mytine; and as if the Romaine Empire had bene their owne inheritance, they deuided it betweenethem three. So that Cafar had the high and base Lybia, with Sicilia, and SARDINIA. SPAINE and GAVLE NARBONENSE fell vnto Lepidus: and the rest of GAVLE was for Antonius. They did Augustus, decree also that they should be called Trium-viri, appointed for the reestablishment of the com. and Antomon-wealth, with foueraigne authority for fine yeares, to dispose and give the estates and offices to whom they thought good, without asking aduice of the Senate or people. So they established Lepidus Consull for the yeare following in the place of Decimus Brutus that was killed; and they gaue him the guard of Rome and ITALY, follong as they two that remained made their preparations to go against Brutus and Cassius. Besides the presents they should make vnto the fouldiers after the victory, they promifed to give them leave to ease themselves, & eighteene rich townes in ITALY for them to dwell in. Then they began to fet vp arolle of all the citizens of Rome appointed by them to be flainc. And they decreed to every free manthat should bring the Trium-vivi a head of the proferipes, the sum of two thousand fine hundred crownes, and halfe so much vnto the slaues with enfranchisement and the like summe also to who soeuer could discouer any manthat had hidden or fauoured the proscripts. Antonius and Lepidus were thought to be the chiefe authors of this horrible tragedy: and Cafar feemed willing to authors of a none but to the murtherers of his father, and did a long time oppose himselfe against the other two:but at the length he gaue ouer, and they made wonderfull changes, abandoning their owne parents and friends the oneto the other, to be reuenged of their enemies. But when the sword was once drawne, he was no lesse cruell then the other two. Cicero was not forgotten, as we may see in his life; and it would be very hard to describe the wickednesse of that time, the which like a furious streame caried away so many citizens of Rome. In whose history doe appeare most rare examples of all forts of vices and vertues in all maner of persons: of whom we will make mention, after those that have written more at large: as amongst others, Appianus Alexandrinus: which will serue to shew, how much a man is a furious beast, being lift vp in authority

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS.

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150 Sena-

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Lepidus,

So they did set vp the names of the proscripts fastned in divers places of Rome, to the number of an hundred & thirty Senators for the first time, a hundred & fifty at the second time, and two thousand Knights. Then was the gate open to all villanies and cruelties, fought withall by patience and fidelity: but the examples will shew that better then all the discourse a man can make. Saluius Otho, Tribune of the people, was one of the first: who having inuited his friends to his last supper, a Centener came in, and in the presence of all his guests, halfe dead for seare, strake offhis head. Minutius the Prætor was also killed, fitting in his seate of judgement. L. Villins Annalis, a man that had bene Consull, being escaped out of the hands of the murtherers, saued himselse in the suburbes in a little house of one of his clients: but his owne some having

in the common-wealth, and given to revenge. That there is nothing certaine nor fure in mans

prosperity, which bringeth much enuieto his servants: as to the contrary, adversity maketh

the afflicted contemptible, and every body ashamed of them. But they are wise men, that in such

tragicall accidents do carrie an inuincible heart, refolutely obeying necessity, and a more high

prouidence then that of man. We must not call that intollerable which may happen to great or

meane men for all humane accidents are vnder the feete of Vertue. It chanceth often that force

and wifedome do defend a man, as alwaies thefe two vertues do preferue his honour. He is well

aduised that can finely pacific and divert the fury of an enemy : as to the contrary, shame and

despaire do gripe cowards, flothfull, and fearefull. But in fine, necessity presset on the one side,

no patience to stay for the inheritance of his father, bewrayed him vnto the fouldiers, who went to kill him there. Shortly after, this parricide being drunke had a quarrell with the selfe same eides infly fouldiers, who stabbed him in with their daggers. C. Toranius was betrayed in like manner by his punished. owne fonne, who having confumed in a few dayes the fuccession which he had so execrably purfued, and being condemned for theft, was banished into a place where he died for want and pouertie. Now against these wicked, let vs set some vertuous children. Q. Cicero was hid by forme. his sonne, whom they could neuer make confesse (though he was tormented) where his father was: who, not able any longer to endure they should affile fo vertuous a sonne with so many euils for his fake, came and presented himselfe to the murtherers. The sonne began to inmeate them to kill him before his father: but they were both killed at one time. The Egnaces, father and fonne, one embracing the other, were both runne through and flaine at one blow. C. Holidius Geta was buried for dead by his sonne: who saued him, Justained and kept him till it was peace. Arruntius, after he had comforted and strengthened his sonne, put himselfe to the swords of the murtherers. The sonne died immediatly after for griefe, and famine. Some other hildren carefully faued and kept their fathers, and hid them. Certaine women also shewed themselves maruellous faithfull and louing to their husbands: and so were there to the convary, fome vnfaithfull, that discouered their wonderfull wickednesse. Tanusa made such ear- full to their neft fuire, that she obtained grace of Cafar for T. Iunius her husband, who was hidden by Philotumen his bondman enfranchised: whom Cafar knighted for his fidelity to his master. 2. Liga. faithfull: him having bene kept by his wife, was discourred by a slave, and killed: wherefore his wife kilkdherselfe with famine. Lucretius Vespillo, having erred and runne in great danger here and here, not knowing whither to flie, came fecretly to his wife Thuria, and was hidden and kept dose betwirt the feeling and the top of the house, vntill she had obtained his grace of the Trim viri. Apulcius was faued by his wife, who fled with him. The wife of Antius wrapped vp herhusband in couerlets, and made him becaried to the sea as a packet of stuffe, where he imbarked, and failed into Sicilia. Coponius was faued by his wife, who put her honour afide in refice of her husbandslife: for she lent her body one night vnto Antonius to preserue him (which hedid by that meanes,) whom she loued better then her selfe. Now to the contrary, some women vn faithfull to their husbands, deliuered them into the hands of the murtherers, because beymight marrie againe. Amongst other, the wife of Septimius having shamefully given herbody vnto one of Antonius familiars, she caused her husband to be put in the number of the Proferipts, that the might more easily continue her adulterie: and so was Septimius put to death. Q. Vettius Salassus, was hidden in a sure privie place, wherewith he acquainted his wife; but the straight reuealed him to the murtherers. The which he perceiving from a high place where he was, cast himselfe downe headlong, chusing rather to die so, then to make his cruell wife pastime. Fuluius was discoucred by a slaue of his, and his concubine, icalous because he had mried a wife, and had left her; although not with standing he had made her free, and had given hergoods to live withall. Now let vs presently speake of the faithfulnesse and vnfaithfulnesse Enfranchs. offlaues enfranchifed. P. Naso was betrayed by his flaue freed, with whom he had bene too fa- fedflaues miliar. But he fold his death, for he killed the traitor with his owne hands, and afterwards held cherous, outhis neck to the hangman. L. Lucceius had put into the hands of two of his flaues manumiffed foretrue. smuch as was necessary to have relieved him in his banishment: but they ranne away with all, and he came and put himselfe to the slaughter. Haterius, that was in a secret place, was sold and discouered by a slaue of his. Cassius Varus being bewrayed by a freemanthat was his slaue. escaped neuerthelesse, and hid himselse among reedes: where being found by those of Min-IVENES, they tooke him for a theefe, and would have racked him to have bewrayed his companions he discouered himselfe to be a Senator of Rome, but they would not beleeve him, because he was in poore estate. But whilest they were reasoning of the matter, there cometh a centener that strake off his head. C. Plotius was faued by his slaues: but being a man giue to perfume and rubbe himselse with odoriserous ointments, the sent and smell of them discouered him to

the souldiers, that went ferriting vp and downe in his house: yet could they not finde him, but

truelly tormented his feruants, to make them confesse where he was: which they would never

do. But Plotius having compassion of the cuils of his faithfull flaues, came out of the place where

he was hidden, and because he would prolong their life, hee shortned his owne, and presented

himselfe to the murtherers. Appins Claudius, as he was neare to be had by the backe, changed his

come en-Franchifed men giue their owne lines to faue their ma-

Sextus Pompeius rescheth

with a gilty

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Straight imprison. ment and powerty held worfe then

A treasherom fernät punished.

tooke off his head, and so he saued his masters head. Another slaue of Menenius did the like. for he went into his mafters litter, and offered his necke to the fword of the murtherers; who dispatched him whilest his master got to the port of the sea, from whence he escaped into Si. CILIA. But the flaue of Vibinus Panopio is worthy of memory enery where: for he hearing the murtherers came to facke his mafter, tooke his mafters gowne from him and his ring, gaue him his owne, and put him out at the backe gate. Then he goeth vp into his mafters chamber, and lay downeypon his bed, where he boldly attended them that killed him for Panopio. Another shewed himselfe no lesse faithfull in the behalfe of Antius Restio: for although his master had throughly thwacked him for his knauish trickes played a few dayes before, and that then it see meth he had oportunity to be reuenged: he to the contrary employed himselfe after a maruel. lous fashion to faue his master: for he meeting with an old man in his journey strake off his head, and shewing that with his whippings together to the murtherers, he made them easily beleque that he had bene well reuenged of his mafter, with whom immediatly after he faued himfelfe in Sicilia. The flaues of Martins Cenforinus kept him along time, and so well, that he had leifure to go to Sextus Pompeius. Q.Oppius an honorable old man, and being almostathe pits brinke, like to be killed, was refcued by his fonne, who having finely gotten him out of ROME, tooke him upon his shoulders, and afterwards led him into Sicilia, whereall the poore diffressed Romaines were gently received: for Pompeius had sent certaine ships to keepe vpon the coast of ITALY, and pinaces every where, to the end to receive all them that sed on that fide: giuing them double recompence that faued a Proscript, and honourable offices to men that had bene Confuls and escaped, comforting and entertaining the others with a most fingular courtefie. Many went into MACE DON to Brutus and Cassius: others into Africke to Cornificius. Some having escaped the tempest that was in the time of sylla, were even glutted with this cruelty: as amongst others, M. Fidustius, and Lucius Philuscius. T. Labienus was one of the number of the murtherers in the profeription of Sylla. Afterwards he did nothing else but go vp and downe with a soule possessed with furies: so that being weary of his life at this time, he went and fate in a chaire at his gate, quietly attending that they should put him in the number of them that should be killed. Statius Samnes, an honourable Senator, being fourefcore yeares old, because theeues should have no part of his goods, he left them in prey to whofocuer would take them: and afterwards fet his house on fire, and burnt himselfe within it. App. nins being kept a good while by his flaues, was fo weary to be shut vp in a troublesome place,& where he lived very poorely, that he came out to the market place, and held out his throat to the murtherers. cestius being possessed with the like griefe, caused his slaues to make a great fire,& then cast himselfe in it. Sulpitius Rufus, a man that had bene Consul, died because of an Ileoshis the which he would not fell vnto Fuluia: as also Ampius Balbus; for that he refused to give this woman a pleafant place of his. Balbus was betrayed by a fernant of his, that shortly after was hanged vpon a gibbet by sentence of the people: and so had his reward for his villanous fact. Antonius did put in the number of Proscripts a Senator called Nonius Struma, and onely to get out of his hands an Emerode effeemed at fiftie thousand crownes. But Monius found the means to escape with his Emerode, to the great despite of him that greedily desired this prey. Some valiantly defended themselves, as Atteins Capito, that killed many souldiers running rudely vpon him, thinking he would have suffered himselfe to be killed as others were. Howbeit after he had fold his flesh deare, he was ouercome by multitude of affailants. Vetulinus aided with his fonne, having many times valiantly repulfed the murtherers, he would have faued himfelfein Sicilia: but in the straight he met with such a number of enemies, that there he was killed. Sicilius Coranas a Senator, was put in the number of Proferipes, and because he would not with others condemne Brutus and Cassius, deuising how to escape, he put himselfe in ranke among those that caried a dead corps to buriall: but he was discoursed and put to death. The Triumviri appointed such men as they liked of to take charge of them that had bene killed. They sold the goods of the Proscripts by the drumme, at such a price as the souldiers would: and yet the most part of them were spoiled and giuen away. They promised the widowes their ioynter, she widowes and to the sonnes the tenth part of the patrimony of their fathers, and to the daughters the twentieth part. Howbeit there were few, and in maner none, that had any benefit by that: but nainement to the contrarie, they facked many that demanded fuch rights. On the other fide, they did exact great fummes of money upon the city of Rome, and ouer all Iraly: the owners were Greaterconstrained to give the halfe of their yearely revenue: the tenants to furnish one yeares rent of by the Trithat they held of others: the masters of houses, the halfe of the rent of their houses, according to umniri. the rent they went for. To encourage the fouldiers, the Triumuiri gaue vnmeasurable gifts, granted them daily new pillage: the legions wintered in the richest townes, who were compelled to feede the fouldiers at their own charge. Furthermore, all the rich men were constrained to pay in nature of a tribute at one time, the tenth part of all that they were worth. To be short, so that they could find out new inventions, it was enough to exact mony. For the feare and custome to endure all, had fashioned men to be more slaues, then the murtherers and exactors would haue had them. And to close vp all, the Triumuiri caused mony to be covned, the which on the one fide had the image of Antonius with an inscription in Latine, the effect whereof is this: eM. Antonius Emperor, Augur, Triumuir, for the establishment of the common-wealth. And on the other fide there werethree hands joyned together, with the markes of the Confulfhip, and had these words: Salus generis humani, that is to say: The health of mankind.

Now during the cruclties of this Triumuirate, Brutus and his followers made themselves strong in MACEDON, and did divers exploits of warre: and were afterwards overcome in the fields PHILIPPIANS, as hath bene faid in the life of Brutus, which we need not rehearse againe. the principall being comprehended there. After this victory, Antonius went into the East to dispose of his affaires in As 1A, and to leavie mony there to pay his souldiers, having promised to enery one of them fine hundred crownes. Cafar returned into ITALY to refresh himselfe, to affigne Colonies to his fouldiers, to pacific the troubles Lepidus had procured, and to fet a pike betwixt him and Pompey at a need, if he were neuer fo litle in league with him. Cafar fell grieuoufly ficke at Bryndysiym: but being recourred againe, he entered into Rome, pacified all things, and kept Lepidus in his wonted degree. But when he came to bring his foldiers into Colonies, then the storme began to rife: for the owners cryed out that they were tyrannized, being driven out of their inheritances: the old fouldiers they complained that promise was not kept with them. Fuluia and some others practifed to set them on, to the end to draw a war into ITA-11, and by this meanes to make Antonius come againe, beforted by Cleopatra. These things proceeded so farre that Fuluia tooke armes, for she was then in the campe, her sword by her side, and commanded like a Captaine. Cafar on the other fide being angry, fent her daughter home

tes the allies of Fuluia. In the meane space Lucius Antonius departed in the night with speed, & drmy aentred into Rome by treason: vied it as a citie taken in warre, and draue out Lepidus. Cafar left gainst the Suluidienus to befiegethe Sentinates, returned to Rome, and draue out Lucius, followed him Fuluia: and and shortened his iourney as he was going to GAVLE, shut him vp, and besieged him a great after dritime in PEROVSE, and compelled him through famine to yeeld him felfe, and to craue pardon, with L. An. which he granted him. Perovse was burnt by a strange accident: for one of the chiefest of the of Rome. thy having fet his house on fire, after he had wounded himselfe with his dagger, a boisterous wind being risen upon it, so dispersed the flames abroad, that it burnt al the houses besides. Casar

to her, unto whom he was betrothed, and led his army against the Nvrsinians and Sentina. Auguste

caused some of his Captaines to be killed that were against him. He condemned the NVRSINIans in a great fumme of money, and because they could not pay it, he draue them out of their city and territorie. Afterwards he suppressed some troubles raised in NAPLES by Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of Tiberius Cafar, and fauourer of Fuluia: who feeing her felfe vinder foote, the fled vnto ATHENS. But Cafar to preuent a new conspiracy, sent Lucius Antonius far from Rome,

to command the legions that were in Spaine: he gaue him also commissioners to looke into him, and to observe his actions. He finely draue out Lepidus also into Africk with fixe legions. On the other side Faluia being dead, Casar and Antonius agreed being ready to fight: after that Augustus they made peace with Pompey that gouerned Sicilia. Immediatly after that he went into nimagree GAY LE, to appeale some troubles that happened there, and sent Agrippa before, who compelled and after

the AQVITANS to submit themselves, and pacified all GAVLE. On the other side Cneus Calvinus makepeace fubdued the Ceretainein for Pompeins lencies, whereupon they fell together by the eares, and the enemies had the better hand, after he had sharpely reproued them, he took the tenth man of the two first bands, and belaboured lubellius with a cudgell. In the mean time Cafar fent attimes troups of men of armes into DALMATIA

and ILLYRIA, to the end to breathe them for other wars that were a hatching, as that of Sici-

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CÆSAR AVGVSTVS.

War againe Augustus and S.Pom peius.

Augustus Tieutenante • wercom e by Sextsu Pompeius.

Mergarenotes from Augustus to ha old mafter S. Pom peins.

Augulius ready to hill himfelfe,15 fawed by Cornificius.

S. Pombeius auercom a by Agrippa. Augustus Lieutenant fliet h.

Augustus *narmed entreth into Lepidus campe, who ken loseth

The tenth legion caffiered for their infoles words,

LIA was the first. For Menas the pirate, Sextus Pompeius Lieutenant, having for despight brought his fleet vnto Cafar, and taken his part, vnto whom also he delinered the Iles of SARDINIA and Corsica, with three legions, Cofar did him great honors, & refused to deliuer him againe vnto Pompey, who asked him of him. Befides that, Pompey complained of Antonius, and pretending to haue iust occasions, he tooke armes againe. Wherfore Casar sent for Antonius and Lepidus out of GRECE and AFRICK to come to aide him. Antonius came to the hauen of BRYNDVSIVM: but vpon the fudde, not knowne wherefore, he tooke fea againe, & returned from whence he came. Lepidus came too late, which made Cafar (feeing all the weight fall on his armes) that he fent his Lieutenants against Pompey: who fought with them by sea & by land, & had the better, and not Cafar to great trouble, who had like to have bin killed by a flave also that wold have reveged the death of his masters father, that was a proscript. After that Antonius being come to TARENTYM with intention to make war against Cafar, Octavia lister of the one and wife of the other agreed them, fo that they did yet prolong with Lepidus their Triumuirate for flue yeares more. Aninnius went against the PARTHIANS, and Cafar prepared to set vpon Pompey againe. Hercupon Menas being angry for that he was not fo well accounted of as he thought he deferued he returned againe to joyne with Pompey with 7. gallies. Cafars fleet having fustained great hurt by tempest, was also beaten by Menas. Lepidus wan LILYBEE, & took certaine neighbour villages, Calar having repaired his ships and army by sea, and made it stronger then before, under the conduct of Agrippa, who failed vnto Lipar B, he gaue battell by fea vnto Pompeys Lieutenants: Butthey being aided by Menas(that was returned the fecond time) hee ouercame and wanthirty shippes. But the other fleet that Gasar himselfe brought, was wholly ouerthrowne by Pompey, neare vnto TAVROMENION, and Cafar brought to that extremity, that he was ready to kill himselfe. But Cornificius ranto the shore, who saued him, and brought him to the campe: from whence he retired further off, and very quickly (but with great danger) vnto MESSALA. After certaine encounters where Pompey euer had the better, infomuch as Lepidus was suspected to leane on that fide, C. efar refolued to commit all to the hazard of a latter battell; and to draw Pompey vnto it, he cut him fo flort of victuals, that he was conftrained to come to blowes, and the fight was very cruell: wherein Agrippa bestirred himselfe so valiantly, that he wan the victory, sunke 28. ships, brake and spoiled the most part of the rest, and tooke two of the chiefest Captaines Pompey had: one of the which called Demochares, killed him selfe with his owne hands. Now for Pompey, who but a litle before had about three hundred and fiftie faile, he fled away with all freed only with seuenteene, and went to MESSINA so discouraged, that leaving all hope and his army he had by land, he went to the Ile of CEPHALONIE, where being somewhat come to himselfe, he determined to repaire to Antoniu, But Tistenus' a Frenchman (his lieutenat of the army by land) led all his troupes vnto Lepidus : fome GREBKE historians report that it was to Cafar. Plemmis nius was within MESSINA with eight legions, and did capitulate with Lepidus to render vothe towne to him. Whereupon Agrippa hapned to come thither; who maintained that they ought to regard C. efar that was abfent then. But that flood him in no flead; for Lepidus entred the town. & gane the spoile of it as well to Plemminius soldiers as to his. Thereupon Casar vndertook athing worthy of memory, which was: that being vnarmed he went into Lepidus camp, and turning by the blows of y darts that were thrown at him by some, which hit his cloke & pierced it he took hold of an enligne of a legion. Then the fouldiers al of then armed followed him, and left Legidus: who shortly after lost empire & army: he that with 20 legions promised himselfe Sierlia & a great deale more, cafar gaue him his life, and the office of four aigne Bishop of Rome, whither he fent him. Some fay he was banished. Vpon these flirs there rose a sedition in Casars camp through the infolencie of the fouldiers, that ran evento his iudgement feat, vfing great menaces. But he wisely appealed all punished the authours of the tumult, and did cassiere all the tenth legion with great shame and ignominie, because the souldiers of the same did ouerbraue him in words. He dispersed and sent some others to their houses, and gaue vnto them that had vsed themselues gently, two thousand Sesterces for enery souldier: which is thought to mount neare to fiftie crownes. He made them to be must red, and found that they were fine and fortie legions, flue and twenty thousand horsemen, and fixe and thirty thousand lightly armed. Afterwards he did great honours vnto his Lieutenant Agrippa for his notable feruice, and commaunded Statilius Taurus togo into Africke to take possession of the Provinces of Lepidus. Whilest Antonius made warre with the Parthans, or rather infortunately they made

warre with him to his great confusion: his Lieutenant Titius found the meanes to lay hands ypon Sextus Pompeius that was fled into the Ile of Samos, and then forty yeares old: whom he putto death by Amonius commandement: for which fact he was so hated of the people of Sextum P8. Rome, that though he had given them the pastime of certaine playes at his owne cost and char-

ges, they draue him out of the Theater.

Moreover, Cafar thinking to have failed out of Sicilia into MAVRITANIA, the sea being toning rough, stayed him: which was the cause that he sent his army into ILLYRIA, and set you the IAPVDES, which did him much mischiefe, yet at the last he ouercame them. Then he ranne vnonthe PANNONIANS, and the DALMATIANS, whom he made tributaries; being hurt in his Augustians thighes, in his armes, and in one of his knees, in this warre against the ILLYRIANS. On the o- burinhis ther fide, Messala his Lieutenant fought against the SALASSIANS, dwelling in a valley enuironed arms, and with high mountaines of the Alpes: and after diverse overthrowes, he made them subject to the Empire. And shortly after Cesar was chosen Confull the second time: but he resigned the office the fame day vnto Autronius Patus, being about to make himselfe friends against Antomins: who being flayed about Cleopatra, gaue his wife occasion to returne from ATHENS to ROME. Now after the fire of enmity betwixt these two competitours had bene a hatching a certaine time, it flood either of them both vpon, to feeke all the meanes to ouerthrow his companion. The strange proceedings of Antonius in fauour of Cleopatra hastened the warre, whereupon followed the battell of $\mathbf{A}_{\mathtt{CTIVM}}$, the flying of these wicked louers, & the beginning of the Monarchy of Cafar, confirmed by the conquest of A GYPT, and the tragicall death of Antonius and Cleopatra. The which we touch briefly, the whole being largely fet downe in the life of Anionius. They did great honours vnto Cafar after these exploites. The memory of Antonius was condemned, and his statues maimed and throwne downe to the ground. A little before, M. Lepidus, son of the Trium-vir and of Iunia fifter of Brutus, conspired against Cafar. But after they for conspired haddiscouered it, he was put to death by the wisedome of C. Mecenas a knight, and gouernor of ie. Rome: his wife Servilia killed her selfe, as Portia the wife of Brutus. After the vtter overthrow of Antonius, Cafar tooke order for the affaires of the East parts, he made alliance with Herodes the out. king of IVDEA. He sent the king of the PARTHIANS sonne in hostage to Rome, untill they hould fend all the enfignes and standards they had wonne of Crassus and Antonius. Hegouerned the affaires of Asia, received into league and friendship with him the kings of GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, & PAPHLAGONIA: & he punished some others by fines, that were not his frieds. Hegaue priviledges to the cities of Ephesys, of Nice, Per Game, and Bythinia, to build temples in the honour of Iulius Calar, of Rome, and of himselse. He set the Samians at liberty, and after he had taken order for all the reft he went towards ITALY: where after he was arrived it cannot be expressed with what great ioy he was received of high and low, from BRVNDVSI-VM VNto Rome. There he triumphed three daies together, for the ILLYRIANS, for Antonius and for Cleopatra. He gaue great prefents vnto fouldiers, and befides the mony that was made of the booty, and distributed by euen portions, he gaue euery one fiftie crowns apeece, the double to a Centener, and the treble to a knight: and to every person among the people ten crowns, even Augustus to litle children. He brought fuch store of gold and filuer out of Agypt (by him reduced into aprouince, and condemned to pay twenty millions of gold to the people of Rome for a fine) that he brought downe vfurie from twelue in the hundred, to foure: and made that land and houses were fold deare, where beforethe rich men had them almost for nothing. Furthermore, he brought in a maruellous change in all trafficke: he alfo abolished all taxes and subsidies impoled by necessity of the civill warres. He cried downe all strange coine, which were at too high aprice for their law and all through the iniquity of time. He lent out money for a time without interest, vnto those that had meanes to make double profit of it. He would not receive the gold which the cities of Iraly fent him to make him crownes; but fent them it backe againe with his thankes for their good will. He gaue the pastime for all manner of games and magnificent fights vnto the people, such as they had neuer seene before. He made goodly seasts vnto the Senators and Magistrates, and by a world of pleasures he appealed the forow of proscription, and of fo many civill wars. Being occupied in these matters, letters came from Crassus, Casars Lieutenant, aduertifing that he had subdued the BASTARNES, dinerse people of MESIA, of DACIA, and of THRACIA: that he had wonseuen or eight battels of them, that with his owne hands he had killed the king of the BASTARNES, and had brought the king of GETES to fuch extremity, tenant,

Thetemple of Ianus Thut the third time.

Augustus Cetteth the wealth in erder.

Augaffus confulteth

whether he were best to laraway the imperial dignity.

M ecenas di (Twadeth Augustus from laying aside the rule of the wealth.

Augustus requireth alistants to rule the Empire.

that he killed himself. These newes did increase the ioy, and the triumph was granted to crasses and to Cafar also: who by the decree of the Senate caused the temple of Ianus to be shut the third time, which had remained open the space of 200. yeares. At this time Casarthat was in his fife Confulship, numbred and mustred all the people of Rome, reformed the Senat, the order of knights, the distribution of corne and because of the great dearth that was then, he made corne to be distributed to the people at a very meane price to some, and for gramercy to the poore They that had bene bound to the commonwealth of too long a time, he discharged them, and burnt their obligations. He confirmed the propriety of houses in strife betwixthem and the commonwealth, if they had bene in quiet possession any conuenient time. And to assure all those that had adhered vnto Antonius, and to keepe them that they should no more give earer any new rumors, he swarevnto them in good faith, that having taken Antonius coffers, he had burnt all the letters he found in them, and read not one of them. He fet downe an order for Custome, cased the customers that had bene too much oppressed: also he restored the treasure a. gaine, and the augure of health. And by reason of that aboue named, he was called father of the country in open Senate: and at the same time he sent people to CARTHAGE, to set up the samilies of the Patricians, greatly diminished by the proscriptions and civill warres. The next yeare following, which was the 725. of the foundation of Rome, & the fixt of his

Consulship, seeing all the wars appealed, peace established, armes laid downe enery where, the comonwealth in good strength, the lawes honored, instice in authority, y Senate in their ancient glory, and y people restored by him to their rights of assembly to chuse their yearly magistrates. and to give our their commissions & charges according to their old custome: he began to reason the matter with himselfe, which of the twaine was most profitable, either to keepe (for the good of the state, and under the title of a Prince) the Empire which he had in his hands or whether he should render it vp vnto the people. He found himselfe grieued for that Antonius had oftentimes accused him of tyranny & vniust inuasion; and on the other part also he apprehended the fury of the people, & the factions of ambitious men, which like the billowes of the fea, would incontinently toffe in horrible fashion this vnconstantsea. Being thus perplexed, one day he tookaside Agrippa and C. Macenau, his two faithful friends, very wife men and of great experience about al others:& prayed them to tell him plainly without flattery, what they thought of it, being refolued to follow that which should be most expedient for the good of the commonwealth. Agrippa by an ample discourse did counsell him to render up to the people his principality & signiority. Macenas was of the contrary opinion, and gaue such counsell as Cafar followed, tempering both opinions, & made himself master in such fort that the people felt it not, but rather consessed that they needed fuch a Phyfitian to raife the vp againe from the incurable maladies they were fallen into. He thanked both his friends, gaue his neece Marcella to be the wife of Agrippa, and did him new honours, proceedeth to a new review of the citizens of Rome; and is chosen Prince of the Senate by Agrippa, who was then his companion in the Confulship. Furthermore, assuring himfelfe that so much good and honours as had bene communicated to the small and great, would make them they would not much paffe for their ancient dignities and liberty: & that the sweetnesse of the ease and rest they did enion, would make them forget all the good and euill past: he borowed of his magnanimity the maruellous counfell that followeth. He refolued to discharge himselse of the principality into the hands of all the Senate, to render it vnto the people; hoping that the Senate seeing his affection so to submit himself to the accustomed order, & not to seeke a domination and government ill-willed, they would thanke him the more: that althe great perfons would lay afide the enuic which they might beare vnto him, and that the people would esteeme and loue him so much the more. Vpon this thought, and after he had acquainted some of the Senators withall that flood affected to him, to the end to win others by their meanes, he made an oration in open Senate, well studied, and fit for the time. Hauing made a long discourse of the great extent of the Empire, and of his insufficiency, he added vnto it, that this common burthen could not be carried but by the immortall gods: that he had continued some yeares to manage a part of it, and that experience had made him know that his shoulders were too weake to beare such a burthen as the principality, subject to infinite changes, and exposed to a thousand ambushes. He therefore required, the city being furnished with so many noble persons, that the affaires might be managed by many men, who ioyning themselucs together, might more easily satisfie the charges, then one alone: that in a good howre,

having fet all things in good estate againe, he did put the commonwealth into the hands of the Senate and people of Rome. This oration diversly moved the Senators. Some of them thought, there was more art then truth in it. Others judged, that it was not expedient to put the estate into the power of many. The most of them enriched and made great by Casar, and that were risen vp by the ruines of their countrey, faid: that they should preferre that which now they had in hand, before all the time past, beaten with so many tempests. Many others enclined to that fide, not that they were in good earnest of that mind, but for feare to be looked upon with an euill eye, if they did speake against their companions. So then all of them with one The Senate consent vnaduisedly, rather then of a common and ripe judgement, began to beseech and adjure Cafar, that it would please him to be chiefe and preserver of the Empire, of the which he had set downe so many goodly and happy foundations. Immediatly they ordained that Cesars guard should have twife as much pay as they had before. Agrippa was of opinion, that they should casfierethe Spanish guard, and Cafar in their place should chuse a guard of ALMAINEs, knowing hands. wel that in those great bodies there was litle malice hidden, and lesse subtilty; and that they were

apeople that tooke more pleasure to be commanded, then to command.

Hebeing thus established in his Empire by the consent of the Senate and people, to the end they should not thinke he would lift himselfe vp about measure, or to give fore footing to a perpetuall Monarchie: he would not accept the charge to prouide for the affaires of effate, and pireforten the gouernment of the Provinces, but for the space of ten yeares: with condition to give vp yeares. his charge before this terme, if things were sooner setled in their full estate. First therefore, he left a part of the Provinces vnto the Senate and people, to take care for the government of the same: and for himselfe, he kept those that were not yet in order, and in the which he should be driven to make warre. In those that were quiet, he established Proconsuls: and for others, he gouerned them by his Lieutenants, which had their leffon, according vnto the which they were bound to be directed. Among other lawes they were forbidden to leavie any money, or to gather men of warre together, or to affaile any Prouince, without the commandement of the Senate, or of Cafar. That forthwith when they fent any fucceffors, they should leaue their gouernment, and repaire to Rome within three moneths. He appointed also vnto the Proconfuls acertaine fumme of money to beare their charges for their horse and carriage of the stuffe. Furthermore he established a law, that the Proconfull or governour should not go to his Province appointed him, till the end of five yeares after his commission granted him: to the end that they which were convinced for taking of money corruptly, should pay to the Provinces the fine they should be condemned in and he deprived them of all estates and honors which through their euill behauiours had bene condemned in such fines. And further, he would not that the officers that had to deale in his affaires should have any authority, but to demand their stipends and money which the Provinces were bound to furnish. And because he would beautifie and adorne Rome, as the maiestic of the Empire required, he raised up Augustin many common buildings, and repaired many that had bene left vnfinished or ruined, leaving their of the names of the founders. His buildings among other were the temple of Apollo in the pallace, Rome, with the porch, and a librarie of GREEK and Latin books. Also the Monuments, and the parke, for the walkes and pleasure of the people of Rome. In his seventh Consulship, certaine Senators propounded that they should call him Romulus, for that he having preserved the city of Rome, it was as much bound vnto him, as vnto the first founder. But he would not accept of that name. Wherefore Munacius Plancus bethought himselfe of another, the which was given The name unto him by common confent of all, and he held it to his death: as also we will call him from of angular henceforth in all that remaineth to be set downe of his deeds: to wit Augustus. He not to M. Plance. feeme vnworthy of this name, and to cary himfelfe fo, that no man should repent his change of gouernment, began diligently to fet his hand to these affaires. He wisely reformed the ancient lawes, and made new that were very necessary. To make sure work in these affaires, he chose lawes refrom fix moneths to fix moneths fifteene Senators that had bene Confuls, and did privately formeth the acquaint them with all that was requisite to be done for the preservation of the quietnesse of the commonwealth, giving order that nothing should passe but it should be searched and examined to the bottome: saying that he would give the people lawes which they should all allow, and that he would not be his owne judge alone. Afterwards he reformed the affemblies of the city, where all things were caried by fuites, presents, and violence. He then restored the people their

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Augustus care for eleftion of good Magiright, by voices to chuse the magistrates. And to cut off all suites, nee forbad them to make any rolle of suiters names, but of those that had layde downe great summes of mony, to the end that being consinced of their fuites, they should be put to their fines; adding also this ignominy, that fuch should be depriued of all estates & honors for the space of fine yeares. And surthermore, he finely hindred the bad practifes in elections, giuing order that none should be put in nomination but such as were vertuous and of good reputation. He left vnto the Magistrates their charges whole, and did alwaies require in all his Confulships that they shold give him two companions howbeit the Senate wold neuer agree vnto it. The yeare before, he had reduced the nuber of Senators to sixe hundred, all honourable men. At that time also he reestablished the ancient order and dignity cordaining that the Senate should have the superintendencie of the treasure, and of all the revenues that belonged to the people of Rome. That all the expences for the common. wealth shold be made by their ordinance. That the Senators shold have the hearing of alcrimes oftreason, conspiracie, ambushes, and offences to his Maiesties person: and that it should pertaine to them to give entertainement and answer that should be fit, to Ambassadors of nations. When in matters of importance he asked the aduice of the Senate, in flead of coming to the Prince of the Senate according to the accustomed manner, or to him that was appointed Confull, or to other Senatours by order: he made choise of any one of them which he thought good, to the end that enery one should give attentive eare, and be ready to deliver his opinion: and not to hold his head downe in his rancke, and content himselfe to be of other mens minds. He ordained also, that the whole body of the Senate should not assemble but from sisteene dayes to fifteene dayes: howbeit that in ordinarie matters the magistrates should thinke of that that were expedient. In the moneth of September and October, the Senatours were nor bound to meete, but onely foure hundred drawne by lot: who might establish any decree. And as for himselfe, to honour this company the more, the day of the affembly he never fallted any of the Senators apart, but all of them together in the counfell chamber when they were fet, and all of them name by name, the one after the other. If he would go out, and that he faid, he would detaine the companie no longer, he bad them farewell in the same manner that he had faluted them at his coming in. He ruled instice also civill and criminall, and willed that amongst other things the criminals accused by certaine enemies, should be set at libertie: with condition notwithstanding that they should be brought to prison againe, if the accuser did submit himselfe to receive the like punishment as the offender, if it were found heeslanderedhim. Moreouer, he made prouision for common workes, and reparations of bridges, causeys, and high wayes. And because he was determined to make a voyage into GAVLE, he established Messala gouernour of ITALY and of Rome, for seare lest any trouble should happen in his absence. But this place being troublesome vnto Messala, he besought Augustus he would discharge him: and therefore Agrippa was substituted, who ridde all ITALIE of a great number of thecues and robbers on high waies, and stayed the courses of many other troubles of the state.

and robbers

dugustus bis inflace

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those that

were fallly accofed,

and toward

Augustus maketh peace in France, and deniderh it in foure

The affaires of Rome and ITALIB being in so quiet estate, vnderstanding that England was full of ledition, Spaine next vnto the mountaines Pirenei in armes, and Gavie readie to rise: he opened the temple of Ianus, and tooke his journey to give order for all. But the Ambassadours of England preuented him, and promised tribute. Then he went to Gavle in NARE ONE, to draw nearer to Spaine. And so holding on his journy to NAREONE, he pacified the GAVLES, he made an exact numbring of all the GAVLES, of their goods, possessions, and flaues, and caused the rolles to be brought vnto him. He established lawes and customes incuery place, and deuided GAVLE into foure parts: of the which the first part was called NARBO-NENSE, which extendeth it selfe from the river of Var vnto the mountaines PIRENEI. AQVI-TAIN the second, vnto the river of GARONNE. The third, GAVLE LYONNOISE, vnto the river of Seine. Then GAVLE BELGICA, bordered with the river of Rhein; and rated all the GAVLS at ten milions of gold for a taxe. Now there remained no more for him to do, but to bring Spains to order: in the which the Romaines had made continuall warres the space of 200 yearestogether. Neuertheleisethe Cantaerians and Asturians (which are the Basques) and other people neighbours dwelling in the mountaines, they neither cared for Augustus, nor for the Empire: for they were euer in armes, and made incursions vpon the allies of the people of Rome, and did them great mischies: who complaining vnto Augustus of the great necessity they were brought vnto, he being neare vnto them, came to aide them; and found the Cantabrians belieging of a fort, having taken the town by it called SAGESAME. He charged them home with such furie that he left them dead in the place, after they had valiantly defended themselves. Afterwards he devided his army into three parts, & environed the country of the Cantabrians, who made head for the space of flue yeares, and did maruellous great hurt to the Romains: & majeth war if the ftreights wherby they might eafily enter into their country, had not bene discoursed vnto with the Augustis, they had sent him home againeto Rom E with shame. But having found the way to surprifethem on euery fide, he made a cruell warre vpon them, putting all to fire and bloud. They geth them retired with speed to one of their highest mountaines, with all that they could carrie with them. Forestreme The ROMAINES perceiving that it was too hard a match for them, if they should go thither to miler. fer upon to warlike a nation, & that could not be subdued by force: they made forts in the midst of the mountaine, and placed a strong guard there, to the end to famish the CANTABRIANS, and by that meanes to bring them to reason. But they on the other side, in stead of yeelding themselues, did abide all the miseries that any man can possibly thinke of: and it came to that passe, that even to sustaine nature the strong sonnes killed their old fathers, the mothers their infants, and the yong mendid deuoure the old eating vp their flesh. Vpon this euill, there followed another, to wit discord among them. Some would yeeld, others were of another mind. The former alledging, that they must needs submit themselves to the mercy of the ROMAINES: the other. that they should make a desperate fallie vpon the enemies campe, and so sell their lives. Their contention waxed so hote and violent, that the CANTABRIAN'S thrust out ten thousand of the ASTVRIANS with their wives and children, and compelled them to descend along the forts made by the Romaines: whom they intreated with the teares in their eyes to make them flanes, and to give them somewhat to eate. Tiberius then one of Casars Lieutenants, would not suffer them to be received, to the end to famish the one by the other, and to end this warre without any bloudshed. This poore people being depriued of sustenance and hope, and being afraid they should yet endure greater cuils, began to powne a venimous hearbe like vnto Smallige, and poisoned themselues. The young men killed themselues running one against another with their swords in their hands. The others, to the number of three and twenty thousand, camedowning most miserable estate from the top of the mountaine, and yeelded themselves to the discretion of the Romaines: who set aside ten thousand of the strongest of them, to serue them in the war which they intended to make against the Asyvrians. The rest were fold by troups, with condition that they should be carried farre from their country, and that they should not be made free, before they had serued them as slaues the space of thirty yeares. They disarmed ten thousand of them: which they bare so patiently, that many killed themselues with their owne hands, efteeming their life nothing without armes. They fay, that a litle child with a dagger killedhis father and brethren that were chained together, and that by the commandement of the father: and that a woman did the like to some of her kinsfolkes. And that many of these mountainers accustomed to rob passengers, being upon the gibber, sang out songs aloud, even at their death, shewing a joy and maruellous courage. Augustus being then in those parts, gaue leaue to the soldiers of his guard of Spantards to depart into the territory of the Gascons with great presents, & priviledge to enter in rancke amongst the Romaine legions. He build Saragovss E, and other townes, which he replenished with fouldiers, to bridle the courses and tumults of the CELTIBERIANS; and afterwards made a stone bridge over the famous river of Eber. Then having overthrowne the Conisces, friends of the Astvrians, taken their head city, and put all the inhabitants thereof to the fword: he fet upon the As TURIANS, who being entironed of Angainst all parts, and choosing rather to die then to be made slaues: burnt, killed, and poisoned themfelices, and with them many other of their neighbours. There were some of them yet left alive, Afterians, with whom the CANTABRIANS joyned and other their neighbours, and that a long time. These drines that people had this custome, that all goods were common amongst friends, and when one of them came to the other, he received and vied him as himfelf; and to also in adversity they ran one fortune, or else killed themselues immediatly after their friends were dead. Among them were certaine loose people gathered together out of divers parts, who resolved all together to go charge friends. the ROMAINES, and came to light with such a furie, that nothing but the night could separate them, having lost many of both sides. The next morning they began to joyne againe with more violence then before, and the fight continued euen till night, that the ROMAINE's obtained the Ggggg4

victory: but they confessed, that they neuer encountered with such cruell enemies. They that were left aliue fled into a towne, in the defence whereof they made them selled so be killed rather then to yeeld themselues. Augustus built certaine places there in that country, which afterwards by time were much enlarged. In this felfe fame yeare of his ninth Confulfhip, Term. tius Varro his Lieutenant subdued the SALASSIANS, which are those of the vale of OSTRE; he disarmed them, sold the young men by the drum, gaue part of the territory vnto the souldiers Prætorians, and built there acity called Av GV STA PRETORIA. Vinicius also appealed some troubles in GER MANTE, and made war very fortunately in divers places. By means of which victor ries, Augustus was called the eight time Imperator, as much to fay, as souer aigne Captaine: and they suffered him to weare from that time forth the first day of the yeare, a hat of Laurell, and a robe of triumph. At his returne he shut the temple of lanus the fourth time, married Cleonatra (the daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra) vnto Iuba the Storie-writer, overthrowne by Iulius Cafar in Africk, with a part of Mayritania and of Getylia, to reigne there. Hereduced into a province Gallogreeta and Lycaonia, which made a portion of a kingdome; and by reafon of his ficknesse notable to be present at the mariage of his daughter Iulia, whom Marcellus maried the fon of Octavia his fifter, he left all to the charge of Agrippa, and went to Rome. There being chosen Consult the tenth time, the Senate gaue him absolute power over the estate and lawes, to make and vndo them at his pleasure. They did him greater honours then before and gaue Marcellus his nephew before his time great offices in the commonwealth; and to Tiberius his wives sonne. He in token of thankfulnesse, gaue to every one of the people ten crownes apeece. Whilest these matters were in hand, the CANTABRIANS and their neighbours revolted. by subtilty caught some of the Romains, and cut their throats. Alius Lamia, gouernor in those parts, to be reuenged of this outrage, put al the whole country to fire and blood, destroyed some townes, and fold their young men by the drum. To be fliort, he followed them to hard, that he brought them in subiection. Alius Gallus gouernor of AGYPT, almost about the same time being fent by Augustus commandement with ten thousand men, fine hundred fouldiers of Herods guard, and fifteene hundred NABATEIANS wnder the conduct of a noble man of ARABIA called \bar{s}_{y} //eus: he did nothing to be accounted of, but discouer the country. But having lost the most part of his men within the defarts where this Syllens brought them, and ouercome the Sar EAN's in a battel, he was enforced to retire: Afterwards this Sylleus, for that he killed his king Obodaby

treason, he was taken prisoner, and beheaded by the decree of the Senate. Augustus being Consult for the eleventh time, the plague was in Rome, and for himselfe he was gricuously ficke, but restored agains to health by Antonius Musa his Phistion. The people therefore caused a statue to be set up to this Antonius, the Senate did him great honours, and in fauor of his profession, gaue immunitieto all others that from that time forth did practife Phifick. Furthermore, by many ceremonies they did flew the joy they had for the health of Augufus: and specially fathers of houshold dying, expressely commanded their childre to bring their facrifices to y Capitol with a title in great letters, faying: That ATTHE DAY OF THEIR DEATH THEY LEFT AVGVSTVS IN GOOD HEALTH. It was also ordained that fro that time forth they should never put any man to death, as often as Augustus entred into the city. Shortly after he did affociate with himfelfe Calpurnius Pifo in the Confulfhip, who had followed the partie of Pompey and of Brutus. Afterwards when he was gone from Rome into the country, he made Lucius Ceftius his deputie for him, an inward friend of Brutus and of his memory. Whereat the Senate maruelling, by decree made him perpetual! Proconful of the ROMAINE Empire. Tribune of the people, and gaue him power to affemble the Senate as often, and when it pleafed him. The people would have compelled him to have bene Dictator, but he bowing a knee caffing downe his long robe, and shewing his breast, befought them to discharge him of so odious an estate. In the meane time he accepted the decree of the Senate, & the charge to cause corne to be brought in, because of the dearth that chanced in Rome. In the which he served his turne by Tiberius created Quaftor at the age of nineteene yeares. As for Marcellus his nephew he was chosen Ædilis Curulus, who aided him to fet forthall the magnificent pompe of plaies, which he caufed to be plaied before the people. Every man judged that he should be the successor of all his power; but this young man of great hope, died shortly after, to the great griefe of every man: and no man can tell whether it was of natural ficknesse, or of poison given him by the practises of Linia. A litle before his death, Agrippa impatient to beare the rifing of this Marcellus whom he despited, went into As 1A vnder colour of another voyage. They fay that Angustus much troubled with ficknesse, returned to his first consultation, to put the commonwealth againe into the hands of the Senate and people; and for this cause he called for the Senators and al the other magistrates: vnto whom he gaue an account of the Empire: and that was a litle booke containing the numbring of all the riches, townes, and prouinces allies, legions, armies by fea and by land, of all the kingdomes and countries tributarie, of all the customs of the Empire of Rome, that which was necessarily to be leaused or released. But being somwhat amended againe, he changed his mind. And furthermore, having given audience to the ambassadors of Phrahartes king of the PARTHIans, which demanded a fon of his brought by Tyridates vnto Augustus, he sent backe the child, & suffered Tyridates to remain at Rom E, where he sumptuously entertained him. By this means he kept himselfe in friendship with the one and the other, and held the PARTHIANS in suspence, to the end they should alter nothing. At the beginning of the next yeare following, vnder the confulship of M. Claudius Marcellus, and of L. Arruntius, the famine increasing at Rome, he wisely provided for it. And then the people would constraine him by force to accept the Dictatorship, and threatned to set the pallace on fire and to burne all the Senators in it, if they refused to allow this decree. He would none of the office of Dictatorship, and did refuse also to be Censor, although that office had bene void the space of 28. yeares. But for a smunacius Plancus and Emilius Lepidus, who were chosen Censors, deserved themselves to be censured, because of their discords, Augustus without the name tooke vpon him to discharge it : and provided to reform infinite disorders that were in Rome, in apparel, countenances, companies, and in the fight of Fencers at the sharpe. At the same time Fannius Capio and L. Murana, having conspired against many differences him, and being discouered by Castricius, were taken as they thought to have escaped, and put to dertine the Astvalans and Cantabrians ill intreated by Carifius, they rebelled, but were ouercome in a fer battell, and the prisoners fold. The CANTABRIANS pre- of Fencers; ferring death before feruitude, killed, burnt, and poisoned the one the other. The Astvalans being ouercome the fourth time, did fubmit themselves, and their armes were taken from them in the fame time, Petronius gouernor of AGYPT, followed with 10000. footmen, and with 800. horse, went to make war with the Ethiopians, which dwell under ÆGYPT, who had inuaded and ruined certaine towns, ouerthrowne and caried away the statues of Augustus. Therupon he purfued them, and made them flie before him: took certaine places vpon them, and pierced far into their countrie: so that he inforced their Queene to send her ambassadours vnto Augufus(then wintering in the Ile of Samos) to pray peace, which he granted them paying tribute.

At the beginning of the Spring, he prepared himselfe to give order for the affaires in the East: but because they that bent themselves for the Consulship had almost put the city in alarme, and that in the end, notwithstanding the order he had set downe, the people had chosen men whom Augustus feared: through the aduice of Macenas, he made Agrippa come againe to governe ROME in his absence, and maried vnto him his daughter Iulia, Marcellus widow. Now whilest Agrippa gaue order for the affaires of the city, Jugustus tooke sea, and having provided for the affaires of Sicilia, he went into Grece, did much good for the Laced Emonians, and to the contrary, represed the pride of the ATHENIANS, from whom he tooke away the tribute Greece, and they had leavied of the Iles ÆGINA and ERETRIA. In the meanetime, though he made litle acthey had leavied of the Iles ÆGINA and ERETRIA. In the meanerime, though he made litle account of strangers ceremonies, yet he made himself to be received into the fraternity of mysterics and what he distinct the strangers ceremonies. ries: and the ambaffadors of PERSIA having caused the temple of Jupiter Olympian to be finished, begun of long time in ATHENS, they ordained that it should be dedicated to the spirit of guftus. Being passed from thence into ${f A}$ s 1 A, he gaue order to his provinces and those of the people of Romerpunished the Cyzicenians, that had killed the Romaine citizens in their town. He imposed a tribute vpon those of Tyre and Sidon, who had dealthadly, and brought them into the forme of a province. He did much good vnto the townes that had bene faithfull vnto the commonwealth: to some of them he gaue the right of Burgesship of Rome, and to others the fame rights and priviledges which the naturall citizens of Rome had. He built up agains the cities of LAODICEA, and of THIATIRA: he set them vp of the Isle of CHIO againe, afflicted before by an earthquake; he did exempt them from all subsidies for fixe yeares. He restored certaine Realmes vnto their kings whom he had subdued; or else he did establish others ancw, who came to attend him at his Court as subjects, without any signes or tokens of royall dignity. He fent Tiberius into ARMENIA, to install Tigranes vnto his royall throne againe, having bene

Marcellus Augustiis. nephew dieth, to the great grid of all men.

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driuen out of it. Tiberius returned thither, and having fought with the ARMENIANS, hegane them Artauas des to their king, who ruled not long. Phraates king of the PARTHIANS being afraid they would fet voon him, was very carefull to get all the Romain's together, which were taken after the ouerthrow of Crassus and Antonius; whom he sent every man of them vnto Augustus with all the standards and enfignes, and also his some and nephewes for pledges of his faithfull friendship vnto the people of Rome. Augustus granted him peace, and then he came into the Ile of Samos, comforted RHODES, replenished CORINTH and PATRAS with a great number of men enfranchised, whom he made Burgesses of Rome. In this place also there came vnto him embassadors from Porus and Pandion, two of the mightiest kings of the Indians, who prayed alliance and friendship with him, and brought him very rare presents. There came with them a Philosopher of India called Zarmanus: who being brought to the city of ATHEMS, burnt himselfe aliue, as one Calamus did in the time of Alexander the Great.

of troubles

Agripțais len: to abpeafe tren

August**us** would not make war without oreat and wit caufe.

reformeth abuses and diforders in Rome.

Augustin Seuere a. buzzerers.

In this meane space the city of Rome was full of great trouble by the practises of Egnating Rufus, who by force would needs be chosen Consult in Augustus place being absent: who gaue not him his voice, but named Lucretius Vefpillo, escaped from the proscription, as hath bene spoken of before. But this put him in such a rage, that he conspired with M. Genucius, and Plautius Rufus to kill Augustus. But they being discoucred betimes, were imprisoned and executed by decree of the Senate: who made infinite numbers of honours vnto Augustus at his returne: howbeit he would not accept them all, but caried himselfe very modestly in every place where he was. The people chofe him Cenfor for fine yeares, and perpetual! Confull: and at his request they granted triumph vnto Cornelius Balbus, although he were no Romaine borne (for he was a Spaniar b) by reason of his notable victories he had obtained, as Lieutenant of Augustus. vpon the GARAMANTES. Agrippa on the other fide was fent into GAVLE troubled by the inuafions of the Germains, whom he ordered well enough. Then he led his army into Spaine, troubled with the rebellion of the Cantaerians: the which came thus to passe. The priand Spaine. foners Cantabrians whom they had fold by the drumme, by a complot they made together, cut their mafters throates, and then fled into their country, where they follicited others to takearmes, got their fortreffes into their hands, and fet vpon the Romaine garrifons, Agrippa could by no meanes bring his fouldiers thither, whether that they defired to take reft, or that the resolution of the Cantabrians didastonish them. But after that he had brought them to his hand, he marched directly against the enemies: who had the better at the first encounter, and the ROMAINES were well beaten. But they being rebuked and punished by Agrippa, who gaue' them barley for wheat, he returned again to fight. But then the CANTABRIANS that bare armes were all cut in peeces, the rest disarmed, and drawne from the mountaine to dwell in the plaine. Augustus was faluted Emperour or soucraigne Captaine, because of this victory: but Agrippa modeftly refused triumph, and within a while after he overcame the PANNONIANS also. The yeare following, the Gete sand Daces being at civill warres, Lentulus that had subdued them before counselled Augustus not to lose this occasion; for he might easily subdue these barbarous people being thus deuided. But Augustus not being of the mind to make any warres at all with any nation, without great and iust cause, (although there were more hope of gaine, then apparance of losse,) he answered: There was no cause for him to do so: adding also, that those that fought a litlegaine with great loffe and danger, were like vnto those that would angle with a golden hooke, the which breaking and falling into the water, no fish is worth the value of it. And therefore that the barbarous were to be left to their own miseries: and that by their bloodshed, by their owne companions, they were more then enough punished for the illes they had done to the ROMAINES, who ought not to begin first to do euill.

In the same yeare Augustus being very desirous to put his hand to the reformation of abuses in Rome, and that effectually, he joyned with him his nephew Agrippa in the state of a Cenfor, and did establish him Tribune for five yeares. First of all he began to correct some diforders that were in the Senate, he reformed the knights, spectacles, and playes, and the maner of futes for publik offices. He set fines vpon their heads that would not marrie, and bestowed much vpon them that had wives & children. He gave vnto Hortensius Hortalius five and twenty thoufand crownes, to procure him to take a wife, that he might raife vp iffue to that noble house and familie of the Horsenses. He ordained also that maidens should be twelve yeares old at the least before they maried, and fuffered them to kill adulterers taken with the fact, without punishment condemcondemning the Sodomites without remission. And for military discipline, he looked yery carefully vnto that. And because a knight of Rome had cut off his owne some shombes, for that he should not go to the warre, he made him to be fold by the drumme, and all his goods. Remains But because the regrators were greedy to seize upon them, he made them ceasse the sale, and put knightfor the knight into the hands of one of his bondmen enfranchifed, and was contented to drive him his four. out of Rome. Furthermore he procured that the Senate should not be kept but with great renerence: that the Senators should come together as into a temple of deuotion; and that no decree should passe, but in the presence of 400 Senators, if it might be that no man should be made free of Rome, but vpongreat confideration. For the rest, he and Agrippa gaue the people the pleafure of fecular yearely games, which had not bene feene an hundred yeares before. But he tooke very great care that there should no insolencies be committed. He punished the players indiners forts, that behaued themselues more licentiously then became them. And when one of them amongst them called him Lord, he shewed the people with his voice, his eyes, and his hand, that hewas not well pleafed withall: and the next morning he published a sharpe Edict, forbidding all persons expresly to say so, and would neuer suffer that any of his should give him this name. But these playes being ended, he adopted Caius and Lucius the Jonnes of Agrippa. In all this great busines, y SICAMERES, VSIPETES, & TENCHTERES, people of GERMANIE, surprised certain ROMAINS in their territory, hanged them vp, paffed ouer the Rhein, spoiled Gavis, ouerthrew certaine horsemen, and following their purpose, ouercame M. Lollius Proconsull of GAVLE, and tookeaway an enfigne from him. Yet though he were a man of small action and very couetous: neuertheleffe he was reuenged of them, and coming vpon the inuaders, fought with them, and Disertedraue them beyond the Rhein. On the other fide, C. Lentulus made war with the Dac Bs, & kil- bels fubduled three of their chief leaders with a great number of men; and afterwards he established a garrison by the river of Danuby, to stop the incursions of this wild nation. Augustus seeing these troubles, disposed of the affaires of ITALY to go into GAVLE, to rid himselfe of these griefes, andby his absence to make his presence more honorable. At that same time, diners people inhabiting vpon the river of Danuby, rebelled : but Augustus Lieutenants bestirred them so well, that they were all compelled to seeke peace. At that time also all GAVLE was in commotion, & that indiuers forts. But the couerous fest of Licinius Enceladus, made free, and soliciter of the affaires of Magnetics, was cause of all this mischiefe. For he having companded the reachest confines of Augustus, was cause of all this mischiefe. For he having commanded the people to furnish the tribute for every moneth, he had put fourteene moneths in the years for twelve. So be- his stener ing accused to his master for money ill gotten, although all the world cryed out of him, yethe found the meanes to escape well enough. For after he had gotten an infinite maffe of gold and ilis. filter together, he brought it to Augustus, saying, he had never other intention but to take from the GAVLES the meanes to rebell. For all this Augustus withdrew him from thence, and sent Tiberius thither to settle all things in good estate againe. Almost during these commotions, and outragious diffentions, the RHETIANS, neare vnto the lake of Come, brake into GAVLE CISALPINE, and tooke out of ITALY store of bootic. They were a people separated from all others, and fo cruell, that having taken any place from the ROMAINES, they killed all the male children, and further, did aske their foothfayers of women with child: and if they faid she was great with a boy, they presently ran her through, and killed her and the fruit of her wombe. Au- Druss sent gustus would not endure these outrages, but sent Drusus the sonne of Liuia against them: who drauethem out of ITALY, having ouercome them in a fet battell, neare vnto TRENT. They commends fay that their women shewed themselves so cruell in this fight, that their darts failing them, the trail they tooke their litle children by their legges, and did most barbarously force themselues to fmite their enemies in the face. Those that were driven out of ITALY would have entred into GAVLE, but they were repulfed by Tiberius. In the end, these people and their allies were conftrained to submit themselves.

Angustus sent a Colonie vnto NISMES in LANGVEDOCKE: and made them free Burgesses of Rome. It is thought that he fent another vnto ARLES, of the fixt legion: and one of the fecond VIIto ORANGE. Some make report of these Colonies in the time of Tiberius M. Agrippa on the other fide, he gaue order for the affaires of As IA, and of all the Orient, where he behaued himfelf fowell, that all that were friends to the people of Rome, were of better courage then before, & all their enemies fo valiantly suppressed, that Augustus was faluted the tenth time soueraign captaine. But Agrippa after his wonted maner, would have no triumph: which was the cause of the

loffe of this custome, and others following his example, were contented from thenceforth with the ornaments of triumph. But of another fide, the PANNONIANS, the GENOVESES, and those of PIEMONT rebelling, they were subdued by the Lieutenants of Augustus: who builded two cities in testimony of his victorie against these two last people whereof Tyrin (called Augusta

Augustus returning to Rome, fucceedests Lepidus in the eff at of chiefe Prieft.

Agrippa, Augustus his nephew dieth and Iulia bis midamia maried to Tiberius.

Drustas onerconteth the confidet presumptu-

Pretoria) was one, and GENVA the other. Augustus having pacified GAVLE, stayed the invasions of the GERMANES, and quenched the rebellion of Spaine: he left Drusus with authority and his army vpon the Rheine, and came to ROMB as Agrippa did out of As I A, and became extremely ficke of the gowt. Letidus died at the same time, to whom Augustus succeeded in the estate of chiefe Bishop, and made fumptuous spectacles and fights vnto the people. He burnt all the bookes of diumation and prophecie, except those of the Sibylles and yet he kept them not all. He reformed the Kalender, and ordained that there should be no leape yeares for twelue yeares following. He suffered that the fixt moneth then called Sextilis, should be called Angultus after his name. All that yeare was fpent in plaies and pastimes, saving that Augustus (having bene ficke) caused all that he had done in his government to be rehearfed before the Senate. He tooke a review of the Senators, and confirmed his nephew Agrippa in the estate of a Tribune for five yeers more. But shortly after, this great person being returned from a journy out of PANNONIA, whither he was gone to preuent diforders that were likely to be renewed, he fell ficke and died, before Augustus could come in time. That was a maruellous griefe vnto him : and not knowing now on whom he should beflow his daughter Inlia, in the end he chose Tiberius his wives sonne, and maried them together: but they continued not long in good termes together. From thenceforth Tiberius and Drulus dealt almost in all the affaires of warre, and Tiberius especially after the death of the other: of whom we shall speake to best purpose in the life of Tiberius, yet we will briefly note it here. So then Tiberins went and made warre in Pannonia, risen by meanes of the death of Agrippa: yet he made an end of it, killed fome of them, fold and subjected the rest; and compelled all that people to submit themselves vnto the people of Rome. Drusus on the other side made warrein high and low Almaine, and brought the most part of these nations vnto some reason and afterwards he returned to Rome; where Augustus held so straight a hand to bring the Senate to order, that there were few men defired to be of the Senate, and many to the contrary that gauge yo their offices. But Augustus compelled those that were of age, of quality and sufficiencie, and gaue order also that the dignity of the Tribunes of the people should remaine entire: suffering those notwithstanding which had this office, their time expired, to be amongst the Senators, or with knights. As for the townes of As IA afflicted with the earthquake, he payed of his owne to the commonwealth, the yearely tribute which they ought. And for the regard of those which were of his Prouinces, he freed them from all impostes for fixe yeares, and gauethem of PALES-TINE a great quantity of corne, which fuftained great want and famine. In the meanetime Drufus paffed our the Rhein, made warre with the Vsipites, Sicambrians, Tenchteres, Cattians, Chervsians, and Svaveians, whom he ouerthrew in diversencounters: and especially in a great battell, where were killed a very great number. For these people were gathered together with such a confidence of victory, that they had already made agreement among themselves for division of the bootie. But specially at the last battell, the Cherystans should have the horse, the Svavbians they should have the baggage, and the Sicambrians the prisoners. And yet to bind themselues more straightly together, they burnt 20. Centeners of the Romaines. And this was the cause that the battel was so long & cruelly sought betwixt them: yet in the end the victory remained to Drufus, who gaue the prisoners and all the booty to the fouldiers, making the horse, baggage, and captines to be sold to them that would offer most. All the field for a great league & a halfe of length was strewed with dead bodies, and they found in the enemies campe great flore of iron chains prepared by the for the Romains: howbeit they ferued for them. Drufus fet vp a token of triumph, & was called Imperator of his troups in the field where the battell was pitched. Afterwards he built aboue fifty castles ypon the rivers of Meuse, Visturge, and of the Rhein. Tiberius on the other side was in DALMATIA, where he brought them vnder that rofe in armes against them. The triumph of Quatio was decreed to them both, and Augustus was saluted by the Senate Imperator or soueraigne Captaine, and this for the twelfth time. But in these businesses, the warre was hote in Thracia, and more then euer before: all the Prouinces being in rebellion under the conduct of Bulogafes, who had killed

the king Rhacuspolis, an allie of the people of Rome, driven out his Uncle and Lieutenant Rhymetalces out of Thracia into Chersonesvs. L. Pife gouernor of Pamphilia went against them, and at the first encounter had not the aduantage, but in the second he ouercame them ytterly. Drusus having made a voyage to Rome, to celebrate the birth day of Augustus in great magnificence, whilest his troupes reposed themselues in their garrisons, about the spring he returned into GERMANIE, ouercame the SVAVBIANS, gaue them a king then he inuaded the countrie of the MARCOMANNES, fought with them diverstimes, killed a great number of them, and made all the rest subject to the Romaines. Because of this victorie, and of that of Piso, Augustus was called Imperator the thirteenth time. Almost in this time he put Proculus to death in prison, one Proculus that he loued best of all his bondmen made free: being convinced of many adulteries. He made an adultethe thighes of his Secretary Thallus to be broken, for the fumme of an hundred crownes which death by he tooke for shewing a secret letter. In this meane time Tiberius continued warre in DALMA- Augustus. TIA and PANNONIA, moued through the great imposts, whereof the people complained: but niled for in the end he subdued them, and built many castles vpon the river of Danuby to stay the inuasions of the enemies. Pife also in Thracia overcame the Mæsians, and Bastarnes, and foreit of brought away a great number of prisoners, who bit their iron chaines for anger, and most impatiently did beare their seruitude. Drusus made the Cattians subject also, then he came to LYONS to meet with Augustus: from whence they both returned together into ITALIE. They hada custome also that yearely on the first day of Ianuarie, (though Augustus were absent) all the Senatours: officers of iustice, and others of meane estate, brought him New-yeares gifts to the Capitoll: and also every one cast a peece of gold or silver into the lake Curtius, for avow that they had made to his health. He did bestow all these New-yeares gifts to buy many rich statues of the gods, which he servp in all the crosse streets.

In the fine and thirtieth yeare of his principalitie, under the Confulate of Drusus Nero, and of Quintus Crispinus, Drusus having subdued a great part of GERMANIE, and preparing to go further, a vision having the shape of a great woman, that spake bigger and louder then a mans voice could do, said to him in Latine: Go no further: which was a signe of his death, the which fol- Drussia di lowed incontinently after. This young Nobleman of an excellent hope, being but thirty yeares ab. in old, Augustus had put him in the roll of his heires, and made an oration in his praise. Afterwards Tiberius all the charge of the warres of GERMANIE was committed vnto Tiberius. And for Augustus, he succeedeib being the same year called for a witnesse in certaine causes, did patiently suffer any man to aske three him, or refuse him, as he had oftentimes done before. One day as he spake in full Senate, one of wars. the Senators told him: I vnderstood nothing: another, I would speake against it, if I might be heard. Another time being wearie with the contestations of certaine pleaders, he went in cholerout of his Seate. But some began to say vnto him, that it was lawfull for Senators to speake freely to any matter that came before them: and that no man was euer offended for the replies

or contestations of any man.

Nonius Asprenas, one of his greatest friends, was accused by Cassius Senerus to have poisoned an hundred and thirty bidden guefts at a banquet. Augustus did not recommend him, but let the Senatours alone, who banished cassius. An old fouldier vpon complaint being brought beforethe Senatours, and in danger of his life, befought Augustus to helpe him. And when he had given him an advocate to defend him, the fouldier opened his breast, and shewing him the markes of the wounds which he had received in the battell of Activm, faid vnto him: But I befeech thee Augustus, consider that I have received these wounds here vpon my bodie for to defend thee, and would put no other in my place. Augustus moued with these words, appeared in instice, and pleaded this mans cause, the which he wanne. Soone after he was saluted sour- pleadeth raigne Captaine for the fourteenth time; because of the victories which Tiberius and Sextus A- the cause of puleisse had obtained in Germanie, and in Italie. And the authoritie which had benegite the him forten yeares ouer the state of the Commonwealth being expired, was continued vnto that defermine the state of the Commonwealth being expired. him for ten yeares following. Then he did greatly inlarge the bounds of the territorie of Rome, and having advanced Salustius Crispus (the son of the Historian) vnto the place which Macenas held, the ROMANE knight, his faithfull friend and principall Counseller, deceased in those daies: and by Tiberius continued to bring the GERMAINES vinder: for the victorie of whom, and also for that he had subdued all the people inhabiting alongst the Alpes, the Senate had set vp a token of triumph, and granted triumph to Tiberius.

Hhhhh

against bimfelfe.

violence of

his patient ferbearing

of ill tongs.

two young Princes (and because he would have the Romain e a little long for him) he demanded and obtained leave with extremitie, threatning to kill himfelfe with famine, if they did not graunt him: and so went to studie at RHODES. In the meane time Augustus provided for the affaires of Istria, deuided Italie into cleuen Prouinces: and because he doubted they didenuie his greatnesse, he chose nine Pretorian cohorts for his guard, of the which he kept three of them in Rome, lodged here and there in houses, so long as they were in their quarter: and the fixe others were quartered in the next villages vnto it. He also crected new offices, to impart to fo many men more the honours and charges of the Commonwealth. At the same time when before the Senate they did object many crimes ynto Aimilius Ælianus', and amongst other things that he spake ill of Augustus; he turning to the accuser, said vnto him as in choler: Proue me that, and I will make Alianus know that I have a tongue: for I will fay more of him then he hath spoken of me. He made no further inquirie afterwards, and shewed himselfe very gentle and courteous also vnto Casius of Padva, a man of a meane estate: who having spoken openly at a table, that he lacked no good will nor courage to kill Augustus: he contented himselfe to impose this onely punishment vpon him, as to drive him out of Rome. From his eleuenth Confulship vnto the twelfth, there passed seuenteene yeares: all which time he diuerse times had refused his charge: but now he demaunded it, and obtained it. His intention was to aduance caius his litle fonne to great dignitie, whom he caufed to be proclaimed, young Prince, and fent him to see the provinces and armies, in the title of a Proconfull. Then he commaunded him to go into Asia, having given him for governours Lollins and Sulpitias Quirinus. He himfelfe in the meane time remained at Rome, where he established extraordinaric guards, under colour to keepe theeues and maisterlesse men from offering violence, whilest the armies abroad were farre off. The yeare following, Caius having travelled in divers parts of the Orient, made peace with Phraates king of the PARTHIANS, and brought away hostages for affurance thereof, the kings three brethren, and all the Princes of the bloud. The which was practifed by the meanes of the Queene Thermufa, borne in ITALIE, who being fentby Auguflus for a gift vnto Phraates, he fell so in loue with her, and held her in such high estimation, that after the had brought him a fonne called Phraataces, he received her for his lawfull wife. She being defirous her Ionne should possesse the Crowne, draue the right heires farre off by meanes of this peace. And at the end of certaineyeares, Phraataces who entertained it, killed his father, and possessed the kingdome. But he was not long in quiet possession, for the great Lords

conspired against him, and tooke from him his life and Crowne together. Furthermore,

Under the fecond Confulate of Claudius Nero, and of Calphurnius Pifo, Caius and Lucius the yong formes of Angustus, were called yong Princes, and appointed Confuls, although they were but of tender yeares, and under fourteene yeares old. This pleased Augustus greatly, though he fained to take no pleasure in it. Furthermore, he then made an edict touching flaunderous libels. declaring who should have the hearing of those crimes, and how they should be punished: al. though he himselfe cared not much, and patiently suffered they should gibe at him, contented mous tibeli to answer by open de fence, vnto the reproches and mockeries they made of him. They fearteredabroad one day in the pallace many bils of paper of cruell iniuries against him. This motied him not at all, neither did he trouble himself much to answer it; but in flead of fearching it out he did adule that hereafter they should have an eye voon those, that by little bookes or Epigrams published (vnder false names) scandale against any man. Tiberius wrote a round letter to him one day, to the end he should carie a straighter hand upon that: but he sent him these words: I pray thee, my friend, let not thy youth ouerrule thee in this matter, nor be not fo hore though I be euill spoken of by some. It is enough if we gaine this point, that no man can hurt vs. Afterwards he deuided the citie of Rome into fourteene regions, and two hundred and ten freets and in enery of them he established Officers to see that all things should be maintain ned as they ought to be, and to report vnto the Prince any memorable thing that should happen. He provided for the violence of fire, he built vp the temples that were burnt or ruined by times and gaue at one time vnto the temple of Iupiter Capitoline, for the renewing of the fame, fixteene thousand pounds of gold, and of rich and costly pearles, to the summe of rivelue hundred thousand fand Crownes.

Now Caius and Lucius his young fonnes growing apace, and Iulia his daughter beginning to

be too well knowne for her wantonneffe: Tiberius that could no longer endure her, nor thefe

CESAR AVGVSTVS Caius conquered Armenia, and shortly after Augustus demanded the thirteenth Consulthing

to the end to aduance his little fonne Lucius as he had done Caius. He fent him Proconfull into SPAINE, but he fell ficke by the way, and stayed almost a yeare at MARSEILLES. Though these two brethren were farre enough off Tiberius, who kept himselfe as a simple scholer at RHODES, vet they loued not him greatly, nor he them: for which purpose, the processe served not much against their mother Iulia, banished because of her adulteries into the Isle of PANDATA- Iulia the elder RIE. Shortly after, her daughter also called Iulia, married vinto Lucius Paulus, was also conuin and on the condition and on the condition and on the condition and the condit ced of the same crime that her mother was : and was banished into another Isle of the sea Adria- nesse was agreed ticke, called TREMERA. This affliction so neare vnto him, maruellously griened Augustus, who sreese to due could not beare it but in mourning, and pining himselfe with forrow. Then all the Provinces gullus.

of the ROMANE Empire being in peace, Augustus shut up the third time the temple of lanus; and the King of kings, the Sauiour of the world, being borne of a virgin in Ivo AA, appearing a- At the birth of

mongst them, shut vp the Oracles of all the Paining gods, as the Oracle of Delphes among this ware others was constrained to confesse and never find a formula National Assessment of the confesse and never find a formula National Assessment of the confesse and never find a formula National Assessment of the confesse and never find a formula National Assessment of the confesse and never find a formula National Assessment of the confesse of the others was conftrained to confesse, and neuer spake afterwards. Wherewith Augustus being a oracles of Paifonied, caused a great altar to be set up in the Capitoll with an inscription, signifying that it was nim gods are The altar of the God first borne. The yeare following, to stay the violent course of great vsuries, and

to raise vp againe many families decayed, he put into the Exchange two millions and a halse of gold: that is to fay, fine and twenty hundred thousand crownes, and suffered prinate men to take of it for three yeares without interest, putting in pawne into the Exchequer, lands and possessing in the Exchequer in

ons being twife as much worth as the principall: and condemned the visirers that had taken interest more then Iulius Cefar had ordained, to pay foure times as much: and deducting out of the president furers. principall that which had bene paid ouer and aboue the taxe of the law, he gaue the debters three yeares space to pay it, at three equall times from yeare to yeare. He made proussion also for distri-

buting of corne, and brought it to 200000. heads of those that shold come to have any of it; and didwisely remedy diverse discontentments of the people. Shortly after, Lucius Cosar being 16. yeares of age, dyed at MARSEILLES: which was the canse that Tiberius being reconciled for some other occasion with Cains, he obtained leaue to return from Rhodes to Rome, with condition (for fo was Caius will) that he should meddle with no affaires of estate, and that he should

remaine yet the rest of the yeare at Rhodes. As touching Augustus, he laboured to recreate himfelfe with his friends, and did willingly fee learned men, and amongst others, T. Linius that renowned Historian; the Poets, Virgil and Horace, but especially Virgil, who was one of his most sethlesined men familiar friends. Which maketh men thinke that Ouid committed some great fault, since he was

abanished man so long, and that he could obtain no grace, though the greatest men were suters for him. And yet the Historians fay, Augustus was not angrie, as appeareth by the fact of Timagenes the Historian, who having differfed abroad some pleasant by-names against Augustus, Liuia, and their familiars, whereat every one of them laughed, it was fo pleafant an encounter,

Augustus was contented to aduise him to moderate his tongue from thenceforth, and did onely forbid him his house and familiaritie, suffering him to waxe old in the company of Asinius Pollio. Hedid greatly support some also that were accused to have sealed a false Will, and mingled with the markes of condemnation and absolution a third, pardoning all those that it should seeme had

through ignorance finned in this fact. One being euidently conuinced to have killed his father, was euen at the point to be sewed vp in a leather sacke, according to the custome, and throwne into the sea: but Augustus desirous this cursed wretch should not be thus handled, put the answer in his mouth, in faying vnto him: Surely I beleeve thou hast not killed thy father. The sonne of Tarius being charged to have conspired against the life of his father, Augustus was sent for into

Tarius house, to counsell him what were best to be done; he gaue the father counsell to banish him farre off from all knowledge. And when Tarius would have made Augustus his heire, he refused it, and ordained that the sonne should be banished vnto Marsellles, and that during his fathers life he should have a pension to maintaine him withall.

In the 44 yeare of the monarchie of Augustus, Tiberius having bene absent the space of eight Tiberius return yeares, he came againe to Rome, where he lived, and medled with no matters. But that held not not be Rome, & long: for in the same yeare Caius, vpon whom Augustus principally looked, died in Lycia: and some say, that Livia knew well enough of what death: for the greatly defired the advancement

ofher fon Tiberius, knowing that Augustus did not greatly loue the last son of Agrippa & Iulia, by reason of the rudenesse of his nature. Augustus tooke the death of his son Caius very vnpatiently.

Caius

He made his schoolemaister and domesticall servants to be drowned; and surthermore, he dispos

led all the forces of the Empire and the legions among the Prouinces in commodious places as

well by sea as by land. Afterwards he obtained the Tribuneship for Tiberius, more through the

Tiberius advan- procurement of Linia then otherwise: although in the end he was content to advance him. to sed, and to what make his memorie to be so much the more defired, when they had made proofe of his successor.

Tulia an adultereffe , through want dieth in banishment.

Cinna a traitor.

Augustiu expel of che commonesealth.

Dinerfe rebelli ens appeared.

whom he knew better then any other, and neuer spake any thing well, but he spied alwaies some crosse thing in him of a dangerous nature he had. And yet some judge, that Angustus did repute the vertues in Tiberus to be greater then his imperfections, confidering also that in the Oration he made, his words tended to this end, that he adopted Tiberius in fauor of the commonwealth. But before he would declare this adoption, he compelled Tiberius to adopt his nephew Germa. picus the son of Drusus, and he adopted with Tiberius Agrippa Posthumus, the son of M. Agrippa Then to prevent the complots of some of the chiefest of Rome, he made Tiberius to be chosen Tribune for ten yeares following. That was the cause that in Rome they began to speake well of Tiberius, whom they faw by that meanes formwhat stepped into Augustus place, so soone as he should happen to die. Furthermore at the instance of the people of Rome and Tiberius himselfe, Augustus tollerated the banishment of his daughter Iulia: howbeit for no intreatie he would ener renoke her again. So after the decease of Augustus, the was destitute of all helpe, and Tiberius made her die for want in an vnknowne place. The yeare following, Valerius Meffala, and C. Cinns grandchild of the great Pompey, were elected Cofuls. Cinna that tooke part with his cofins, wasta. ken prifoner, & brought to Augustus, who gave him life & advanced him. This notwithstanding, he was afterwards attainted and convinced to have conspired against the life of Augustus whom through the counsell of Livia he sent for into his chamber, & gently rebuked him for all the good augustus by his deeds he had done to him: pardoned him this last offence, & afterwards raised him to the dignity of a Confull, being fory that he durst not demand it. After that, cinna became his faithfull friend and feruant, & bequeathed all his goods by will vnto Angustus, against whom never any man cofoired more. His Lieutenants in Africk obtained some victories, & Tiberius continued the war in GERMANIE, from whence he oftentimes returned to Rome to keepe himself in Augustus good fauor. Who having limited the pay, recompence, commoditie, and time that the foldiers should haue, he procured for fome time the good of the commonwealth, which had continued longer in prosperitie, if his successors had better entertained militarie discipline. Afterwards to resist the mutinies of the people by reason of famine, he established corps de guard in all the places of ROME, and draue out a multitude of vnprofitable mouthes. And when come came agains to the ordinary price, he was about to abolish the distribution of corne which the commonwealth made: because that the people trusting vnto that, made no reckoning to plow their lands. At the same time many towns in diverse Provinces were inclined to rebel, which caused the Senate to make a decree, that the governors of Provinces should command two years one after another, and should not depart thence till their successour were arrived. The ILLYRIANS also began to rife, but they were supprest immediatly by Valerius Messalinus. For Germany, all were subject vnder the name of the Romanes, except the Marcomannes, and their king Maroboduus, a valiant and wife man, that kept himselfe and his people in good discipline, having alwayes an army readie of threescore and ten thousand footmen, and foure thousand horse, all the which he traisned and put in readinesse against his neighbours, to defend him the better against the Ro-MANES, if they came to affaile him. Tiberius prepared himselfe with twelue legions to make warre with him, but being constrained to go against the ILLYRIANS, he made agreement with Maroboduus, that fought peace and quietnesse, and so marched where necessitie called him. For the ILLYRIANS, to the number of eight hundred thousand men and vpwards, rose in manner all at an inftant, and mustered up in short time, with such order in their affaires and warlike exploits, that they possess and brought in subiection almost all Macedon, and put Augustus into a maruellous perplexitie, because they prepared themselues to come into ITA. EIE. Hercupon Tiberius is chosen to go against them, the which he did with so good direction and warlike judgement, that he dispersed their armie. But now concerning the countrey of THRACIA, there the armie of the ROMANES was put to flight: yet taking heart againe, they returned to meet with their enemics, and obtained an honourable victorie. For which cause they called Augustus Imperator or soueraigne Captaine the fixteenth time. The ILLYRIANS made head againe better then before under the conduct of Bato Desidiates, they made violent and strange inualions.

iniafions, and Tiberius neuer came against them. Whereupon Augustus conceiuing an euill opinion, dispatched Germanicus the sonne of Drusus, to go into ILLYRIA with a compleate armie. On the other side Agrippa Posthumus shewed himselfe so insolent, and committed so many fol-On the other fide Agrippa rojumum file weet mind therefore he disanowed & disinherited him, Agrippa lies, that Augustus could no longer endure them, and therefore he disanowed & disinherited him, Possibusus confiscated his goods, and confined him to SVRRENTVM: where being more audacious then befor his following for the following for his following following for his following for his following followin to make an ordinance that he should remaine there till his death. By this meanes every man be- foliusias, gan to regard Tiberius, who was also declared the fon and colleague of Augustus by decree of the Senate, who committed vnto him all the armies and provinces of the Empire. Linia his mother did helpe him greatly in all these affaires. Furthermore he would not stirre out of ILLYRIA vnill he had made an end of this warre, which continued three whole yeares.

Now at the arrival of Germanicus, the cheftaines of the ILLYRIANS came fuddenly to affaile Germanithe camp of the Romaines: who faining to be afraid, staid till the enemy came to charge them our overmdisorder. Then they came out with furie against them, killed a great number of them, and made the ally ridges therest to flie. Germanicus wan another battellagainst the DALMATIANS, and pursuing his vi- and Dataorie, he followed them fo neare at the heeles, that they fubmitted themselues and demanded matians. peace. By reason whereof they gave Augustus the name of Imperator the eighteenth time. Bato Distillates came to salute Tiberius set in his tribunall chaire, without holding downe his head, or my way imbasing himselfe; and being asked why after so many battles lost, he did yet rebell againe: he answered boldly againe, that the ROMAINES were the cause of it: who in stead of oppressors hepheards had sent them wolves to keepe their flocke. Peace was granted vnto the DALMA- rebellion. TIAN'S vpon certaine conditions. And as for the BREVCIANS which continued their warre. they were ouerthrowne in many encounters, and at the length brought to subjection by Plan. imssiluauus, who triumphed. Their king Bato Beucrus had betrayed and delinered vnto the Ro-MAIN'S another great Captaine of the IL tyrian's called Pinnetes: and afterwards he was deluered himselfe by his owne men vnto Bato Desidiates, who killed him with his owne hand: and then fortified himselfe in DALMATIA, where having made head almost a yeare and a halfe against the armies of Tiberius and Germanicus, he won and lost many battels: at the lift, being able to hold out no longer, he fent his fonne to demaund peace of Tiberius, promiing to yeeld himselfeand his into the hands of Augustus. He obtained safe conduct, and came by night vnto Tiberius campe: who gaue him very gracious entertainment, and many rich preents. Afterwards he made him be brought to RAVENNA, and was also gently vsed, because that man encounter where he was inclosed, and in danger of his life, he had given him meanes to chape and faue himselfe. And because of the divers victories obtained by Germanicus and Tibeius, Augustus was faluted for the nineteenth & twentieth time Imperator or sourraigne Captaine. And for the PANNONIANS, their young menthat had so many times threatned ITALIE, were constrained to bring all their armes together on a heape, as they were commanded, and to fall on their knees before Tiberius to demand peace of him. He received them into grace, and fent them home to their houses, disposing his garrisons in strong places, vnder the charge of Mar. un Lepidus. The glory of Tiberius was yet more noble, and the anguishes of Augustus increaled by the ouerthrow of Quintilius Varns: who being gone to affaile Arminius Prince of the Quintilius CHERVSSIANS, was enclosed in marishes, and vtterly ouerthrowne with three Romaine legi- werthrown. onsthat were flaine in the place and for himselse, searing to fall aliue into the hands of the Care-MYSSIANS, he killed himselfe with his owne hand. The victors did neuer so cruelly handle the ROMAINES as those whom they might know were common Counsellers and pleaders. for at the beginning when Varus came to commaund their countrey, where they knew not what processe meant, he perswaded himselfe he should tame them well enough, ving the same forme and order of processe there amongst them, as they did at ROME. So lie had a judgement feate, and all matters were pleaded before him. Some of them amongst the rest being very subill, seemed to esteeme much this pleading; and to bring him asseepe, they of purpose moved occasion of processe and suite one against the other and then they went before him, and by Ro-MAINES themselves whose tongues they borrowed, they demanded instice. Then they reloyced not a little when they could catch any of these Counsellers: for they put out the eyes of counsellers one of them, cut off the hands of others of them; and they say, that they cut out the tongue of handled by a lone, and afterwards sewed vp his mouth, and he that held the tongue in his hand, said vnto him:

Hhhhhh 3

The Thracians the Romants.

Iulia and nished. Augustus

Augustus entertaineth the

and dieth. appointing

died accor ding to his

Augustus liberalitie

O viper, at the last yet thou wilt leave whistling. Augustus was so astonied at this losse, that ar times he would beat his head against the wall, crying out, Varus, give me my legions. Certaine yeares after. Germanicus buried the bones of the Romaines that were killed in this ouerthrow The yeare following Tiberius returned into GERMANIE, and to keepe the passages of the Rhein Angustus served his turne with the flaues enfranchised, which caused afterwards great confusons and seditions in the ROMAINE armie. In all these stirs, two men of no worth, called Anda. and Epica- fins and Epicadus, complotted to take away Inlia the daughter of Augustus, and Agrippa Posthu. dus feeking mus from the places where they were, and to bring them to some legions, to alter the estate. But they were foone discouered, and punished for their rashnesse. Some others also committed the like fond enterprises, but they vanished away without any effect.

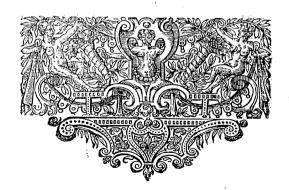
Furthermore, Augustus being now old and broken, began to leaue all great companies, cassiered his guards, and fent them to garrifons farre off, to the end they should not go about to make bis afts in any change. He gaue commandement that the GAVLES and GERMAINES should depart the city by a day prefixed. In the meane time Tiberius having devided his armie into four parts, entredinto Germany, about fine &twenty leagues into the country beyond the Rhein, & putall to fire and bloud: then he retired fearing some encounter of Varus. Touching Augustus, he qualified some strict lawes against the vnmaried, the gifts of the husband to the wife, the banquets and fuits:he did forbid the Divines to answer the vaine question of those, that would know how long they should live; and he suffered the knights (if they were challenged) to fight at the sharp. Germanicus being returned to Rome, obtained the Confulship, and Tiberius triumphed of the ILLYRIANS, PANNONIANS, DALM ATIANS, and GERMAINES: followed with his Licutenant Germanicus, Vibius Posthumus, Plautius Siluanus, and Marcus Lepidus, with triumphing robes. But before he went vp to the Capitoll, he went out of his charret, and fell downe on his knees before Augustus. Then he made a dinner for all the people, and had a thousand tables set up for them, and gaue to every one of them seven crownes and a halfe. Under the Consulhip of C.silius, and of Munatius Planeus, Augustus having obtained ten yeares with Tiberius to provide for the affaires of the commonwealth: to the end to quench many falle rumors, about fixteene moneths before his death, he made his will, and gaue it to the Uestals virgins to keepe. Because his ficknesse kept him from coming to the Senate, he prayed the Senators to think of some means to entertaine the men of warre. Which they having well confidered, found no better meanes then that which he himselfe had found out to wit of the twentieth part of the inheritances and they all agreed vnto it. The next yeare following, he went (as they fay) to fee Agrippa in his Isle of Plans 11, the which troubled Lina much, for the knew what was past. At the same time he and Tiberius tooke muster of the ROMAINE citizens, and shortly after he fell sick, wherof they recite many causes. But thereupon he went into the country vnto some places of pleasure, where he mended a litle, and passed the time away pretily merric, carying Tiberius with him, whom he would have brought on his way to BENEVENT, from whence he went into ILL YRIA. At his returne his ficknesse increased, that he was faine to stay at Noin, and sent for Tiberius and talked with him a long time very privately, and after that did neuer any thing of importance: although the Historians do not agree whether Tiberius was come before his departure or not. For Lina had fet spials in the house he lay fick in, and on the high waies, giving it out abroad that Angustus was well & on the other fide fending messages vpon messages vnto Tiberius, same spreading it abroad that Augustus was dead, & that Tiberius held his place. Augustus being at the point to give up the ghost, made himself to be combed, and speaking to his friends, asked if no body made any noise without. So he exhorted them to rejoyce with him, for that he had so happily plaied the Comedy of this humane life. Then having fent them all out of his chamber, he asked if Li. nia Drufus daughter were in health and fo embracing his wife, faid thefe words vnto her. Farewell Linia, behave thy felfe well, and remember our mariage; and fuddenly went away, making a fweet end, which he alwaies defired as often as he heard talk of those that died quietly. He died in the fame towns, and in the fame chamber that his father Octavius died in, and lived neare vnto the age of threefcore and fixteen yeares. His corps being brought to Rome, the Uestall virgins brought out his will and testament, by the which he appointed Tiberius his heire, and gaue him three parts of his goods, and his wife Linia the fourth part. Furthermore he gaue to the people of Rom a twelue hundred and fifty thousand crowness to the fine and thirty Tribes, thi recene hundred feuen and thirty thousand, flue hundred crowness to enery one of the Pretorian souldiers 25 crownes, to those of the towne 12 crownes and a halfe. There were other legacies to be paid within a yeare, and he faid, that all his legacies performed, he left his heires foure millions of gold. Within 20 yeares before his death, he did inherit of his friends goods which had made him their heire, about 35 millions of gold: howbeit that he had spent all that, with two patrimonies of his owne, for maintenance of the commonwealth. With his testament there were three little libels or codicils, the owne shewing what he would have done at his funerals. The fecond was a brief of all his actions, which he commanded should be grauen in copper tables before his tombe. The third contained the state of his revenew, and of the principall affaires of the Empire. He had added to them also the names of the enfranchised bondmen and of the slaves. whom they might bring to account, and therewith he aduised them to keepe the limites of the Empire which they had at that time. They caried him with great pomp into the field of Mars, where he was reduced into ashes, which they closed vp in his sepulcher built in his fixt Confulhip, after all these ceremonies the Senate appointed him a temple & divine honors, and he was placed in ranke with the gods. To make his honour yet greater, one Numerius Atticus that had bene Prætor, a man of great authority in Rome, was entifed by Liuia, who gaue him five and twenty thousand crownes, to sweare before all the people, that he saw Augustus caried vp into heauen. After his death, many speeches were diverfly spoken of his life; some reproving him, Divers pee. as much as others commended him. But his fucceffour made him oftentimes to be lamented. of Augustus And so he was wont to say of Tiberius, that he should leave to the Romaines in succession of after hu the Empire, a successour that neuer consulted twife of one thing. And as he was a happy Prince death. inall his enterprises, and that by his Lieutenants had done an infinite number of worthy exploits against the enemies of the Empire: so in his life amongst his friends he shewed himselfe

very gracious, pleafant, and well disposed in company: being learned, eloquent, and fententious in all his talke. And to conclude, fuchas the Empire

of Rome had never any Augustus Cafar but him alone.

The end of Octavius Cafar Augustus life.

Hhhhhh 4



amongst so worthie acts of others, he hath so fitly mingled the sweete and profitable together.

that it is not possible to be better. But if my two Philosophers (fince I have begun to qualifie

them thus) were contented to thut vp themselves in some schoole or studie, and to do nothing elle but declaime and fashion some scholers, it may be indeed I should better have left this enreprise vnto some follower of Diogenes Lacrtius, that would describe the sects of Philosophie. and the principall founders of the fame. Now there are here two personages, which (as the foule within the bodie) have through their notable counfels given motions vnto great and meane men in their time, and by other mens eyes and hands have done infinite things in the focietic of mans life, vnto the which they ferue at this day with their precepts and goodly inflruacions, without the which the exploits of others should be partly buried and abolished, as those haue bene of fo many other men that came before and after. They be the two schoole-maisters and counfellors of two Emperors. They be men that befide their ftudy have borne great and honorable offices, in the which they have so caried themselves, that by their actions a man may gather, that knowledge is a great prop and stay to a vertuous man. If they haue not worne armor and commanded armies: if a man fee them in a long gowne, and their bookes in their hands, they lose not therefore their glory which so many wayes recommendeth them at this present. having lift vp learning in honour, and furnished strong armes, by meanes whereof all Princes may wifely and happily maintaine their effates against the fury of warres, and vnder the quiet

thought had benefureft fet in the ground. Moreover, I did not beare my felfe in hand that I could attaine to that, as to represent Plutarch and Seneca in their beseeming comelinesse. They themselues could have done that, and in their writings there are draughts very agreeable to their gravity. But as we do not willingly take the penfile to paint our felues, but to please our felues.

the discourse of our thought sufficeth. In like manner also these goodly spirits, being conten-

ted to be knowne by the glaffe of their vertue which followeth them, they leave every body to

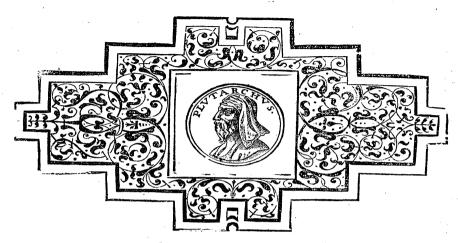
thinke of their deeds and words that which is meet. Amongst all the books that serue for the vse

of mans life, next vnto that which concerneth the four raigne good we hope for in a better place then this world, I thinke there are none more profitable nor necessary to all forts of men, then

gouernement in the commonwealth: and among such men, those that have brought their deeds and fayings to fome commendable end. Wherefore I will not enter into diffoutation nor

conference of stories, nor mingle the Scriptures with the prophane, or confound the discourse

THE LIFE OF Plutarch.



Thy precepts are a crowne of purest gold To Traian deem'd the glory of mankind. In hands, and hearts, if great men would thee hold, Vertue should rule, and vice should go behind.



Auing vndertaken to gather the lives of Plutarch, and of Seneca, as they themselues are amply shewed in their workes, the which in despite of the furie of an infinitie of strange accidents have yet remained whole and in reputation vntill this present time: first, this thought hathposfeffed me before, that fome man may maruell, how, and wherefore I do ioyne Philosophers, quiet men, and friends of solitarinesse, vnto so many noble and worthy warriers. Wherein it feemeth I wander too farre off from the principall intention of Plutarch, who was so willing to honour the Muses, joyning into one body so many members and

amongst

parts of histories offered vnto the posteritie, that in the meane time he hath accompanied, and as it were enuironed them

With darts, and targets of Mars redoubtable.

But I hope, that if those (which thinke strange of my doings) will but at leisure, with a reposed eye, looke vpon the lives before they shall find that I have not gone so farre from the right meaning, as at the first fight may be judged. For, besides that the lines of some Orators, especially of Demosthenes and of Cicero, are seene amongst the others: you shall find few noblemen represented by our Author, but that they have as carefully handled bookes, as their swords. And if fome feeme to be fo much given to armes, that they have left the ftudy of learning behind them, yet we may fee that they have loued Philosophers, and that they themselves have earnestly and the lines of effectually reasoned of Philosophy, in time of warre and peace. And whereas Plutarch hath mingled some with vertuous men, some (I say) which have done infinite hurt to themselves, Why Plu- and to all the world during their lives, and whose names are detested at this day by those themtach wrote felues which follow their execrable doings: his intention was not to place them in the Theater the lines of fome with of vertue, as if they had deferued it: but as learned painters finely apply cloudy and dark colours ous mena in their tables, to the end that the lively and fresh colours should appeare more beautifull, and as it were imboffed, fo in entermingling the strange excesses of some GREEKEs and ROMAINES

reprefenting men destitute of the knowledge of the true God, with the holy and admirable considerations of the life of them which have bene lightned with the happy and supernatural light. That requireth a whole booke, and feparated from this prefent worke; our purpose being otherwise bent. But as in the former liues I was defirous to waken the good spirits of our nation, and by the interiection of some of my conceipts to induce them to do better. Ido the like also in these two, attending the commoditie to set foorth others, if the author of life do Now before we proceed any further, for as much as Seneca was long time before Plutarch, Win Plutarche longe might also require another order in my discourse. Notwithstanding, as Plutarch doth ordi-fore Seneral. narily place the Greekes before the Romanes, and that for the matter of their lives there is no need otherwise for a man to trouble himselfe much about the disposing of them, and that those which be dead do not quarrell together to know who shall go before or behind, I have thought with my selfe, that I might begin this worke where I thought good, without binding my selfe too curiously, either to the order of time, or to such other circumstances. For if any man be offended, I will alledge that vnto him which was spoken vnto one displeased because his horse was painted standing on his feete, which he would have had lying on his backe and his feete vpward: Turne the other fide vpward, and you shall be pleased. Even so is it in his choise to reade such a life first as he thinketh good, and to turne the table at his pleasure, no man being constrained to come into the closet of the Muses, but at his owne will, and by the gate which pleafeth him beft. I could have bene contented to have offered Plutarch onely, or left him hidden in his workes, the true and durable treasures of his glory: but having benefolicited

gouernement of peace. As to the contrary, when violence alone would rule, and that men Mithiefer that thought there was no need that our foirits should be kept in and directed by the exhortations of follow the waite Philosophy, confusions came on in heapes, which ruined and overthrew that which they of instruction by Philosophie,

histories. And among thistories, those of men which have bene brought to honor and place of The profit of sourcement in the commonwealth; and among sich men, those that have been the different to the commonwealth; and among sich men, those that have been the source that the source of the profit of the source of the source

why the Philofa.

Plutarch and Senaca compa red together.

The foreible of felts of them, in vitious and Derinosta men.

to shew some patternes, I was vnwilling to let him go alone. Now, I cannot cast mine eye yoon that personage, but Seneca doth also present himselfe vnto me, for many reports and agreements that are between them. For, besides that nature hath brought them into the world in the reuolution of one age, both came out of a strange countrey to Rome: both of them were rich and of great power, maisters and teachers of two Emperours, which did enrich and aduance them to honour, and great offices in the commonwealth. In regard of their learning, although the The end or feebe one of them was of a feet impugned by the other in diverfer espects, yet they both tended to of the dictrine one end, although it was by diverse wayes, to wit, to drive away vice and vanity out of the hearts of their disciples, and to plant in them the love of vertue, the contempt of death, and of the world, with fo found reasons, and so well combined the one to the other, that it is vnpoffible to enter into a schoole of the heathen better ordered then that of these two, to learne (as we ough) to be ashamed of dishonest things, and to exercise those that be honest and vertuous. But as touching other agreements and diffemblances which may be noted as well in their life and behauiour as in their doctrine, peraduenture it shall be better to reserve it to fitter place, or to leave the discourse vnto the studious readers, who aduisedly considering this little which we presently present vnto them, and joyning thereto the writings of the one and the other, shall know what authority and art these two wife men haue to draw the most ignorant and soolish to the love of vertue. Also that their stile, with their pertinent and plaine manner of discourse, is accompanied with great grauity and forcible reasons, to make men confident to beleeue them. If the one flow fweetly, and almost alwayes maintaineth himselfe in the same: the other in his wandrings and rollings about can well reforme his errours, and come to it againe in time, and then go on better then when he first began. Plutarch vseth a world of approches and hookes to pull downe vice. Seneca feemeth to prouoke him to the combat, and when he fetteth vpon him, it is by taking him by the coller and shaking him in all parts. The one seemeth to be a companie of light horsemen charging very swiftly, and at diverse wheelings and returnes: the other, to a battalion of footmen well fet in order, affailing refolutely, and not remouing out of the place before he have won the victory. The opinions of Plutarch are handled with Platonicall inductions, enriched with examples, with fimilitudes, with quicke fentences, and gracious recitals, which force the reader to yeeld. Seneca drawing that which is praise-worthy from the Stoickes, and from EPICVRVS also goodly instructions, as the Bee finely draweth from the herbe of bitter inyce that which maketh fweet hony, differing formwhat from the common vie, he maketh a very profitable and fure harbor wherein a heart ill fetled may repose it selfe. The one speaketh as a friend, the other as a maister: and both with such a grace, that whether they give good counsell, or that they command, the eares and hearts do bow at their voices. Infomuch that the wicked are constrained in reading of these Philosophers to acknowledge, and plainely to heare within this graue schoole, a million of truths which condemneth them: and I cannot tell with whathidden force (as the Adamant draweth iron) they feele themselves to be carried that way, ynto the which the learned instructions of these two Philosophers do direct them, to delight in themeuen with mourning, and to confesse, that these be the persons of whom men may learne to be leffe victous, and more vertuous. Good men also they gather there as sweete fruite as possible may be, for remedie against so many cruelties of this present life. And although they find their true and perfect contentment in a farre better schoole without comparison, yet so it is, that in this schoole here they understand things which afterwards makes the other more acceptable & more honourable. Now for as much as afterwards we have mixed the memories of their lives with diverse particularities, which will make vs see a part of the comparisons that may be noted betweene them, let vs begin with Plutareh, and confider his life principally by the inftructions which he himselfe hath left, and namely in many places of his Morall and mingled

Paulanias, in the ninth booke of his description of GREECE, faith, that there ran a common rumour abroad among the Thebans, that Cadmus the sonne of Agenor comming from Del-PHES into Phocide, was guided by a cow marked in both her flankes with white spots in forme of a full Moone: and that the Oracle commanded him to flay with his troupes in that place where the cow should lye downe. Which came to passe in the territory afterwards called BOEOTIA because of this cow. At the beginning of the same booke he saith, that BOEOT TIA tooke the same name of mess the sonne of Iton, and of the nymph Menalippe: which should should feeme repugnant. But the one and the other opinion may well agree, if we fay that Cadmus being come into that part of the countrey, Beotius that had a charge in these troupes, and remaining there after the others, left his name to all the territorie which is neare neighbour to ATTICA, but in a thicker aire because it standeth betwixt two mountaines, and that the country is more Northwards. So that the ATHENTANS were ever thinner in body, and of livelier spirit; and the BOETIANS to the contrary, fuller of flesh, and duller of wit also. From whence came many flents of laughter against the masse and weight of their understandings, and they made prouerbes dispersed in Greeke and Latine books. Yea the Poets themselues, and Ebulus among others do flout the Bortians, that they are great feeders, and loue to fpeake much: which agreethvery well with the rest of their maners. Platarch also himselfe in his first treaty of eating offlesh, noteth somewhat of that. Neuerthelesse, of such a countrey came Pelopides, and other excellent men, but namely him of whom we are now prefently to fpeake of, no fimple nor forishman: but as

Midst busies, and the thickest of the thorne The flowers of tendrest violet are borne:

Euen fo out of a countrey accustomed to bring forth fat men, as they fay, and fitter for war then Plutar learning, came Plutarch, borne in the citie of CH ERONEA, neare vinto LEBADIA. In old time come but of (as Paulanias faith)it was called ARNE, because of Arné the daughter of Eolus. But afterwards citie of Babecause it stood euill, and looked towards the West, Charon the son of Apollo, and of There the daughter of Phylas, caused it to be new built, and turned to the East, to make it more wholsome and habitable. Upon which occasion, in token of thankfulnesse for the good act of the founder, it was euer after called CHERONEA. And although for many memorable accidents this towne is noted in histories, yet do I not know any thing that hath fo much kept up the memorie of itvntill this prefent, as the name of Plutarch, whose ancestours, men of a noble race, maintained themselues from father to the sonne in honourable office and place of charge in their little Plutarets commonwealth, untill the time of Nicarchus his great grandfuther, who lived in the time of defent, ex Augustus Casar, as Plutarch reporteth in the life of Antonius: where he faith also, that all the citizens of Cheronea, not one excepted, were compelled them felues to carie voon their shoulders, a certaine measure of corne to the sea coast, which is before the Ile of Anticyre; and yet they were driven forward, whipped with many a fore lash. Againe, as they were preparing for a second iourney, and that every man had his burthen ready, newes came that Antonius had lost the battell before Activm, which faued Cheronea. For Antonius commissioners and fouldiers fled immediatly, and the citizens deuided the corne among fittiem. Nicarchus, amongst other children had Lamprics, a learned man amongst those of his time, and of whom Plutarch maketh often mention in his bookes, where he speaketh of talke at the table: how that he had bene in company with other learned men at many feafts, where there was no talk but of learning and matters of Philosophic. He speaketh also of his father, the sonne of Lamprias, not expressing his name although he representeth him discoursing of many points of Philosophie. and namely in the bookes about mentioned. Of this Philosopher then the some of Lamprias were borne many children, and amongst others Plutarch, Timon, and Lamprics: all which three were very carefully brought up and instructed in the liberallsciences, and in all the parts of Philofophie: vnto the which, they shall euer see an humble reuerence towards their grandfather & father iouned together, and among it them felues a fast and pleasant friendship, as may be gathe- The amuse red in many places out of their table talk. Wherupon in respect of the grandsather and sather, and some of Iremembred that Plutarch in those bookes speaking of his grandfather, he makes alwayes honourable mention of him. And as for his father, in the instruction of those that deale in affaires there. of the estate, he reporteth that he being young was fent with another in embassage to the Proconfull, and his companion remaining vpon fome occasion behind, he went thither alone, and executed the commission. And at his returne, as he would have given the commonwealth account openly, and have made report of his charge and embassage, his father rising vp alone, torbad him to fay, I went, but we went; and I spake, but we spake; and so commanded him to make his report, alwaies toyning his companion with that he had done. We fee in the treatic of brotherly loue, how heartily he loued his brother Timon, when he faid in these words: For my selfe, although fortune hath shewed me many fauours, which deserue that I should be thankfull to her for them, yet there is none that maketh me fo much bound to her as the love and good

Plutarchs Schoolema-

The old cu Rome of reaching

in his latter

will my brother Timon hath borne, and doth beare vnto me in all things: the which no man can deny to be true, that hath but a little frequented our company. And in his talke at the table, bringing in his father and brethren with many others, or together, resoluing diverse questions of Philosophy, he representeth menthat with a grounded knowledge had joyned a sweet behauiour, and a wonderfull good vnderstanding, and namely the yong Lamprias, who was of apleafant nature, and loued to be merry. Plutarch then having a father that loued learning and vertue was in a good houre put out to learning, whereunto he was wholly inclined. And amongst other good maisters, he met with Ammonius, an ÆGYPTIAN borne, saith Eunapius, who hauing with great praise taught in ALEXANDRIA, he did also visit the cities of GREECE wherein learning did yet flourish, and taried a great time in ATHENS, respected and well beloued of euery man. In the latter end of Themistocles life, Plutarch sheweth that he was a boorder and lying in Ammonius house, and in talke at the table he brought him in, either disputing, or teaching his schollers. So the custome to teach the youth at that time was very fine and easie, to give children a tast and learning of vertue: for as the tutors imployed part of their time to discourse in the prefence of their disciples, they occupied them in the same exercise afterwards, and made them declare, and fay their opinion of diverse matters: so that in few weekes, by way of sport and recreation, they had runne through the secrets of Philosophie. Unto the which they ioyned also, besides their compositions and particular exercises, their familiar talke and recreative dispurations in their walkes, at their suppersand feasts, where nothing else could be heard but that which made the young men wife and vertuous in a flort space. That may be gathered out of Plutarchs writings, and out of those especially where he speaketh how shildren shold be taught, of the lecture of the Poets, how they should heare, his talke at the table, and a good number of declamations dispersed in the middest of his Morall workes. In this place I remember that which he himselfe spake in discourse, how a man should know a flatterer from a friend, touching the direction of this his tutor. Our maister Ammonius, saith he, perceiving in his lecture he made after dinner, that some of his disciples and familiars had made a larger dinner then was fit for students, he commanded one of his seruants, a freeman to beate his owne sonne: he could not (faith he) dine without vineger. When he had fpoken that, he cast his eyes vpon vs. fothar they which were indeed culpable, found that he meant it by them. We may see also in the first and fecond question of his third booke of talke at the table, how ready this Philosopher was to sharpen the spirits of young men that frequentedhim. Thus therefore Plutarch having so good a helpe, in few yeares he profited greatly in the knowledge of all the parts of Philosophy, and neuer went out of his countrey, nor travelled to vnderstand strange languages, although the Latine tongue was common in Rome, and in diverse places of the Romaine Empire: which extended it selfe into GREECE, and beyond, as Plutarch noteth in the end of his Platonicall questions. Without notwithstanding that he cuer profited much in the knowledge of any other tongue, saving in the knowledge of the GREEKE: the which also hath a tast of his Philosophie of BOETIA. He doth also confesse in the beginning of the life of Demosthenes, that whilest he was in ITALIE and in ROME, he had no leifure to studie, nor to exercise the Latine tongue, as well for the businesse he had then in hand, as to satisfie those that frequented him to learne Philosophic of him. So that very late, being well stepped on in yeares, he beganto take Latine learned the bookes in hand, wherein there happened a strange thing vnto him, but yet true not with stan-Latine tong, ding:that is, that he did not learne nor vnderstand things so much by the words, as by a certaine vse and knowledge he had of things, he attained to the vnderstanding of the words. But furthermore (they are his owne words) to know how to judge well, wherein confifteth the beautie of the Latine tongue, or to speake it readily, or to vnderstand the figures, translations, and the fine knitting of simple sayings one with the other, which do adorne and beautifie the tongue, Ithinke well (faid he) that it is a very goodly thing and pleasant: but withall it requireth a long and laboursome exercise, fit for those that be at better leisure then I am, and that be yet able for age to attend such finenesse. That which is about spoken of, sheweth that in Sciences of that time they learned sciences in their mother tongue, so that even from their cradle children old learned began to enter into the schoole of the Muses, and pierced into the goodliest secrets of the same, having in their owne tongue the arts and goodly disciplines discovered even to the bottome: whereas presently the best of our age stealeth away in learning of words, and when we should enter into the knowledge of things, our memorie is ouer-whelmed, and judgement altered with

an infinitio of objects, which (like diverse fawces) have most times altered our right tast. Insomuch that almost commonly we see, that we delight for the most part to heape together letters ypon letters, and after a great prouision of strange words, we find our selues children, and voide of the true knowledge of things. But now to come againe to Plutareh, as touching his fufficiency and his aduancement in sciences, we need not speake of them in particular, considering that his writings doe fufficiently proue them, and that we have also spoken something in the preface of his Morall workes.

Now, as his good fortune made him meete with excellent mafters, and men very carefull to manure fo noble aspirit: so he for his part answered their hope very sufficiently, shewing himselfe even from his infancy to the end of his life wholly given to study with an earnest de. Plusareh fire(but well gouerned) to keepe his body in health, to content his mind, and to make himfelfe simm to flat profitable along time to himfelfe, and to others alfo. Which was no hard matter for him, having benecarefully brought vp, cuen from his cradle, and fo well gouerned, as was requifite to maintaine himselfe long in strength; his fathers house and table being a schoole of temperance and of frugality. Confidering furthermore that talke with learned men was very necessary for him to attaine to that which he pretended: and having a mind defirous to excel in al things, he travelled Plutarets into AGYPT, & talked there of all the ancient do arine with the wifest men, whereof afterwards stauels. hemade a collection and intituled it, of Ilis and Oliris: which is yet left ynto ys, where he shewth himselfe to be well studied in the diunity and philosophy of the AGYPTIANS. From thence hereturned againe into GRECE, and vifited the townes and vniuerfities where there were any Philosophers, & frequented them all, to gather together the goodly instructions which he hath left vs. Moreouer he began to make collections, & culled our remembrances not only out of the books already published, but also of the notable talke and discourse which he vnder food of the one & the other also of registers & authentical instruments kept in towns where he came, wherofafterwards he did most artificially frame the most part of his workes. And pretending such alandable end, the better to establish his conceits, and to speake with a more commendable authority and good maner: he made a journey vnto the city of Sparta, of purpose to see the papers & memories of all the government of this goodly commonwealth, & of their lawmakers. kings, & Ephores, and gathered together all their notable deeds and fayings fo carefully as could bepossible, euento the least words of the simple souldiers and women of Sparra, together with all their customes, ordinances, ceremonies, and fashions to live in common, and particularly, in war and in peace. He did the like in diverse other commonwealths, as his lives, and the demands ofthings pertaining to the GREEKS and ROMAINE, s doth amply proucit: without which collections also it was unpossible for him to have left in writing such particularities, & he could not but of necessity have had communication with a great number of men louers of antiquities. Vnto that he loyned a curious fearch of statues, mettals, inscriptions, paintings, tables : also of Prouerbes, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apophthegms, & other ornaments of history, to leave nothing behind him. And being continually almost in the company of learned men in all professions, it seemeth his memory was alwaies bent to gather, & his judgement occupied to discerne that which was to be reiected or retained. By which meanes he faw himfelf in a short time advanced to the knowledge of all things: moreouer he had in his hand goodly briefes and collections, with the which he finely holpe himselfe, and afterwards made a good part vnto his friends and posterity. Hehimfelfe at the beginning of his booke treating of the contentment and quietneffe of the mind, makes mention of the memories which he had of long time made for his owneyle. So Plusards that out of this rich closet he hath drawne the excellent peeces which have remained vnto vs. and which shew how much we have lost being deprived of them that are no more to be found, and quietnes and the which time hath dispersed, or veterly consumed.

Now though that in generallit may be faid, that this man was ignorant in no learning, nor ofthe goodly fecrets of nature: yet this word we must adde to it, that whosoever shall duly confider the entrance, continuance, composition, binding and inclosing of his discourse, be it that he write an history, or that he by any treaty apart will put backe vice, and make vertue to be beloued: be it that he sport himselfe in clearing the difficulties of natural Philosophie, or of the Mathematickes: be it that he beginneth to commence some disputation against those whose opinions he disproueth: we shall find in his writings an exact and easie method both together, method of his proofes found, and his inductions pleasant and agreeable to all forts of wits, and of such writing.

Plutarch foundeth into the depth of fects; and conserfeth with learnea

pithie discourses, so that of force we must confesse, that this person had bene most excellently directed in his studies, considering that in speaking after such an easie manner, he presentethso profound instructions, and I cannot tell what, where there is alwaies somewhat to be learned Furthermore, feeing dinerse sects in credit in his time, it seemeth he had a good will to found into the depth of the value & error of them. Then reaching higher yet, he hath fearched out the opinions of the first Sages. So that the Pythagorians, Platonians, Epicurians, Stoickes, and Peripateticians, with their precepts have bene very familiar with him. But not being content with turning ouer the leaves of their writings, and feeing to the end all that which the naturall Philofophers have thought of the secrets of the world; yet would be familiarly frequent those whom he viderstood to be practised in sciences, and conferre with them, viderstand their reasons. and be throughly refolued of them: and at the length obtained his defire, as his bookes make mention. That was accompanied with a continual reading of all forts of good Authors, as well to amplifie his collections, as ftill more and more to enrich his memory, and to polish his judgement: as may be noted in his workes three severall excellencies of his spirit. For fom of them are certaine declamations made in the schoole, and by way of exercise, as we have shewed them placed at the beginning of the same: forthat if he would have taken the paines to have reviewed and smoothed those peeces there, they would have seemed to be others then they were. But we perceive that he left some unperfect, not thinking that that (which ferued not but for a proofe of fome thing better laboured) deferued to come to light. There are also some other discourses better polithed, yet in such fort notwithstanding, that it plainely appeareth, he might have amplified them and made them better. And there be other peeces, vnto the which it may be faid, he hath put his last hand; as are his Liues, and the most part of his Morall workes, written at leifure, very aduitedly, confidered in all vnderstanding and to diverse reiterations. He could have done the like in all, and with the like stile have raised his writings to their perfection: but having as it were more expressely stayed himselfe vpon fome, he hath showed therein the disposition of his studies, and with what discretion he spent histime.

Plutarch afollower of Plato. and an enemy tothe Eticures

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Plutarbs bedsly exertifes and his shell in Physicke.

Now, though he had tafted of all the feets of the Philosophers, yet you may perceive that inclining to the Platonians (for hegreatly reverenced Socrates and Plato, whose birth dayes he did yearely celebrate) he neverthelette that himfelfe within the bounds of modestie of certaine ACADEMICKES, being content simply to propound the things, but to leauethem to the judgement of the readers, forcing no man. Furthermore, we see with what diligence he had turned ouer the leaves of the writings of the Epicurians, and of the Stoickes, against whom he stoutly opposed himselfe. But morall Philosophie was his chiefest end: for the rationall, the naturall, and the Mathematickes (the which he had greatly studied) they were but simple passimes in comparison of the other. Whereupon may be discerned, that having received in himselfe a fingular pleasure of such study, he alwaies sought to print the same defire and contentment in the thought of all men, leaving the speculations and pricking questions: onely tending to this good, to bring wisedome into the houses, to establish it in the thrones of kings, to make it go in the firectes, to lodge it in the eyes, in the eares, vpon the tongues, and in the bottome of the hearts of all men. See here what his thoughts have bene, which he could well difgeft afterwards: fo that it feemeth he was altogether given to that. Now though he was occupied in meditations and fo excellent workes, he forgot not therefore any thing that was requifite for the exercises of his body, such as men vsed at that time, to keepe their spirits in strength, as also more toyfully to passeouer so many other crosses as our life is assailed withall. And we may fee also in the precepts he hath written of health, that albeit Physicke was not his profession, neuerthelesse hee learned that which was the principall for his owne private good. For in that booke of his, he speaketh reasonably of the vse of meates, and sheweth from what meates we should abstaine. Afterwards having declared in what fort one should vse his appetite and the pleasures of the body, he condemneth the excesse of drinking and eating, he teacheth how to preuent ficknesse, setteth downe remedies, treateth of diet, and of signes of ficknesse, and of the true waies how to keepe health. And thereupon he commethto reason of the exercises and diet of students, laying that open which we should most carefully observe therein: which maketh me beleeve, that he having knowne so well what was fit for the preservation of the body, he did wifely helpe himselse: as also even to very old age he hathborne office in the commonwealth, and alwaigs carried a body and mind lufty and ready to take paines, having had this wisedome, to consider well his nature and disposition; also to take fuch meates and drinks as were good for his stomacke, and to vie them soberly, and keeping his hody in good state by commendable exercises and nouriture to make himself profitable along time for humane fociety. It is true, that he being a graue man, raifed to honour, and a Philosopher by profession, his chiefest exercises of body were to walke with other learned men, where without contention of words he alwaies decided fome points of philosophic. Furthermore he loued to talke at the table, and to mingle pleafant grave matters with some new device: so wittily and fweetly to enterlace and deuide the courfe of his life, being no crabbed nor fullen perfon, but pleasant, and whose company was troublesome to none; and otherwise as sober and discreet in his talke, as he was in drinking and eating.

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Sother his maners, as well alone, as with his friends and openly, do shew, that truly he had a good foule within abody well tempered. Now I do not enter here into the examination of the idiculous opinions of Plutarch in matter of religion, being fory that so rare a spirit hath bene so miserably enuironed with the darknesse which was at that time in the most part of the towns &men of Grece, & specially among so many wise men, strangely ignorant and dull in respect Plutareh of the knowledge of the true God. If we had not bin warned betimes by the true and onely wife ignorant of men taught in the schoole of eternall wisdome, of such a judgement of God vpon the wife men "God," of the world, who have bene confounded in their discourse, when there hath bene question of the honor due to our foueraigne Lord: then we might have bene aftonied, and remained as men cast away. And whereas so many great wise men haue erred in their waies, that will not excuse them before their judge, as if he had kept the light from them. For, fince that which may be knowne of his eternity and omnipotent power, hath bene reuealed vnto them in nature and in Philosophie: ftaying a man vpon himselfe, or vpon other creatures, and forsaking the onely Creator, they condemne themselues by their owne words and writings. Now to come against to Plutarch. He having bene Apolloes Priest, as himselfe confesseth, and from his youth suckled with the foolish dotings of the GREEKES: I do not finde it strange, that many absurd opinions and without good ground (yea wicked & pernicious) are scattered in his disputations, touching the default of Oracles, of the religion of the IEVVES, of the inscription of the letter E'i' in the temple of D_{ELPHES} ; why the propheteffe Pythia doth nomore give her Oracles in verse; and in many places of the Liues and works, in the which he openly incline th to the superstitions and Atheismes of the PAGANS. There he sheweth a conscience evill informed, and a man running very fwiftly out of the right way. By the fame meanes a man may plainely note, that in matter offupernaturall and dinine Philofophy, another manner of light then that of our corrupt vnderflanding is wholly required, not being possible that a man left to his owne wit can comprehend the things which are of God: because they are discerned after a fashion meerly vnknowne vinohim, and of the which he cannot be partaker but by a speciall grace, and which nature doth not bestow upon him, but he which hath made and reformed nature. It is no maruell then if Plutarch should be missed, that hath had so many instructions and masters strayed from the way of the eternall truth, and whose predecessours were drowned in the bottomlesse pit of ignorance. Yet notwithstanding, in the middest of that darknesse he hath had so much light. that he seemeth, at times, to note and condemne the labyrinth of errour, as a man that hath lost his way in an horrible darke night, should from one time to another be directed rightly by the light of the flashings of lightning. For some do gather by his discourse of the cessation of the Oracles, and by other places, that he did acknowledge one God, and very liberally condemnedmany old and new superstitions, vnto the which both himselse, and others his like, did cleaue, rather by custome for fashions sake, and to please the people, then for any opinion they had that they were ought worth. But as I have faid, my intention is not to judge this person nor his deeds: confidering that befides the matter I touch (euery where, where he goeth out of the way) he confuteth himselfe sufficiently; witnesse his discourse of superstition, and the feuenth chapter of his first booke touching the opinions of the Philosophers, where he will dispute of the eternal providence: and the third question of the second booke at talke of the table, making mention of the egge: and the last question of the fourth booke, where he medleth with speaking of God, and of the ceremonies of the IEVVEs. In the meane time, and in the middest of this great blindnesse, they see in Plutarch a heart that is enemie vnto vice, and a

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Plutarch whereinhe ès commen dable.

friend of good manners. Let a man fee him in his family, in the schoole, in bankets, with his friends, and openly: behold, there is a graue man, modest in behaulour, sharpe, learned, and pleasant in his discourses, offending nor hurting no man. If he speake of vice, he letteth out the filthinesse, and scantly maketh the patient cry. If he speake for vertue, it is with such efficacy, that cuery man may know he spake of the aboundance of his heart. He is a good father of a house. a wife Schoole-master, a graue Historian, a braue Politician, an excellent Philosopher, a good Writer to imitate: and furthermore, a faithfull, profitable, true, and a joyfull counfellor and friend. His plaineneffe, fimplicity, and grave modestie shineth in all his writings: his vertue. accompanied almost ordinarily with all other things, which we need not speake of particularly neither to vnfold the life of our Philosopher from one part to another to see his vprightnesse. integritic, grauity, sweetnesse, constancie, force, prudence, temperancie, and liberality: that may be truly spoken of him, which had bene long time before applied in the Theaters vnto A_{m_1} phiaraus, and to Aristides:

He little cares to feeme vpright, but Arineth fo tobe, In deepest thoughts preferring vertue still: Whence day by day, proceeding we do fee

Wife counfels that without respect true honours lawes fulfill.

Plutarchs Speeches a. gainst cho-

In testimony of his sweete grauity, and of part of his thoughts, I will alledge some words couched in his owne discourse against choler. As for me, said he, If I have done well or cuill Iknownot, not by that meanes I have rid my felfe of choler. As the LAGED EMONIANS did in old time, who to learne their children not to be drunke at all, shewed them their slaues being drunke: fo do I confider the effects of choler in others. And afterwards he addeth more, that a man should accustome himselfe to beare many of his wives words, and of his familiars and friends, which do reproue vs for that we are too gentle and foft. And this was the chiefest cause (said he) why I was so often angry with my seruants, fearing they would waxe worse for want of reproofe and correction. But I observed my selfe at the last, though late, that first I were better by patience and pardoning them, make my scruants worse, then to hurt my felfe by sharpnesse and choler, seeking to reforme others. I considered also with my felfe, and remembred (faid he) that as he which teacheth vs to shoote in a bow, doth not forbid vs to draw, but to faile in drawing: fo he that teacheth vs to punish in time and place, moderately, profitably, and as we should: doth not let vs but that we may punish. I doe labour all I can to withdraw, and vtterly to banish all choler: principally because I would not take from them that are punished, the meane to instific themselues, and to heare them. For time bringeth, in the interim to the passionate mind, a delay and forgetfulnesse, which diffolueth it: in which space the judgement of reason findeth both the meane and the measure to give reasonable correction. And besides that, they give the partie punished no place to refift the punishment if he be not corrected in anger and choler, but convinced for that he had well deferued it. And (which were yet more vnfeemely) they shall not find that the feruant punished speaketh more justly then his master that punisheth him. Touching this purpose, I will remember the pleasant report which the Philosopher Taurus made of Plutarch, as Gellius reciteth it in the fixe and twentieth chapter of the first booke of his Nights Attiques, as some man hath heretofore expressed it in our language. A slaue, a vile and vicious man (but yet that had his eares fomewhat instructed with bookes and disputations of Philosophy) having bene stripped naked for some fault he had done, by the commandement of his master Plutarch, whilest they were whipping of him, he grumbled at the first, that it was without reason, and that he had done nothing: but in the end crying out amaine, and iniuring his mafter, he told him that he was no Philosopher as he bragged himselfe to be: and that he often heard him say it was a fowle thing to be angrie, yearhat he made a booke of it: and that now (ouercome with choler) in making him be beaten fo cruelly, he vtterly belied all his writings. Thereunto Plutarch coldly and quietly answered: Why, how now roifter, faid he? whereby doeft thou thinke that I am angry at this prefent? my countenance, my voice, my colour, my words, do they give thee any figne that I am angrie: I do not thinke I have cruelleyes, nor a troubled face, nor any fearefull crie. Do I blushe do I fome doth s any thing escape me that I should repent me? do I stampe? do I rage? For to tell thee truly, these be the shewes of choler. Afterwards hee turned to him that whipped him: faving: Forward with your bufinesse, whiles he and I do reason the matter. Furthermore, we may easily gather what Plutarch was amongst his friends, from the nine bookes containing the questions decided at the table. And for his disputations against the Epicyrians and Stoicks? they show that this person for the regard of his actions concerning the commonwealth haning respect vnto those whom at that time he made his judges, and to the posterity into whose hands his writings might come hereafter, he alwaies caried himfelfe in fuch a modest granity, that they could require no more of him. And if sometime he did feelingly touch some as colores, and Herodetwit was not in vaine. Also he alwaies vsed terms which witnessed that he had an vpright foule. To be short, it appeareth enery where that his passions were maruellous well staied. Plutarch And if any of them were furious or violent, he could tell in time and place how to reforme, his affettithem by the precepts of Philosophy, leading (as is faid) a life without blame of men. But aboue all the rest, when any discourse or disputation drew him into it, to speake of shamefull or dishonest things, he did convey it with such discretion as it cannot be amended whereof we need not to bring forth examples dispersed in his writings, and especially in the dialogue of Loue, feeing that being concealed it doth no hurt, as also remembred or too expressly reucaled, it can-

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not but hurt the eyes, and an honest thought.

Furthermore, Plutarchs studie of Philosophie tooke not away the care he had to live with fome profit amongst men, nor made him to disdaine the meanes which his predecessors had left him. But as he came of a noble house, and with time being advanced vnto office and charge in the commonwealth, greatly effeemed of Traian the Emperor, and of the noble men of Rome. he faw he had goods inough to line at case: whereof not with standing he never made such account as that he would forget his study, and intangle himselfe in the snare of the lone of riches. in the which fo many miserable soules have bin engaged vnto death. His means serued his turne to maineraine himselfe among his friend, and to bring up his children; for he had many of an ho- Plutarelis norable Lady which he maried, & loued most dearely. Amongst his other sons, himself maketh children. mention of Autobulus, of Plutarchus, & of Charon, who died a yong infant, & fome others whom he nameth not at all. Alfo of daughters, two of the which were maried to Firmus, and vnto Craton, learned Philosophers; and Timoxene, who died very yong. As for Autobulus, he maried in his fathers life time, and it is not welknowne, whether Sextus of CHERONEA, a Philosopher of the Scepts, who lived in great honour in the Empire of Antonius, was his sonne, or the sonne of Plus tarchus. That which I am now about to speake of, may be gathered out of diverse places in the workes of Plutarch, and specially of the discourse at the table. And in the consolation which he wrote to his wife vpon the death of their daughter, they may note that the was an honorable Lady, modest, and vertuous, well attended on with women and seruants, and otherwise louing to her children, and bearing great renerence vnto her husband. That the house of Plutarch was Plutarch very well gouerned that he had a great number of kinsfolkes and friends. And in other places of house well his booke intituled Sympolium, and other treaties, we may know that his folines and nephews were fludious and learned, and specially in the fixt question of his eight booke of talkeat the table, speaking of his yongest children: who because they taried somewhat longer at the Theater then they should have done, to see and heare the pastimes they made there, came by that meanes late to supper: is shewed sufficiently that they now began to follow the fathers steps. And there appeared in no part any euill touch among st these persons, but as Plutarch did converse in a fingular reverence, friendship and gentlenesse, with his grandfather, his father and his brethren, we are to judge the like conversation with his wife, his children, and his nephews: as also they be. ing in fogood a schoole, could not faile but enery day to go forward in the knowledge and practife of vertue.

But as a fountaine hidden feructh to no vse, so it had little prevailed Flutareb to have seene, read, and gathered fo much together, vnlesse he had made litle streames runne from such a lively and goodly fountaine, vnto fuch places where his vertue might shine more then in any other parts of the world. That was ITALIE, and the city of Rome, the feate of the Empire, and where Plawhere (notwithstanding the disorders brought in by former warres, and by the dissolutions tarehy reand tyrannics of fome Emperours) there were many learned men, and in the Emperors court also some counsellors, and other persons of authority which loued vertue. Now Plutarch having begun to advance himselfe in GRECE, about the time of Vespasian and Titus, it seemeth he came to Rome immediatly after the death of Titus, vnder Domitian, as well to make

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profession there of Philosophy, as also that he might more nearely know the ancient gouerness ment of the commonwealth, and to increase his collections, from the which proceeded afterwards infinite particularities inclosed in his workes: but especially the Liues of the noble Ro-MAINES compared with the GREEKS. For my part, I thinke Plutarch was drawne to Rome by meanes of some friends he had there, especially by Sossius Senecio, that had bene a Consull, who was of great estimation at that time, and namely vnder the Empire of TRAIAN. And that which makethme thinke fo, is because of Plutarchs owne words, who faith in the beginning of his first booke of his discourse at the table, that he gathered together all his reasons and discourses made here and there, as well in ROME with Senecio, as in GRECE, with Plutarch and others. Not being likely that he would have taken the pains to have made fo long a voyage, & to have come to fuch a city where he vnderstood not their vulgar tongue, if he had not bene drawne thither by Senecio, and fuch other men: as also in acknowledgement of the good turnes and honour he had received by fuch men, he dedicated diverse of his bookes vnto them, and among others, the Liues vnto Senecio, and the nine volumes of his discourse at the table; with the treaty, How a man may know that he profiteth in vertue. Now for the time, confidering what he faith in the end of his booke against curiosity, I suppose that he taught in Roma in the time of Titus and of Domitian: for touching that point, he maketh mention of a noble man called Rusticus, who being one day at his lecture, would not open a letter which was brought him from the Emperour. nor interrupt Plutarch, but attended the end of his declamation, and vntill all the hearers were gone away: and addeth also, that Rusticus was afterwards put to death by the commandement of Domitian. Furthermore, about the beginning of the life of Demosthenes, Plutarch saith. that whilest he remained in ITALY and at ROME, he had no leisure to studie the Latine tongue: as well for that he was busied at that time with matters he had in hand, as also to satisfie those that were his followers to learne Philosophie of him. He doth not tell what matters he hadin hand besides his profession: but following that which Suidas and others spake of him, that he was neare to the person of Traian, and had the honor and place to be his schoole-master and teacher, or, at the leastwise, one of so many learned men as this Prince made much of, as some story writers do testifie, he was honoured and advanced to some charge or government: which, I thinke, is that he speaketh of in this place. Now furthermore, his chiefest labour was publickely to teach all the parts of Philosophie, mingling in his declamations and lectures a diligent and curious search of all that the ancient Philosophers, reasonable, naturall, or morall, of what sect focuer they were, had treated of: as appeareth by his writings, which are as summaries of his leffons and orations he made with his owne voice. His speech doth not flow so as that of many other Philosophers, Oratours, and Greeke Historians, but being come later, and in a more rude and harsh world, his style also is more hard, briefe, enforced, and Philosopherlike: ayming at this marke to instruct the mind first, not tarying to tickle the eares much, though he did fill and content them learnedly. But the flowing sweetnesse we tast in Plato, in Xenophon, in Herodotus, and in some other, wanting indeed in Plutarch, is supplied and recompenced in him by infinite stories, sentences, similitudes, and notable particulars which he boroweth of others, and whereof he composed a worke so well deuided, so rich, and so pleasant, by reason of his varietie, that it is not possible to reade bookes of a more gentle and profitable reading, amongst all the historians, and Philosophers, GREEKES or ROMAINES. If Plutarch then doth & this present content all forts of men, what may we thinke he did with his lively voice ? but after the example of this Hercules of GAVLE, which held his auditors eares fast chained to his tongue: s fo hath he by hisgoodly documents, moved an infinite number of men, to leave vice, and to cloath them with the loue of vertue.

So he having continued these exercises for some yeares, being heard and visited of all sorts of men, grew to be of fuch reputation, that the greatest persons began to seeke him and to make much of him, yearo think themselues honoured by his friendship: as his books dedicated vnto some of them do sufficiently testifie it. And touching the accesse he had about the person of Traian himself, it may be gathered from the beginning of this goodly collection of Apophthegmes, which he dedicated to this great Emperour, what was his intention: that is to wit, to serue for the good of all the Romaine Empire, giving wholesome instructions vnto the head thereof. For he wifely judged, that in ruling the thoughts of that man, it was to give phificke at once vnto all the subjects of that great Monarchie. The same being a common thing, that

Subjects and kingdomes commonly do chuse The manners that their Princes daily vie.

Itis true that fuch instructions, in respect of *Traian*, do onely concerne his person and politicke affaires. For as touching the only true religion, it was meerely vinknowne of Plutarch, and rudely perfecuted under the Empire of Traian: who notwithstanding in the end being softened by the precepts of moral Philosophy, and through the aduct tisements his deputic governors gave him. & namely Plinius feeundus gouernor of BITHYNIA, of the innocencie of the Christians; or rather referrained by the secret prouidence of our soueraigne Lord, (who excellently strengthened his. put the Oracles of the lying spirit to silence, and ouerthrew Idolatry in most places) he caried himselfe more gently, and did forbid to vexe and trouble them any more, whom before they had pursued with all forts of cruelties. Furthermore, I thinke that it was in fauour of Train persecuting chiefly, that Plutarch made certaine particular Treatiles (besides the lives of Noblemen,) and of brists amongst others that, where he maintaineth that it is requisite a Prince should be wise: The infiruction for those that deale in the affaires of estate: The notable sayings of GREEKES and Ro-MAINES, and others concerning the dutie of Princes, and great Lords. Now confidering that wherein he reasoneth, and briefly defendeth, (but grauely, and with assured proofes) that a Philosopher ought to converse with Princes: some may say that it is an Apologic of Plutarch, against the common and light objections of some Courtiers, which thinkethat Princes cannot be well counfelled, but by men that blow (as they fay) fire with their mouthes, and that carie therapier and dagger in their hands: and would that men of learning (whom in scorne they call schoolemasters and Philosophers) should be turned to their studie, or into a schoole, to crie out there as much and as lowd as they thinke good. Therefore he was willing as well to encourage himselfe first in that discourse, as also to remedie what in him lay, certaine euils infinitely abounding and overflowing in others. In all times and ages every man hath granted and Mon of confessed, that amongst those that want good companie, are Princes, Lords, and great perso-great place nages. For their affaires being so important and weighty, as every man knoweth, their bodies company. being weake, and their spirits not able to dispatchall things: they must needes see by others eyes, and worke with others hands. Whereupon there are three forts of men which are to be Three Gris reproued. For the first, they are the Princes themselves, who in stead of calling and drawing of minfault neare vnto them, men of honour that might helpe them in any matter, they give accesse vnto ill-minded men, that corrupt them, and ouerthrow their effate. The second (but a small number at all times) are the Philosophers, that is to say, men of authority, wise, learned, louers ofvertue, and of the good of Princes and of their fubicets: who being able to do much, yet they draw backetor being aduanced, have not alwaies that confideration nor courage that is fit, being oftentimes caried away with the greatest opinion, and mingling somewhat too much their humane wisedome with the apprehension of their true dutie: whereof their conscience being cleared diuerse waies, doth sufficiently informe them. For the last, they are ignorant tutors, or Atheifts, minions, flifters, iefters, flatterers, brokers of filthy pleasures, and such practifers, which by wicked meanes creepe into Princes Courts, houses and closets. And in recompense of the tharges they boldly accept, and of the treasures which they heape together with a wicked confcience, and do afterwards fpend of the fame, they do deceive, dishonor, and finally vndo their vnwise mafters: as a million of examples in histories do testifie. Plutarch therefore confidering these things, doth attempt in this Treatise to give courage vnto those, that have a desire to see all things well ordered; and fuch maner of men doth he exhort to be about Princes. But because granity and wisdome maketh men modest and slow as to the contrary, ignorance & malice maketh them haue brafen faces he fheweth, that it is no ambition of a Philofopher to be about great Lords, but rather that his duty doth beare it, fithence that fuch receive honor, pleafure & profit. and this he proueth by reasons, & notable examples. But aboue al, he forgetteth not to fet vpon, Flutarth the that come to Princes courts to make the clus great, shewing that Philosophers should shoot them that at another marke. And last of all he treateth of the contentment those receive, which serving one follow Prin. alone, do by the same means help an infinite number of others that are bound vnto them for so essents great a good turne. I have written at large the argument of this treatie of Plus arch, because it containeth the briefe of all & conceits of this Philosopher coming to the Emperor: & it is a patterne greatalso to all learned methat enter into y seruice of great lords, which if they wil painfully follow, Iiiii4

PLVTARCH.

Plataret tractiled tangbi.

the chiefest may recouer some part of their ancient glory. Now I make no doubt of it, but that Plutarch hath affayed by all possible meanes to practife that which he teacheth in this book, to gaine to himselfe agreat contenument in his soule, and to leave a good sent of him vnto all po-

ganernor.

Thecommis

murther & soldery,

affictions.

ro creditto falfereperts

The cause that maketh me speake this, is the consideration of the estate in the which the Fma pire of Rome stood at that time, the which if any man will at ley fure confer with that which he may gather out of many parts of Plutarchs workes, he shall find the words of Plato very true. that happie are those commonwealths which are gouerned by Philosophers, or by Princes that haue Philosophers about them. For like as an expert pylote by his skill and knowledge refisheth the winds and billowes of the sea, and in despite of their force beareth saile to the desired ha-The benefit ' nen: euen fo when the ship of the commonwealth hath a master that guideth it by the precents of Philosophie, the government is peaceable and happy enery way. And if any storme happen, and necessity requireth it, he finely plucketh downe the failes, and yeeldeth himselfe in fuch fort to the waves, that he escapethand ouercometh it with honor. Dion writeth, that one of the first acts of Traian did, after he was chosen Emperor in the place of Nerua, was, that he wrote letters with his owne hand to the Senate of Rome, promiting by them he would never purany man to death, or make him infamous, that was an honest man; and this he afterwards confirmed by folemne oth. He put Alianus and the fouldiers Prætorians to death, because they mutined a gainst Nerna. And after he had made his entric into Rome, he gave good order for the affaires of the estate, and specially fauoured vertuous men many waies, granted them great priviledges. and gaue meanes to the cities of Iraly to bring vp their youth. He reigned Emperor nineteene yeares and a halfe, being two and forty yeares old when he was chosen. His behaulour was such that he obtained the name of a inft, valiant, moderate, and a good Prince: fo that in the flower of his youth, they noted in him aftayed judgement, and in his age a great courage. He enuied no man, he hurt no man, he raifed good men to honorable place and charge in the commonwealth: whereby it came to passe that he was never afraid, nor had no enemy in the world. Accusers had no accesse voto him: he was as gentle a Prince as was possible, and as much an enemy of cone-Constitutions' toufnesse, as he was of murthers and robberies. In time of peace and war he was at great charge in stately buildings, witnesse the wonderfull bridge ouer Danuby. But with magnificence fuch enterprises and reparations ordinarily were necessary, without oppressing or wronging any man: for he was a noble Prince, that defired rather to be beloued of his subjects, and much made of, then feared, as forme of his predeceffors. To meane men he shewed himselfe courteous, and easie to have accesse vnto: grave and honourable among the Senatours. The Romaines loued him as much as they could possible, and his enemies infinitely were afraid of him. His pastimes were hunting, feasting, and the Theater to see common playes and sports. Oftentimes he would be prinate with his friends, and came without his guard into their honses; yea sometimeshe would lyethere, and paffe away the night. He was not of the wifest, although by his behaulour they could not judge otherwise of him, but that he was a wise and learned Prince. There was nothing in him but it was excellent, and in manner blameleffe. For although he loued to drinke , wine, and delighted to fee faire boyes: yet for all this he neuer committed any fouleact, being very warie in his passions, and about all, keeping himselfe from abusing his authority. He desired nothing but war, but it was principally to ouercome his enemies, and to enrich his friends. Furthermore, he was so fortunate and braue a chieftaine of an army, so beloued of his Captains and fouldiers, that there was neuer any mutinic or diforder in his campe. That made him dreadfull to those that troubled him neare or farre off, of which the chiefest was Decebalus king of the DACIANS: whom he purfued so hard, that being vnpossible for him to escape, he killed himselfe. Furthermore he made warre with the PARTHIAN'S, with the ARABIAN'S, and with the IEVVES, with dinerfe euents, but almost alwaies to his aduantage. Furthermore, to come to his manners, he loued fo faithfully, that it was a hardthing to make him thinke guill of those whom he loued, which we will proue by some example. Certaine ill-willers brought him word that Sura Licinius, one of his prinate friends, did practise somewhat against him. In stead of taking it ill to conreine ahard opinion of him, he went (vnbidden) into Sura his house, he would sup there, and sending backe his guard, first he made Sura his Phistion come to him, and shewed him his eyes to helpe some griefe that troubled him: not being so contented, he sendeth for his Barber to shaue his beard; then being trimmed, and having washed, he fate downe at the table and supped.

The next morning fome reporting vnto him the ill will that sura did beare him: If he would haue killed me, faid he, yesterday he might haue done it, for he had meanes to doit. This Sura was he vnto whom Traian had given the office of the great Marshal of the Empire; and coming to him to tie his girdle baudricke wife about his necke, having the fword drawne in his hand, he yfed this speech vnto him: Receive this sword of me, and if I command as I ought, employ it in Appendix my defence: if I dootherwise, draw it against me, and take my life from me. He caused statues mand. to be fet vp of Sosieis Senecio, of Palma, and of Celfus, who were all three Senators whom about all others he loued and honored. Hefet up Libraries, and did many notable acts, in testimonic of his great courage. But that which most of all other doth commend him, is, that having done wonderfull much good to the Empire, by decree of the Senate, he was furnamed Optimus Imperator: that is to fay, most good Emperor. And so was he wonderfully beloued of the Senators. and officers of the Empire, of all the people, and especially of the fouldiers, amongst whom he would be fo familiar as if they had bene his companions. Furthermore, nothing pleased him fo much as this title of Optimus: wherein he gloried amongst his friends, and did more & more indenour to shew himselfe so. And also after him (as Eutropius reporteth) when any new Emperor was chosen by the Senate, after the showtings of happie presage, and well wishings, of the Senat tors, they cried out vnto him: What, canst thou be more fortunate then Augustus, and better then Traian? Nowif we bring to the writings of Plutarch the life of this Prince, we will fay that Traian bet. the Prince did alwaies thinke of the wife precepts of the Philosopher; and on the other fide, that the Philosopher hath framed the deeds of the Prince to the rule of good life, which he hath fo writings: fully propounded to great and meane men. And therefore it is not to be maruelled at, if Plutarch declare (to the high praise of Traian and the Senate) in his treatie, where he instructeth those that deale in publike affaires, that in his time for peace fake, people had no need of wife gouernours to defend them: for (faid he) all the warres against the GREEKES and barbarous people are fled from vs. Thus standeth the estate of the Empire, the which it any man will particularly conferre with that which Plutarch fetteth downe in his writings, he shall find it was happie to haue met with fo wel disposed hearts, to receive, & carefully to practife his goodly lessons. And that as it was a fingular honour to Trainn by his vertue to have obtained a furname that made him greater then the most part of the Romaine Emperors: so is Plutarch enery way to be commended, that was the excellent inftrument to advance and maintaine fo great a good. Whereupon I defire his Morals shold be specially remembred, to apply that which he speaketh of vice. and vertue, vnto that which hath bene touched in the life of Traian. For I thinke the one can hardly be spoken of, but that the other by the same meanes must be remembred. And it seemeth that one felfe foule hath put forward thefe two hearts, both to give and receive one commendable instruction. Onely for proofe a man may with his eye run oner two or three discourses. As for example, that of the difference betwixt the flatterer and the friend: Against choler: How a some speciman may know if he profit in the exercise of vertue: That it is requisite a Prince should be wise: all Treatifes The influction forthose which deale in the affaires of the estate: The apophthegmes: and there sarch. shall a man find the rules which the Emperour Traian could wifely apply to himselfe, and pra-

So could be well acknowledge the good he had received of Plutarch, being a noble and bountifull Prince, as hath bene faid here-before. For, besides the great honour he had done him at Hamour Rome, having made him a Confull, he commanded (as faith Suidas) that all the magistrates and Platarch officers which were in the Province of SLAVONY, should do nothing but under his authority. If by Traise, we had the bookes of Marius Maximus, of Fabius Marcellinus, of Aurelius Verus, and of Statius Valens, which have written the life of Traian: we might eafily draw on this matter further, the which Suidas (according to his file) is contented to touch in one word. And Dion who was a GREEKE, a man very forgetfull for an Historian, & that in some places shewed he had no great indgement: he seemeth to have suppressed the name of Plutarch, as though he had bene offended with the fame obtained by this man. Or else, if one will take things in good part, as I encline vnto it, it may be he thought he needed make no mentio of one whose writings made him to be known sufficiently. Yet furthermore, I do not find that Plutarch was in SLAVONIE at all, and if so be that he made any iourney thither, I thinke he taried not long there because it appearethin diuerse places of his works; that his abode was most in ITALY and in GRECE. And for his honorable charges committed vnto him, that should not be thought very strange, if we consider the

merits of Plutarch, the names of Traian, and the good will that Sosius Senecio (one of the principall men of Rome, and of the chiefest fauourites of Traian) bare vnto Plutarch. For he that was in so great credit with his master, would not forget him whom he loued aboue all other menwherein he loft not his time, for a fmuch as the flatue that was fet vp for him, & that which Dion and some others do briefly passe ouer, do not commend Sossim, as do the prefaces of honor, and the bookes which Plutareh dedicated vnto him. The which we need no more rehearfe, then to write ouer againe the Epistle of Plutarch vnto Traian, the which is written in Latine, as Amont sheweth in his preface of the Liues: where he hath inferted the Epistle at length, because he thought it wifely and grauely written, a briefe worthy of fuch a Philosopher as Plutarch. That which Cufpinianus faith in the latter end of the life of Traian, seemeth to touch this: speaking alfo, as if it had bene expressed out of Greeke into Latine. But time hath deprined vs of that, and of many other goodly peeces of the felfe fame, as we have somewhat spoken of it before in the beginning of the Morall works. Now he hath written nothing touching his behauiour in his publike charge, but contenteth himfelfeto fpeake a word fometime paffing by, because he made no account of any thing but of Philosophy, through the helpe whereof heaffayed to make himself and others wifer, and more vertuous every day then other. Being athing very likely, that such a man as had so painfully considered of the state of the world, and of al sorts of publike gouernments, and had joyned his studies with so great experience: that he hath happily managed the charges that were committed vnto him. To conclude, to liue as we should amongst men, the fpeculation and knowledge of things being joyned with the practife of the same, do bring forth ioyned with excellent effects: whereas those that do content themselues with the simple theoricke, andothers that follow exercise, contemning the true vnderstanding of the causes and grounds of affaires, as Philosophic doth shew them, they oftentimes fall into wonderfull difficulties.

For Plutareh, though he taried along time in ITALY, and in ROME, yet that tooke not away the remembrance of the sweetaire of GREECE, and of the little towne where he was borne: but

being touched from time to time with a fentence of an ancient Poet, who faid, that In what soener countrey men are bred,

(I know not by what sweetnesse of it led,) They nourish in their minds a glad defire Vnto their native homes for toretire:

Plutarch esturneth into Grecce his country.

Speculation

forth excel-

lens effells.

Plutarchs

He refolued to go backe into GRECE againe, there to end the rest of his daies in rest and honor amongst his citizens, of whom he was honorably welcomed home. Some judge that helest Rome after the death of Traian, being then of great yeares, to leade a more quiet life. So being the at rest he earnestly took in hand that which he had long thought of before, to wit, the Liues: and tooke great pains in it vntill he had brought his worke to perfection, as we have done at this present: although that some Liues, as those of Scipio African, of Metellus Numidicus, & some other are not to be found. Now himselfe confesseth in some place, that when he began this worke, at the first it was but to profit others: but that afterwards it was to profit himselfe, looking vpon those histories, as if he had looked in a glasse, and seeking to reforme his life in some fort, and to forme it in the mould of the vertues of these great mentaking this fashion of searching their maners, and writing the Liues of these noble men, to be a familiar haunting & frequenting of them. Also he thought (faid he himselfe) that he lodged these men one after another in his house, entring into confideration of their qualities, and that which was great in either of them, choosing and principally taking that which was to be noted, and most worthy to be knowne in their sayings and deeds. In fumme, he declared that by continuance of reading ancient histories, and in drawing out the Liues which he hath written, and retaining daily in his understanding the memorable things of the most honest and vertuous men of times past, he instructed himselfe, and prepared him to lay afide all euill, foolish, dishonest, or spiteful conditions, if by chance, by often frequenting their company he must of necessity keepe, he learned any euill touch: the which he did reforme, turning his quiet thought, not stirred with any passion at all, to the consideration of so many goodly examples. Now because that some might object vnto him, that for the finithing of to great a peece of worke, he could not have made choise of a fitter place then Rome: or rather that being a man given to his booke as he was, he should have left that work vnto some other that had seene more. This objection being of some weight, he answereth it at the beginning of the life of Demosthenes, and faith: That to attaine to true felicity, (whereof the greatest part confifeth in the maners, qualities and condition of the foule) it maketh no matter whether Not the aman be borne in an obscure towne and of small name, no more then if he were borne of a foule Place, but or litle mother. For it were a mockery to think that fome finall townes or litle Ilands could notwithstanding bring forth good Poets and excellent players of Comedies: & that they could not mend am in like fort bring out an honest, just, constant, wife, and noble or worthy man. And although we have reason to think that arts and sciences invented to make things necessary for the vse of men, or elfeto win a name and reputation are made & counterfeited in poore litle towns: so we must also thinke that vertue, none other wife then a strange plant, can take foot and root in any place, where it meeteth with a good nature, gentle and patient to endure paines. Wherfore if we come to commit any error, or that we liue otherwife then becometh vs, we must not accuse or blame $\hat{f v}$ meannesse of our country, but justly attribute the fault to our selves. It is true (saith he) that he that hath undertaken to frame a peece of work, or to write any history, in y which many things should be put, not familiar in his countrey, and that they find not alwaies at their hand energy where, but strange for the most part, dispersed here and there, and that must be gathered from many places and divers authors; in truth he must first and before all other things dwell in a great and noble city, full of people, and a great number of men louing goodly and honest things, to the end there may be store of books, and that in searching vp and downe, and hearing them tell with linely voice many things, which other story-writers peraduenture haue left vnwritten, and that hallbeare so much more credit, because they are fresh in memory of the liuing: he may make his work complete and perfect in all things, and not wanting many things that should be necesfary for it. Hauing made this preface, he excuseth himselfe, that he could not profit so much in knowledge of the Latine tongue, as he defired, and sheweth how he did helpe himselfe. But forafmuch as it is in this worke of his Liues that Plutarch hath most shewed his sufficiencie, when ther you consider the length of the worke, or trie with what judgement he hath proceeded: peraduenture it will not be hurtfull to speake somewhat of it, beside that which hath bene spoken by this Translator in the Presace. I do not enter here into commendation of Historie in generall, nor we need not apply that vnto Plutarch, which Cicero and many others have spoken. For if euer there were booke, next to that we call the holy Scriptures, it may be said, that that which containeth the lives of the noble GREEKES and ROMAINES, is an afforced The come & testimony of many hundreds of yeares, a Sunne of verity, a life of memory, a true mistresse mendation of life, and an excellent messenger of antiquity. And as the stone called the Opall, sheweth many Orient colours aboue all other precious stones: so do the Liues of Plutarch make an abridgement of all the best things contained in the Greeke and Latine histories. For there are feene worthy examples of vices and vertues, and infinite number of Maximes, and notable precepts touching the duties of every one, their vertues and vices. Now although Plutareh in the ignorance and blindnesse of the true God, could not (no more then other prophane Historians) touch the true end of hiftory: yet we may note some admirable thing in him in that respect. Since history (which containeth in it an infinite number of particular deedes and honourable actions, as the collection of the lines of Plutarch) is a goodly gliftering glaffe or table, within the which may be discerned the wonders and admirable working of the divine Providence. For to comprehend that well which God and men do, there are three things to be confired in enery history: to wit, the men whereof there is question, the things worthy of memorie, and the circumstances; keeping this ground against the Epicurians and enemies of mans life: That there is a Godhead and supernaturall power which gouerneth and maintaineth the world, things are wherein nothing happeneth by chance, but all is guided by amost wise disposition of the Families, same, for the preservation of families, of civil policie, and of a company and happy congregation that shall be taken out of this world into a better. A wife and learned historian must presented by hauean eye vpon these three things, for to apply them vnto three other vertues that ought to Godiprosishine in him: verity, moderation, and eloquence. For somuch as if he set out sables, or if he talke to no purpose, and make discourses at pleasure, or if he be troublesome in a speech not virtigent, coherent and hanging well together: then he deserueth no more the name of an Historian. As deration, co for these vertues, I do assure my selfethat every man of judgement will agree, that they are readily to be found in Plutarch, accompanied with a fweet granity that alwaies pleaseth the reader, of anhisto. and gineth him at a hundred times reading as good a fauor & tast of him as at the first. Let a man range be and gineth him at a hundred times reading as good a lauor & tait of him as at the first. Let a man book vpon stories that have nothing in them but then ame, & vpon so many books ill composed, Platarch.

Plutarch a discreet

gainst car-

of the which Europe is full: they find that the parts necessarie to be observed in the persons, is nothing at all regarded: that those which thinke to represent others, they do sample them after a strange fashion. Therupon the affections & passions, the hatred, the enuic, euill speaking, false reports, flatteries & lies, present themselves so vntowardly that they mar all. To the contrary, we fee Plutarch very exact in that respect. It sufficeth me to touch the things passing by: whether he shew the vices or vertues of great or meane persons, he doth it in good termes, without aggrauating or making it leffe. He taketh no manner of pleasure to speake euil of any, but wisely hideth that whereof we ought not to speake but with shame and compassion of mans infirmity. And he is more enclined to commend the good in vicious persons, then too much to set open the shops of their wickednesse. But if necessity enforce him vnto it, it is with such manifest proofes. that others which are wicked feeing him wash the head of their companions, they are compelled to hang down their heads, and to condemne their wicked thoughts. Now touching matters Matters re- that ought to be remembred in histories, therein are to be considered, the counsels, executions, and accidents. For counfels, who noteth better then he, the wickednesse of those which aske counfell of the world, of the vnconftant multitude, of men of as litle judgement as themfelues, or of themselves: With what grace doth he lay open the errors committed by Xerxes, Pyrrhus, Ma. rius, and infinite others: And though euill counfell prosper for a time, yet the eternall wisedome hath a fecret intention to bring things to passe, which the wisedome of man cannot see till it be done: as Plutarch doth finely discouer them in the life of Cato V tican, and of others. The executions are of divers forts, according to the workmen and their means. In this point Plutarch is admirable, shewing particularly infinite thoughts in actions which he representeth: so that for one felfe deed he giueth alwaies entrance and direction vnto the studious reader, to make halfe a douzen of fundry rules for the direction of mans life; he was euer fo fortunate to comprehend al things well, and to draw that which was to be offered vnto the view of posterity. If accidents come in question, hee can excellently referre them to the counsels, and draw out goodly instructions for all forts of men. Now there remaineth the circumstances of times, of places, of people, and others so diligently searched in Plutarch, that in this matter he seemeth to have furmounted himselfe. To proue all that hath bene presently spoken in few words, behold here the book lieth open, and vnder the indifferent examination of the learned and vertuous men. I am not ignorant that fome men wel thought of among the learned men of our time, have ve-

ry boldly cenfured Plutarch, accufing him of ignorance: alfothat he had writtethings incredible fabulous, and that he had made vnapt comparisons. For his ignorance, that hath bene sufficientdefended a ly handled heretofore speaking of Plutarchs toung. And if we must speake of the sufficiencie of an Historian. I thinke it is most excellent in him; howbeit I shall not need to defend him seeing that he defendeth himselse sufficiently well. If he be mistaken in some circumstances, and that they discouer some fault in his memory or of discordance condemned by many other Historians: that deserueth not so sharpe a reprehension. And for all the rest, I will adde to the answer of a noble person, well studied in Plutarchs lecture, for that it sufficeth and fully agreeth with that which we now speake of. And these be his words: If one had spoken simply that Plutareh reciteth things otherwise then they be, it was no great reproch for those things which we have not feene, we take them at other mens hands of credit; and I fee that to his knowledge he reporteth at times one selfe history diversly. As the judgement of three of the best Captaines that euer were given by Hannibal, is otherwise set downe in the life of Flaminius: and contrary againe in the life of Pyrrhus. But to charge him to have taken for ready money things vncredible, and also vnpossible, it is even to accuse for want of judgement, the author of the best judgement in the world. And here is the example which they alledge, to wiff that Plutarch faid, that a child of LACEDEMON fuffered his belly to betorne out by a Foxe he had stolne, & hid under his gown, cuento suffer death rather then to be wray his theft. First of al I find this example very cuill chofen to bound the indeuours of the faculties of the foule, whereas for corporall forces we have more law to limit and know them. For this cause, if I had had to do withall, I would rather have chosen an example of the second fort, and they are lesse credible. As amongst others, that which he reciteth of Pyrrhus: that being hurt as he was, he gaue his enemy armed at all peeces such a blow with his fword, that he claue his head down to the lowest parts, so that the body fell a sun-

der in two parts. In the other example I find no greater wonder, neither do I like y excuse they

make for Plutareb, for that he added too this word (as they fay) to adulfe vs, and to be warie in

our cariage and behaviour. For voleffe it be in things received by authority, or in feverence of antiquity or of religion, he would not himfelfe have received nor have made vs beleeve things of themselves incredible. And that this word (as they favo) is not vsed in that place to that puri policis eafle to be judged for that he himselfe reporteth in another place upon the subject of the patience of the children of Laced Amon, of examples that fel out in his time valikelier, to perfinade vs. As that which Cicero alfo hath teftified before him, for that he was (as he faid) enemin the very places; that even til their time there were children, for proof of patience, that were tried before the altar of Diana, who fuffered themselves to be whipped vntil the bloud ran down their Thingsee legs, not onely without crying, but also without weeping, yea and some of them even to death, ming incre-And that which Plutarch telleth with an hundred witheres: that at a facrifice a burning cole being fallen into a boyes fleenes of y. LACED EMONIANS, as he was cenfing, he suffered al his arm tobe burnt, vntil the very fauor of the burnt flesh came to them that were present. There was no. thing according to their custome that did more different them, and for the which they should fuffermore reproch and shame, then to be taken scaling. I am so instructed with the greatnes of these men there, that it seemes to me, that this report which Plutareh made should not be incredible, or not so much as rare or strange. Marcellus also reporteth, touching this matter of thefr. that in his time there could be found no manner of torture or torment how cruell focuer that could force the EGYPTIAN'S taken with theft, (whereunto they were accustomed and hardened once to tel their names. I know that there were certaine poore countri men, in the miferable civill wars, that did endure the frying of the foles of their feet against the fire, and the nipping off their fingers ends, to thrust their bloudy eyes out of their heads, their foreheads being fiftbound with a great cord before they would be ranfomed. I have feene one left starke naked in a ditch for dead, having his necke fwollen with a halter tied about it, with the which they had dragged him at a horfetaile al night long, his body thrust in with a dagger in an hundred places, notio kill him, butto make him full of paine: who had endured all that, having loft his speech and fenses, resoluced (as he told me) to die athousand deaths, rather then to promise any thing. and he was one of the richeft laborers in all the country. We must not judge that which is posibleand that which is not, as it is credible and uncredible to our capacity. It is also a great fault, (mothe which not with standing the most part of men do fall) to make it nice to beleene that thing of another man, which we our felues cannot do. This is that which this person answereth who the objection made, touching the fact of the boy of LACEDEMON fet out to accuse our of another, Platarch ouerthwartly with a lie. The other example which they alledge of incredible things, & altogether fabulous, spoken by Plutarch, is: that Agesilaus was condemned in a fine by the Ephores, because he alone had won the hearts and good wils of all his citizens. I know not what note of falshood they find in that: but so it is, that Plutarch speaketh of things which he should better know then we. It was no new thing in Greece to fee men punished and banished onely for that they were too great with their Citizens: witnesse the Ostracisine and Petalisme. And where they accuse Plutarch, that he did not well for the GREEKES with the ROMAINES: Witnesses, Demosthenes and Cicero, Aristides and Cato, Lyfunder and Sylla, Pelopidas and Marcellus, Agefilaus and Pompey; judging that he favoured the GREEKES, for that hegaue them companions to little refembling them: which is justly to blame Plutareh for that wherin he was most excellent and praise-worthy. For in his comparisons (which is the most admirable part of his works, and in the which (in my opinion) he tooke more delight then in any companyers other of his writings) the fidelity and fincerity of his judgements, equalleth their profoundnes of Greeks and their weight. He is a Philosopher that teacheth vs vertue. Let vs see if we can defend him mainte, from this reproch of malice and falshood. I think that which hath bene the cause of this censure, isthe great shining colour of the names of the Romains which we have in hand. It appeareth not to vs that Demostheres can equal the glory of a Consul, Proconfull, or Quastor of this great comonwealth. But he that shall confider the truth of the thing, & the men in themselves, wherat Plutarch ener most aimed: and to weigh their maners, their dispositions, their sufficiencie and their fortune: I think to the contrary, that Cicero and old Cato are indebted to their companions. For the purpose of this centure, I would rather have chosen the example of the yonger Cato co-Pared vnto Phocion: for in this comparison there might be found a more likely disparitie to the advantage of the Romaine. For Marcellus, Sylla, and Pompey, I see well that their exploits of war are more puft vp, glorious & fumptuous, then those of the GREEKS which Plutarch compareth

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with them. But the most faire and vertuous actions are not alwaies (no more then in wars) the most famous. I oftentimes see the names of Captaines drowned by the glory of other mens names of leffe merit; witnesse Labienus, Ventidius, Telesinus, and divers others. And to take it from thence, if I were to complaine me for the GREBES, might I fay, that much leffe is Camillus com. parable vnto Themistocles, the Gracchi vnto Agis and Eleomenes, Numa vnto Lycurgus, and Scibio vnto Epaminondas, which were also of his rolle. But it is a folly to judge things on a sudden of fo many men. When Plutarch compareth them, he doth therefore equal them. Who could more eloquently or confcionably note the disparities and differences. Doth he come to compare the victories, the exploits of arms, the power of armies led by Pompey, & his triumphs, with those of Agestlaus? I do not beleeue, saide he, that Xenophon himself if he were aliue, although that they suffered him to write what he would to the aduantage of Agefilaus, durst put him in comparison. Doth he speake to compare Sylla with Ly fander? There is no comparison, said he, neither in num. ber of victories, nor in hazard of battels: for Lyfander wan onely buttwo battels by fea, &c. That taketh away nothing from the ROMAINE. To have fimply presented them to the GREEKS, he could have done them no injurie, what disparity soeuer there might be: neither doth he weigh them also all together in the great there is no preferencie. He hath compared the peeces and cir. cumstances one after another, and judgeth them severally. Wherfore if they wold consince him of fauour, they must vnfold some particular judgement, or to say in general that he had failed to match fuch a GREEK with fuch a ROMAIN because there were others fitter to be compared & of better report. So much for this point. There are other that have blamed § length of Plutarchi discourses, also that he hath mingled many light things, & that he delights to thrust in many verfes of Poets, without any necessity, fay they judging that he did that to lofe no part of his memories, & fo hath confusedly put all peeces together in his work. But that which hath bene spoken of before, answereth this objection. And to accuse Plutarch to have wanted judgement, (hethat hath alwaies bene very discreet in his writings, as he protested at the beginning of his booke of fatall deftiny) is to show himselfe madde, and out of his wits. Those things that men judge to be fmall are not fo alwaies, if they be better confidered of neither is his length fo far out of square and troublefome, neither is that out of the matter, which he interming leth of the Poets, but is spoken to good purpose, & oftentimes upon good ground of aduice in matters of great weight: whereof his worke shall make proofe whosoeuer will examine them without passion.

But now let vs leaue these censors to thinke more adulfedly hereafter what they speake, and come againe to Plutarch: who after his returne to GRECE gaue himselfe more to his bookethen he did before: and notwithstanding he was very old, he made an end of his Liues. And surthermore, continuing still the loue he bare vnto his countrey, he employed himselfe in divers Offices of the commonwealth, whereof he maketh mention also in fundry places of his Morals, and especially in the booke where he instructes the those that deale in the affaires of estate. For he saith there these words: I answer them that reproue me when they find me present in our towne, to fee them measure, and tell bricke, and tile, stones, fand, and lime which they bring; that it is not for my felfe that I build, but for the commonwealth. And in this Treatife, Whether an old man should yet deale in the affaires of estate. Thou knowest (said he, writing vnto Euphanes) that there are many Pythiades, that is to fay, many termes of fine yeares that I do exercise the Priesthood of Apollo PYTHIAN: yet I thinke thou wouldest not fay to me, Plutarch, thou hast facrificed \ enough, thou haft made processions enow, thou hast led many dances, and now that thou art old and ancient, it is time thou leave thy crowne off thy head, and abandon the oracle, because of thy age. At the beginning of the eight question of the fixt booke of his discourse at the table, he mentioneth his Office of being Major of the towns of CHERONEA. To conclude, even to the end of his life he shewed in his deeds, that which he excellently handled in his writings: which is, that there is nothing letteth old men to ferue and profit their commonwealth in divers forts of gouernment, whether it be with good words, with good counfell, with liberty and authority to speake boldly, and with graue respect, as the Poets say. For they are not the seet, nor y hands nor all the strength of the body only, which are the parts & good of the comonwealth but they are first of all and principally the soule, and the beauties thereof as instice, temperance, and wifdom; the which coming late to their perfection, it were to no purpose they should enjoy a house, land, & all other inheritances of his citizens, and that it could receive no more any profit by the for the good of the commonwealth, because of their long time, the which doth not so much depriue

deprive them of strength and ability to do service, as it doth increase them with sufficiencie and knowledge of faculties requisite to command and gouerne. Furthermore Platarch having lived alwaies honourably even to old age, he died quietly among his children and friends in the city Phinarchi of CHERONEA, leauing in his writings an immortall fauour of his name vnto posterity. Befides the honour his citizens did him, there was a statue set vp for him by ordinance of the people of ROME, in memory of his vertues. Now furthermore, though time hath deuoured some nort of the writings of this great man, and minished some other: neuerthelesse those which remaine being a great number, haue excellent vse to this day among vs. Howbeit, hauing met with some fragments in Stobess, of some Treaties which are not to be found any more, I thought it would not mislike the reader to cull out some peeces to present them vnto him, to shut vp all this discourse. Wisedome, saith he, (in the booke Of the profite which knowledge of the time to come brin- wisedome, geth) confisteth not in shew, but in affaires, before a man setteth too his hand; and sheweth how he should come before them, and receive them when they be offered him; for it considereth the thingsto come. The body hath no eyes but before, the backe feeth nothing at all:but wifedome v by helpe of memory, feeth cuen the things that are past and gone. It is the Secretarie which alwaies remaineth and abideth within, as Plato faith. It is the part or instrument of the soule which taketh hold of things past, keepeth them, and layeth them vp safe, making a circle, within the which that that is past ioyneth with the thing present, and will not suffer it to extend it selfe beyond compasse, and to passe the bounds of nature and knowledge. Of the booke against pleasure. Pleasure yndoeth the body, and daily maketh it tender by deliciousnesse, the common vie wherof cutteth downe the lustinesse and consumeth the strength, so that weaknesse and sicknesse do abound, and in youth they begin to waxe old. Voluptuousnes is a beast that maketh men slaues, but yet no sauage beast: for if she did openly assaile any body, there would soone be an end:
but she is so much more dangerous, because she hideth her ill courage, and taketh vpon her the
wherein habit of good will. We must shun her therefore for two causes, the one, that she should not dangerous. hurt vs, the other, that she should not seduce vs. Let vs no more call voluptuousnesse honest pleasures, but rather acknowledge that they be troubles, services, and duties; and esteeme the rest as hamefull and violent things, which by their diverfity flatter vs, and in the meane time finely burt vs. Now our selues and affaires ought to be subject to the same law that the brute beastes are, to the end that when we have satisfied our defire, we have no new minde to couet further, but that our moderate pleasures be contented when they have things necessarie. Is there any manthat will commend traitours? Now pleasure is cuen such a one: for she betrayeth all that relation and dependeth vpon vertue. Doth any body esteeme hangmen much? See not withstanding what anhangend. itis to follow fenfuality, which tormenteth and renteth afunder all moderate things. Will any man commend auarice? Voluptuousnesse is as vnsatiable as the loue of money. What pleasure can we take of a beast that destroyeth vs by flattery ? Iaske, why doest thou not play the foole and knaue in the presence of all men? To the contrary, thou slyest, and bearest reuerence to the selfe, abusing thy selfe in the night and darknesse which cannot depose against thee. No man seeketh to hide him that doth well, nor is affraid of the light that is round about him: but rather to the contrary, he would althe world were become a bright Sunne, to give light to all the parts of the good works he doth. But if he happen to commit any fault, he doth all his possible indeuour to hide it, and blameth his passion. Now let vs take away the veile, and openly muse vpon these pleasures. They make vs drunke, euento lose our sences: they continually make knaues and drowfie lubbers to follow harlots when they should labour enemies of mans life, neither caring for father nor mother, voide of all reuerence vnto the lawes. In the Booke that treateth, how women should be taught and learned. It is no easie thing to hide this ignorance, suth Heraelitus: and much leffe then when he hath drunke more then ordinary. Plato faith alfo, that the thought is discouered by wine: as much as to say, after a man hath drunk too much. Sophocles bla- of seres. med Æschylus, because he wrote histragedies when he had drunke out of measure: for, saith he, though Afchylus doth well, yet he knoweth not what he doth. Pythagoras being asked how it could be brought to passe, that a drunkard should abstaine from being drunke? If he remembred faid he, oftentimes what he did when he was drunk. It is a commo faying in cuery mans mouth, Let northe child haue a knife. And I say, keepe riches from a child, and ignorance from a man. Of the booke of accusation. Hippias said, there was nothing so intollerable as accusation, because decusaring there was no punishment ordained by law for accusers, as there was for theeues: although they

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stole friendship from men, which is the goodliest riches a man can have. So that an outrage of fact though it be great, is lesse then accusation, which doth much more hurt because it is hidden. Of the discourse or Epistle of friendship. He is a true witnesse of the truth, that is not bound by he nefit vnto bim that bringeth him forth, and that speaketh before the ludges without exception of person. We must win loue by gentlenesse and bounty, rather then by meanes: and for the commonwealth, wisedome and gentlenesse should be in meaned together. Agripping in his gouernment, attempted to perswaded them whom he condemned to lose goods & life, that it was expedient for them they should be condemned. For, said he, I do not pronounce sentence against you, as a theefe passing by should say, Deliuer thy purse, or thou art dead: but I do that as your tutor, and one that hath a care of you: like vnto the Phisition that comforteth his patient from whom he would cut some member, and perswadeth him to be ruled. Cotis king of THRACIA Was very cruell vnto his subjects: & when one of his familiars told him, That is called fury not kingly gouernment. But foit is, answered the king, that this fury of mine maketh my subjects wife and quiet. of the booke against the strength of the body. Doest thou thinke the strength of the body to be fo great a happine fe, that thou wilt conclude that nature which hath given more french to beafts then to men, should be mother to them, and stepmorher to the other. Does thou think it is by reason of the massimenes or weight, or by the swiftnesse, or strength of the eyes? The true strength of men consisteth in discourse of the soule, by means wher of he hunteth in the forrests. and taketh the Elephants in a fnare; he rideth horse and breaketh them, he bringeth oxen subject to the yoke, he beatern downe birds with bolts, and catcheth with angles fish that lychidden in the bottome of waters. There is his strength which is seene much better, when he considerethat his case, the roundnesse of the earth, the breadth of the elements & the revolutions of the stars. Such were the worthy exercises of Hercules, and who had not rather be Vly ses, then Polyphemus the Cyclopian. Also when one spake much in commendation of a venturous and hardy man. as if he had bene some braue souldier: There is great difference, said Aratus the Sicyonian.he twixt esceming vertue, and regarding life nothing. Of the booke of Dinination. It is most apprarent that from the beginning Necessity invented and polished certain arts, which she doth keepe euen till this present. It is she that hath taught all things. For, is there any thing that necessity hath not thought of: she hath brought forth the occupation of wearing, of building, the art of Physicke, tilling of the ground, & all that belongs vnto it. There be other crafts also found out. I cannot tell by what pleafure: as Perfumers, Apothecaries, Cookes, and others that ferue for ornaments of the body; also Painters. Againe, there are sciences which men feeke, learne, and teach, because of the probable and apparent reason which they discover, and for the beautie of them; as Arithmeticke, Geometrie, and all others confifting in measures and proportions, then Aftrologie. And yet though we contemne them, neuertheleffe because of their excellency, we are conftrained in some fort to know them, faid Plato. Of the Treatie, That love and indgement are dinerfe things. Some fay, that love is the faculty of the foule, which we call understanding: others, that it is a concupiscence or voluptuousnesses, that it is a madnesse: and there are that thinke it is, I cannot tell what divine agitation of the foule: and others that make it a God. This disputation hath made that some haue judged, and rightly, that from the beginning, loue is a fimple defire or luft: but if it exceed, it is furie. Also that friendship doth refemble it. If love be despited, it begetteth melancholie: if it increase as wished, he that is posfeffed withall, hath a thousand conceipts and phantafticall imaginations, and doth imagine all the greatnesse and fauours of heaven and earth. And this is the reason why the Poets say, that love is a Torch: and the Painters, Potters, and Statuaries do represent it in that estate. For that part of the fire which doth give light, is very pleafing, profitable and commodious: but that which burneth, bringeth nothing but trouble and forrow. Like as it is a good thing to reproue and admonish our friends, and such as belong vnto vs, whilest they be in their right wits, and capable of judgement and understanding: so to the contrary, if they be light headed and distraught of their wits, we do not vie then to reason and contest with them, but we rather do yeeld to that they fay. So must we freely and lively reprove them, that commit a fault through choler or couetousnesse: but as for louers, they must be excused because they be sicke. And therefore from the beginning, it were the best way not to suffer loue to take root in them: if it do, repaire then to the altars of the gods that give remedy as Plato faith, that is to fay, keep company with wife me. Drive this beaft farre from thee, before his teeth and nailes do grow: if not, thou must fight with

the cuill when it is great and full growne, the which thou didft embrace in thine infancie and youth. But which are these teeth and nailes of loue: Suspicion and Jealonsie. Now some will say The teeth to me that there is also I know not what, a thing that draweth, and is pleasant, So had this famous and nailes sphins wings of diuerse colours, very pleasant to behold: for when be turned them to the beames of the Sunne, they shined likegold; and when he was against the clouds, one would haue faid it had beneazure mingled with yellow and red, like the rainbow in the Element. Loue affer the same fort hath in it (I know not how) a gracious, gentle, and faire shew. But it destroyeth men, ouerthroweth houses, dissolueth mariages, and confoundeth great Captaines, without propounding of hard Enigmaes or questions to be resolued; but himselfe being so taken that he cannot be freed. For example If one asked: What is that which at one instant loueth and hateth. flieth and pursueth, threatneth and prayeth, angreth and flattereth, taketh and leaueth, laugheth and weepeth with a breath; it is a knot which one cannot eafily vndo. Furthermore, the Sphins had many things deuised for pleasure, mingled in the midst of his Enigma. For though an old man go with a ftaffe, yet he hath not three feet; and the litle child is not a beaft with foure feet, although he creepe of al foure, helping his weake legs with his two hands. But there be no fuch Enigmaes in the passions of louers. They loue and hate, defire the thing absent, and seare the thing present they flatter, and do injurie: they die and kill themselves for the thing they love: they defire not to loue, and yet will not leaue to loue: they repent them, and waxe blind: they become wife, and yet cast themselves away: they wilcommand, & yet yeeld themselves slaves. And therfore it is that fuch a paffion is holden for a pure rage; as also Euripides doth confesse it. Now love is not begotten upon a fudden, nor doth not inuade all the person, as choler doth but it kindleth Louenes by litle and litle, as a litle fire. It flippeth in foftly, and when it hath possessed the foule, it dissolves geth not easily: but we see it somtimes lufty and fresh euen in old men that have white haires. If irccase, and begin to coole by succession of time, or that it be dead by some accident, it doth not altogether leauethe foule, or the fubstance of his fire confumed: where the marks of his heat pafsedare to be seene as if lightning had passed thorow there. As for the sorow past, and the choler after it is quenched, there is no foark left in the foule, but they perceive that the inflammation of the passion which made a great noise is quiet; but the bitings of loue, albeit the beast be sone, do not therfore lose their venime, but the inward wounds do renew & refresh themselues again. To be short, no man knoweth what such a passion meaneth, nor how it cometh, nor from whence it flipped into the heart. In the booke where he disputeth for beautie. Are not men compounded of body and foule: Is the one enough for vs without the other: How could that be: For if the body were not gouerned by the foule, it would not liue, and the foule had need of a place to be kept ranifiesh and lodged in. Since then both the one and the other are adorned with gifts proper vnto them. the foule with inflice temperance, and wifedome and the body with force, beauty and health were it not to be wondred at, if one despised that which cocerneth the body, & that he made no reckoning but of the goods of the foule. Corporall beauty is a work of the foule, which maketh aprefent of this gift to the body. For when the foule is gone, there remaineth nothing good in the body. The ftrength, the colour, the fight, and the voice, do vanish. To conclude, the body being abandoned of his ancient inhabitant, there is nothing left that is amiable. Thou therefore that accuses beauty, vnwares thou speakest outrage to y soule, which is cause of this beauty. Aristotle to one that asked him, why a man did loue faire things: answered: It is for a blind man to aske such a question. Diogenes called faire Curtisans, Queenes, because many do execute that which they command. of the booke against Nobility. What do we thinke that Nobility is, but riches gathered together by ancestours, or some honour attained vnto long time before? whereof the one nor the other proceedeth not of our will: but the one commeth by vnconftant Fortune, the other proceedeth from the disorders of the world. So then this proud name of Nobility floweth from two strange springs. Now riches maketh not those that are borne like vnto them: but vertue proceeding from the fincere habitude of the spirit, is planted in the race of the vertuous, and doth make them truly noble. In this is true nobility, to wit: the conformity True nobilivnto vertuous manners. But I pray you, king Midas riches, were they more rich then the it confident pouerty of Aristides? although he left not wherewithall to defray his charges of funerall. To the contrary, king Midas tombe passed for magnificence all the riches of the world: but Nobility is not enclosed in gold nor filter. Vice is rightly compared vnto fire: for when either the one or the other wanteth nouriture, it goeth out. But the basenesse of the race of Socrates the

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SENECA.

Philosopher, the son of an Image-grauer, and of a midwife, is it not more noble then the glorb of Sardanapalus? Thou shouldest not thinke Xerxes more noble then Cynegyrus, who had one of his hands cut off fighting for his country: fince the other fled to faue his life, being a king enuironed with cowardlines. Of the Treaty against riches. Hunger neuer gaue any man cause to bean adulterer: nor want of money bath made any man diffolute. Pouertie is a kind of temperance and need may be called a summarie observation of the lawes. Arcesilaus said, poverty was rude. no lesse then the Isle of ITHACA: but furthermore, a good nurse for children: because it did vie them to frugality and abstinence: and at one word, it is the healthfull schoole of vertue. Thus haue you some fragments of our Philosopher, of the which as of the rest of his works, we define that all may learne to be vertuous.

The end of Plutarchs life.

THE LIFE OF

Seneca.



A knowledge that doth many errors flie: A life relifting vices poisoned breath: A death, in death, that conquerd death by death, O Seneca, are fruits of thy Philosophie.

A PAINE is deuided by the Geographers into three seuerall parts, of y which one of them abutting vpon the straights of GIBRALTAR and the Mediterrane sea, called by Straho TVR DITANIA, was in old time the best inhabited. And albeit he doth confine it into two thousand furlongs in compasse, yet he faith that in his time they made account of two hundred townes within that circuite, which at this day is called ANDALYZIA, having taken the name of the VANDALS, which have dwelt there since the ruine of the Ro-

MAINE Empire. In this part of Spaine was (and yet is) situated upon the river called of the ancients Bætis, and at this day Guadalquibir, (that is to fay, the great river, by reason of his long course) the city of Cordve E, or Cordov E, which was in old time one of the most famous cities of Spaine, built by Marcellus, and inhabited with noble Romaines, as Plinie and Strabo do witnesse. This place amongst others was a feed-plot or garden of good spirits, and mengiuento studie. Among other honourable families of that time, was that of the Anneans, which

helides their nobility loued learning, specially fince the father of Seneca, whose life now we senecassa. write. He was a fimple gentleman bearing no charge in the commonwealth, for that he had no foirit in him to embrace such burthens, and gaue himselfe most to learning, although otherwise he left not his sword, being a knight as many other PATRICIAN's in the province where he was. With his armes he joyned the profession of learning, but specially of eloquence, in the which he excelled the most in his time. He maried a Lady called Elbia, of whom he had three Hubraline. sonnes, the eldest bearing the name of the father, to wit, Lucius Annans Seneca. The second. Anneus Nonatus, afterwards called Iulius Gallio. The third, Annaus Mella, father of Lucan the Poet. The father was very carefull to have his children well taught and brought vp.but the eldest especially, who with time gaue himselfe wholy vnto Philosophy. For Gallio besides his learning, he was raised up to some publicke dignities at Rome. Mella on the other side, he cared not for advancement, and therein he followed his father, as we will shew hereafter more at large. Seneca, of whom we have presently to speake, was borne as it should seeme, a litle be- in what fore the death of Angustus Cafar. For himselfe writerh in the hundred and ninth Epistle vnto Lucillius, that he was a young man when by the commandement of Tiberius the ceremonies of the strangers religions were driven out of Rome: the which Cornelius Tacitus in the second booke of his Annales said to have happened in the fift yeare of Tiberius. But of this we will feake more hereafter, treating of the writings of Seneca. Furthermore, the occasion why himfelfe and his brethren came out of Spaine to Rome, was this. About the tenth yeare of the reigne of Tiberius Empire, matters began to be troublesome in diverse parts of the dominion of Rome, by reason of the cruelties and insolencies of this Prince: who having about him Seianus, and some other dangerous Counsellers, he shewed his disposition more then before. The sicknesse of the head sloweth into all the principall members: so that the provinces were left without gouernours, orelse were tyrannized by Prætors: whereupon followed great alterations. SPAINE amongst others, in many places fined as they listed; it was managed at that time by exactors, which caused people to rebelland enter into factions. It chanced amongst others, that L.Pifo Prætor, was killed by a TERMESTAN, because he caried himselfe tyrannously amongst the people. This TERMESTAN being caught by the backe, and cruelly tortured, he shewed himfelfe so frout not with standing, that they could not possibly make him confesse any of his asso. of a Spaniciates. But being quickly dispatched by the hands of the hangmen, who would have put him to anew torture, he knocked his head against a stone with such force, that he died presently in the field. Shortly after the cities began to be warie of their yoake, and Cor Dov n specially among others, which being of the principallest and of great importance, an army was sent thither vnder the conduct of Cneus Domitius Anabarbus, who having subdued Cordove, tooke amongst others Seneca, his two brethren, and Lucan his nephew, their father being dead some yeares before. Domitius knowing what men they were, he fet them at liberty, and did so much that he perswaded them to leave Spaine and go to Rome, as well to continue and to advance their studies well begun, as to be knowne and honoured with publicke office. Now the state of Spaine was such at that time, that Seneca and his were easily perfwaded and won by him that had authority ouerthem, and at the last they went into ITALY. Somethinkethat Annaus Mella remained still in Spaine, being a man that loued to liue privately, and that made no account of the honour and vanity of the world. For his sonne Lucan, he was brought very young after his two vnckles, who did heare at Rome Pomponius Marullus, Iulius Higinus, Cestius and Asnius Humasters Gallus in Rhetoricke: and in Philosophie, Socio Alexandrinus, and Photinus a Stoicke, very famous. Vnder which they all profited, and Seneca specially, who ioyning to the gravity of the doctrine of the Stoickes, a compendious and fententious speech, in short time made himselfe to be knowne.

Now having remained a space shur vp in schooles, or hidden in the company of some learned men, whom he harkened vnto, and familiarly frequented, he was put forward at the beginning of the Empire Caligula, by Cneus Domitius (who had maried Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus, and litle daughter of Tiberius, of whom Nero was borne, nine moneths before the death of Tiberius) and began to shew himselfe openly, pleading before the Senate with great grace: for from that time forth he was esteemed for one of the wisest and most eloquent men of Rome. By meanes whereof his credit increased from day to day. But as prickes be hidden vnder roses, and where men thinke to winne honour, oftentimes they get repulse and Kkkkk4

No danger in filence. Caligula a

Domitius in danger Lahisela. quentnesse.

Seneca in Spoken.

nisht from

contempt: the revolution of mens affaires flourishing, yet marvellous brittleand subject to fall. So Seneca proued that his eloquence profited others more then himselfe; and that as sometimes it is a wifer part to keepe the fword in the scaberd, then in the hand: euen so The hire of Glence doth no danger threate. The Emperour Califula was a Prince that cared little for liberall sciences, yet he was very en-

rious to speake well, having words at commandement, and esteemed eloquent among others: specially if sometime he disposed himselfe to speake against any man, the words and whole sentences did increase in his mouth, with such an accent and gesture, that they heard him and knew him afarre off, and sometimes he threatned men with the force of his tongue. This quicknesse and vaine eloquence of his, made him (besides that he had an ill shaped head) wonderfull prefumptuous. For there was neuer a learned man and eloquent in all the Romain E Empire, buthe would prefer himselfe before him. And those which directly or indirectly went about to crosse him, they did put themselues in manifest danger: witnesse that which happened to the Orator Domitius Afer, and vnto Seneca. Caligula bearing ill will a long time vnto Domitius for some light spite he had vnto him, Domitius was accused before the Senate: where Caligula made a long oration written, and therein layd open all his sufficiencie, to shew himselfe better able then Domitius, esteemed one of the best spoken men at that time. Now his purpose was topper Domitius to death, if he had studied to answer eloquently. But Domitius easily discouring this dangerous refolution, made no reply, nor excused himselfe, but said he was assonied at the oration of the Emperour: and faining that the babling of Caligula had raufhed him, he made a briefe repetition, as if he had come thither to hearken. Then having magnified his discourses. and being commanded to defend himselfe, he began to lament, and to craue grace, and kneeling downe befought Caligula, being more afraid of his word then of his hand. Caligula wonderfull joyfull of this honour, and thinking to be eloquence it felfe, received Domitius into grace. Senecataking no heed otherwise to that matter, and having at that time the free spirit of the Stoickes, within few dayes after he fell almost into the like perill or greater danger then Domitius: he knew that Caligula did beare him ill will, and did also speake euill of him amongst his friends; and did compare him in his talke to grauell or fand without lime, as if he would have fayd, that there was neither good band or confequence in Senecaes discourse. And to conclude, that he was but a langler. But Seneca being carried away with the glory he had wonne, which pleased him well, continued notwithstanding to be in the Senate. Insomuch that one day having a cause to pleade before Caligula, he behaued himselfe with such a grace and vehemencie, that all that heard him esteemed him more then they did before, Caligula onely excepted: who being vexed, and as it were pierced through with cloquent words of Seneca, (he having in the meane time let fall no word to offend Caligula, but went on roundly with his matter) he was euen at the point to put him to death, and then had executed his thought, had it not bin for a woman he kept, who perswaded him nor to do it, affuring him that Seneca had a disease that would foone dispatch him out of the world. But after that, Seneca forbare, knowing with whom he had to deale. And soone after Caligula being slaine by Cherca, and Iulius Sabinus his vnkle (sonne of Drusus and of Livia) called Claudius, was chosen Emperour, arthe beginning Sencea came againe into his former credit and fame, and continued it for some yeares: but at the last he was banished Rome for this cause. Claudius was a Prince of small judgement, and caried by certaine minions and parasites of the Court, and by his wife Messalina, one of the most shamelesse women that euer was. This woman wholly possessing Claudius, caused men and women of all qualities to be put to death and banished, as she thought good: and those about all others that went about to hinder the course of her strange waies. Among others she did beare Iulia the daughter of Germanicus ill will, (as Dion reporteth) because Iulia did not regard nor flatter her. Furthermore Iulia was a very faire Lady, which made Messalina icalous, who by litle & litle, found the meanes to accuse this Lady of many crimes, and specially of adultery: and made her be banished, then put to death immediatly after. Seneca was caried away with this tempest, as culpable of the faults pretended against Iulia. Some thinke that Iulia is this Agrippina mother of Nero, whom Claudius maried after the death of Meffalina, and that she was banished, from the Court but for a time onely. The which is very likely, as also Cornelius Tacitus seemeth to incline to that opinion. But for Seneca, it is not onely in one place, but in many, that Dionand others doe accuse him, that he had bene somewhat bold with Agrippina, as if the credit he had in the house

of the late deceafed Cnew Domitius, had given him the boldnesse to defile the bed of his benefactor, deadea little before Tiberius. Furthermore, he was banished into the Ile of Conse. where he remained about two yeares: during which time he earneftly disposed himselfe to the studie of Philosophie, with singular contentment and quietnesse of mind, as may be gathered our of the goodly discourse he wrote, & sent vnto his mother Helbia, who did hardly beare this influent banishment of his. But he did comfort her, and by lively reasons showed her, that his entertainement was not grieuous vnto him, but that Philosophy had strengthened him after an excellent fashion, against all the assaults of Fortune. Whilest he was in this profitable solitarinesse. Meffaling continued in her wantonnesse with such an impudent and hote furie, that without the testimony of so many worthie historians, it were impossible to believe that the wife of an Emperour durft once have thought to have committed the thousandth part of the villanies vino the which she had given her selfe over to the fight and knowledge of all the world. In so much as Messalina in the end in the day time, within Rome, in presence of many persons of quality, & in the fight impudently of all the people, Claudius being no further off then Hostia, she maried with great pompe an adulterer called sillius, a gentleman of Rome, with all accustomed ceremonies and solemnities. She made a feast, and held Silius for her husband. Tacitus in his Annales reporteth these things at large. Now though Claudius was fo foolish before, and then too, that he perceived not that which all others faw so openly: in the end being wakened by Narciffus one of his minions, he put Sillius to death, and fome others culpable of this strange excesse. And for Meffaling, the had almost come againe into grace, but in the end she was killed by the comman- Mesfaling dement of Narcisses. After Messalina was executed, the three minions of Claudius, to wit. Narcissus, and Pallas, they layed their heads together to give their master a wife. But in the end Pallas, that pleaded for Agrippina the widow of Cneus Domitius, litle daughter of Tiberius, the daughter of Germanicus, and neece of Claudius, caried it from them; the reasons he propounded had so much more force, being accompanied with dainty sugred words: who vnder the colour of a kinfwoman, came often to visit her vnkle, and she stattered him so brauely, that the being preferred before others, and not yet maried, the did already vie the authority and power of a wife. And out of hand, immediatly after the mariage was folemnized with her vnkle Claudius, she advanced Domitius Nero her sonne, and the son of Cneus Domitius. Furthermore by Agrippina her practifes, Ottavia the daughter of Claudius, and of Messalina, betrothed vnto Sillanus, was promiled and afterwards given vnto Nere for his wife. Who being yet very yong when his mother maried Claudius (and but eleuen yeares old onely) it was in question to get him a good master row, and and tutor to teach him his booke betimes, and to traine him vp in affaires of estate. Agrippina, trothed to awoman of a maruellous spirit, and that plotted great things, as the effect shewed afterwards, Nero as Tacitus hath wisely noted: she resolued to have Seneca called backe againe, and immediatly obtained his grace of the Emperour. She did this to diverse ends, the one was to have a man ofgreat authority and bringing vp about her fonne, to the end to maintaine Nero under the fluadow offo great an appearance, vntill the time of his advancemet were come. The other to make the remembrance of Messalinathe more odious, who had bene the cause of the banishment of Seneca: to put backe Brittanicus, the fon of her, and brother of Octavia, & by that meanes to have men at her comandement, litle affected vnto Claudius. So then Agrippina ouer-ruling Claudius at

fent for quickly, & he returned to Rome with great honor, to the contentment of high and low. Immediatly after he was arrived, Claudius received him graciously, made him a Senator, and installed him in his charge. Afterwards being called into the pallace of the Emperour Domitius Nero is given himin charge, with great promises of Agrippina, who had two vices common to fuch persons. The one was, that she was set on fire with extreme couetousnesset money, master. vnder colour that she layd a foundation in store to helpe to maintaine her estate. The other, that Agripping, the gauelargely vnto those whom she knew meete for the advancement of her sonne, whom she would raisevp to be Emperor what soener it cost her, yea were it her owne life; as appeared by her answer to a wise man whom she had asked what should become of the future greatnesse of her sonne Nero. For that he having answered her, that he might be Emperor, but it should be to her vindoing: Let me dye then, faid she, so he may reigne. Tacitus writeth that Agrippina thought the people would rejoyce at the returne of Seneca, because of the great same of his knowledge; and also procured this good, to the end that the infancie of Domitius might

her pleasure, she did not only obtaine the repeale, but also the Pratorship for Seneca, whom they

hooke, flenting at the custome in practife at that time, to draw the bodies of malefactors put to

death in prison, with an iron hooke into the river. Such was the end of Claudius, rewarded for his

incest, and for the injury he did vnto his sonne Britannicus, to aduance a son in law, for to please

of Augustus, the people didgreatly honour him, and said he strould be preferred before Nero, On

not beaten downe the blowes. They being Nerves gouernours, and agreeing well together in

grow vntill his adolescency vnder such a master, and she to vse his counsell, to attaine to the greatnesse of command which she hoped for. Seneca, in stead of continuing in his solitarinesse. and not remembring that

Who entreth tyrants house, doth become A flaue: though he a free man thither come:

He to the contrary, thinking he had found the meanes to shew the effects of a Philosopher (the wit of man, yea of the wifeft, is so snared in darknesse youndarknesse, when there is question of the troubles of this life) went and engaged himself in the service of Agrippina. And although for a time he bridled the youth of Nero, and did withstand certaine disorders, yet in the end he was constrained to leave al, and suffer the fierce streame to runne, having defired (but too late) solitarinesse: and with lesse goods and honours of the world, more liberty, and quietnesse of mind. Now, as he himself knew very well, and did excellently teach it vnto others, that so as Migrims and paines in the head are not healed by a crowne or royal band, neither to the contrary, is good health, nor the good state of a man lost, though he be not a great Lord: so this greatnesse in the which he faw himfelf highly lift vp in a short time, did nothing else but increase his cares, wherwith he found himselfe bound, as with strong chaines to the end of his life. And though hedid shake them, and at times had proued to breake them, yet he could not possibly vnloose them: and in the end there was no way but he must perish under the weight

Of massie chaines, that of no iron were,

But fuch as [hamefastnesse, did make him beare. It is true, that at the first this charge and gouernement seemed light vnto him. For Nero was a yong Prince of great hope, & in youth he shewed himself gentle, tractagle, obeying his schoolemasters instructions, who delighted to manure this plant, hoping all the world should have joy of him. But as the Emperors that were before, even in their young age, had made fom shew of that which might be expected of them in time to come: Seneca also perceived through the goodly apparence of his scholer, some part of his wild, naughtie, and vntoward nature, which he shewed within few yeares after. Also Cneus Domitius his father, as some came to gratifie him for that Agrippina his wife had brought him a sonne: he holding downe his head, answered, that they should not thinke that of him and of such a woman should be borne an infant, but to the ruine and confusion of the Empire. This prediction was not noted, but when Agrippina her felfe felt by the loffe of her life, what a child fhe had brought into the world, and advanced by fo many strange practises, and by the degrees of incest, of bloud, and filthinesse, vnto the Imperiall dignity. Now whileft Seneca imployed himselfe to polish the spirit of Nero, and sought to print in his heart the loue of vertue, Agrippina carefull of the worldly greatnesse of her sonne, the followed her purpose, cunningly helping her selfe (as much as the thought fit, to serue her turne) with the counsell of Seneca, whom the acquainted not but with the least part of the corruption of her intentions: for the being a cruell woman, and that never received those into fauour whom she hated, caused Lolia Paulina to be put to death, that had reasoned against her for the mariage of Claudius. She caused Calpurnia to be banished out of ITALY. And having through Pallas credit, who prinarly gouerned her, and also kept her, made her sonne Neroto be adopted, who was preferred before Britannicus the right fuccessour vnto the Empire: to the end the would have her power and authority to be knowne to the friends and allies of the Empire, the caused anumber of fouldiers of the old bands and people to be caried to the place where she was borne, a towne of the VBIANS, at this day called CVLLEN, vpon the Rhein. So that this city was afterwards, and is at this present called Colonia Agrippina. Afterwards, for a new testimony of this authority, Caractacus King of England, was led prisoner vnto ROME, and presented with his wife and brethren vnto Claudius: who in presence of the people and of his guards pardoned them. This king and his traine went the fame time before Agrippina (who was fet vpon a feaffold joyning vnto that of her husbands:) they did her reuerence, and thanked her with the same praises they gaue the Emperour. Which was found very strange and new against the custome and fashion of the doing of the ancients: to see a woman set amongst the standards and ensignes of the Romaines. But she maintained that she was a companion of the Empire obtained by her predeceffors. Now those were but slight approches in comparison of this that followeth. For having caused her some to be declared to be of sufficient age, in testimony whereof he tooke the robe due vnto those that were come to mans

Senecaes greatnesse brought up cares and Bondage,

Nero tra.

bis youth.

Nerves fa ther prefa-geth the ilnesse of his

acruell was

Caractaeu aking of England & Submitted themfelues 23 Claudius the Empevor of Rome

1211 effate, and obtained that he might receive the Confulfhip at twentic yeares of age: the made Preparatihim haue the power of Proconsull out of the city, and the name of Prince of the youth. Besides all this, there was great largesse made vnto the people in his name, and a summe of mony given ment to the to enery fouldier. Also Nero himselfe passing on to go to the plaies of Circes, went apparelled Empire. with an Imperial robe, and Britannicus as he was wont: who remembring fomany outrages as they had done vnto him, could not containe but must shew some discontentment. And this ferued Agrippina her intention: for the prevailed so much with Claudius, that the procured him to banish or put to death all the gouernours of his sonne Britannicus. And worseyet; he committed him vnto men suborned by Agrippina; who passing further yet, discharged Lucius Geta of his Captaineship of the guard, and Ruffus Crispinus, servants of the house of Messalina, and placed in their roomes, Burrus Afranius, a man greatly esteemed for a warriour, but who knew well enough by whose fauour he was aduanced. Such was the boldnesse of this grippina, a great Lady in truth (for she was the daughter, fifter, wife, and mother of an Emperour) but of a fpirit compounded of all forts of mischiefes. We have touched these things paffing by vpon the occasion of Seneca: who being occupied about his pupill, was constrained to be partaker of many counfels, of the which he understood northe depth alwaies. But so it Sented is, that Agrippina serued her turne much by his authority, to aduance her businesse: the which Senera perceived well, but he could not remedie it for he thought of it too late. Now touching depth of Nere, although the free admonitions of his mafter were barres to keepe him in order, yet the derippinate corruptions of that time, and the working of his mother also, began by litle and litle to appeare in him; fo that by time he made it manifest, that the good instructions had beaten his eares a little, and troubled his braine somewhat: but that euill had taken too deepe roote in his heart. Furthermore, whilest Nero remained so as vnder the rod, openly there could be noted in ... grippina nothing but feuerity and gravity, no infolencies in her house, otherwise then she thought might serue for the advancement of her affaires: for then, her selfe, as also all her traine, gaue themselues over to all dissolution. Now after she had advanced a part of her intentions, Nero being fixteeneyeares old, maried Octavia the daughter of Claudius: and to flew that he had learned under seneca, he pleaded many causes of importance unto the Senate, with the praise of all men. Immediately after, a matter happened, that compelled A. grippina to looke aduifedly vnto her affaires. Claudius having drunke well at a feast, let these words escape him, that his destinie was first to endure all the mischiefes of his wives, and afterwards to punish them. She being afraid to be preuented, determined to make hast, after she had first destroyed Lepida her cosen germaine, who wanne the heart of Nero by her kindnesse and liberality. These troubles of Agrippina gaue Narcissus the alarme, and made him joyne with Britannious. But in these stirres Claudius was poysoned by a woman, an Eunuke of his, and Claudius his physicion, practised of long time by Agrippina; who having disdained Britannicus and his response fifters a long time, fuddenly the gates of the pallace were opened, and Nero accompanied with makes the Burrus presented himselfe to the souldiers PRETORIANS, of whom being saluted Emperour, of busing the souldiers Presented in the s he was confirmed by decree of the Senate, and afterwards allowed by the Prouinces. Then Agripping Nero made diverse orations penned by Seneca, who besides the contentment he had of the high dignity of his pupill, wrote a pleasant discourse vpon the death of Claudius, and did intitule it, Apocolokyntholis, that is to fay, immortality gotten by mushrommes: because the meate was fprinkled all ouer with mushrommes, whereof Claudius was poyfoned. The which Nero afterwards called the meate of the gods, feeing that by that meanes his father in law was scraped out of the world, and made one of the gods after the fashion of the ROMAINES. Also Gallio Senecaes brother gaue Claudius a mocke, faying that he was drawne vp to heaven with a

an ambitious woman, to wit, Agrippina. Nero being thus railed vp, his mother fet vpon Iulins Sil- Iulin Sillanus Proconsul in As 1A, who was poysoned because she feared him, for that being the last son lanus poyso-

the other fide Narciffus was hastily compelled to die, although Nero was very angry withall. To Narciffus be short, the kniues were drawne, and this woman had shed much bloud, if Burrus & Seneca had put to death Burrus and ferre toge. ther for Neroes good.

No dispraise for a rvince to excell in other lisdietafo he neglect not the principall.

Juffite one. to makesio Princes great.

A Prince 211.212 10 64fe things canno: be grest.

The infilen Burrus and Seneraes confultati.

this equall and common greatnesse, they had both alike power and authority, but by diverse meanes. Burrus, he disposed of all matters militarie, and was a graue man, but had soure maners. Seneca with a pleasant and comely fashion taught this yong Prince eloquence. They did carefully helpe one another, & often conferred together what meanes they should vie to make Ne. ro loue vertue, whereof he seemed to have great beginnings. To hold him in more casily, they let him haue his owne will in exercises and honest pleasures, and left him to his disposition to do as he thought good. This yong man from his infancy vsed his wit, which was quicke to diuerse things, peraduenture better for a man of some other quality, to wit: to graue, to paint, to fing, to play on the citherne, to ride horses, and to make verses. That a Prince haue all these parts in him, and be furnished with others, is not athing in it selfe to be blamed, so that the principall do alwaics go before, and that nothing be forgotten requifite for discharge of his gouetnment received of God. Otherwise, as he was justly reproued, that of a wise Phisition was becomean cuill Poet: and sometime a great Lord was blamed for that he was too good a Mussitian; also it was said to a king, that would contest against a player on the flute: that it was not his craft: so they may answer him that would describe the praises of a Prince: He was a good player at tennis, a cunning workeman, a braue fencer, a fine dancer, a great talker: My faire friend, thou doeft as if one being about to speake of a man and his contentment, came to tell vs that he handleth his feete and his hands finely, and that he hath fine shooes on, and weareth his hatgallantly: and thou forgest bodies without a soule, and men without vocation, and vocations ridiculous. Agefilans hearing one call the king of Persia, agreat king: Why, faid he, is he greater then my selfe, vnlesse it be that he is inster then I am? Nothing surely maketh Kings and Princes truly great but inflice. Other things how exact focuer they are found, they shall oftentimes meete with more excellent in a poore crafts man hand, hidden amongst the refule of the people. The Prince therefore is not defirous of true honour, nor a man that deferueth praise, that is carefull to cloath his body sumptuously, and that glorieth to be a painter, a gratter, a cunning workman, a finger, a player at tennis, a hunter, a dancer, and that his house be richly furnished with houshold stuffe, and himselse daintily served: and all this whilehe giueth no order for his speech, his company, and conversation, that therein he be graver and wiser then a base and common person, making no account to have the pallace of his soule royally apparelled and set forth, as appertaineth to a royall magnificence. But how can a Princebe great, what power of authority focuer he haue, if he beginen to vilethings, vn worthy of histrue greatnessee and worsethen that, if he joyne vice vnto these ridiculous things in him? Away with this trash, and take vertue from a great man in the world, you shall see him litle in all other things. Litle in his gifts and prefents: because he will not, or knoweth not how to dispose them. Litle in paines, because of his delicatenesse: litle towards God, because of his superstition: litle vnto the good, because of his enuie: litle vnto men, because of his cowardlinesse: litle among women, because he is subie & vnto voluptuousnesse. For like as euill workemen. which fet vp litle statues vpon great and large bases, do by measure shew the smalnesse of their statues: eucn so when Fortune lifteth vp to high estate a man of a weake and litle heart, where he is to be seene of all the world; and in the place of the robe and staffe of iustice, he is seene appareiled like a crafts man, or an enterlude player: she doth discouer, descrie, and dishonour him, making it appeare how he recleth & flumbleth for his lightnesse. Let this be spoken to the purpose of Nerves pastimes, who shortly after left all such comedies, to play terrible tragedies. And for his small pleasures, although at the first Burrus and Seneca were warie that this yong Princeliued modestly enough: yet we must confesse that sometime they gaue him liberty to entertaine women, which the estate of his court of Rome did offer him at pleasure. But that which most troubled them, was the boldnesse of Agrippina: who being set on fire with all the paffions that may be found in a wicked gouernment, had peare about her pallace an arrogant man, and that having forgotten with what condition he came to mount foligh, braued all the world, and Nero himfelfe: who notwithstanding his youth, did very vnpatiently beare the insolencie of this minion. And yet he bare it, because he would not anger his mother, to whom he spared no reuerence, honour, and kindnesse amongst his Lords: also he called her his good mother, even to give this name otherwhile for a watch-word vnto the Captaine. In these beginnings Nero made many goodly and well penned orations, after the maner of Seneca, who had a gentle spirit, and meete for the cares of the time. These exercises fashioned

fashioned Nero, kept vnder his wild nature, and framed it to the affaires of estate: in such fort, that the first fine yeares of his Empire, he was so finely handled by Seneca, seconded with Burrus, that the affaires of peace and warre prospered, every man having great hope of Nero, who served we flewed himselfe lowly, and given to vertue. Seneca reporteth wonders in his bookeshe did dedicate vnto him, where he treated of clemencie, fingularly of this gentlenesse of his. For at the beginning of the fecond booke he fayth, that Burrus defirous to hang two theeues, fued to the Emperour to fer too his hand, against whom, and for what causes this execution should be done. This being put off diverse times, Burrus follicited the dispatch, and being angrie, presented the paper vnto Nero: who with a discontented countenance, and doing it as a gainst his will, he cried out. By my will, I would I could neither write nor reade. See to what end the instruction of Seneca served: where I will tell you another storie, although it chanced a long time after the first, to shew the credit of the maister towards his scholer. Nero having made a pauilion with eight panes wonderfull fumptuous, Seneca told him: Thou hast shewed thy selfein this pauilion that thou art poore: For ifthou lose it: thou shalt neuer haue the like againe. As it came to passe: for the ship wherein his paulion was, was cast away; and Neroremembring Senecaes words, didbeare the losse of it more patiently. Furthermore, Seneca accompanied Nero in the affemblies of Counfell, and oftentimes told him in the field what he should do, according to the occurences: and in diverse orations he procured that Nero made protestation of his gentlenesse before the Senate. The which turned to the praise of Seneta, in such fort notwithstanding that the people perceived it, and reioyced at it. So they report that the Emperor Traian was wont to fay, that all the other Princes were farre from the first fine yeares of the Empire of Nero: as Tacitus and others do testific. In the meane time Nero shewed himself very liberall vnto Seneca, and did esteeme him as much, or more, then any man in Rome at that time: for he made him a prefent of great fummes of money, vnto three thousand Sestertium, which fome thinke do amount vnto feuen millions and 50000 crownes; of the which, part of it yeelded him great profite at vsurie: the other part was bestowed upon sumptuous gardens, houses of pleasure, lands & possessions farre off and neare Rom E: and furthermore, a pallace in the city, ful of all forts of precious moueables. For all this Seneca waxed nothing the prouder, but fearing Seneca in fortune, and remembring his old state and condition, sought to keepe himselfe vpright in the prosperite middeft of the great combats which were like to come, having vpon his armes the vnconftant vourb of New the which in fight began to runners his defendion, on the other file. youth of Nero, the which in fight began to runneto his destruction: on the other side, the am- of addersits bition of Agrippina to fight withall and beatedowne: this woman being of luch a spirit, that she could tarry in no place, but fet her felfe and others on worke. But this credite of Burrus and of Seneca, and their great riches also, especially of Seneca, made them to be enuied of many, that did blame and accuse them openly. Wherupon seneca opposed the grauity of his maners, and sought by diverse writings to strengthen himselfe more and more : as some of his workes, specially the discourse of a happie life, seemeth to be done by him during these alarmes.

Now the beginning of these grices of Seneca, came partly for that he perceived Nerves mind fo corrupted, that he began to be very dissolute: and partly also for that he discouered that Agrippina and her minions would fet vpon him and Burrus also, which with time would bring them into many dangers. And though for his owne part he was resolute against all accidents. neuerthelesse the charge and care he had of the affaires of the Empire, and the loue which he bare vnto Nerohisscholer, troubled him exceedingly. Neuerthelesse as hope entertaineth vs in all dangers, attending better, he determined to keepe himselfe vpright as long as he could possible, and to expect some other issue in the affaires. Nero was enamoured on a bond woman called Atte, which his familiars did endure, alledging they must suffer one euill, for feare a worse should happen; and that so long as he should fatisfie himselfe with her, he unince should not runne after the Ladies of Rome. But Agripping that could not beare with this in- suffered to folencie, beganto takevphersonne roundly, thinking she could by her magistralitie remedie this well inough. To the contrarie, this was to kindle the fire, and to embrace it altogether in this girle. Nero being waxen great, and counselled by Otho and Claudius Senecio, who made the messages of Loue, he snuffed arthese reprehensions, and began to despise his mother: who on the sudden came to change her subtilities. And she had not beene so sharpe be- flame. forein rebuking, but she was now as gentle in yeelding, and offered her closet to her sonne for the accomplishing of his desires. This sudden change made Nero and his minions

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poyfuned.

Popea.

Senera con. (witcd with ting Agrip.

thinke much of it, infomuch as they prayed him to beware of the deceipts of this woman that practifed in her heart some villanie, Nero countermining her, presented his mother with many richiewels and apparell of great price. But the being suspicious as could be possible. gaue them injurious words that brought them. Wherewith Nere being offended, and knowing that Pallas was the chiefe counfellour of Agrippina, tooke his offices from him which were committed to him by the Emperour Claudius. Agrippina began then to diminish in reputation, and to flye off the hookes: and comming to Nero himselfe threatned him to take his Empire from him, and to establish Britannicus, the lawfull successour of Claudius. and hereupon detefted in express the wickednesse she had committed, to bring up a fonne that was fo ynthankfull vnto her: adding moreouer that she would goe finde out the armies with Britanniens, fo long as they should see on the other side, this baggage fellow Burrus, and this banished pedanticall companion Seneca (so did she qualifie him) barking after the government of the world. These threatnings were accompanied with such strange counte. nances and imprecations; that they troubled Nero; besides that Britannicus came now to be fourteene yeares old: and that one day playing, he could fay alond before Nero himselfe. that they had taken his Empire from him. Shortly after Britannicus was poyfoned, and died suddenly, to the great assonishment of Agrippina and of Octavia also. Afterwards, Nero defifted to converse fo privately with his mother as he did at other times, and began to giue eare vnto them that would fet them further at oddes: fo that a certaine foole called Park. having told Nero one night that Agripping conspired against him, he was resolved to make his mother to be put to death, and to take from Burrus the charge of Captaine of the guards. But Seneca kept him from that, and after some reasons passed betweene them, Burrus being fent for, to put Nero by his choler, he befought him to let him have the charge of this bufinesse, assuring him that he would put Agrippins to death, if she were continued of any villanic. Notwithstanding that every body should be heard speake in their desence, and about all, a mother; adding also that the accusers were not present, and that there was but one accufer suspected. And that he could not instifue, that such an important deliberation should be made by night, and at the table; and that all that would shew his rashnesse and folly more then any other thing. Nero being fomewhat pacified, they taryed till day, that they might go to the mother, to know how these accusations fell our. Burrus was thereby expresse commission with Seneca, and some others, to marke what should be sayd. But is grippina could so well instifie her selfe, that her accusers were punished: for one of them was put to death, and the rest banished. From that time forward Nero began to runne riot, as is described by Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion. But the beginning of new and horrible miseries, (the other that went before being but light in respect of them) was the falling in loue with Sabina Popea, the wife of otho, who had taken her away from her first husband Russus south saling Crifpinus, a knight of Rome. Nero did the like vnto this Otho, and tooke from him this minxe that knew the trickes of the occupation. She having gained Nero in a little space, prevailed fo much with him, that he determined to put his mother Agrippina to death. Who hearing of the ill will her fonne did beare her, fought by all meanes to get into his fauour againe: cuen to present her selfe so shamefully vnto him, that I shame to be thereporter of that which the historians speake of her. This notwithstanding he perseuered in his determination, and commanded Anicetus Generall of the galleys of MISENE, to fee her drowned: the which was executed in some fort, yet Agrippina for that time escaped being hurt, and got to a house of pleasure of hers. Nero hearing these newes, more dead then alive, thinking he was vindone, fent prefently for Burrus and Sensca to have their advice: and we cannot tell (faith Tacitus) whether they were of counsell and privile to this fact, or not. Both of them therfore were a great while and spake not a word, being afraid they should lose time, if they about put. Should goe about to dissingle Nero from that which he was purposed to redouble vpon her: and they knew well that the day was come, that Wero must needs dye, if Agrippina were not preuented. Seneca, who vntill this prefent time was cuer ready to speake, looked vpon Burrus, as to know of him if he thought good to commaund the men of warre to doe this murther. Burrus answered, that the PRETORIAN fouldiers were so affectioned to the house of the Cafars, and did fo much reverence the memorie of Germanicus, that they would never enterprise any thing against the life of his children : and that Anicetus was to performe his promise,

SENECA!

Who without any further thought, demanded and excepted the commission, which was foorthwith executed, and Agripping put to death in her house; where she thrusting out her body to the Centener, who tooke his sword in his hand to kill her, she crieth out: Ventrem feri, de- death, firing that the wombe which had borne fuch a fruite as Nero, should be first stricken, and runne through. Nero defiled with this execrable murther, added thereto other infinite abhomina- Nerowas. tions, specially the putting away and doing his wife Octavia to death, a vertuous Princesse, eth worse and that deferued better. Now this is inough that we have touched these things by the way, because they specially concerne the life of Wero, who payed his maister with an cuill reward, entangling him in such wicked counsels. On the other side also it cannot be denied, that Burrus and Seneca yeelded too much to the cruell will of this Paricide. And as for the extremitiethey feared, there were meanes inough to have holpen it: and we must never do cuill, that good may come of it. And what good could come of fuch an execrable abhomination: For though Agrippina deserved such a cruell punishment, for so many wicked deeds as she had done, yet should not her sonne haue had his hand in it; and his counsellers should not haue confented vnto it, nor Anicetus haue executed it. As all were much to be blamed for this deed, yet

fome more then other fo they had all their turne, as Tacitus and Suctonius do shew particularly: Burrus dislodged the first, and as least to be blamed for so many disorders, he was spared, in that he faw not the other incredible confusions that fell out afterwards. His throate swelling within, by little and little, he died, his pipes being stopped that he could fetch no wind. Many Burren diaffirmed, faith Tacitus, that by the commandement of Nero, making as though they would eth. helpe him, the pallate of his mouth was rubbed with poyfon and that Burrus perceived that wickednesse, & when Nerocame to see him, he would not vouch safe to looke on him, but turned on the other fide. And Neroasking him how he did, he answered onely, I am well. This man was wonderfully lamented of the Romaines, because of his vertue, and of the foolishnesse of one of his successours, and of the notable villanies of the other called Tigellinus, who was the vtter ruine of Nero. The death of Barrus much impaired the power and authority of Seneca: forthat the meanes to do good were weake, as having loft the halfe part of their life; and because that Nero inclined vnto those which held him vp in his wickednesse, against the which seneca opposed himselfe as time and occasion would suffer him. But his enemies having the Prin- senera acces earc, they failed not to fet vpon this honourable person, because of his age and the services exset by he had done to Nero. They did falfly accuse him, faith Tacitus, for that he having great riches, and more then was fit for a private man, he did still increase them, and grew greater: and besides did gaine and draw the good will of the people too much vnto him. That he had goodlier gardens and morefumptuous houses of pleasure, then the Emperor himselfe. Furthermore, that he imputed all thehonour to himselfe for knowing how to speake excellently well; and that he made verses oftener then he was wont, after that he perceived Nerotooke pleasure to make them himselfe. That flatly condemning Nero his exercises, he mocked him, seeing him ride and manage horses, and laughed at him hearing him sing. And all this was but to make men beleeue that nothing was well done in the affaires of the effate, that proceeded not from his invention. Now that Nero was come out of his infancie, and in the flower of his youth, that he should leave his maister, confidering that his ancestours should serue him well inough for great and good tutors: Seneca vnderstanding by the report of those that yet somewhat regarded vertue and honour, how these lewed incensers did accuse him, perceiuing also that Nero withdrew himselse more and more from his familiaritie, which he had shewed in times past, he befought him to heare him, the which having obtained, he faid thus vnto him: My Lord, it is now fourteene senecates yeares fince I was first called to accompany y great hope that was had of your infancy, & eight oration yeares fince you have bene Emperor: during which time you have heaped fo much goods and vnto N. 100 honor vpon me, that nothing wanteth to my felicity, but to know how to vse them well. To this purpose I wil lay before you notable exaples practised by men of your quality, not of mine. Angustus great father of your grandfathers father, licensed M. Agrippa to withdraw himselfe vnto MYTTLENE, to leade a prinate life: and to C. Mecanis to line at his ease within Rome it selfe, as in some pleasant remote place farther off. The one of them had accompanied him in his warres, and the other having bene beaten and tormented with great tempests in Rome, had bene both, to speake the truth, amply recompenced, as also the great service they had done well deserued it. As for my selfe, Ibrought nothing that deserued you should be so noble and

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liberall vnto me, but onely my studies nourished (if I may be so bold to speake it) in the shadow, and couertly, from whence notwithstanding all my reputation is proceeded. for as much as it feemeth I have bene in your apprentiships: which truly is to me a great reward and rich recompence. But besides all this, you have infinitely favoured me, and presented me with innumerable goods. In so much that I often reason thus with my selfe: Is it possible, that I that am but of a simple house of Knights (also dwelling without Roms) should hold the place of one of the chiefest Lords of Rome and amongst the most noble, and those that are noted to be of fo great antiquitie, that a new come man as my felfe, hath dared to shew himselfe in place. Where is that spirit that contented it selfe with mediocritie: what meaneth he to have so fine and goodly gardens? What? he walkerh by fuch and fuch houses of pleasures, neareynto the citie. His lands and possessions are of so great an extent, and his mony bringeth him in such a commoditie many wayes, that he is full to the throate. For the which there is nothing to be offered, but a defence for my selse: That I could not refuse your presents. Now we have, both the one and the other, performed our dutie you, in giving so much as a Prince could give to him that he loueth, and I, in receiving that which a man in great favour might have and take of his prince. As for my honours and effates, enuie looketh awry vpon me: howbeit (as all other things of the world) she is under the feete of your greatnesse. Yet in the meane time she lighteth vpon me, and therefore I have neede of helpe. And as in war, or otherwife in travelling abroad, if I were wearie I would require rest: so finding my selfe in the trauell of this life now old & very vamcet for the leaft office, fince I can no longer support the burthen of my riches. I do defire to be discharged. Command therefore that your receivers henceforth do take them and put them into your treasure. I shall not therefore become poore, but when I shall be rid of those things which blindfold me with their brightnesse, I shall bestow my time in studie, which I was wont to imploy in my gardens and possessions. You are young and lustic, and time hatli established you in the greatnesse of your estate: but we that are your ancient servants have leave as it were to repose our selues. It shall be also a great honour for you to have raised those to great office, to whom meane things had fufficed. Vnto this Were made answer, in manner as followerh: Forthat on the fudden I do answer your premeditate Oration, it is because I haue learned it of you, that haue taught me how I stould deale, not onely in things feene farre off, but also in those which are presented upon the sudden unto me. Augustus my grandsather suffered Agrippa and Mecanas to repose themselves after their travels: but it was in such an age, that his authoritie might maintaine that, and any thing else by him granted: and yet he did not take from the one nor the other any goods that he had given vnto them. They got it in the warres, and with danger of their lives: For Augustus spent his youth in warres. I do affure my felfe that your armes nor hands would have failed me, if I had gone to the warres: but as the chate of my affaires did beare, you have by reason, by counsell, and by instructions raifed up my infancie and youth. So will I remember all the dayes of my life the good seruice I have received at your hands. That which you hold of me, your gardens, money in banke, houses in the countrey abroad, all that is subject vnto diverse accidents. And though all together feeme much, yet is it fo, that many farre short of your deferts have possessed more. I am ashamed to name bondmen made free, whom men see richer then you: and the cause that maketh measshamed is, that you whom I should cherishaboue all others, do not passe them in riches and humane greatnesse. Furthermore, you are yet in good age, to gouerne your lands and reuenewes, and we do but now enter into managing the affaires of the Empire: but it may be that you esteeme your selfe lesse then Vitellius, three times Consult: and commend Claudius aboue me, as if I could not by my liberalitie give you as much goods as Volufius by long sparing hath gotten. Moreouer, if our slippery and vnconstant youth sway on one side more then it ought, you reforme it, guiding by your aide and vigilancie that finall direction we haue. If you bring your money into my coffers, if you forfake the Prince, they will not fay it is because you are content with litle, and seeke your ease: but their talke shall be none other, but of my couctousnesse, and my cruestie. And although they should much praise your moderation in this action, yet it becommeth not an old man to feeke honor by doing any thing that should dishonor his friend. Nero added to this fine speech, many embracements and kisses, being made by nature, and brought by custome to cour his malice with false and counterfeit kind-nesse. Seneca (as it is the conclusion of a speech holden with him that commandeth) thanked

him: yet he immediatly changed his accustomed manner he was wont to vse during his former greatnesse: gaue them leave to depart that came every morning in troupes to salute him: Seneca that turned away from others that offered to follow and accompany him: very feldome times he went into the citie, and stirred not out of his house, as if he had bene sicke, or troubled after his custome. studie of Philosophie. This was the talke betwixt Nero and Seneca, who having leisurcto bethinke himselse better of the answer of Nero, knew very well that his fortune was changed, and that the disciple was become the master: yea and that so much more dangerous, for that his cruell courage was wrapped vp in fo gracious words and countenances, the which a man was constrained to trust, or at the least to make shew of it.

Were being as it were ouercome by Seneca, was as cruell and more then before, counselled by Tigellinus and Popea. First of all then he began to cut off the heads of Plantus and Sylla, honou- Nevertrurable men, banissed before into Asia & to Marseilles. He refused, confined, and finally put to death his wife, the Princesse Octavia, vsing an infamous and strange manner in his proceedings against her. He maried the adulteresse Popea, who brought him a daughter that died soone after, He counterfeited the player, alwayes intermixing fome new cruelty with his pastimes. Afterwards he being present at a banket made by Tigellinus, in the which were committed all forts of villanies, and he himfelfe being defiled with naturall and vnnaturall whoredomes and abhominations, within few dayes after (a matter incredible, if so many graue historians, amongst others Tacitus did not affure vs of it) he maried one Pythagoras, as his husband, which was of the company of these villans, & was solemnly maried according to the custome of other mariages, The yellow veile of the maried couple couered Neroes head. Soothfayers were fent for the joynter was affigned, the bed of the spouse prepared, the wedding torches were lighted; and to be short, they saw that openly which the night hideth, when the question of mariage is in hand with a woman. Thirdly he set fire on a great number of houses in Rome, so as the most part were burnt. And to cleare himselfe of this wickednesse, he falsly layd it upon the Christians, (being a great number at that time in Rome) that they were the authors of this disorder inasmuch that they were set vpon with a strange crueltie. And yet as they put them to death, they seemed. did a thousand mockeries vnto them, putting beasts skins vpon them to be torne in pecces with dogges, or else they were hanged vpon the crosse, or burnt with a litle fire : their wood houses, or stacks of wood serued to give light in the night. Now though the people of Rome were Obloudily bent against these innocents, yet there were many that had pity of them, seeing honest mentormented, to fatisfie the cruell infolencie of Nero: who apparrelled like a coach-man, and drining the horsehimselse in the middest of these confusions, made the people passime. Besides all this he forraged and ranfaked all ITALIE with impositions and excessive lones, ruining the townes, and not sparing also the temples of Rome, of Asia, nor of Greece. It was ginen out abroad, faith Tacinus, that Seneca (whom Nero went oftentimes to visite, to keepe him in breath, and gently to lull him afleepe) to avoide the suspition that he had bene of counsell in this sacriledge, had asked leaue to go to some house of his farre into the countrey. Which being de-

make as good. From that time forth they could see nothing in Rome but imprisoning of men of qualitie, and preparation for execution which followed. Sence , that firred not out of the countrey, was not forgotten of Popea, nor of Tigellinus, falle to hich were the ferret coun fellors of Nero in his cruelties. And Nero also failed not rotate had bested which were the fecret counsellors of Nero in his cruelties. And Nero also failed not to take hold dogge.

nied him, he kept his chamber faining to be ficke of the goute. Some have written that a bond-

man of his enfranchised, called Cleonicus, did prepare to poyson him by the commandement of

Were: the which he auoided vpon warning ginen him by him, or for that he feared fuch a thing,

living meanely, eating such fruits as were brought him out of the country, and being contented

to drinke cleare running water if he were athirst. Such detestable wickednesse of Nero having

of long time offended many honourable persons, which could no longer endure such a maister,

they resolued to set themselues at liberty, and cospired to kil him one day when they saw opor-

tunitie. The day being come, one called Millions, an infranchifed bondman of one of the

principall conspirators, went to discouer to Nevo what they had complotted against him. This

gaue a strange alarme vnto the Emperour, who caused them to lay hands of one and other, a-

mongst which number there was Lucan the nephew of Seneca, that was a party in this conspi-

racie, for anger against Nero: who was the cause that his verses were not had in that estimation

they deserved, and commanded him not to publish them, thinking (but in vaine) that he could

wife of Se-

Ween Cen deth Seneca the message

Menbut themfelues to death

Seneca yn danted at the meffage of death.

Senecaen couragests bis friends.

of this occasion to make away his schoole-master, whose shadow did torment him. It was not for that Seneca was partaker of the counsell with the conspirators, but Nero was glad to find the meane to dispatch him with a sword, since he could not do it by poyson. For one of the conspirators called Natalis (whom N ero had pardoned) faid nothing else of him, but that he was fent to visite Seneca being sicke, and to complaine because he thought not good that Fife (being the head of this enterprise, and should be created Emperour after the murther of Were) should come to fee him, and that he would confirme their friendfhip, frequenting familiarly together. but that Seneca had answered, that their talke and meeting would neither be profitable for the one, nor for the other; and moreouer, that his life depended upon that of Pifo. Granius Silvanius. Captaine of a band of guards, was commanded to go to Seneca, to know if he would take any knowledge to have fooken the words confessed by Natalia, and the answer that he made at that time. By chance, or wittingly, Seneca was come home that very day, and remained in a house of his two small miles from Rom E. The Captaine came thither about night, and placed his souldiers round about the house and afterwards came in, and found Sencea at supper with his wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends. So having delivered his message vnto him, Senera answered straight being nothing moued; that Natalis was indeed fent vnto him to complaine in the name of Pilo, for that Seneca would not fuffer him to come and fee him and that for him. felfe, he did excuse himselfe as well by reason of his sicknesse, as for the defire he had to take his case. And for those words: that his life depended vpon that of Pifo, he said he had no occasion to preferre the preferuation of another private mans life before his owne. And that furthermore, he gaue not his mind to flatteries, whereof he would have no better testimony then Nera himselfe, who had oftener known that Seneca was a free man, then a slaue or a bondman. Siluanus returned vnto Nero, and made report in the presence of Fopea and Tigellinus, who were very defirous to heare his answer: which being heard, Nero asked him, if Seneca made any shew to be willing to die. The Captaine affured him that he perceived no figne of feare nor of forow, in the words, nor countenance of Senera. Thereupon Nerro commanded this Captaine to returne to Seneca againe, and to command him to die. Some thinke that this executioner returned not againe that way he was come, but went another way, to find out Fenius Captaine of the guards, whom after he had acquainted with Neroes commandement, he asked him if he would execute this commission. Fenius that was of the number of the conspirators, neuerthe lefte adulted him to obey the Emperours commandement, by a fatal coward line if of as ma-0 ny as were of them. For Silvanus that had this commission to go to Seneca, was also one of the conspiracie, and yet his hand was ready to increase the wickednesse of Nero, of the which before he was defirous and procured to fee the punishment. To hide his offence in some fort, he would not, or durst not returned into the presence of Seneca, nor speake to him: but made one of his Centeners go into the house to declare the Emperours commandement, which was, that Seneca must dye. At that time it was halfe a fauour vnto those that were condemned to lose their lives, to fuffer them to be put to death, either by themselves, or by any of their acquaintance; which was done in diverse forts. Some pricked their veines, and let themselves bloud, and then went into a hot-house where they ended. Others swallowed downe poyson: Others stabbed themselues in with their daggers, or their fwords. It is judged this was done; that they should not fall into the hands of the hangman: for when it happened fo, the bodies of the condemned were not buried, and their goods were for feited: whereas if they put themselves to death (of the which the most part following the doctrine of the Stoick Bs were nothing afraid) their bodies should be buried, and their wils and testaments good. Sometimes this choise did cut off the griefes of a more ignominious and cruell punishment.

Now to returne to Seneca. Having heard the message of the Centener, without changing countenance, and wholly refolued, he called for his booke of tables, in the which was written his will: which being denied him by the Centener, turning to his friends, he protested, that fince he was let to acknowledge their merites, that he would leave one onely thing (and notwithstanding the bestyyethis, to wit, the image of the example of his life, the which if they remembred, they would cary a commendable reputation of honest & vertuous men, for a worthy reward of so constant a friendship. And seeing the weepe, he sought to appeale them, or to stay their teares, now with sweete words, by and by with vehemency, as if he would have reproued them. To conclude he did encourage them to remaine firme and constant, asking them where

was the resolution they had learned so many yeares in the schooles and studies of Philosophie, against all the chances of the world. He added further, that every one knew wel what Nero was, what cruelties hehad committed; and after that he had fo wickedly behaued himfelfe to his father in law, to his mother, to his brother and to his wife, there was nothing left behind for the accomplishment of his cruelties, but to adde too the murther of his schoolemaster. After he had discoursed such or the like words before them all, and as in generall, he embraced his wife, and hauing a litle emboldened her against this blow, he instantly prayed her to moderate her griefe, firsthis and exhorted her also to remember how vertuously he had passed his life, and gently to beare wife, a (and with a heart worthy her felfe) the forow of the death of her husband. She for her part affured him that she was resolved to die, and bad one of them give her the blow. Then seneca; not to death. deprine himselfe of that honour, & being touched with the loue he did beare her, was contented not to leaue to the mercie of the diffolution that then reigned, her whom he had most dearely loued. I did fet before you (faid he) the fweetnesse of life; but since your selfe haue chosen rather an honourable death for my part. I shall not be fory if you shew me y way. Let the constancy therfore of fo couragious a death as ours, be alike to vs both although y end of your life shal be more famous. Immediatly thereupon, they caused the veines of their armes to be opened; but because sine and that Seneca had anold bodic, and thin by eating little, there would no bloud come out but drop would have by drop, he made the veines of his legs and hams to be cut. Then wearie of fuch a cruell butche- dyed by rie, being affraid that his paines would make his wives heart faile her, or that he himselfe should bieding. grow impatient for fo many torments as he endured, he perfwaded her to withdraw herfelfe into another chamber: and for himselfe, having to his last gaspe his words at commandement, he caused his Secretaries that were wont to write vnder him, to come vnto him, & told them there many notable things in fine termes, the which were published after his death: but time hath taken them from vs for want of storie-writers: although some thinke that that might be kept as well as other writings of Seneca. Others carying fome enuy to the vertue of this man, haue kept irbacke, being loth that the posteritie should enjoy a table, where the visage of Seneca might be better knowne, then in other places of his workes, Nero that had men coming and going enery minute of an houre from Senecaes house to Rome, understanding how every thing passed, and bearing no particular hatred to Paulina, fearing also he should increase the blame of his crueltic: he commanded they should keepe Paulina from dying. Wherefore his slaues and freedbond. men, warned by the fouldiers themselues, bound vp her armes, and staunched the bloud, not that seneknowing whether she felt any thing or not. For as there are alwayes among the people that take should be things at the worst, there wanted not men which thought that so long as Paulina stood in search hope from of Neroes anger, the defired to have the report that the was a companion of the death of her huf- death. band. But afterwards whe there was a better hope offered her, the was contented to be won with the flatteries of life, vnto the which she added some few yeares with comendable memory and forow for her husbad: being otherwise so pale of coutenance, that she shewed to have lost a great deale of bloud and her strength. On the other side Seneca seeing his death prolonged, he prayed Statius Annaus (whom he efteemed much for his faithfull friendship he had borne him a long time, and for his skil in Phisicke) to bring him of the like poison to that which they keep by publike ordinance in ATHENS to put offenders to death, whereof he had of long time made prouision. So when it was brought him, he swallowed it downe without regard, his members being cold, and his body constant against the force of the poyson. In the end, he entred into a bathing The manner tub of hor water, with the which sprinckling his slaues that were about him, he added to it, that death. he offered this liquour vnto Iupiter the deliuerer. After that being caried into a stone, and having through the hearthereof yeelded vp the ghost, his bodie was burned without any solemnitie of obsequies. He had so appointed by his will made at that time when he was very rich, and of great credit. It was reported that Subrius Flauius, one of the chiefest conspirators, had secretly determined with the Centeners (yet not without the privity of Seneca) that after they had killed Nero by the meanes of Pifo, they should also dispatch Pifo himselfe, to the end to make Seneca Emperour, as an honest man, onely elect and chosen to that greatnesse for the same of his vertues. Such was the end of Seneca, that had lived in honourable and publike charges, of Prætor, Quartor and Conful vndertwo Emperours, and was long in credit with the last: who seeing himselfe couertly despised of his master, that could no longer endure such wickednesse, sought the occasion before mentioned, but with extreme iniustice, to rid him out of the way. Further-

Nero com. mands A. Lucanus to

more, Dion thinketh that Senecaes two brethen were likewife put to death. But because he is contented to touch it but in a line, and that which Tacitus faith is to be marked, fet downe in particular, and with most likely circumstances; we will speake one word more. Shortly after the death of Seneca, he commanded they should put Anneus Lucanus to death, the sonne of Mela who feeling his feet and his hands cold whilest the bloud randowne, and that by little and little his spirit parted from the extremities of his body, his heart being yet lively, & his vnderstanding good, calling certain verses of Poetry to mind, in the which was presented a souldier hurt, dying of the same death, he recited the same verses, which were the last words he spake. Altitia Lucans mother was left aliue, neither being pardoned nor punished. For Iunius Gallio, who was a Senator, was so astonied at the death of his brother, that before all the Senate he fell downe at Neroes feet, beseeching him to give him his life. Whereupon another Senator called Alienus Clemens, ser vpon him with iniurious words, calling him traitor and parricide. But the other Senatours with one consent made Clement hold his peace, telling him that he should not seeke common aduerfities for to reuenge his private quarrel, or to draw on the Prince to a new cruelty, who had now by his clemencie quietted and forgotten all. Within a few moneths after Anneus Melawas dispatched: he was a knight of Rome, but of the dignitie of a Senatour. And although Seneca and Gallio his brethren were aduanced to greater honor, yet he would never purchase it by extremitie of ambition but being come out of Spaine to Rome, more for the love of his brethren and of his fonne then for himselfe, he was contented to have this honour, that a knight was cuere. qual in power & credite with a Conful. The name of his fon Lucanus greatly effected of eurry bodie, and specially of learned men, had gotten him great reputation. Immediatly after his sons death, he feeking fornewhat too cagerly after his fons goods, raifed against him an accuser called Fabius Romanus, one of Lucanus chiefest friends. This man showed counterfeit letters as done by Lucanus, which charged Mela that he was partaker with his fon of the complor against Nero. Though this accufation was vtterly false and fained, yet Nero that thirsted after the riches of Mela, commanded those letters should be caried to Mela: that was as much to say, he must die. The which Melaknowing well enough, made his veines to be opened, and followed the way of others. Seneca in his writings yeeldeth great testimonie of the constancie and vertue of his brethremand I thinke he was a man that was not given to speake lightly. Notwithstanding, I have simply recited that which Tacitus faith, who sufficiently sheweth in the example of divers others that it is not to be maruelled at if the cruelties of Nero, who lesse spared the great then the small, made the boldest hearts of them all quake sometimes.

Sophy and

of Annana

Now there remaineth to tell you fomething of the Philosophie and writings of seneca; for it is in those tables that we must looke to see him lively, and speaking with that selfe vehemencie of spirit that followed him even to the last gaspe of his life. It is true that the insolencies of Nero had oftentimes as it were stopped his mouth, and hindered that good soule to give free passage to his discourses, yea and in some places they made him stumble. Yet he called himselfe backe againe to his first thoughts, and remained constant in the midst of the cruell raging stormes of his time. Now as it is easie for menthat be on the land, where they do idly behold some master Pilot ftriuing with the force and furie of the wind and billowes, to fay: That man there should guide his ship after another fastion: who if they were in his place, should without all comparifon find themselues more troubled, or at the least would make a forrowfull wracke. Euensoit happeneth, that Senecaes Philosophie is dispised of many, that think he could speake Philosophy but by his booke, and that when he should come to shew it in deed, men wold say he doth like the masters of fence, who being in a schoole of fence with yong youths, they do wonders, and giue mortal vennies at pleasure: but if they come to any private fight at the sharpe, where it standeththem vpon for their liues, assoone as they see the glistering of the naked sword, you may perceiue all their flourishes and trickes are gone, or changed into flat running away. I will fay at one word, that I thinke Seneca as much and more a Philosopher in deed then in name. His life and his death can fay it, and in the last Chapter hereafter we must speake more at large. For this present let vs a little consider his tongue. Life is a sweet thing, and all defire to live, yea the beasts clarehim to themselues seeme to haue a singular contentment, for that they have a being and life. If life bea pleasant thing, yet it is much more pleasing and acceptable when it is well gouerned, and tendeth to a good end. So then a quiet and contented life is much better, fweeter, and more excellent, then a life full of troubles and passions. This quietnesse is none other but felicitie and good

fortune, Furthermore, all men do not aspire to this end, but onely wise men, and the true friends of wildome. For the most part of men whom the earth sustaineth, do runne a strange course when they should set a foote forward to betake them to some course of life; and all in ma- Most men ner erre, when they should Judge what happie life is. Those that delight in money and to gaine, erre in such as felicitie in riches. The idle and flow bill thinks that to make great cheere to live (as they feeke felicitie in riches. The idle and flouthfull thinke, that to make great cheere, to live (as they happy life. fay) in the shadow of tables, of pots, of curtaines, and at the ease of their bodies, is the onely soueraigne good. There are another fort of men greedy of worldly honour, which establish an vnspeakeable happinesse to command many, (in what maner, or how deare soeuer it be) taking themsclues to be halfe gods, if they may see many men, or two or three go under their feet. But wise men establish soueraigne good in vertue. And if they be asked, what is a happy life : they Happy life answer, That it consistest in living vertuously and serving God. This was the Philosophie of seneca in generall. But because there are certain clouds of opinions which darken humane felicitie, itisgood we looke to examine them briefly. Nature hath dispersed in vs some seeds of vertue, and hath giuen vs some graines of knowledge and wisedome, which are borne with vs and take roote (if we may fay fo) in our hearts. This notwithstanding, we must manure it, and vertue hath her precepts which openeth the way to attaine the fourraigne good, whereunto the Philosophie of the stoickes doth summon vs. Fourethings are enemies to that good, yeathey ob- Foure scure it, they corrupt and abolish it in an euill disposed heart. The first cause is death, that is to fay, the feare and imagination to lose this earthly & corruptible life. For where there is feare, it many cood, cannot be faid there is contentment and felicitie, but miferie: it is not a pleafant life, but a forrowfull life, and a torment of the mind. The fecond is the bodily griefes, lingering difeafes, the torments and tortures cruell and sharpe in a thousand kinds; and briefly a thousand enils which hurt the contentment of the foule. For no man will fay, that to be troubled in his mind with a burning feauer, to crie out night and day because of the gowte, or for paine of his teeth and the reins, or to be brought to any extraordinarie torment, & to be difmembred by the hangman, is a thing where there is no apprehension that moueth the spirit. Besides all this, there are the griefes of the foule: mourning, loffe of children, of kinsfolks and deare friends: for that afflicteth and eateth our thoughts without ceasing, and giueth tragicall Poets ample arguments to write vpon. If the griefe of the body affecteth the relt and contentment of the mind; much more doth the inward griefe and anguish. And finally there are passions, as ioy and pleasure, which hinder and abolish the feeling of a happie life. Those that are possessed with an extraordinarie ioy, oftentimes both do and lay many fond things and iestures, in words and workes. As if a man be told that land is fallen to him, or that he is raised to wished dignitie not looked for ye shall see him play the foole and wanton like a child. There are some whose maners honor changeth in such fort, that from the day till the next morning you shall not know them by their face, by the countenances, by their words, nor by their apparell: they will straight difdaine them that they called before servants or louing friends. Now this vaine pride and foolish. nessearch maner one selfe thing: and it may be said, that all ambitious men are altogether beforted, or doubtlesse they will be so. If thou wilt make me see a proud man, one that presumeth to know much, and that looketh vpon his feathers, as they fay, I will prefently flrew thee a foole furnished at all peeces. There is no surer signe of foolishnesse then pride and who will say then Pride Been. that the life of fuch a one is happier. And as for pleasures, we see how a man is caried away, who then is no more himselfe: but to the contrary, thinketh that the destruction of body and soule "". is his foueraigne good. Now amongft all the Philosophers which have tried to remedic these troubles of the mind, and to maintaine a man in this contentment which they call fourraigne, it may be faid the Stoickes were the chiefe, and among the Stoickes Senera. I wil not here enter into examination of the doctrine of this fect, nor declare that which Zeno and Chrysippus haue written, as may be gathered of Laertius and of Plutarch, but fimply to stay my selfeypon my principall purpose, which is of Seneca; and in this place to follow that which many learned men have gathered of his workes, to shew what was his Philosophie: vnto the which we will adde fome Summarie of reasons with the which he helpeth himself, to fight with those pasfions, and to make the foule at peace, a fmuch as he himselfe could apprehend it. This is out seneed preof all question, that Seneca was one of the first and principall Philosophers of the Stoickes a- Stoickes to. mong the Latines, as he himselfe doth boast in his owne writings. Furthermore, he exalteth fortall a this feet aboue allothers, and faith, that the Stoickes do make profession of a Philosophy wor-

in the world but ferueth his turne, and whereof he is not mafter with a fingular contentment. Of

thie of men: for a fmuch as there is difference betwirt them and others, as betwirt males and females. That the other kinds of Philosophie are made, to heare and to obey:but that the Stoicke is borneto teach, and command. He being defirous to present some perfect Idea of a wise man. bringeth foorth Cato: and in the Treatie where he will shew that the wife man cannot be offended nor outraged, he lifteth vp this man out of the rancke of al other men, & specially commendeth him in his death. If he speake of the Stoickes, he calleth them his, and doth make open profession of their instructions. Now in many places he distinguisheth Philosophie into three parts which he calleth Rationall, Morall, and Naturall. But after the fashion of the Stoickes, he rested more vpon the moral, albeit that all his discourses shew that he had a maruellous veine in the rationall. And the bookes of natural questions shew that he had a deepe in fight in the secrets of nature. So then his principal end was to frame good maners, and to bring mento the knowledge of the contentment of the mind, to defire and apprehend it. They faw him oftentimes exhort Lucilius to the studie of morall Philosophie, as in the end of his 89. Epistle: So set downe these things, faith he to others, that thou thy felfe maift take pleafure to comprehend them. Write to reade afterwards thy writing, referring all things to the reformation of life, and to the meanes of appealing the furie of passions. Study not to be wifer then others, but to be better. On the other fide, he turned the same Lucilius from the study of Logicke, and from the subtile disputations, in the which they please themselves that do but linger after syllables and words. Leave (said he to him in the 71. Epiftle) this occupation and fifting of letters, to those maisters that shut vp athing fo magnificent as Philosophy is in fyllables; and do imbrace, yea bring to nothing, & vtterly destroy the mind, in teaching things that are not worth the labour and study. I am content that thou refemble wife men that have invented letters, but not those that teach them. In some other places he laugheth at y fubtleties of these schoole disputers, namely, where he setteth down one of their fashions of speech, to wit, in the 48. which is the 49 in the editions not well corrected, you these words: Mus(that is to fay, a mouse) is a syllable a mouse eateth cheese, therefore it followeth that a fyllable eateth cheese. But it is not only that he setteth vpon Logicke, or rationall Philosophie, but also on the sciences commonly called the liberall sciences, & especially when there is question of the Philosophie of manners. Witnessethat which he writethin the fourescore and eight Epistle worthy to be diligently read of all, but specially of them whom fuch sciences do puffevo, & who for the rest do litle care to rule their life within the compasse of vertue. In fum, he declareth in a great number of places, that Philosophie confisteth not in the knowledge of those things but that the end thereof is to give counsell against all the accidents of this life; and that men were wont to repaire vnto Philosophers, who do show them in the midst of darkneffe (wherwith humane fociety is fnared) the way they must follow not to erre, shewing what things are necessary and profitable: how easie the lawes of nature are: how joy full i we liue, & at our ease, following of the same. And to the contrary, that there can be nothing but mifery in the condition of those, which suffer themselves to wander rather by opinion, then by nature and reason. I think therefore that all the Philosophie of Seneca looketh vnto that to establish the mindall that may be to attain to the which, it speaketh of the soueraigne good, to the end to draw vs to aspire vnto it. And because the accidents of this life, namely the causes before mentioned, do observe this happines, he striugth with infinit discourses and reasons against the. Now it were to make a great volume, if all were put together that he speaketh, & it were better to leave it to their liberty that shall reade y works of this Philosopher, of the which I wil note here some heads or rules, on the which he reasoneth very amply to remedy the griefes before named. The intention therfore of Seneca aboue all in matters most important, is to beat down first, all corporall and spiritual passions to wit opinion and apprehension. He discouereth the vanity, sheweth the wrong whichmen of understanding do, and the errour of their judgement, who see things as in the water, and with a corrupt eye. Which done, he goeth further, and feeketh to fhew, that when that which is called euil is arrived the wifeman feeleth it not as also it is as litle trouble to him when one thinketh to touch him, as it is then when one threatned him a far off. For proofe of this, he sheweth that they cannot hurt a wife man any maner of way: and that no man is iniuried or hurt but by himself. That the wife man bending all his thoughts vnto vertue, canot be offended, but rather ouercomethall humane accidents, as well for respect of himselfe, as for all others. Hereupon he cometh to this point, to maintaine, that that which they call euill, is good to the wiseman, who like a good husband maketh his profit of all in such fort, that there is nothing

these rules and maximes, there rife many Paradoxes, dispersed in his bookes, the which if a man confider apart, are very strange and ridiculous withall but being brought to their originals, they may receive some exposition. Furthermore, to frame a perfect wise man, he will have nothing nleafant vnto him but vertue, which confisteth in contemning all that the world admireth; and a loue of beautifull things which give contentment to the foule. That all that which is earthly and corruptible, should be esteemed as much as nothing: that the wife man infolding himselfe in his vertue, feethall the greatnesse of this world very low under him, and as it were troden under the feet of his heart. And that in the midst of all dangers, yea even in the most fiercest death of all and when heaven should fall upon him, he remaineth merie and pleased with the felicitie which his vertue bringeth vnto him. Afterwards he reasoneth particularly against the apprehension of death: and sheweth that it is as incuitable, as it is also good and necessarie. That the greatest contentment of a wife man is, that he can breake in funder the iron chaine that holdeth him, as often and when he thinketh good: and vpon this occasion treateth in some places of the immortality of the foule, as in the end of the feuen & fiftieth Epiffle, in the threefcore and fifth, threefcore and fixecenth, and the hundred and seucnteenth, in his comfortable discourse vnto Martia, and elle- senters where. Touching these corporall paines, he sheweth that they cannot turn a man out of the pathway of vertue, nor from the profession of constancie and truth, nor from the resolution to maintaine a iust cause. That there is no paine or griefe so sharpe, that can let a wise man to thinke of his duty, and to acquaint himselfe so far as his hands may reach. That these corporal griefes cannoteclipse the least of the beames of vertue, & the hope of the immortality of our soules, for the which we exchange in the day that our paines come, as it were to have greatest strength, all the discommodities we apprehend in this transitory life. Furthermore, that the troubles which the eflate of this world doth foread as a veile before our minds, cannot blindfold the to see the perfed beautie of vertue, and to hearethe excellent comforts which she proposeth. Also that the wise man is sufficiently defended not to be ouercome by passions, which have no power on him that is in the ordinarie safegard and protection of vertue, in possession wheroshe is already so enwed, that he stil goeth forward every day more then other, shortly to enjoy her with perfection. To conclude, that there is no hinderance at all for him whom vertue pleafeth, and whom fire bringeth to immortalitie. And this is a little touch (me thinketh) which may be particularly noted in Seneca: in the beautie whereof, as in faces better formed, there are some spots discovered asin other Philosophers, namely the Stoicks. About all, in his portraiture of this wife man, he imagineth in this life a thing that is not to be found in a corrupt man given over to fenfualitie: which is, vertue and perfection. But let vs refer that to the ignorance of true religion, and confider this Philosopher in the limits of his sect. For other Paradoxes, as of the world, of the spirit, of passions and affections of vertue, & some others borrowed of the schoole of his masters, that Plutarch hath examined in his booke Of common conceptions, and in that which he entituleth, The contradiction of the Stoicks: that which is euill doth condemne it felfe, or excuseth it felfe under the questions and disputations; which permit a man to say somewhat. And for the other, for a smuch as Senece made profession to forme maners, he seemeth therin to have given way and free paffage to some of his conceptions, and after the example of Painters, to give some shadowes vnto his tables, the better to retaine the judgement of the reader. That which I least allow whatinmisin him, or rather which I cannot approue, is the excessive praise he giveth to his wife man, lifting liked in him vp, yea aboue the gods. And afterwards in diverse places he would have this wife man put himselfe to death, and of his authoritie and power dissolue the bands of this life, without leave of the soueraigne Captaine, and with a testimonic of a strange cowardlinesse and distrust of the doctrine of the eternall Prouidence: the which would have vs keepe a stedfast hope and confidence, yearenen when things feeme to be most desperate. And that which he often applyeth vito the death of Caso, whom he infinitly commendeth, hath bene by vs examined in the comparison of Cato and Phosion. Furthermore, Seneca stayed not vpon one or two in his discourses he hath left vnto vs. but hath culled out all the Philosophers Greekes and Latines which were before him, alkthat he thought good to fet downe for the rule and gouernment of our life, according to the end he looked vnto. And as for his writings, all that we have left concerning morall and naturall Philosophie, with the pleasant discourse vpon the death of Claudius, is

out of all disputation untill this present as the stile that is hard, short, sententious, and in apt

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tearmes for that time, and after the manner of teaching of the Stoicks, doth shew it. But for the bookes entituled, Controversia es Suasoria, that is to say, pleadings and orations, or declamations. I am of the same opinion that diverse learned men of our time are to wit, that these bookes are not of Seneca, but of the father of Seneca. And because many other learned men ancient and mo. derne haue thought the contrarie, we must needs fay somewhat for proofe of the opinion which wefollow. The authour of these collections saith, that he heard ouid & Cicero declaime, andthat he was familiar with Portius Latro, Valerius, Messala, and with others that were in the time of Augustus. When he heard Cicero, he could be no lesse then fifteene yeares old: how can that bear. tributed vnto Seneca, dead in the end of the Empire of Nero, wel-neare fixe fcore years after that time ? Now, that which Tacitus speaketh in diverse places of the age of Seneca, teacheth notso farre: and Nero speaking to Scneca a little before his death, said, that he had yet strength enough to vse his goods, and gouerne his possessions: that could not be spoken of an old man of ahundred and twelue yeares old. Also Seneca speaketh otherwise of his age in one of his Epistlesno. ted here before, where he telleth that about the fifth yeare of the Empire of Tiberius, he came out of his infancy, of the age of eightcene yeares. Furthermore, Seneca was Prætor, Qualtor. and Consul, as in his discourse to his mother Elbia, the Chronicles, and the Lawyers bookes do make mention. And to the contrary, his father dedicating his bookes about named vnto seneca, Iunius, and Mela, his three sons: and speaking to Mela in the Preface of his second booke of pleadings, he exhorteth him to follow the inclination of his mind, and contenting himselfe with the state of a private gentleman, and a Romaine knight as his father, the better to warrant his life in the hazards and accidents of this world. That which made Seneca to be effected the author of those bookes there, is, for that his father did beare that name: and that these three, Seneca; Nouatus, (furnamed Iunius Gallo) and Mela be brethren, and the fonnes of one selfe father and mother, it appeareth by the historic of Tacitus, in the fifteenth booke of his Annales, and by the writings of Seneca himselfe, specially by the discourse to Elbia, where he saith amongst other things: Confider my brethren, that being safe, you have no cause to accuse Fortune . you have in them cause to reioyce in a diverse kind. For the one, through his good wit hath attained to honour. and the other hath wifely despised it. Tacitus plainly shewed that, as we have seene herebefore. And whereas commonly they alledge the age of Seneca to be fixe fcore yeares & aboue, to give the more authority to the pleadings and Orations of his father, that is to fay, to the fragments which he seemeth to have set forth in the favour of his children, to frame them betimes one day to practife that whereof he made profession, to wit, eloquence there cannot be shewed any furficient or authenticke testimonie of that which is alledged, that Seneca had three sonnes calbegainered Icd, Nouatus, Seneca, and Mela. Touching the true bookes of Seneca, the diligent reading and confideration of them will continently flew the profit that may be gathered by them. For a man to fland resolucd against the diverse and troublesome events of this life, to repose himselfe fweetly vpon the divine providence, to contemne death, and to defire the bleffed immortality, for to represse the insolencie of strange passions which do often carievs too high and too farre, and for to enjoy a great rest amongst so many tempests and wrackes as happen daily. I know not an Historian among the Painims, Philosopher, Oragor, or author what soeuer, that I would preferre before Seneca: yea, there are few to be compared to him, and the most part do follow him farre off.

This bringeth vs to the confideration of some censures made of Seneca by diverse learned men, as well ancient, as those of this latter age, to the end to induce them that behold Seneca, to looke nearly into him: for if there be any thing wherein humane wit doth give scope & licece, let another judge that. But that specially is as an ordinary thing vnto them that make profession fludiously to thrust their noses into bookes to marke presently, and sometime too suddenly that which is before the to beare others in hand afterwards, that things are fuch as they did imagine them to be. And although I do not acknowledge my felfe to be one of the number of them that reade and know passably something; yet for all that ere I beware, I am too often attainted with this disease, which possesset that make many bookes, reprouing and judging others. But as I do not commend them in any wifevnto whom the bookes of found erudition are not pleafing, (like to weake fromacks vnto whom meats cuill dreffed and also hurtfull, seeme to be the most fauorie, but feede themselves with their follies, vaine fancies and abhominations, wherewith this latter age is miserably defiled: so would I wish that the excellent wits which are yet

in Evrope sawhere on the one fide better aduited in many respects, and on the other more careful to different that which is commendable and blameable, certaine or vicertaine in good authors: to note them particularly vnto posteritie, with two conditions; the one, that it should be done by the fufficientest men, and as it were of purpose appointed to that end, by consent of same and truth: the other, that all fcoffes, spitefull and finister passions, should be farre from such cenfurers. To come againe to Seneca: I fee that fome have too much exalted him, as I thinke: and others have imbaled him more then needed. Which being particularly confidered, peradnenture it will not missive and if it profite not. I hope it will mouethe Reader to some thought higher then mine, both to fearch matters more exactly, as alfoto fettle his opinion ypon mine with the compasse of truth, of mildnesse, and of vertue. Because Seneca speaketh amply in some places of the providence and maieftic of God, before whom he exhorteth vs to walke, and fomtimes prayeth Lucitius to line with men as if God faw him, and to speake with God, as if men Pagano heard him; also that he died in the end of the Empire of Nero, at which time S. Paul the Apofile was prisoner at Rome is some hauc thought that Seneca of long time had leaned vnto Christian Religion, by reason whereof his writings were read as proceeding from a man advanced in the knowledge of the true God. And otherwise he was contented to speake in general and as yndera veile of the ignorance of his time, and because he would have them no more enuied whom the world did already hate. Briefly, that he was a fecret disciple of Christ, in y schoole of his Apossile. In confirmation whereof, they shew certaine letters of Seneca vnto Paul, with mutuall aniwers and they do adde also the testimonie of a great Christian Doctor, who hath placed seneca in the Catalogue of Saints, whose soules we believe are in glorie with their Saujour. Howbeit certaine learned men of our time have spoken their opinion touching all that, to whom I do agree, to wit: that whether Seneca faw the Apostle and spake with him, whether he disdained to fee him, or that he cared not, nor did inquire after him, as I thinke that he thought then of any thing elfe rather then of the doctrine taught by S. Paul: there is nothing in his life, in his writings nor in his death, that cometh neare to the Christian beleefe and profession. But if we should call all those Christians, in whose writings we do reade goodly and true sentences of wisdome, iuflice, and the providence of God, it would make a strange mingling of Scripture with prophane bookes, and further, they would dispute if the one should be put in the place of the other. As we fee that in the bodies of the bookes which for excellencie we call the Bible, there are two in the which the name of God is neuer expressed which not with standing are holy, and do containe infinit inftructions and fingular confolations. Seneca having written in some place, The Godhead is I know not what great thing, yea so great, that it passeth al mans understanding: Our life is dedicated to his feruice: Let vs take order to be approved of the fame: for a hidden confeience is good for nothing: God feethys: an ancient Doctour faid thereupon; Any man that should know God, could be fet foorth any more certaineveritie, then that which is spoken here by the mouth of aman that knew not what true Religion meant. For herepresenteth the maieflie of God, faying that it is so great, that mans understanding cannot measure it; and plainely, the fountaine of veritie: shewing that the life of men is not unprofitable, (as some Epicurians think) fince it is referred to the glory of the Creator, when they follow inflice and pietie. Other discourses of Seneca might be alledged touching the providence of God, against idolatry, superflition, and impletic; but the confequence is not stable, that he hath therefore knowne any thing of the doctrine of the Gospell; you shall not find one discourse in all his writings, and the doctrine of the Stoickes doth in nothing agree with that, which neither flesh nor bloud can reueale; and wherof it is not our purpose to speake in this place, which requireth not that we shold discouer the holy things, and much lesse that we should mingle them with the prophane. As for the letter published under the name of Seneca and of Paul, both the stile and the matter flow at the first fight, that it is the worke of some idle man that thought himselfe very wise, if he the name of diffembled with those which did not fift it so narrowly. And we shall not need here to make a recapitulation of the iust and learned censures that have bene made; where you shall see the mad. S. Paul; neffe, repugnancies, and falshoods hidden in those letters, if they be conferred with the life and doctrine of them vnto whom they were attributed. We do not meet with any thing so much in the writings of Seneca, as the confrancie and contempt of death: how cometh it then that you shall not find one word that sheweth him to be a Christian e that 20 ero had not discouered or Perceived any thing to charge Seneca with, when he commanded him to die? For that had bin Mmmmm

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An admo. the Reader

Seneca de

an ample discharge before the people that extremely hated the Christians. Suetonius and Tacitus, litle fauouring our Religion, would not have forgottenit. But how chanceth it that in his death he remembred lupiter, and not Christ: Now, in regard of the Catalogue which is alledged for a buckler, I desire that learned men do consider, if they have not wronged the person to whom it is attributed, mingling amongst his workes this scoffe, and others which are no better. forged vpon the like anuile and with the selfe same hammer, which the letters were beforemen tioned. Now I thinke, (thefe are the words of a learned manthat had well read Seneca) that it is best for the reader to take senecaes bookes, as proceeding from a man ignorant of true religion. For if you reade them as a Pagan, he hath written like a Christian: but if you take him for a Christian, know that it is a Pagan that speaketh. There are many things that may inflame ve with the lone of vertue: they will pricke vs more nearely, if we remeber from whom they come, It we meet with any sentences that seeme to be drawn out of our fountains, they will be so much the sweeter vnto vs:and as for vncertaine and false opinions, they will offend vs lesse, when we shall say, that it is a Pagan that hath set them out. Let vs come to the other point, and consider those that have too much imbased him, either in respect of his life, or because of his writings. For his life, fome (and Dion amongst others) have accused him of auarice, of ambition, of dissolution on, of adulterie, and of other fuch like vices: vnto the which I wil not vouchfafe to make answer, fince so many learned men ancient, and moderne, and the life and death of Seneca do say the contrary. And it werean easie thing for one that would cut Dion a gowne of his owne cloth, to discouer in him many things impertinent and cuill beseeming the name whereof he maketh profession. But it is better to confute euident slanders by silence, then with long discourse. Some other speake not so plainely, but say that Seneca lived not after his owne precepts. On the contrary, the honour which he maketh often to Epicurus, seemeth to shew that he hath mingled the wickednesse of the Epicurians with the austeritie of the Stoickes. I grant that Seneca hath not in all the parts of his life shewed this constancie which he requireth of a wise man, and I perceiue well that he hath diffembled too many things in the government of Nero: the which the wife Thrasea would never have allowed of the presence, nor of the word, nor of the deed. But mans infirmitie is such, that that which the mind seeth plainely enough, it cannot or dare not effect it, because of the resistance of reason & passions: or if it dare, it is staied with the least object through this naturall faintnesse that keepeth vs backe, when we should resolutely follow vertue. Now of this censure there followeth no more, but that the eternal Wisedoine doth gine vs knowledge of many notable things vetered by the mouth & testimony of this stranger: and in the meanetime doth admonish vs in no wise to stay our selues vpon him that speaketh: which she doth well in her proper house, where she vnderstandeth that we lend our eares vnto those which go withother feet then they should, so that they keepe within the bounds of their commission. And as a Sergeant or Herauld that had but one eye, or were lame, could not with standing deliuer a meffage of importance in the name of the Prince, and must be heard; euen so, what soewer he be that cometh to vs with the notes of chast and faire Veritie, he ought to baue audience, to be beleeued and followed, folong as he containeth himselfe neare to her, and reiesteth all that is contrarie, be it in words or in fact. For Epicurus, Seneca alledgeth some notable matters of him, redfrom E- whereof it followeth not that he doth allow of his faults, nor of his feet, as is also to be acknowledged in many places. And there can be nothing observed in the life of Seneca, that sheweth him to be an Epicurian or a Libertine. For even in the midst of the abundance and of the great riches he possessed by the liberality of Nero, they saw a great moderatio, witnessed also in his death: not being forbidden to Noblemen to possessed, silver, earthly goods, and moucables of great value, so that such prosperitie do not make them drunke, to cause them despise God and man. As for the last, be they ancient or moderne whose names I am not content to expresse, which very boldly do censure the writings of Seneca: and in agreeing to him in some excellent thing, they afterwards take licence to thinke him rude in his stile, too rigorous a Judge of other mens labours, a foolish ieaster, affected in his discourses, troublesome by reason of his repetitions, withoutart, of small judgement, forgetfull, trusting to his owne wit, curious of light things, and seeking I know not how to be particular, because he would not seeme to have borrowed any thing of any man: these be accusers in the most part of such articles, and no competent Iudges, sauing the honour due to their erudition. For proofe whereof we do exhort the reader to take one whole booke of seneca which he liketh of best, and then to examine it all, if I

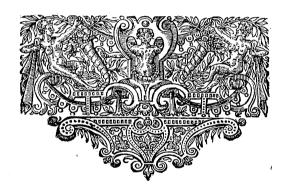
foeake euill, faying, that he had wrong to be so tossed and played vpon. I thinke that there is nothing in his works, be it in his stile, in the method, or in matter, that could be better performed. Also if they consider what words he vseth, how he joyneth them together, what is the end of his discourses, and what the matters are that he treateth of: they will be lesse rigorous vnto him. Fourt For conclusion, I desire that Senecaes life, referred to his writings, doteach foure things to my things to be felfe, and to all others. The one, that being in meane or base condition, we neuer care to clime vp Sentes. any higher. The other, that if we change a meane estate with another greater, we do remember theformer, to converse modestly with great and small. The third, that we sever passe for any worldly prosperity, but that we be alwaies afraid of it, vntill we be loosed by the meanes

of a happie death. And the last, that in our publicke and private converfation, in our thoughts, words, writings, and actions, there shine in vs the love and reverence of

true pietie and instice.

The end of Senecaes life.

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THE LIVES OF NINE CELLENT CHIEFTAINES VV AR, TRANSLATED OVT OF LATINE FROM ÆMYLIVS PROBVS.

THE LIFE OF Miltiades.



ILTIADES an ATHENIAN, the sonne of Cimon, being one of the chiefest of his city, as wel because of the ancientry of his race, as for his modestie ioyned to the glory of his predecessors, after he had attained to that age, in which his citizens had occasion not only to hope well of him, but also to affure themselves, that he would be such a one as they iudged him after they knew him: it chanced that the ATHENIANS refoluced to fend a Colonie into CHERRONESVS. And because many men prepared themselues to go thither, and that there was great suite who should leade them, they chose some to go to DELPHES, to inquire

of the Oracle who should be their captaine: for a smuch as the Thracians at that time did occupie all those parts thereabouts, and they must be driven out by force of armes. The Prophetesse enioyned the commissioners expressy to choose Militades for chiefe of this people or Colonie, the which should prosper in this enterprise vnder his conduct. With this answer Miltiades accompanied with a chosen companie of men, failed vnto CHERRONESVS, and when he came neare to LEMNOS to subdue the inhabitants of that Iland, he summoned them without any compulsion. They mocking him, answered, That they would then yeeld themselues when Miltiades shold come from ATHENS to LEMNOS with a Northerne wind, which was ful in the faces of them that should come from ATHENS to LEMNOS. Miltiades having no leysure to tarie there, hoised saile, and arrived in CHERRONE SV stand there having in a short time brokenall the troupes of the barbarous people, he made himself Lord of the whole country, built vp some fortreffes, placed his people which he had brought with him in the country, & made them rich, by diverse attempts against the selfesame countreymen. Wherein he prevailed as much by his wisdome, as through his good fortune. For after he had through the valiantnesse of his souldiers ouercome the armies of his enemies, he established his affaires with great equitic, and resolued to remaine in Cherronesvs. So he was there as king, although he had not the name, and attained to this degree of honour as much through his vpright administration of iustice, as for his sufficiencie in warres. This kept him not from doing his duty vnto the ATHENIANS, from whom he was parted: the which was the occasion indeed, that as well those which had fent him thither, as those with whom he imbarked, were content he should continue there alwayes Gouernor. CHERRONESVS being brought to this order, he came again to LEMNOS, and according to the promise of the inhabitants, he demanded that they would yeeld vn their citie vnto him for they promifed to give him their hands when he should come vnto them from his countrey by the North wind, Now (faid he) that his country was in Cherrone svs. The Carians who held Lemnos at that time, seeing things go otherwise then they looked for, and takenhot so much by their words as by the good fortune of their aduersaries, durst not make head, but went straight from thence. So all things prospering according to his desire, he brought all the other Isles called the Cyclades, to be subject to the Athenians.

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Miltiales

es king in Charrone .

At the same time Darius king of PERSIA having passed all his armie out of Asia into Ev-ROPE determined to make war with the SCYTHIANS, and made a bridge ouer Danuby to paffe ouer his troupes: the guard of the which in his absence, was committed vnto the Lords which he had brought with him out of Ionia and Aolia, vnto every one of the which he had giuen perpetuall power and gouernment ouer their townes. Supposing by this policie, easily to bring into Subjection all the GREEKEs that dwelt in AsIA, if he gaue the guard of the townes vnto their friends and confederates, that could not escape by any meanes if he were oppeessed. Militade: was of the number of the guards of this bridge. Newes being brought by diuerse messages that Darius had butill successe, and that the Seythians held him hard toit, he per- Millians fivaded the other guards not to lose the occasion that was offered to set GREECE at liberty, confidering that if Darius and his forces he brought with him were overthrown, all EvROPE should beinpeace, and the naturall GREEKES remaining in ASIA should see themselves out of danger, and freed from the domination of the Persians. And this might easily be done, since that by cutting off the bridge, Darius should in few dayes be cut in peeces by the enemies, or should die for penurie with all his armie. Many agreed vnto it: but Istiaus MILETIAN brakethe necke of it, faying, that the kingdome of Darius vpon whom their authoritie depended, made difference betwixt the good of the affaires of them that commanded, and the people that was vnder subjection and government. That if Darius should happen to die, they should be driven out and punished by their citizens and therefore that he was of a contrary mind to all the rest, thinking nothing more profitable, then to fee the kingdome of the Persians established. The greater part of them being of his mind, Miltiades was affraid, for that there were somany witneffes, that the king should soone be aduertised of that which was propounded: wherefore he left CHERRONESVS, and returned againe to ATHENS. Now though his counsel tooke no place, yet he was highly commended, having shewed more regard to the good and libertie of all, then to his owne particular aduancement.

For Darius, he being returned out of Evrope into Asia, his friends counselled him to set vpon GRECE. Whereupon he armed a fleet of flue hundred galleys under the charge of Datis Datistima. and Artaphernes, giving them two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horse, saying keth warre that he would be even with the Athenians, because that the Ionians had in favour of the Greece. ATHENIANS forced the citie of SARDIS, & killed his garrifons. Thefetwo Lieutenants of Darius being arrived in Evboea with their galleys, they presently wanne Eretria, tooke all the inhabitants of the countrey prisoners, and sent them to the king in Asia. From thence they went into Attica, and camped in the plaine of Marathon, which is within fine leagues or thereabouts from ATHENS. The ATHENIANS aftonied at fo great a number of enemies, and foncare vnto them, knew not of whom to demand aide, but of the Laced AM ONIANS, vnto whom they dispatched a very swift footman, a foote Post called Philippides, to aduertise them that they had need to fend them aide, and that presently. In the meane time they chose tenne Captaines to command and gouerne their troupes: Militades was one of them. So there was great disputation among them, to wit, whether they should keepe the walles of their citie, or they should go meete with their enemies to bid them battell. There was none but Militades that reasoned, that there was no delaying or protracting of time, but they must make a campe: and that that would lift up the hearts of the ATHENIANS, when they should see and behold, that they had a good opinion of their vertue & valiant nesse; and that the enemies hearts would faile them, when they should understand that so few men came resolutely to fight with them. At that time the ATHENIANS had no aide from any city but from PLATÆA, which sent them athousand men: who being come, the armie of the GREEXES was compounded but of tenne thousand men in all, who defired nothing but to fight. That was the cause that Miltiades counfell was preferred aboue all the other captaines. For the ATHENIANS respecting his valor, caused their troupes to march into the field, and they camped in a place of aduantage. Then the next morning having disposed their footmen at the foote of the mountaine, which they had in flancke, they gave charge vpon their enemies couragiously, with a new and sure fashion of The Ather fight. For there were trees growing here and there, by meanes whereof they were vnder couert of the rocks, and the trees kept them from being enclosed by the multitude of the enemics horfemen. Nowalthough Datis faw that the place did not fauour and affect him, yet because he had so many men, all his desire was to fight, thinking he should win and obtaine much, Mmmmm 3

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if he could ioyne before the aide of the LACED EMONIANS came to them. And thereforehe made an hundred thousand footmen and ten thousand horse to march against them. Then he wentto charge the ATHENIANS, who made excellent proofe of their valiantnes, condering that they having to fight one against ten, they made the PERSIANS flie for life, & so astonished the that in stead of returning backeto their camp, they faued themselues in their ships. See, here was one of the brauest battels that a man can speake of: for neuer such a handful of men ouercameso great forces. Peraduenture it will not be impertinent to shew what reward Militades had for obtaining of so noble a victorie, to the end that all men may know the better, that all commonweales have one disposition. As the honors of the people of Romn were in times past rare and fimple, and by confequent more glorious & to be defired; and now to the contrary more difordered and leffe esteemed: the very same we find to have bin practifed among the ATHENIANS. For all the honour they did vnto this Miltiades, the fauiour of ATHENS, and of all GRECE, Was. that the battel of Marathon having bin painted over the Porch called Pœcile, his image was fet vp the first in rancke of all the Captaines, with the countenance of a man speaking to his soul. diers, and going first to fight. The same people of ATHENS being come to be of greater power. and corrupted by the gifts of those which fued for charge and office in the commonwealth, canfed three hundred statues to be set vp for Demetrius the PHALERIAN.

Afterthis battell, the ATHENIAN'S gaue a fleet of three score and ten gallies vnto Militades, to make war vpon the Iles which had aided the Persians. He copelled some by simple comandeme.s, others by force of arms to yeeld the felues. And not being able by any perswasios to bring the Hemen of Paros to reason (proud because of their riches) he laded his forces, enclosed the towne with trenches, and took from the befieged al meanes either to come by victuals or munition of war:then having fet vp his Gabions and Mantelets, he came neare the wals. He was at the point to win the towne, when one night (not knowne by what mischance) there was a great fire feene vpon firme land in a wood, which they faw from the Isle. This flame made those that were befieged, and them that lay at the fiegethinkethat it was a figne of the fleet of the Persi-ANS, to encourage the PARIANS, and to keepe them from yeelding vp their town. Herupon Miltiades fearing that Darius army by sea was at hand, he set fire of his Mantelets and Gabions, and hoifed faile towards ATHENS, where he arrived with all the gallies he caried out: where with the people were maruelloufly offended. They accused him of treason, that when he might have won Paros by affault, he had taken money of the king, and was returned without fighting, or doing any memorableact. At that time he was ficke of the wounds he had received at the fiege of Pa-ROS: wherefore not being able to defend himselfe in person, his brother stesagoras pleaded his cause, the which having bene debated, he was quit from death, yet condemned to pay a fine of thirtie thousand crownes, to the which they valued the charge of the army in that iourney. And being vnable to pay so great a summe, he was committed to the common prison, and there died. Now this matter of PAROs was but a cloke; and they speake of it thus for another reason, For the tyranny of Pifistratus, who had altered the estate some yeares before, was the cause that the ATHENIANS were affraid of their citizens that were in any credit. Militades, that had had many great & honourable charges feemed that he could no more be brought to line as a private person, considering also that he was given to this desire to command alwayes. For all the time of his abode in Cherrone sys there was no other Lord but he, & also they called him tyrant: but iust, because he had not gotten this authoritie by force of armes, but with the consent of his citizens, and caried himselfe very modestly. Now they take and call them tyrants, which have a perpetuall power in a commonwealth that was free before. Furthermore, Militades was a very gentle person, wonderfull affable, and there was not so meane a man, but might easily come and speake with him. All the townes respected him, he was very famous, and they reputed him for one of the brauest Captaines of GREECE. The people of ATHENS considering these

things, had rather condemne this innocent man in a fine, then to be longer in paine to take heed of him.

The end of Miltiades life.



Pausanias.



Musaias Laced Emonian was a great man, but viconstant in all the parts of his life, furnished with vertues, but ouerwhelmed with vices. It was hethat wanne that so famous victories of the PLATES. For he being Generall of the GREERE armie, this great Lord Mardonius, a Mede by nation, and sonne in law of the king of Persia, the most wife and valiant Captain among all the Persians, followed with two hundred thousand chosen footemen, and twentie thousand horse: he was ouercome, the rest of all his troupes driven out of Paulanias GREECE, and himselfe slaine in the field. This victorie raised vp Pan- gineth the

fanists heart to fuch a height, that he beganne to confound the affaires, and to denife great Persians the change in his braine. The first shame he received was, that he having offered a trivet of gold vnto the temple of DELPHES, of the bootie he had gotten vpon the enemies, with an Epigram containing in substance, that vnder his conduct the barbarous people had bene ouerthrowne before PLAT ÆEs, and that acknowledging this victorie, he made this present vnto Apollo: the LIACED EMONIANS rased out these verses, and wrote no other thing but the names of the townes, through whose aide the Persians had bin ouercome. After this battell they sent him againe with an armie of the allies by fea into Cyprvs and Hellespont, to expulse the garrifons of the barbarous people thence. The which he having fortunately executed, he then grew to be more infolent and ambitious then euer.

For, having taken the citie of BYZANCE by force, and made a great number of gentlemen of Persia prisoners, among which were many kinsimen of xerxes, he secretly sent them to him, and gaue it out that they escaped out of prison. Gongylus ERETRIAN did accompany them carying letters to the king, the effect thereof was this, as Thucydides faith: Paufanias, Captaine of SPARTA, knowing that the prisoners of BYZANCE are thy kinsmen, he sendeth them ynto thee for a present, and desireth to be of alliance with thee, and prayeth thee to give him thy daughter in mariage. If thou do it, he promiseth that by his meanes Sparta and all Greece shall be brought vnder thy power. Therefore if it please thee to give eare vnto it, send him a man expresly with whom he may conferre. The king very joyfull and glad for the delinery of fo many friends of his, fent Artabazus presently to Pausanias with letters, in the which he commendeth him, and prayeth him to spare for nothing to bring his promise to passe. If he do, that all shall be granted which he demandeth. Pausanias vnderstanding Xernes mind, resolved resolutely to put his hand to this worke: which the LACBD EMONIANS mistrusting, having sent for him home, they accused him of treason: whereof he was quit, and yet condemned to pay a fine. This was the cause that they sent him not again to the army: but shortly after he returned of his owne mind, and by a rash and cuill grounded Oration, he casily discoursed the tresson. thoughts of his heart. Furthermore, he did not only change his fashion of living after the Laco-NIAN maner, but also of his diet & apparell. For he had a royall pompe, trayning along gowne after the fashion of the Medes, followed with a troupe of the Medes & ÆGYPTIANS for archers of his guard. His table did fo abound in all kinds of dainties after the maner of the P $_{\rm ERS}$ $_{\rm I-}$ ANS, that no man could away withall. He gaue no accesse vnto him but very seldome: to them that would speake with him, he answered very proudly; and commanded with all cruelty, refuling to returne any more to Sparta.

He went to Colones, which is a place in the countrey of Troas, and there plotted all his dangerous practifes against his countrey and himselfe. When the LACED EMONIANS had vnderstanding of it, they fent Ambassadors vnto him with the Scytala, in the which was written, after their accustomed maner, that if he came not into the citie, they would condemne him to death. This letter aftonied him. Yet hoping to escape this imminent danger by force of presents,

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and by reason of his credite, he went home into his countrey, where being, the Ephores made him to be apprehended, and cast into prison: for it is lawfull for one of the Ephores to take the king, and vie him fo. Neuertheleffe Paulanias loofed himselfe, being not withstanding suspected of euery man: for they had alwayes this opinion of him, that he had intelligence with Xerxes. There are certaine people there called ILOTES, and they are a great number of them, and they plow the lands of the LACED EMONIANS, whom they serue as slaues. It was supposed he did practife with them, vnder promife to make them free men. But because they had no pregnant witnesse to conuince him, they thought they must not condemne so noble a person as he by bare conjectures, but rather to tary till time did reueale it of it selfe. In these businesses, a young man called Argilius, who in his infancie had served Pausanias for a Page, having received letters of him to carieto Artabazus, he doubting lest there were somewhat therein that might hurt him, for of all those that went into Persia about these affaires, not one of the came backe againe: he brake open the scale, and knew by the contents thereof that if he had caried them, he had died for it also the letter mentioned matters whereof Paulanias and Xerxes were agreed. Argilius caried these letters, and put them into the hands of the Ephores. Here is to be noted the mo. deration and gravitie of the LACED EMONIANS, that would not yet take vantage of this detection, to lay hold vpon Paufanias: and resolued not to proceed with rigour, till he first discouered it himselse. And therefore they taught Argilius what they would have him to do.

At TENARE, there is a temple of Neptune, the priviledge whereof the GREEKEs hold for facred and inuiolable. Argilius fled thither, and fate him downe vpon the Altar: neare vnto the which the Ephores made a caue vnder the ground, from whence one might vnderstand all that any body would say vnto Argilius. Some of the Ephores hid themselucs within it. Pausanias vnderstanding that his man was in the priviledge of the temple, went thither marvellously troubled, and began to aske him how this chance happened. Argilius confessed he had opened the letters, and seene the contents of them. Wherewith Paulanias more troubled then before, began to pray him to fay neuer a word, and not to betray him who had done him fo much good that if he would do him that fauour to helpe him out of this trouble, he would make him a great man. The Ephores having heard all this talke, they judged that the furest way was to take him in the citic. Whither they being gone, Pausanias thinking he had appealed Argilius, and thereby affured his affaires, he returned home to his house; and as they were ready to catch him by the coller, he perceived by the countenance of one of the Ephores that called him as if he would have spoken with him, that they went about to intrap him. Wherefore doubling his pace somewhat faster then those that followed him, he saued himselfe within the temple of Minerua, called Chalciecos. But because he should not come out, the Ephores caused the Church doores presently to be mured vp, and the roofe of the temple to be pulled downe, that he might dye the fooner with aire. It is reported that Panfanias mother, being a very old woman, lived at that time: and that the vnderstanding of the wickednesse of her sonne, her selfe brought the first stone to mure him in there. Behold, how Paulanias stained with a shameful death the great glorie he had obtained in the warres. Being brought half dead out of the temple, he died immediatly. Some would have had his bodic caried to the gibbit: others liked northar opinion, and buriedhim farre from the place where he died: from whence he was digged vp again, by comman-

dement of an Oracle of DELPHES, and put in the

same place where he died.

The end of Pansanias life.

THE



THE LIFE OF Thrasybulus.

Or Thrasphulus, he was an Athenian, the some of one called Ly- The praises cus. If we should consider his vertue apart, and leave his fortune behind, it may be we should place him first of all others. And to confesse atroth, I know no man more faithfull, more constant, more nobly minded, and more louing to his countrey, then he. For whereas many have defired (and few executed) to free their countrey from the hands of one onely tyrant: it was his fortune to deliuer his countrey from the violence of thirtie tyrants. But it chanced, I know not how, thathe which went before all others invertue, was put downe by ma-

ny others in charge and dignitic. In the warres of PELOPONNESVS, Alcibiades did nothing without him, but he on the contrary did many things without Alcibiades, and wanne honour through the goodnesseand excellency of his nature. This notwithstanding, all the exploits of warre ought to be deuided amongst the Chieftaines, souldiers, and fortune: for when armies warlike exmeer, that which hath bene determined in counfel, is executed by the force and valiantneffe of plaint how the foldiers that fight. Wherfore the fouldier may pretend right to that which his General hath done: Fortune challengeth the better part, and may fay, that she hath in such a case sood them in better fleed then all the wisdome of the Generall. Euen so then, this worthy act of Thrashbulus is proper to himfelf. For as the thirty tyrants established by the Spartans, that kept the city of ATHENS in subjection, had banished part of the citizens escaped from the warre, put some to death, and forfeited the goods of others: Thrasphulus was the first and onely man that began to Thrasphulus make warre with them. He was gotten into a strong hold, called PHYLB, in the territorie of Ar- las fee first TICA, having but thirtie men with him in all.

This was the beginning of the health of the ATHENTANS, and the foundation of the liberty vnto the goodliest commonwealth of GRECE. And for as much asthetyrants scorned him and his company, it was the cause of their destruction, and of the preservation of Thrasybulus: and their not caring to fet vpon him and his, made them stronger by the leifure they had given them. The which should teach all to remember this rule that we must never despise our enemy. Our enemy And so it is not spoken in vaine, that the mother of a coward doth neuer weepe. For all his same not so be that went of him, many did not joyne with him: for then those that were best affected, made warre with the tyrants more with their toungs then with their hands. From PHYLE Thrafybulus went to the port of Pyr. As, and did fortific the fortressealled Mynychia: the which the tyrants did affault, but they were repulled with fuch shame, that they suddenly retired to the town with loss of armes and baggage. In this action, Thrasphulus shewed himselfe no lesse wife then valiant: for he commanded his men to touch none that made no refistance, thinking it reasonable that the citizens should pardon one the other; and there was not a man of them hurt, but those that assaulted them. He would strippe none of the dead, nor suffer any thing to be taken from them, but their armes and victuals which he needed. Critias, the chiefe of all the tyrants, having fought very valiantly against Thrasquellus, was flaine at the second affault. After he was dispatched, Pausanias king of Sparta came to the aide of the Athenians, and made peace betwixt Thrasybulus and those which kept the city, with these conditions, that the thirty tyrants, and the tennew governours, which had committed as many cruelties as the tyrants themselves, should be banished, and their goods for seited, without touching any other citizens: and that the fourraignty and gouernement of the estate should be restored a- also the ten gaine vnto the people.

It was another fine device of Thrafybulus, that after he had pacified all matters, and ob- alamin tained great credite in the citie, he made a law that no man should be called in question nor furies pastroubled forthings that were past, and that was called Amnestia, or law of oblinion. But he fed.

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was more carefull to keepe it, then to publish it. For some of his followers in his exile, complotted to kill some that were pardoned: but he stopped it by open proclamation, and kept his promise. To recompence these so many good deeds of his, the people gaue him a Crowne of two branches of Bayes, the which got him no enuy, but great glory: because he had obtained itthroughthe good will of his citizens, and not by force. It was wifely faid of Pittacus, one of the seuen Sages: when the MITYLENIAN'S gaue him many thousand of daics worke of lands, I pray you, said he, give me not that thing which is envied of many men, and defired of all the world: of all those I will onely take but a hundred dayes worke, which shall make proofe of my moderation, and of your good affection: for small presents do continue long, but we are no long time owners of great riches. So then Thrasybulus contenting himselfe with this Crowne, he fought for no more, and did thinke that no man was more honored then he. Shortly after, he being arrived in Sicilia with a fleete the which he commanded, his fouldiers were not carefull to keepe good watch in his campe: vpon which occasion, the barbarous people that were befieged, having by night made a fally out of the towne vpon him, they surprifed him, and killed him in his tent.

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The end of Thrasybulus life.



THE LIFE OF Conon.



Vring the warres of Peloponnesus, Conon Athenian began to deale in the affaires of the commonwealth, and did great service: for he was chosen Colonell of the infanterie, then Admirall, in which a charge he did many goodly exploits. By meanes whereof hegrew to be of fingular reputation amongst all men, and had the gouernement of all the Iles: during which time he wanne Phares a Colony of the LACED EMONIANS. Towards the end of the warre of Peloponnesvs, at what time Lysander ouercame the army of the ATHENIANS vpon the sea coast which they call the river of the Goate, he had then

charge of certaine galleyes: howbeit he was not at the battell, which was cause that all cameto nought, for he was a wife and valiant Captaine: infomuch that it was in enery mans mouth, that if he had benerhere, the ATHENIANS had not fustained such a losse. He seeing things brought to so poorean estate, and understanding that his city was besieged, he sought not to hide himselfe to liue in safety, but thought how he might helpe his citizens. For this purpose he went to Pharnaba Zus, a kinfeman and sonne in law of the king of Persia, and gouernour of Ionia and of Lydia, into whose fauour he infinuated himselfe, but with great trouble and much danger. Now when the LACED EMONIANS, after they had subdued the ATHENIANS, in stead of maintaining the alliance made with Artaxerxes, had fent Agefilans to make warrein As 1A, through the perswasion of Tissaphernes, which had forfaken the king (of whom heretofore he was greatly beloued) and loyned with the LACED EMONIANS: Pharnaba Zus was appointed Lieutenant generall of the armie of the Persians to make head against Agesilaus. But in truth Conon commanded all, and nothing was done without his aduice and counsell. It was he that brake the most part of all the intentions and attempts of this great Captaine Agesilaus, being a thing certaine inough, that if Conon had not opposed himselfe, the LACED EMO-NIANS had taken all Asia from the king, vnto the mountaine Taurus. Hereupon Agesilaus being fent for home by the Ephores, because the Bosotians and Athenians had proclaimed warre against Sparta, Conon left not to be euer neare to the Lieutenants of the king of Pers 1 A, and did them great service.

Tissaphernes withdrew himselfe from the court of Persia, the which all men perceived well

inough but the king, with whom he was in great credite and estimation, though he was no more his servant. And it is not to be marvelled at if Artaxerxes could believe nothing, remembring himselfe that by Tisfaphernes meanes he ouercame his brother Cyrus. Conon being fent by Pharnabagus vnto theking to accuse this Tissabernes, he being come to the court, came first to the Captaine of the guard, called Tithraustes, according to the cultome of the Persians. He is chiefest of all the officers of the kingdome, and no man can be suffered to come neare the king to speake with him, without his leaue and licence. He being intreated by Conon to lethim go vnto the Prince. I am contented, faid he, but confider first if thou be determined to speake with him thy felfe, or to deliuer thy mind by writing that thou wouldeft fay vnto him. For if thou come to his presence, thou must kneele to the king; and if thou thinke that grieuous vnto thee, thou maiest execute thy commission by my meanes, as well as by thine owne mouth. As for me, answered Conon, it shall be no troublesome thing to me, to do the king that honour that shall please thee: but I am afraid to do my city dishonor, if I do a thing proper to the barbarous people, and vnfit for that citie which was wont to command other nations. So then he delivered his meffage in writing : which when the king had feene , he was fo moued with the report of fo great a perfon, that he judged Tiffaphernes his enemy, decreed warre against the LACEDEMONI-ANS, and fuffered Conon to make choise of such a man as he would, to distribute the money neceffary to defray the charge of this warre. Conon made this answer, that this election pertained nothing to him, but to the king that knew his feruants best; yet in his opinion; this charge should be best bestowed upon Pharnabazus. He was fent backe with great presents to the maritime townes, to command the Cypriors, Phenicians, and others dwelling upon this coaft to put galleys in readinesse, and to arme a seete that might keepe the seasthenext Sommer, under the conduct of Pharnabazus and of Conon, who had so required it.

The LACED EMONIANS being advertised thereof, were amazed, perceiving well that they were to make another manner of warre then with the barbarous people. For they faw that they must needs come to fight against a valiant and wise Captaine, having the kings treasure in his hands, and that had a fmuch and better direction and forces then they. With this thought they gathered together great store of shipping, and imbarked themselves under the conduct of Pilander. Conon met with them neare vnto CNIDOS, gaue them battell, made them flie, tooke flore of conn rais galleys, and funke a great number of them. By meanes of this victory, ATHENS & all GREECE guifheth the fubiect to the dominion of the LACED AMONIANS, were fet at liberty. Conon returned againe to his countrey with part of these galleys, built vp againe the wals of ATHENS and of the hauen of PIRÆA, which had bene ouerthrowne by Lyfander, and presented his citizens with 30000. crownes which Pharnabazus had given him. But that which happeneth oftentimes vnto other men, chanced also vnto Conon, that is, to have leffecourage in prosperity, then in adversitie. For now that he had ouercome the fleete of the PELOPONNESIANS, thinking he had taken fufficientreuenge of the wrongs received by his countrey, he began to embrace in his mind imaginations too high for his carriage: although this was good and commendable in his enterprife, that he had rather make his owne countrey great and rich, then the king of Persia. Therefore he being now growne into wonderfull credite, not onely among st the barbarous people, but also amongst all the cities of GRBBCB, after this battel of CNIDOs, he began vnderhand to practise the meanes to restore Ionia and Æolia to be subject againe to the common wealth of the A-THENIANS. His practices being discovered, Tiribazus governor of Sardis, sent to pray him to come to him, to be fent in Ambassage to the king. Conon straight obeying his commande.

time. Some write that he was caried to the king, and died in Persia. But Dion the historian, prifond. to whom we give great credite in that he treateth of the affaires of P B R S I A, reporteth, that Gonon faued himselfe, leaving it in doubt whether Tiriba us was prive

toit, or that he knew not of it.

Theend of Conons lifes

ment, he was no sooner arrived, but he was straight clapt vp in prison, where he remained some commin.



THE LIFE OF

Aphicrates.



Phicrates the Athenian was famous, not fo much for his divers exploits or for the greatnesse of them, as for his militarie disciplines for he was fuch a chieftaine of warre, that they compared him vnto the brauest men of his time, and they did not set him behind any of those that had gone before him. He had bene in many warres, had comman. ded armies oftentimes, he neuer had misfortune by his owne fault, he cuer ouercame by wisedome: his vnderstanding reaching so far, that he brought in many good things neuer seene before in the art militarie: and made some of them better that were in vse. He altered the armes

of footmen: and where before him the Captaines did vse great targets, short partisans, and little fwords: he to the contrarie brought light bucklers, to the end his men should be lighter to remoue, and to runne to give charge. He made the partifans greater by halfe, and the swords longer. He changed also the corslets, and in stead of iron and copper, he made them of canuasse well wrought together, which made the fouldiers much lighter: for being eased of that weight, they had meanes to defend themselues nimbly against blowes, & were ready besides to give charge vponthe enemy. He made warre with the THRACIANS, and recftablished Seuthes againe in his kingdome, an allie of the ATHENIANS, Being at CORINTH, he observed so good discipline in his armie, that they neuer saw any souldiers in GREECE, better disposed, nor more obedientto their Colonel then they were. To be short, he did vse them to ranke themselues so well in battell, without helpe of the Captaine, fo foone as euer the Generall had given them the figne to fight, that it seemed expresly as if the most expert Chiefetaine of warre had imbattelled

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With such an army he affailed the LACED AMONIANS, which was a most famous act through all GREECE; and in this warre he put all their forces to flight, which wanne him great honour. And as Artaxerxes was ready to fet vpon the king of Æ GYPT, he demanded of the A-THENIANS Captaine Iphicrates, tobe the chiefe leader of all the strangers troupes, to the number of twelue thousand men. Whom he so well trained and disciplined, that as the FABIAN soldiers had bin famous among the ROMAINS, so in GREECE they spake of none but of Iphicratian fouldiers. Afterwards being gone to aide the Spartans, he staied Epaminondas roundly: and had not he come, the THEBANS would neuer haue returned backe before they had taken and burnt the citie of Sparta. He was a man of a ftout heart, and of a high stature, having the report and countenance of a Soueraigne captain, so that he made all men wonder at him that faw him: but he was flouthfull and impatient, as Theopompus faith, but otherwise a good and faithfull citizen, whereof he made proofe among others, especially in keeping Perdiccas and Philip the sons of Amyntas Macedonian, fafe. For Euridice their mother coming with them for refuge vnto Iphicrates, after the death of Amontas, he spared no meanes of his owne to defend them. He liued a long time, being in good credite with his citizens, fauing that on a time during the warres of the allies he was criminally accused with Timotheus; howbeit he cleared himselfe, and was quit by iudgement. His wife was Thressa, daughter of king Cotys: and of her he had a sonne called Menestheus: who being asked which he loued best, either his father, or his mother: My mother, said he. Whereat euery man musing: Maruell not, answered he, I have reason

to say so. For my father, as much as was in him, begat me a

THRACIAN: and my mother to the contrarie, she made me an

ATHENIAN.

The end of Iphicrates life.

THE LIFE OF Chabrias.

Habrias was an Athenian, and was placed in ranke of excellent Captaines. So hath he done many things worthie of memorie, Amongst others, the stratageme he shewed at the battell of THERES is famous, chabring his where he was to aide the Borotians, For, that great Captaine Ageli- Bratageme. law reioycing because of his victorie, and that he had made all the troupes at the Thebans pay fun away, Chabrias stood still with them that were left of his battalion, teaching the fouldiers to refift the charge of the enemies, casting downe their pikes, and covering themselves

with their bucklers vpon one knee. Azesilaus moued with this noneltie, durst not runne into them, but sounded the retreat, to keepe his men that they should paffe no further. This act was forenowmed through GRECE, that Chabrias caused a statue to be made of him in the state about mentioned, the which the ATHENIANS set up for him in the great market place. Afterwards the wreftlers, and other fuch kind of people followed this fashion of erection of statues, which they descrued for their victories. To come againe to Chabrias, he made many warres in Evrope, in the qualitie of Generall of the ATHENIANS, and went also of his voluntarie will to make warre in Acypy, in the feruice of Nedanebos whom he fet againe into his kingdome. He did the like in CYPRVS, whither the ATHENIANS fent him of purpose to helpe Euggoras, and would not depart thence before he had first subdued all the Isle, for the which the ATHENTANS wan great honour, Inthese businesses, warre fell out betwixt the Per-SIANS and AGYPTIANS. They of ATHENS were allies of Artaxerxes, and the Spartans tooke part with AGYPT. King Agefilaus did greatly inuade the PERSIANS, and carried great booties away. Chabricas confidering that, and giving no place to Agefilaus, went of his owne head to aide the ÆGYPTIANS, who made him their Admirall, and gaue the charge of the armie by land ynto Ageilans. Thenthe Lieutenants of the king of Persia fent vnto Athens, to complaine that Chabrias made warre with the ÆGYPTIANS against their king. The ATHENIANS sent for Chabries immediatly to appeare in person, threatening him to condemne him to death, if he were not there by the day appointed. This meffage made him to come again to ATHENS , where he taried no longer then needs he must. For the Citizens bare him no great good will, because he carried himselfe so stately, and would be so merry, that the people enuied him. This vice reigneth chabries enuied commonly in those great and free townes, that glorie is ever accompanied with enuie, and they for his faidiwillingly speake ill of them whom they see to be great: and to be short, the poore cannot abide ""se. wealthie and rich men. Therefore Chabrias didabfent himselfe out of the Citic as much as he could possible, and he was not alone in that, for almost all the chiefest of the Citie did the like: thinking themselves fafe from the teeth of the envious, so long as they were farre off from the fight of their citizens. Therefore Conon lived for the most part of his time in the Isle of Cyprys, Iphicrates in THRACIA, Timotheus in LESBOS, Cares in SYGHEA. As for Cares, he was not to be likened in any respect vnto the others, in exploits, nor in manner of life: and yet he was honored in the Citie of ATHENS, and had great meanes.

As for Chabries, he died in the war of the allies in this maner. The ATHENIANS made war with The manner of the Islanders of Chio, at what time Chabrias had no charge in the armie by sea. Notwithstan- Chabrias death, ding he had more authoritie then all the Captains, and the fouldiers esteemed him more then any other of the comanders: which was the cause of his death. For striving to enter the first into the hauen, and commanding the Pylote to row right thither, it was his destruction; for being moored there within, the other ships followed him not. Whereupon the enemies compassed him in : but as hefought valiantly, his galley being beaten with the fourre of another veffell, began to leake, and to finke to the bottome. He feeing there was no way for him to escape, because the fleet of the Athenians was too farre off to receive him in if he should have attempted to haue fwomme, he hadrather die then leaue his armes, and forfake the galley which caried him. Nnnnn

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The others, they tooke another course, and faued themselves by strength of their armes. But he effeeming an honest death to be more excellent then a shamefull life, fighting very neare, was killed by the enemies with darts.

The end of Chabrias life.



THE LIFE OF

Timotheus.

The commenda sion of Timo shew and his exploits.



Imotheus the sonne of Conon, a Captaine of ATHENS, did by many ver. tues amplifie the glorie received of his father. For he was an eloquent man, diligent, painfull, expert in militarie discipline, and a great Polititian. He hath executed greathings, whereof the most notable are these, to wit: he subdued the Olynthians and Byzantines: he wanted the office of Sancia the second the former warres had wanne the citie of Samos, the fiege whereof in the former warres had I flood the Athenians in the fumme of twelve hundred talents. He deliuered it vnto the people freely without any charge to them. He made warre with king Cotys, and brought of the bootie he had gotten

there vnto the Treasurie, the like summe of twelve hundred talents. He also raised the siege that was before Cyzica, and went with Agefilaus to the aide of Ariobarzanes, of whom having receiued money, he had rather his citizens should buy townes and lands, then to carrie it home to his lodging. Therefore he iouned ERICTHONE and SESTOS to the figniorie of ATHENS. Afterwards having charge of the armie by fea, he inuaded Peloponnesvs, spoiled all the territorie of Sparta, and had all their thips in chase. He brought the Corcyrean's under the subjection of the ATHENIANS, and drew into their alliance the Epirots, ATHAMANES, and CHAONIANS, and all the people vpon that fea coast. The which made the LACED EMONIANS leave their so long old quarrell, and of their owne good wils let the ATHENTAN'S haue the principalitie of the fea: treating peace with these conditions, that the ATHENIANS should be Generals vpon

Timotheu hono red with a statue

This victorie didio please the Athenians, that there was then first of all an altar built to the common Peace, and they did ordaine a pillow should be made for that goddesse. Furthermore, that fuch a glorious act should remaine for perpetuitie, they raised up a statue unto Timothem in the market place, by ordinance of the people, which was an honour that neuer man received before, to wit, that the people having granted a statue for the father, they should also give one to the fonne. By this meanes the statue of the sonne so freshly set up, renewed the memorie of the father. Now Timotheus being very old, dealing no more in affaires of the commonwealth, they began afresh to torment the Athenians of all fides. Samos and Hellespont shrunke backe and revolted, Philip king of MACEDON, who began to waxe great, plotted wonderfull things in his head, Chares was fent against him to make head. But they thinking him not sufficient to repulse Philip, they therefore sent Menestheus the sonne of Iphicrates, sonne in law to Timotheus, and made him Colonell, gaue him the charge of the affaires of the warres, having for his counfellers, his father, and father in law, braue Captaines, wife and expert men to direct him with their counsell: their authoritie being so great, that every man hoped that all that was lost should be recourred agains by their meanes. They pointing for Samos, Chares that had heard newes of it, failed up and downe that coast, to the end nothing should be done in his absence. Drawing neare to the Isle a storme arose, and to defend themselues against it, the two old Captaines strake faile, and hulled, going no further into the sea. Chares to the contrarie vpon a head, not respecting them that had seene more then he, held on his course, thinking to haue found an occafion as he wished, and sent as well to Timotheus as to Iphicrates, that they should follow, him. But having had evill successe, and lost many of his shippes, he fell backe againe to that verie

place from whence he came, and sent letters to the people of ATHENS of this effect, that he had easily taken Samos, if Timotheus and Iphicrates had not forsaken him at his need. Vpon this ac-Timotheus culation they were fummoned to appeare in person by this bold people, suspitious, vinconstant, e- prongfully accunemy and enuious of another mans greatnesse, and are charged to be traitors to the common-ned wealth. Timothem was condemned, and a fine fet vpon his head of fixty thousand crownes. Inhierates constrained by the importunitie of his vnthankfull citizens, went for a time to CHALCIS. After Timothem death, the people repenting their fentence, abated nine parts of the fum aboue named, and commanded Conon, the fonne of the deceaffed, to furnish fixe thousand crownes for thereparation of a pane of the wall. Here is to be noted a wonderfull revolution of the affaires of this world: for the yong sonne was constrained at his owne charges (to the great dishonour of his house) to repaire the wals, the which his grandfather Conon had made vp with the booty gotten of the enemies. We could alledge many examples of the modesty and wisedome of Timetheus: but we will adde for the end a matter whereby may be easily coniectured, how much he was esteemed of the GREEKES. Being yong he was accused, and brought before the Judge, whereupon his friends and familiars came out of all parts into ATHENS to defend him, and amongst others the tyrant lason, who was at that time the mightiest Lord of all Greece. This tyrant was neuer affured in his owne countrey without his guard, and yet he came without any traine to ATHENS, esteeming so much his host Timotheus, that he had rather hazard his life, then faile his friend in time of necessitie, Notwithstanding this, shortly after Timotheus made Timotheus prewarre with Iason, by the commandement of the people, thinking that to obey his countrey, mon profit before and to maintaine the right of the same, is a more denout thing, then to sauour a private friend, private friend. After this last age, which tooke away Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus, Captaines of A. Ing. THENS, they could never find in the commonwealth after their death, any Chieftaine of warre. that deferueth any memorie of them.

The end of Timothew life.



THE LIFE OF

Datames.

Profently enter into the life of a most valiant and wife Captaine, a Datames a wife mong all the barbarous: Hamilear and Hanniball of Carthage ex. and raliantes; cepted. We will speake somewhat more amply of this man, for that the saine. most part of his exploits are little knowne, and also because he had obtained his victories not so much by force of armes, as by his wisedome: tained his victories not so much by force of armes, as by his wisedome:
a vertue in the which he did surpasse all the men of his time. But this
cannot be judged, vnlesse we make him knowne in all particulars. Datames the source of Camellares a CARLAN, and of a SCYTHAN, was at tames the sonne of Camissares a Carian, and of a Scythian, was at the beginning a souldier of the guard of the pallace of Artaxerxes. His

father Camillares, because of his valiantnesse and direction in the wars, and for that he had done many good services vnto the king, was made Gouernour of CILICIA, neare vnto CAPPA-DOCIA, where the Leve OSYRIANS dwell. As for Datames, following the warres, he made proofe of his valour in the warre which Artaxerxes had against the CADVCIANS: where many men being slaine on both sides, he fought so valiantly, that his father being killed, he had his Datamer by his authoritie and place of Goneryour of CILICIA. He shewed himselfe no lesse valiant in warre, forsitude and then Antophradates did by the kings commandement vnto those that had rebelled. For, by rator obtained the direction of Datames, the enemies that were now entredinto the Persians campe, were the place that had, repulfed, and all the armie of the kings in fafetie: the which was the cause of his calling and aduancement vnto higher charges. There was at that time in PAPHLAGONIA a Gouernour called Thyus, descended of an ancient race of one Pylamenes, whom Homer saith, was slaine by Patroclus in the warre of Trois. He not regarding the kings will and commandements, Nunnn 2

Matamer in danger by treaabarie,

Datames overcometh Thyse, and leadeth him prifoner so the Court.

who therefore resolued to make warre with him, and gaue the charge of it vnto Datames, cofin germane to Thrus. By reason of kindred, Darames would proue by all meanes he could to draw his kinfman to fome conformitie before he tooke armes: he went vnto him without any traine little thinking that his friend would have laid any ambush for him, but he had almost bene taken tardie, for This lought to surprise him, and to cut his throate. Datames mother, Aunt vnto Thrus, being told what was practifed against her sonne, she did aduertise him in so good time. that he escaped with speed, and proclaimed warre against his aduersarie. And although that in the pursue of this warre, he was forfaken of Ariobarzanes, Gouernour of Lydia, of Ionia, and of all Phrygra, yet helet not to go further: he tooke Thyus prisoner with his wife and children: and then very carefully tooke order that no man but himself should carie newes of it to the king. So following that purpose, without any mans primitie he arrived at the Court, and the next morning apparelled Thyus (a tall man and of a terrible grimme looke, being blacke haired, and wearing his haire long) with a rich robe, such as great Lords vie to weare. He apparelled himselfe like a countrey man, in a Lion tawnie coate, with a cloke of diverse colours, and an hunters hate having in his right hand a club, and in his left hand a leace, vnto the which Thyes was tyed, who went before, as if he had led some sauage beast he had taken in the chase a hunting. They all ran to fee this new monster thus difguised, and those which knew Thyus went presently and told the king of it, who at the first would beleeve nothing, but sent Pharnabazis to fee what it was. So when he had told him what had happened, he made this pompe come in prefently, and the king tooke great pleasure to see it, but specially to see so mightie a Prince beyond all hope

Therefore after he had given sumptuous presents vnto Datames, he sent him vnto the armie that was leavied under the conduct of Pharmabazus and Tithransles, to make warre in Agypt, and ordained that he should have as much authoritie as they. Now after that the king had sent for Pharmabazus, all the charge of the warres was committed to Datames. Who being greatly occupied about leavies of men to go into Ægyrt, he received letters from the king, commanding him to inuade a Lord called Apis, who held CATAONIA, a province ioyning neare to CAPPA-DOCIA, beyond CILICIA, a mountaine countrey well furnished with fortresses, that despited the king, and made inualions upon the Prouinces thereabouts, spoiling victuals and all things else that were carried to the king. Though Datames was farre from that place, and had other affaires of great importance in hand, yet he determined to obey the king, and suddenly imbarked himfelfe with a finall number of resolute men, thinking (that which came to passe) that with a few men he should sooner surprise a man not dreaming of any such matter, then with a great armie to go and affaile him. He being arrived in CILICIA, landed, then marched day and night ouer mount Taurus, and came to the place where he would be the enquireth for A/pis, and vnderstandeth that he was not farre off a hunting. But as he stayed for his comming, A/pis knew that he was come, and immediatly disposed of his Pisidians and others of his traine to make head. Datames knowing this refolution, takes his armes, made his men march, and galloped to Datames taketh the place where A/pis was, who feeing him come with fuch a furie, he loft his courage to defend Abis, and fin. himselfe, and presently yeelded. Datames made him to be bound, and sent him by Mithridates to the king. Hereupon Areaxerxes confidering better what he had done, drawing his Lieutenant farre from his armie, to fend him in commission about a matter of lesse consequence, being angrie with himselfe, sent a messenger to the campe, thinking Datames was not yet gone from thence, to tell him that he should not go. But before this messenger came to the armie, he met them by the way that brought Afpu. This fo fudden execution wanne Datames the kings good fauour, but made him very much hated of the Courtiers, feeing one onely man more made of then all the rest, which was the cause that they all joyned together to destroy him.

Pandates Treasurer of the spare, and Datames friend, did aduertise him by expresse letters, that

he flood in great danger, if any finister fortune happened whilest he should command the armic in AGYPT; that it is the custome of kings to impute all misfortunes to their feruants that chance in their affaires, and to attribute the good fuccesse vnto themselues: and this makes

them very eafily incline to the extermination of them, of whom report is made, that they have not done that which was committed to their charge; and as for him, that he should so much the

more stand in feare, because those which could do most with the king, were his greatest enemies. Datames having received these letters in his campe, and knowing that they carried truth

with them, he resolved to for sake the king: which doing, notwith standing he committed no because of bis breach of his fidelitie. For he left Androcles MAGNESIAN Generall of the armie, and for himselfe fakethelse king, he went with his men into CAPPADOCIA; afterwards he wan PAPHLAGONIA which was hard by it, without shewing himselfe either friend or enemie of the king. He secretly contracted friendthip with Ariobarzanes, affembled forces, and gaue the guard of the townes of warre vnto those he trusted best, but the winter did let him that his affaires went not forward. He vinderstandeth that the PISIDIANS did leavie some troupes to set upon him, which caused him to send his sonne Aridous before with an armie. The yong man being flaine at an encounter, the father marched right thither with his men, hiding his griefe as much as he could possible, because he desired to meete with his enemies, before those that followed him should heare of his losse, being afraid left the newes of the death of this yong Lord (hould kil their hearts. So being come to the place where he pretended, he camped in fuch fort, that the multitude of his enemics could not enclose him nor keepe him from comming to fight when he thought good. He brought with him Mithrobarzanes his father in law, who was Colonell of the horsemen. He perceiting the affaires of his fon in law in so poore an estate, for sooke him to go yeeld himselfe to the enemies. Datames A five strate. being told of it, iudged that his fouldiers if they once perceived that his father in law had for faken geme. him, they would allo follow his example: wherfore to preuent all, he gaue it out that Mithrobarzanes was gone by his commandement, pretending to yeeld themselves to the enemies, to the end with more ease and aduantage to cut them in peeces; and therefore that there was no reason to leave fuch a man fo far from them, but they must needs follow him with speed. So that they flanding to it luftily, the enemies could not refift, confidering they should be charged within and without their campe. So having thought that the best way in the world, he marcheth into the field with his troupes, and followeth Mithrobarzanes, who did but newly yeeld themselves to the enemies, when Datames appeared, who put out the fignall of batfell. The PISIDIANS troubled with this strange fight, did suspect that Mithrobarzanes, and his would betray them, and that they were come of purpose to do them some mischiefe. Thereupon they vehemently gaue charge vpon these traitors, who not knowing what to think of such a charge, were constrain ned to fight against them vnto whom they had yeelded themselves, and to return evnto them whom they had forfaken. But the one and the other not knowing them any whit, in a short time these wicked men were cut in peeces. So withal Datames setteth vpon the Pisidians who made head against him, passed through them, and brake them at the first charge, pursued them that fled, flue a great number of them, and was maister of their campe. Note here how wifely (and all done at one time) he punished the traitors, and put his enemies to slight, turning that to good, which was deuised for the ouerthrow of him and his. This is the most braue and most speedic executed stratageme of a Chiestaine in wars, that can be found in histories.

Notwithstanding that, this great person was for faken of his eldest some Scifmas, who went to The son betray. the king to aduertife him that his father was revolted. This troubled drtaxer wes greatly, knowing abite father. that he had to deale with a valiant and a wife Captaine, who boldly did fet you any enterprife with discretion. Thereupon he sent Antophradates into Cappadocia, whom Datames tooke paines to go and meete, to preuent him that he should not win the straight of CILICIA. But being long affembling his forces, and that hope being frustrate, he chose with those few men that followed him fuch a place, that his enemies could not enclose him, nor passe, but that he should that them up in very vnwholfome places, nor hurt him when he liked to joyne in fight, Now though Antophradates vnderstood somwhat of that, yethe made account that it was more expedient for him to ioyne then to flie from the lift, having fo great forces. He had 20000 horse, and 100000. footmen, which they call GARDATES, with 3000. flings of the fame name. Furthermore, he had 8000. Cappad octans, 10000. Armenians, 5000. Papelagonians, 10000. Perygi-ANS, 5000. LY DIANS, and about 3000. ASPEN DIANS and PIST DIANS, 2000, CILICIANS, as many CAPTANIAN S, and 2000. GREEKS in pay, befides a great nuber of light armed men. Against this world offorces, Datames could hope no more but in his direction; and in the commodity of the place where he camped for he had not the twentith part fo many men. Yet trufting to himfelfe, to the place, and to the valour of his men, he came to fight, and put to the fword many thousands of his enemies, having lost of his side but one thousand of his men. For this cause he fet up the next day in the field a figne of triumph where the battell was fought. So being remoued from thence, as he was the weaker in number of men, he to the contrarie remained victor in

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DATAMET betoy ennied

wer to the king.

all skirmishes and fights, and neuer came to hands but he put his enemieto the worse: in the which he had oftentimes very good successe, because he knew all the waies, and did wifely consider his affaires. Antophradates seeing the king lost more in these warres then he got he perswaded Datames to fall to agreement, and to make his peace with the king. Though Datames hadno great trust in that, yet he accepted the condition, and said he would fend ambassadours vnto Artaxerxes. And thus the warre of the king ended against Datames. And for Antophradates, he retiredinto Phrygia.

Datames warie

Mithridates Stratageme against Datames.

The manner of Mithridates firstageme.

But the king being vexed to the heart against Datames, considering that he could not prevaile against him by armes, sought to make him away by treason. Datames looked warily to his waies, against station, and avoided many ambushes. As on a time, having understanding that some pretending to be his friends had laid a plot for him, although his enemies had given him intelligence of it, yet he thought, that as it was not a thing lightly to be beleeved, so was it not altogether to be discredited; whereupon he resolued to trie whether the report was true or false. Therefore he set forward to the place where it was told him this ambush was laid but he chose amongst his men one that was of his height, he gaue him his furniture, and made him march in the rank which he was wont to hold. He on the other fide apparelled like a fouldier, went with the archers of the guard. Those which lay in ambush, deceived by the order and furniture, assoone as they saw their time, began to fet youn the supposed Datames. But the right Datames had warned them before with whom he marched, to be readie to do all as he did. He feeing then these traitors runs ning he threw darts at them, and so did all those that were in his companie so that the other fell to the ground before they could come neare him whom they would furprife. Now notwithstanding all this, this so warie and subtill Captaine was in the end betrayed by the deceit of Mithridates the fonne of Ariobarzanes, who promifed the king to do the deed, fo that he would afterwards fuffer him to do what he thought good, without being called in question any maner of way. The king consented vnto it, and gaue his hand vpon it after the custome of the PBR STANS, to make him more affired Mithridates having the kings word, made flew to be fworne enemy vnto Artaxerxes, he gathered troupes together, and by meanes treateth friendship with Datames he entreth with a maine army into the kings country, befregeth and taketh fortreffes, carieth away great bootie, he giveth part of it to his fouldiers, he fendeth the rest vnto Datames, and delivereth many fortresses and holds into his hands. So having continued this course a reasomable time, Datames began wholly to beleeue that Mithridates had vndertaken a warre which he would neuer leave, and this traitor gave him great occasions to thinke so. For fearing lest Datames would mistrust some amoust, he sought not to speake with him, nor went about to meete together, but without enterview he entertained his alliance fo finely, that these two men seemed both one, not fo much for mutuall benefit, as for a common hatred conceived against the king. When he faw his finare well laid, he wrote to Datames, that time required they should affemble great forces to make warre against the king: and if he thought good, he would appoint a place where they might one fee another, and conferre together. Datames found this aduice good, and fo they appointed a day to meete together, and place where they might speake personally one appointed for en- with the other. Some dayes before Mitbridates came to the place, seconded with another in whom he put great truft, he hid poignards separated in diuerse places, and did carefully marke the places where they were laid. The day being come of their talking together, both of them fent men to discouer the place, and to search one the other, because they should be without weapons. That being done, they enter into talke, and after they had spoken some time together, they departed for that Datames was gone a good way off. And as for Mithridates, because he went to his men (to gitte no occasion of ill thought) he cometh to the same place againe where they had Spoken together, and fate him downe in a place where there was a poignard hidden, faining to be wearie, and to refresh himselfe a litle. Then he sent for Datames, under colour that he had forgotten to tell him fome thing. In the meane time he tooke the poignard out of the place where it was hidden, drew it, and put it naked under his robe. And feeing Datames, told him they must go a litle afide, and that he had discouered a place directly ouer against them very fit to campe in. Datames traite. He began to show him the place with his finger: and as Datames turned to see what it was, this rough murdered traitor stabbedhim with his poiguard, and made an end of killing of him before any of his men by Milbridger, could come to helpe him. See here how through pretence of friendship he was surprised, who had entrapped fo many others by his valiant direction, but none by treaton,

The end of the life of Datames.

THE LIFE OF

Hamilcar.

THE

Amilear the fonne of Hanniball, furnamed Barcas, a CARTHAGINIAN Captaine, being very yong began to command an armie that was in Sicilia, in the end of the first warre of Africke. Before his comming thither the CARTHAGINIANS had very ill successe both by sea mandland: but so soone as he led the army, he never gave place to the Hamilton apress enemy, and gaue him no advantage to hurt him, but to the contrarie peromleader. he found many an occasion to draw them to fight, wherein he had the vantage. Which being done, although the CARTHAGINIANS had well-neare lost all that they held in Sicilia, yet he kept the City of

Exix fowell, as it feemed that there had never bene warre made in that quarter. In the meane time the Carthaginians having loft a battell at sea neare vnto the Iles Ægates, against Catulus Luctatius a Romane Confull, they determined to leave armes, and gave all the charge vnto Hamilear to treate of peace. For his part he defired nothing but warre: yet feeing his towne inwant of money and meanes, and in danger to finke vnder their burthen, he concluded that they must make peace. Yet so notwithstanding he resolved with himselfe, that assoone as all matters were pacified, he would make warre againe, and set vpon the Romanes, either to make them Lords of all, or else to compell them to be subject. With this minde he entred into parley of peace, where he shewed himselfe so stout, that as Catulus declared he would agree to nothing, before Hamilear and his fouldiers which had kept ERIX had layed downe their armes, and were gaue out of Sicilia, he made answer that he would rather dye in the ruines of Hamilton refuhis countrey, then to returne home with fuch shame; and that honour would not suffer him to salt o gold royeeld up his armes to his enemies, which his countrey had put into his hands to be employed conditions of against them. So Catulus let him go with this obstinate resolution.

But when Hamilear was arrived at Carthage, he saw matters go farre otherwise then he hoped for. For during the long wars against the enemies abroad, there was mischiefe sprong vp among them within: which went on so fiercely, that CARTHAGE was neuer in so great danger but when it was altogether destroyed. First of all, the mercenarie souldiers that had bene in the warres against the ROMANES, to the number of 20000 they rebelling, made all Africks rile, and they befreged Carthage. The Carthaginians being greatly afraid of formany euils, they demanded aide of the Romanes, which they granted. But in the end, when all was thought to be in a desperate case, they chose Hamilear their Captaine Generall, who did not onely driue the enemies farre from the towne, which were in number aboue an hundred thoufand fighting men, but he did also shutthem up in such straights, that the most part of them died Hamilton oneroffamine, and the rest were slaine. Furthermore, he brought the Cities which had revolted, vn- shroweth the enerder the obedience againe of CARTHAGE, and amongst others VTICA, and HIPPONA, two of mies of his count. the strongest Cities of Africke, But not staying there, he extended the limits of the signiory of CARTHAGE, and pacified all Africke in such fort, that it seemed there had bene no warre of long time.

Now having done all things according to his mind, he bearing ill will to the ROMANES, and hoping to be renenged; to finde a more easie way to draw them to warre, he practised so well that he was chosen Generall, and they fent him with an army into Spaine, whither he car-Hamilton shofen ried with him his sonne Hanniball nine yeares old, and another faire yong gentleman called the Remanes, and Hasdruball, whom many judged to be loued of Hamilear otherwise then was fit for honest men. Sent into Spaine. For there were many alwayes that could not containe themselues from speaking euill of this great Captaine. Which was the cause that the gouernour of Hasaruball did forbid him to come no more to Hamilear, who afterwards gaue him his daughter in marriage, fo that they began againe to meete together. For by the custome of the countrey they could not forbid a sonne in Nnnnn 4

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law, to frequent with his father in law. We have made mention of Haldruball, because that after Hamilear was flaine, he was made chiefe of the army, which did great exploits vnder his conduct. Euen so he was the first, that by presents and gifts corrupted the ancient manners of the CARTHAGINIANS. After his death, Hanniball had the charge of the armie, with the confent of all the men of warre. As for Hamilear, he having passed the sea, entred into Spaine, and did great things there with good successe. He subdued many warlike nations, enriched all Africks with horses, with armes, with men, and with money. As he had thought to haue transported Examilear Saines, the warre from thence into ITALIE, nine yeares after his comming into Spaine, he was slaine in a battell against the Vectors. The deadly hate he bare vnto the Romanes, seemeth to have kindledthe second warre with Africke. For his some Hanniball was brought to this passe, by the continual adjurations of his father, that he had rather destroy himselfe, then to faile his helpe against the ROMANES.

HAMILCAR.

The end of Hamilcars life.



TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALLEST THINGS CONTAINED

IN THIS VOLVME.

A		out of his tents. 616. his imeeting with Pharma-
		Dazus and talke with him, he was a friend in his
Bas flu.	2.649	Irienas without respect, his letters for his friend his
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Abantidas tyrant is flaine.	8 tor	ence to his countrey, bis darke speeches. 618. be de-
Abolius fl.	281	ceined the barbarous people, and returned bome
Academia why fo called. 16. the	e Aca-	Intough their countrey, he overcome the Phante-
demicks opinion.	535	lians. 619. his battell wish the Thebans, his wor-
Achaians renenge Philopæmens death. 379. th	ey re-	thinesse, his constancy. 620. his pollicy to minne his
deeme the Romanes being fold for flanes. 289.	their	enemies, he was king with Agesipolis. 021. bis Apo-
loue to Aratus. 1032. they send for Antigonus.	1035.	shegmes, he ouercame the Acarnanians. 622. bis
they send for Philip.	1037	praise of Instice. 623. be cockered his chil-
Achilles dishonest fact.	645	dren, his iourney into Bootia, his subtill denice
Achelous fl.	168	to hew the weaknesse of the Allyes, be fell sicke of &
Acontium mous.	476	dangerous disease. 624. bis strife with Epaminon-
Acron making warre with Romalus is flaine.	28	dos 625 his device to popularily
Acrosorinthus mons.	1023	das. 625. his desice to apprehend traytors. 627.
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THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMAINS, COMPARED

TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER Plutarch of Charonea:

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings prinie Counsel, and great Almner of France: With the lives of HANNIBAL and Scipio African: translated out of Latine into French by Charles del'Esclyse, and out of French into English, By Sir Thomas North Knight.

Hereunto are also added the lives of Epaminondas, of Philip of Macedon, of Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Sicilia, of Augustus Gæsar, of Plutarch, and of Seneca: with the lives of nine other excellent Chiefiaines of warre: collected out of Æmylius Probus, by S.G.S.

and Englished by the aforesaid Translator.



Printed by GEORGE MILLER, and are to be fold by Robert
Allott, at the figne of the black Beare in Pauls Churchyard. 1631.

built for

The image

wearing garlands of flowers vpontheir heads, facrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do vponthe newes of some great obtained victory. And this common ioy was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honorable curtesies the whole Senate and people did bestow on their Ladies. For they were all throughly perswaded, and did certainly beleeue, that the Ladies only were cause of the sauing of the city, and deliuering themselues from the instant danger of the warre. Wherupon the Senate ordained, that the Magistrates to gratiste and honor these Ladies, should graunt them all that they would require. And they only requested that they would build a temperature that they would require the same of the ple of Fortune for the women, vnto the building whereof they offered themselues to defray the whole charge of the facrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the feruice of the gods. Neuertheleffe, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardneffe, ordained, that the temple and image should be made at the common charge of the city. Notwithstanding that, the Ladies gathered money among them, and made with the same a second image of Fortune; which the ROMAINES say did speake as they offered her vp in the temple, and did set her in her place: and they affirme, that the spake these words: Ladies, ye have devoutly offered mevp. Moreover, that The spake that twise together, making vs to beleeue things that neuer were, and are not to be creflake to the dited: For to fee images that feeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humor red or bloudie, it is not a thing vnpossible. For wood and stone do commonly receiue certaine moisture, whereofare ingendred humours, which do yeeld of themselues, or do take of the aire, many forts and kinds of fpots and colours by which fignes and tokens it is not amisse, methinke, that the gods forectimes do warne men of things to come. And it is possible also that these images and statues do sometimes put forth sound; like vitto sighes or mourning, when in the middest or botome of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breaking as under of things, because and with the status has been as a sufficient sound. blowne or deuised therein: but that a body which hath neither life nor soule, should have any direct or exquisite words formed in it by expresse voice, that is altogether unpossible. For the foulc, nor god himselfe can distinctly speake without a body, having necessary organs and instruments meet for the parts of the same, of forme and otter distinct words. But where stories many times do force vs to beleeue athing reported to be true, by many graue testimonies: there we must fay, that it is some passion contrary to our fine natural senses, which being begotten in the imaginative part or vad antanding, draweth an opinion vnto it selfe, euen as we do in our fleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we do not heare, and we imagine we feethat we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously given to think on heauenly things, fo as they can no way be drawne from beleeuing that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their beleefe vpon; that is, the omnipotencie of God, which is wonderfull, and hath no maner of resemblance or likenesse of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our mouing, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do any thing vnpossible to vs, or do bring forth and deuise things, aboue mans common reach and vnderstanding, we must not therfore think it vnpossible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrary to vs, much more in his works and secret operations, he far passeth all the rest:but the most part of Gods doings, as Herachtus saith, for lack of faith, are hidden and vnknowne vnto vs. Now when Martius was returned againe into the city of ANTIVM from his voyage, Tullus that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his authority, fought diverse meanes to make him away, thinking if he let slipt that present time, he should neuer recouer the like and fit occasion againe. Wherfore Tullus having procured many other of his confederacy, required Martius, might be deposed from his estate, to render vp account to the Volsces of his charge and gouernement. Martius fearing to become a private man againe vnder Tullus being Generall (whose authority was greater otherwise, then any other among all the Volsces) answered: He was willing to give vp his charge, and would refigne it into the hands of the Lords of the Volsces, if they did al command him, as by al their commandment he received it. And moreover, that he would not refuse even at that present to give vp an account vnto the people, if they would tary the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counfell, in which affembly there were certaine or atours appointed, that stirred vp the common people against him: and when they had told their tales, Martins rose vp to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous people made a maruellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reucrence they bare vnto his valiantnesse, they quieted themselues, and gaue him audience to alledge with leisure what he could for his purgation. Moreover, the honestest men of

the ANTIATES, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly. And judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon Tullus fearing that if he didlet him speake, he would proughis innocencie to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue; besides that the first good service he had done to the people of the Volsces, did winne him more favour, then these last acculations could purchase him displeasure; and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the goodwill they ought him; for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the city of Rome, if they had not bin very neare taking of it, by meanes of his approach and conduction. For these causes Tullus thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tary for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracy, began to cry out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not fuffer a traitor to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the Volses, who would not yeeld vp his state and authority. And in faying these words, they corisland all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to rescue in the cities. him. Howbeit it is a cleare case, that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most of Antium. part of the Volsces for men came out of all parts to honor his body, and did honourably bu- Coriolanus ry him; fetting vp his tombe with great store of armour and spoiles, as the tombe of a worthy person and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, fraing that they granted the ladies their request they made: that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they yied to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethren, ot husbands, according to Numa Pempilius order, who stablifhed the fame, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now Martius being morning dead, the whole state of the Volse Bs heartily wished him aliue againe. For, first of all they fell appaired out with the ALOVES who were their friends and confederates) touching preheminence and by Numa. place; and this quarrell grew on fo farre between them, that fraies and murders fell out vpon it one with another. After that the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which Tullus was flain in the field and the flower of all their force was put to the fword: fo that they were com. fidiu flain pelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yeelding themselves

fubiect vnto the conquerers, and promifing to be obedient at their commandement.



THE COMPARISON OF Alcibiades with Martius Coriolanus:





OW that we have written all the deedes of worthy memory, done by either of them both, we may presently discerne, that in matters of war the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardy and valiant for their persons, as also wise and politicke in the warres: vnlesse they will say, that Alcibiades was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battels with his enemies, both by fea and land, then euer Coriolanus had done, and had alwayes the victory of his enemies. For otherwise, in this they were much alike: that where they were both present and had charge and power to

command, all things profpered notably, and with good fuccesse on the part they were of; and alfo when they tooke the contrary fide, they made the first haue the worst enery way. Now for matters of government, the Noblemen and honest citizens did hate Alcibiades manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man most dissolute, and given to flattery: because he ever studied by all deuice he could, to curry fauour with the common people. So did the ROMAINES malice also Coriolanus gouernement, for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding he is lesse to be blamed that feeketh to please and gratific his common people, then he that despiseth and disdaineth them; and therefore offereth them wrong and iniury, because he would not seeme to flatter them, to winnethe more authoritic. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credite: euen so is it besides dishonesty, and iniustice also, to attaine to credit and authoritie, for one to make himselfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that Martius was euer counted an honest natured man, plaine, and simple, without art or of Alcibia. cunning: but Alcibiades meerely contrary; for he was fine, fubtill, and deceitfull. And the greatest fault they ever burdened Alcibiades for, was his malice and deceit, wherewith he abused the Ambassadors of the LACED EMONIANS, & that he was a let that peace was not concluded, as Thucydides reporteth. Now, though by this act he fuddenly brought the city of Athens into wars, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the Mantingans and the Argives, who by Alcibiades practife entred into league with the ATHENIANS. And Martins, as Dionyfins the historiographer writeth: did by craft and deceit bring the ROMAINES into warres against the Volsces, causing the Volsces maliciously and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to Rome to see the games plaid. But the cause why he did it, made the fact so much more foule and wicked; for it was not done for any civill diffention, nor for any icalousse and contention in matters of government as Alcibiades did: but only following his cholericke mood, that would be pleafed with nothing, as Dionfaid, he would needes trouble and turmoile the most part of ITALY, and so being angry

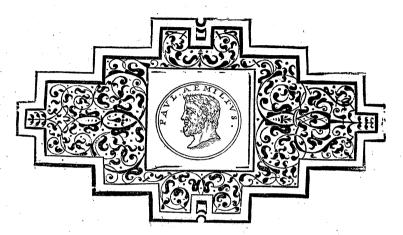
with his country, he destroyed many other towns and cities that could not helpe it, nor do withall. This is true also, that Alcibiales spite and malice did worke great mischiefe and misery to his country: but when he faw they repented them of the iniury they had done him, he came to himselfe, and did withdraw his army. Another time also, when they had banished Alcibiades, he would not yet suffer the captaines of the ATHENIANS to run into great errors, neither would he seethem cast away, by following ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he forsake them in any danger they put themselues into. But he did the very same that Aristides had done in old time vnto Themistocles, for which he was then, and is yet so greatly praised. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the army of the Athenians, although they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amisse, and what they had further to do. Where Martius to the contrary, did first great hurt vnto the whole city of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him:yea, and when the best and chiefest part of the city were grieued for his fake, and were very fory and angry for the iniury done him. Furthermore, the Ro-MAINES fought to appease one only displeasure and despight they had done him, by many ambassades, petitions and requests they made, whereunto he neuer yeelded, untill his mother, wise, and children came, his heart was so hardened. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would hearken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to destroy and spoilehis country, and not as though he meant to recouer it, or to returne thirher again. Here was indeed the difference betweene them: that spials being laid by the LACED EMONIANS to kill Alcibiades, for the partice they did beare him, as also for that they were affraid of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to Athens. Where Martins contrariwife, having bene so honourably received & entertained by the Volses, he could not with honeffy for fake them, confidering that they had done him that honour, as to chuse him their Generall, and trusted him so farre, as they put all their whole army and power into his hands; and not as the other, whom the Lace DAMONIANS rather abused then vsed him, suffering him to go vp and downe their city (and afterwards in the midst of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the end Alcibiades was compelled to put himselfe into the hands of Tisaphernes: vnlessethey will say that he went thither of purposeto him, with intent to saue the city of ATHENS from vtter destruction, for the defire he had to returne home againe. Moreouer, we reade of Alcibiades, that he was a Alablades great taker, and would be corrupted with mony: and when he had it, he would most licentious-Iy and diffioneftly spendit. Where Martius in contrary maner would not so much as accept gifts land man.

Lawfully offered him by his captaines, to be now him for his vollegant of And the consolidation with the second with lawfully offered him by his captaines, to honor him for his valiantnesse. And the cause why the people did beare him fuch ill will, for the controuerfie they had with the Nobility about clearing of debts, grew: for that they knew well inough it was not for any gaine or benefite he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to do them. Antipater in a letter of his, writing of the death of Arifotle the philosopher, doth not without cause commend the singular gifts that were in Alcibiades, and this especially: that he passed all other for winning mens good wils. Whereas Martius noble acts and vertues, wanting that affability, became hatefull, euen to those that received benefite by them, who could not abide his severity and selfe will: which causeth desolation, (as Plato faith) and men to be ill followed, or altogether for faken. Contrariwife, feeing Alcibiades had a trimme entertainement, and a very good grace with him, and could fashion himselfe in all companies, it was no maruell if his well doing were gloriously commended, and himself much honoured and beloued of the people, considering that some faults he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sport, and toyes of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the commonwealth, yet they did oft make him their Generall, and trusted him with the charge of the whole city. Where Martins fuing for an office of honor, that was due to him, for the fundry good feruices he had done to the state, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus do we see, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honored his vertue, had no liking to loue his person. Martins also did neuerany great exploit, being General of his country men, but when he was General of their enemies against his natural country; wheras Alcibiades, being both a prinate person, and a General did notable service vnto the ATHENIANS. By reason whereof, Alcibiades and corio. wherefoeuer he was prefent, had the vpper hand euer of his accusers, euen as he would himselfe, land the and their accusations tooke no place against him vnlesse it were in his absence. Where Martius countrie. being present, was condemned by the Romaines: and in his person murdered and slaine by

fomecolour to doit, when he openly denied the Romaine ambaffadours peace, which after

he privately graunted, at the request of women. So by this deed of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was betweene both people: but leaning warre still betweene them, he made the Volsces (of whom he was Generall) to lose the opportunity of noble victory. Where indeed he should (if he had done as he ought) have withdrawne his army with their counfell and confent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their General; if he had made that account of them, as their goodwill towards him did in duty bind him. Or clfe, if he did not care for the Volsces in the enterprise of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue it off when his anger was blowne ouer: yet he had no reason for the loue of his mother to pardon his country, but rather he should in pardoning his country, haue spared his mother, because his mother and wife, were members of the body of his countrey and city, which he did befiege. For in that he vncourteoufly rejected all the publike petitions, requests of Ambassadors, intreaties of the bishops and priests, to gratifie only the request of his mother with his departure: that was no act fo much to honour his mother with, as to dishonour his country by the which was preferued for the pity and intercession of a woman, and not for the loue of it felf, as if it had not bene worthy of it. And so was this departure a grace (to say truly very odious & cruell, and deferued no thanks of either party, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the request of the ROMAINES, against whom he made war: nor with their confent, at whose charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill hap, the austeritie of his nature, and his haughty obstinate mind, was the onely cause: the which of it selfe being hateful to the world, when it is joyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish, fierce and intollerable. For men that have that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, feeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the people: and yet on the other side, if the people should not give them honour and reverence, they would straight take it in scorne, and little care for the matter. For so did Metellus, Aristides and Epaminondas, all vsed this maner: not to seekethe good will of the comon people by flattery and diffimulation: which

THE LIFE OF Paulus Æmylius.



HEN I first began to write these lines, my intent was to profite other: but fince cotinuing and going on, I have much profited my felf by looking into these histories, as if I looked into a glasse, to frame and fashion my life to the mould & patterne of these vertuous noble men. For running ouer their maners in this fort, & feeking alfo to describe their lives: me thinks I am stil conver sant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to perufe their histories, and to wey the vertues and qualities they have had, and what fingularitie each of them possessed; and to chuse and cull out the

chiefest things of note in them, and their best speeches and doings most worthy of memory: then I crie out:

O gods, can there be more passing pleasure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man civill manners, and a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? Democritus the Philosopher writeth, that we should pray we might ever see happic images and fignes in the aire, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, may rather come to vs, then that is evill and vnfortunate: presupposing a false opinion and doctrine in Philosophie, which allureth men to infinite superstitions: That there are good and badde images flying in the ayre, which give a good or ill impression vnto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of ancient histories, and gathering these liues together which now I leave before you, and by keeping alwaies in mind the acts of the most noble, vertuous, and best given men offormer age, & worthie memory: I do teach and prepare my selfe to shake offand banish from me all lewd and dishonest conditions, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company I keepe, and must of necessitie haunt, do acquaint me with some vnhappie or vngracious touch. This is easie vnto me, that do dispose my mind, being quiet and not troubled with any passion, vnto the deepe cosideration of fo many noble examples. As I do present vnto you now in this volume, the lines of Timoleon the CORINTHIAN, and of Paulus Amylius the ROMAINE, who had not only a good and an vpright mind with the, but were also fortunate & happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly judge, when you have read over their lives, whether wisdom or good fortune

they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and fet at any fines, or that they banished them, or gaue them any other repulse; but they loued them as well as they didbefore, so soone as they shewed any token of repentance, and that they were sory for the wrong they had done them, and were easily made friends againe with them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that disdaineth to make much of the people, and to have their fauour, should much more seorneto seeke to be reuenged when he is repulsed. For, to take a repulse and denyall of honour so inwardly to the heart, cometh of no other cause, but that he did too earnestly desire it. Therefore Alcibiades did not dissemble at all, that he was not very glad to fee himselfe honored, and sory to be reiected and denyed any honour:but also he sought all the meanes he could to make himselfe beloued of those amongst whom he lived. Whereas Martius floutnesse and haughty stomacke, did stay him from making much of those that might advance and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnaw himselfe for spite and anger, when he faw he was despised. And this is all that reasonably may be reproued in him: for otherwise he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane hands from taking of bribes and mony, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest Coriolanus notable ab.

from bribes.

men of all GRECE: but not with Alcibiades, who was vindoubtedly alwaies too licentious and loofely given, and had too small regard of the duty of honestie.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

was indeed, because they despised that which the people could give ortake away. Yet would

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brought them to atchieue to fuch honourable acts and exploits as they did. Many (and the most part of historiographers) do write, that the house and family of the AEmylians in Rome, was alwaies of the most incient of the nobility, which they call Patricians. Some writers affirme also that the first of that house that gaue name to all the posterity after, was Marcus, the sonne of Pyof the AE- thagoras the wife, whom king Numa for the sweetnesse and pleasant grace of his tongue, surnamed Marcus Amyliu: and those specially affirme it, that say king Numa was Pythagoras scholler. Howfocuer it was, the most part of this family that obtained honour and estimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate also in all their doings, sauing Lucius Paulus onely, who died in the battell of CANNES. But his mistortune doth beare manifest testimony of his wisdom & valiancietogether. For he was forced to fight against his will, when he saw he could not bridle the rafhnesse of his fellow Confull that would needs joyne battell; and to do as he did, saving that he fled not as the other, who being the first procurer of the battel; was the first that ran away: where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to let him, and did sticke by it, and fought it valiantly vnto the last gaspe. This A Emylius left a daughter behind him called AEmylia, which was maried vnto Scipiothe Great: and a sonne, Paulus A Emylius, being the same man whose life we presently treate of. His youth fortunately fellout in a flourishing time of glo. rie and honour, through the fundry vertues of many great and noble persons living in those dayes, among whom he made his name famous also : and it was not by that ordinary art and courle, which the best esteemed youg men of that age did take and follow. For he did not vse to pleade private mens causes in law, neither would creepe into mens favour by fawning vpon any of them: though he faw it a common practife, and policy of men, to feeke the peoples fauour and goodwils by fuch meanes. Moreouer, he refused not that common course which other tooke, for that it was contrary to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had bene so disposed but he rather sought to winne reputation by his honesty, his valiantnesse, and vpright dealing, as choosing that the better way then either of the other two, insomuch as Failus AE in maruellous short time he passed all those that were of his age. The first office of honor he sued for, was the office of Aldylu, in which fuite he was preferred before twelue other that fued for the felf fame office: who were men of no small quality, for they all came afterwards to be Confuls. After this, he was chosen to be one of the number of the pricets, whom the ROMAINES call Augures: who have the charge of all the divinations and foothfayings, in telling of things to come by flying of birds, and fignes in the aire. He was fo carefull, and took fuch pains to ynderfrand how the Romaines did vie the same, and with such diligence sought the observation of the ancient religion of Romains in all holy matters: that where that priesthood was before esteemed but a title of honor, and defired for the name only, he brought it to passe, that it was the most honorable science, and best reputed of in Rom E: wherin he confirmed the philosophers o. pinion, that religion is the knowledge how to serue God. For when he did any thing belonging to his office of priefthood, he did it with great experience, judgement, & diligence leaving all other thoughts, & without omitting any ancient ceremony, or adding to any new, contending of. tentimes with his companions, in things which feemed light, and of small moment : declaring vnto them, that though we do presume the gods are easie to be pacified, & that they readily pardon all faults and scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect of common wealths fake, they shold not slightly nor carelesty disfeble or passe over faults comitted in those matters: for no man (faith he) at the first that committeeth any fault, doth alone trouble the state of the comon wealth; but withal, we must thinke he leaueth the grounds of civil government. that is not as careful to keepe the institutions of smal matters, as also of the great. So was he also a seuere captaine & strict observer of all martial discipline, not seeking to win the souldiers love by flattery, when he was generall in the field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a fecond charge, by shewing himself gentle and courteous in the first, vnto those that serued vnder him: but himselfe did orderly shew them the very rules and precepts of the discipline of wars, euen as a priest that shold expresse the names & ceremonies of some holy sacrifice, wherin were danger to omit any part or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the law of armes vpon rebellious and disobedient souldiers, he kept vp therby the state of the commonweale the better judging to ouercome the enemy by force, was but an accessarie as a man may terme it in respect of well training and ordering his citizens by good discipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres against king Antiochus surnamed the Great, in the South parts, all the chiefest captaines

captains of Rome being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West parts towards Spaine where they were vpin armes. Thither they fent Amylius Prætor, Pauliu M. not with fixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue : fo that vnder Pretor in the name of Prætor, he had the authoritie and dignity of a Confull. He twife ouercame the bar- to Spaine. barous people in maine battell, and flue thirty thousand of them, and got this victory through AEmpline his great skill and wisedome, in chusing the advantage of place and time to fight with his ene- skill and wisedome. mics, cuen as they passed ouer a river: which easily gaue his souldiers the victory. Moreover he took there two hundred & fifty cities, all which did open, and gladly receive him in. So, leaving fight. all that country quiet and in good peace, and having received their fealty by oath made between his hands he returned againe to Rome, not inriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tookelitle regard to his expences, he spent so frankly, neither was his purse his master though his revenue was not great to beare it out, as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had was litle enough to fatisfie his wives joynter. His first wife was Papyria, the daughter of a noble Confull Papyrins Masso, and after they had lived a long time together, he was dinorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus. The inst cause of the divorce between them, ap- Scipio the peared not to vs in writing: but me thinkes the tale that is told concerning the separation of a second and certaine mariage is true: That a certaine Romaine hauing for saken his wife, her friends fel out Maximus with him, and asked him, What fault dost thou find in here is she nothonest of her body; is she were the not faire? doth she not bring theegoodly children? But he putting forth his foot, shewed them for pause last smaller his shooe, and answered them: Is not this agoodly shooe; is not it finely made; and is it not new: yet I dare say there is neuer a one of you can tel where it wringeth me. For to say truly, great & right fifth open faults are commonly occasions to make husbands put away their wives: but yet oftetimes houshold words runne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diversity of of a Ronatures, which strangers are not privy vnto) that in processe of time they do beget such a strange for looke his alteration of loue and minds in them, as one house can no longer hold them. So Emylius, ha- wife. uing put away Papyria his first wife, he maried another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with himselfe in his house, and gaue his two first sonnes (to wit, Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus) in adoption to two of the noblest and richest families of the city of Rome. The elder of the twaine, vnto Fabius Maximus, he that was five times Conful, and the yonger vnto the house of the Cornelians, whom the sonne of the greate Scipio the African did adopt, being his cofin germaine, and named him Scipio. Concerning his daughters, the fonne of Cato The retige maried the one, and Alius Tubero the other, who was a maruellous honest man, and did more of Alius nobly maintaine himsels in his pouerty, then any other Romann Effor they were sixteen e perform all of one name, and of the house of the Alians, very necre akinne one to the other, who quietise, had all but one litle house in the city, and a smal farme in the country, wherewith they entertained themselves, and lived all together in one house, with their wives, and many little children. Amongst their wives, one of them was the daughter of Paulus Amylius, after he had beene twife Confull, and had triumphed twife, not being ashamed of her husbands poucrty, but wondring at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethren and kinfemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not far afunder, and in other countries, not one neare another, and that rivers Innatura. part them not, or walles deuide their lands, leauing great large wastes between them: they are houser quiet, but still in quarrel one with another. Goodly examples doth this story lay before the range in the story lay before the range. wise, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby how to frame their life, and wisely to behaue mout. themselues. Now Amylius being chosen Consult, went to make warre with the Ligyrians, AEmplius who dwelled in the ALPES, & which otherwise are called LIGVSTINES. These are very valiat conful. and warlike men, and were very good fouldiers at that time, by reafon of their continuall wars against the Romains, whose neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of ITALY, that bordereth upon the great ALPES, and the row of ALPES, whereof the foot ioyneth to the THVS CAN fea, & pointerh towards AFRICK, & are mingled with the GAVLES and SPANIARDS, neighbours vnto the sea coast:who scowring al the Mediterranian sea at that time, unto the straight of Hercules pillers, did with their litle light pinnaces of pirates, let althe traffick and entercourse of merchadize. Amylius being gone to seek the in their country, they taried his coming with an army of forty thousand men: neuerthelesse, though he hadbut eight thousand men in all, and that they were fine to one of his, yet he gaue the onfet vpon them, and ouerthrew

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appeare no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him; and in the meane time, in the high countries of

call fome noble man that were very skilful & a wife captain, & could discreetly gouerne & per-

formethings of great charge: as Paulus Aimylius, a man wel stepped on in yeares, being threescore

yeares old, & yet of good power, by reafoot the lufty yong men his fons, & fons in law, befides

a great nuber of his friends and kinsfolk. So althat bare great authority, did altogether with one confent counsell him to obey the people, which called him to the Confulship. At the beginning indeed he delayed the people much that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them: fay-

ing he was no meete man neither to defire, nor yet to take you him any charge. Howbeit in the

end, seeing the people did vrge it vpon him, by knocking continually at his gates, & calling him

aloud in the freets, willing him to come into the market place, and perceiving they were angry

with him, because he refused it, he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among the

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them & drauethe into their cities. Then he fent to offer them peace for the Romaines would notaltogether destroy the Ligyrians because their country was as a rampier or bulwarke against the invasion of the GAVLES, who lay lurking for oportunity and occasion to invade ITA-LY: wherupon these LIGVRIANS yeelded theselves vnto him, & put all their forts & ships into his hands. Amyline deliucred vnto them their holds again, without other hurt done vnto them. fauing that he razed the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he took all their ships from them. leaving them litle botes of three owers oncly, and no greater; and fet all the prisoners at liberty they had taken, both by fea and by land, aswell Romaines as other, which were a maruellous number. These were all the notable acts he did worthy memory, in the first yeare of his Cosulthip. Afterwards he oftentimes thewed himfelfe very defirous to be Conful againe; and did put forth himselfe to sue for it; but when he was denied it, he neuer after made sute for it againe, but gaue himselfe only to study divine things, and to see his children verteously brought vp, not only in the ROMAINE tongue which himselfe was taught, but also a litle more curiously in the GREEKE tongue. For he did not onely retaine Gramarians, Rhetoritians, and Logicians, but also painters, grauers of images, riders of horses, and hunts of GRECE about his children: & he him. selfalso (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with the in the schoole when they were attheir books, & also when they otherwise did exercise themselues. For he loued his children as much or more then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the state of the common wealth, the Romains were at wars with king Perseus, and they much blamed the captains they had fent thither before, for that for lack of skil & courage, they had so cowardly behaued the Kemisius themselves, as their enemies laughed them to scorne and they received more hurt of them, then they did vnto the king. For not long before, they had driven king Antiochus beyond mount Taurus, and made him for fake the reft of AsIA, and had flut him vp within the borders of SYRIA. who was glad that he had bought that country with fifteene thousand talents, which he paid for a fine. A litle before also, they had ouercome Philip, king of Mackdon in The scaly, and had deliuered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreouer, having ouercome Hannibal (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the world was comparable, either for his power or valiantnesse) they thought this too great a dishonour to them, that this warre they had against king Per few, should hold so long of even hand with them, as if he had bene an enemyequall with the people of Rome: confidering also that they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered people of the ouerthrown army his father had lost before, and knew not that Philip had left his army stronger, and more expert by reason of his ouerthrow, then it was before: as I will briefly rehearle the story from the beginning. Antigonus, who was of the greatest power of all the captaines and successours of Alexander the Great, having obtained for himselfe and his posterity the title of a King, had a sonne called Demetrius, of whom came Antigonus the fecond, that was furnamed Gonates, whose some was also called Demetrius. that raigned no long time, but died, and left a yong fonne called Philip. By reason whereof, the Princes and Nobility of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme should beleft without heire, they preferred one Antigonus, cosin to the last deceassed King, & made him marry the mother of Philip the leffe, giving him the name at the first of the Kings protectour only, and lieutenant generall of his maiesty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wife Prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the absolute name of a king, & surnamed him DoDoson King for, to say, the giuer for he promised much and gaue little. After him raigned Philip, who in his
of Matedan greene youth gaue more hope of himselfe, then any other of the Kings before: insomuch as they of Macedon thought that one day he would restore Mace non her ancient fame and glory, and that he alone would pluck downethe pride and power of the Romains, who role against all the world. But after that he had lost a great battell, and was ouerthrowne by Titus Quintus Flaminius neare vnto the city of Scorvs A, then he began to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercy of the ROMAINES, thinking he escaped good cheape, for any light ransome or tribute the ROMAINES should impose vpon him. Yet afterwards coming to vnderstand himselfe, he grew to disdaine it much, thinking that to raignethrough the fauour of the Romaines, was but to make himselfe a flaue, to feek to liue in pleasure at his ease, and not for a valiant & noble prince borne. Wherupon he fet all his mind, to study the discipline of wars, & made his preparation as wisely & closely as possibly he could. For he left all his townes along the sea coast, and standing vpon any high waies, without any fortification at al & in maner desolate without people, to the end there might

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sel by To. warre, in

his Realme farre from great beaten waies, he leauied a great number of men of warre, and replenished his towns and strong holds that lay scatteringly abroad, with armour and weapon, mony and men, prouiding for warre, which he kept as secretly as he could. For he had prouision of armour in his armory, to arme thirty thousand men, & eight million bushels of corne safely lockt Philipsarvp in his forts and ftronger places, and ready money as much as would ferue to entertaineten more. thousand strangers in pay to defend his country for the space of ten yeares. But before he could bring that to paffe he had purposed, he died for gricfe and sorrow, after he knew he had vniustly The death put Demetrius the best of his sonnes to death, upon the false accusation of the worst, that was Per . If King feus: who as he did inherite the kingdome of his father by fuccession, so did he also inherite his fathers malice against the Romaines. But he had no shoulders to beare so heavy a burden, & efpecially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many leud and naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous and miserable. They say also, that he was not legitimate, because Philips wife had taken him from Gnathainia (a tailors wife borne at AR GOS) immediatly after he was borne, and did adopt the child to be hers. And some thinke that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put Demetrius to death, searing less this lawful son wold seeke occasion to proue him a bastard. Notwithstanding, simple though he was, & of vile and base nature, he found the strength of his kingdome so great, that he was contented to take vpon him to King Permake war against the Romains, which he maintained a long time, & fought against their Confuls, that were their Generals, and repulsed great armies of theirs both by sea & land, and ouer war with the Rocame some. As Publius Licinius among other, the first that invaded MACEDON, was overthrown maines, by him in a battel of horsme, where he slew at that time two thousand fine hundred good men of Fublius his, & took fix hundred prisoners. And their army by sea, riding at anker before the city of OR E - Consultor v m he did fodainly fet vpon, & took twenty great ships of burden, and all that was in them, and uerthrowne funke the rest, which were all loaden with corn; and took of all forts besides, about 54. foysts & by Persus. galliots of fifty owers apecce. The fecond Conful and General he fought withall, was Hoftilius, Hoftilius, whom he repulled, attepting by force to inuade MACEDON by way of the city of ELVMIA. A. confulrenother time again, when heentred in by stealth vpo the coast of THESSALY, he offered him bat- pulled one tel, but the other durft not abide it. And as though this war troubled him nothing at all, and that he had cared little for the ROMAINES, he went and fought a battell in the meane time with the DARDANIANS, where he flue ten thousand of those barbarous people, and brought away a maruellous great spoile. Moreover he procured the nation of the GAVLE's dwelling vpon the river of Danuby, which they call Bastarna (men very warlike, and excellent good horsemen) & did pra- Bastarna Cife with the ILLYRIANS also by meane of their king Gentius, to make them io yne with him in the Ganler this warre: fo that there ranne a rumor, that for mony he had gotten those Gavles to come dwelling downe into ITALY, fro the high country of GAVLE all along the Adriatike fea. The ROMAINS siver of Dabeing aduertised of these newes thought the time served not now to dispose their offices in wars nutie, any more by grace and fauour vnto those that sued for them; but contrariwise, that they should

that fued for the Cofulship, the people thought straight that he stood not there so much for defire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of affured victory, & happy fuccesse of this begun warre : fo great was their loue towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they sale her. chose him Consul again the second time. Wherfore so soone as he was chosen, they would not saketh proceed to drawing of lots according to their custome, which of the two Confuls should happe charge of togointo MACEDON: but presently with a ful and whole consent of them all, they gave him the the marres. whole charge of the warres of Macedon. So being Confull now, and appointed to make war

little girle.

and milery, destruction

> became of busbandry. gainft Per together, ready to execute the Confuls comandement; yet he taking vpo him to refift to puissant

> vpon king Perfeus, all the people did honourably company him home vnto his house: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called Tertia, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making much of her, asked her why she wept. The poore girle answered, colling him about the necke, and kiffing him: Alas father, wote you what your Perfew is dead. She meant it by a little whelp fo called, which was her play-fellow. In good houre my girle, faid he, I like the figne wel. Thus did Cicero the orator report of it in his booke of divinations. The Romaines, had a cufrome at that time, that fuch as were elected Confuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an oration of thankes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custome) being gathered together to heare Amylius speak, he made this oration vnto them: that the first time he sued to be Consul, was in respect of himselfe, standing at that time inneed of such honour: now he offered himselfe the second time viito it, for the good loue he bare viito them, who food in need of a Generall, wherefore he thought himselfe nothing bound nor beholding vnto them now. And if they did thinke also this warre might be better followed by any other then by himselfe, he would presently with all his hartrefigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any truft or confidence in him, that they though him a man sufficient to discharge it then that they would not speake nor meddle in any matter 3) that concerned his dutie, and the office of a Generall, fauing onely, that they would be diligent (without any words) to do what focuer he commanded, and should be necessary for the warre and feruice they took in hand. For if cuery man would be a commander, as they had bin hereto-5) fore, of those by whom they should be commanded then the world would more laughthem to 55 fcome in this feruice, then ever before had bin accustomed. These words made the ROMAINS very obedient to him, and perceived good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refused those ambitions flatterers that fued for the charge, and had given it vnto a man, that durst boldly and frankly tell them the troth. Marke how the Romains by yeelding vnto reaso & vertue, came to command all other, & to make themselves the mightiest people of the world. Now that Paulus Emplius fetting forward to this warre, had wind at will, and faire passage to bring him to his journeys end, I impute it to good fortune, that fo quickly and fafely conveyed him to his campe. But for the rest of his exploits, he did in all his warre part of them being performed by his owne hardinesse, other by his wisdome and good counsell, other by the diligence of his friends in feruing him with good will, other by his owne refolute constancy and courage in extremest danger, & last, by his maruellous skil in determining at an instant what was to be done, I cannot attribute any notable act or worthy service vnto this his good fortune they talke of so much, as they may do in other captains doings; vnlesse they wil say peraduenture, that Perfeus couetor finesse and misery was Amylius good fortune for his miserable feare of spending mony, was the only cause & destruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good ftare & hope of continuing in prosperity. For there came down into the country of MACEDON at king Perfess request, ten thousand Bastarnæ a horse-backe, & as many footmen to them, who alwaies joyned with them in batteliall mercenary fouldiers, depending upon pay and entertainment of wars, as men that could not plow, nor fow, nor trafficke marchandizes by fea, nor skill of grazing to gaine their lining with and to be short, that had no other occupation or merchandize, but to ferue in the warres, and to ouercome those with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incamp and lodge in the MEDICA, neareto the MACEDONIANS, who faw them so goodly great men, and so well trained and exercised in handling all kind of weapons, so braue and lufty in words and threats against their enemies: they began to pluck vp their hearts, and to lock big, imagining that the Romains would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to look them in the face, & only to feetheir march, it was so terrible & fearefull. But Perfeus after he had incouraged his men in this fort, & had put them in fuch a hope and iollity, when this barbarous supply came to ask him a thousand crownes in hand for every captain, he was so damped & troubled withall in his mind, casting up the sum it came to, that his only couetousnes and misery made him returne them back, and refule their service not as one that meant to fight with the Ro-MAINES, but rather to spare histreasure, & to be a husband for the, as if he should have given vp a straight account vnto the of his charges in this war, against whom he made it. And not with stanfem, ward ding also his enemies did teach him what he had to do, cosidering that besides al other their warlike furniture & munitio, they had no leffe then a hundred thousand fighting men lying in camp

an army & to maintaine the wars, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in entertaining fuch multitudes of men, more then needed; hardly would depart with his gold and filtier. but kept it safe locked up in his treasury, as if he had bene afraid to touch it, and had bin none of his. And he did not show that he came of the noble race of the kings of Lydia, & Phoenicia who gloried to be rich; but shewed how by inheritance of bloud he chalenged some part of the vertue of Philip, and of Alexander, who both because they esteemed to buy victory with money, not money with victory, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common faying in old time, that it was not Philip, but his gold and filuer that won the cities of GRECE. And Alexander whe he went to conquer the INDIES, seeing the MACEDONI-AN scary with them all the wealth of Persia, which made his campe very heavy, and flow to marchihe himself first of al set fire on his own carriage that conveyed al his necessaries, &perswaded other to do the like, that they might march more lightly, and easily on the journey. But Perfew contrarily would not spend any part of his goods, to saue himselfe, his children and realme, but rather yeelded to be led priloner in triumph with a great ransome, to shew the ROMAINES how good a husband he had bene for them. For he did not onely fend away the GAVLES without giving them pay as he had promised, but moreover having perswaded Gentius king of ILLY- Gentius RIA to take his part in these wars, for the sum of three hundred talents which he had promised King of the to furnish him with he caused the money to be told, and put vp in bags by those whom Gentius add perfent to receive it. Whereupon Gentius thinking himfelfe fure of the money promised, committed a fond and foule part: for he stayed the ambassadours the Romaines sent vnto him, and committed them to prison. This part being come to Perseus cares, he thought now he needed not hire him with mony to be an enemy to the Romains, confidering he had waded so farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifest figne of his ill will towards them, and that it was too late to looke backe and repent him, now that his foule part had plunged him into certain warres, for an Perfect vncertain hope. So did he abuse the vnfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred double dear talents he had promised him. And worse then this, shortly after he suffered Lucius Ancius the ROMAIN B. Prætor, whom they fent against him with an army, to plucke King Gentius, his wife, wist. and children out of his kingdome, and to cary them prisoners with him. Now when Emylins that onerwas arrived in Macedon, to make warre against such an enemy, he made no manner of reckoning of his person, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one camp he had source Lucius A. thousand horsemen, & no lesse then forty thousand footmen, with the which army he had planted himselfe along the sea side, by the foot of the mount Olympus, in a place vnpossible to be approached: and there he had so well fortified all the straights and passages vnto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himself to lie safe out of all danger, and imagined to dally with olympus, cations of wood, that he thought numerito he rate out of an unuger, and amount of the meane feaf on lay not with charge. Amylius, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. Amylius in the meane feaf on lay not with 4000 horizontal to put formething in horizontal to put formething in idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no meanes vnartempted, to put something in and 40000 proofe. And perceiuing that his fouldiers by ouer much licentious liberty (wherin by fufferance footmen. they lived before) were angry with delaying and lying still, and that they did busily occupy themselues in the Generals office saying this, and such a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundly, and commanded them they should meddle no more too curiously #molim in matters that pertained notto them, and that they should take care for nothing else, but to see their commences the second sec their armour and weapon ready to fer the valiantly, and to vietheir fwords after the Romains dien. fashion, when their Generall should appoint and command them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to look to themselues, he commanded those that watched, should have no speares Paulus IEnor pikes, because they should be more wakefull, having no long weapon to refiss the enemy, if mylins they were affaulted. The greatest trouble his army had, was lack of fresh water, because the water the wat ter that ranto the fea, was very litle, & maruellous foule by the fea fide. But Amylius coffdering to have no they were at the foot of the mount Olympus (which is of a maruellous height, and full of wood freares mer withal) coiectured, feeing the trees fo fresh & green, that there shold be some little prety springs among them, which ran vnder the ground. So he made them dig many holes & wels along the moutain, which were straight filled with faire water, being pent within groud before for lack of The oriesbreaking open the heads, which the randown in streames, & meet together in fundry places. And mall of yet some do deny, that there is any meeting of waters within the ground, fro whence the springs frings. do come and they fay that running out of the earth as they do it is not for that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time:

Fauntaines

but that it ingendreth & rifeth at the same time and place where it runneth not, turning the subflance into water, which is a moift vapour, thickned & made cold by the coldnesse of the earth, and so becometh a streame and runneth downe. For (fay they) as womens breasts are not alwaies full of milk (as milk pans are that continually keep milk) but do of themselues couert the nutriment women take into milke, and after cometh forth at their nipples: euen so the springs and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, have no meetings of lifeden waters, nor hollow places fo capable readily to deliuer water from the, as one wold draw it out of a pumpe or cifterne from fo many brooks, and deep rivers; but by their natural coldnes and moisture, they waxe thick, and put forth the vapour and aire so strong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reaso why the places where they dig & open the earth, do put forth more abudance of water by opening the ground: like as wontens breafts do give more milk when they are most drawne and suckt, because in a fort they do better feed the vapour within them, & conuert it thereby into a running humour. Where to the contrary, those parts of the earth that are not digged, nor have no vent outward, are the more vnable, & leffe meete to ingender water hauing not that prouocation and course to runne, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture. Yet fuch as maintain this opinion, do give them occasion that love argument, to contrary them thus: Then we may fay by like reasonalso, that in the bodies of beasts there is no bloud long before, and that it in endreth upon a fodgine, when they are hurt, by transferring of fome fpirit or flesh that readily changeth into some running liquor. And moreouer, they are confuted by the common experiece of these mine-men, that dig in the mines for mettal or that vidermine castles to win them: who when they dig any great depth, do many times meet in the bowels of the earth with running rivers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle & litle as of necessity it should be, if it were true, that vpon the prefent opening of the ground, the humour should immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes that in cutting thorough a mountaine or rocke, fodainely there runneth out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to return to our history again. Amyline lay there a convenient time, and stirred not and it is said there were neuer scentwo so great armies one so necre to the other. and to be so quiet. In the end, casting many things with himself, and deuising fundry practises, he was informed of another way to enter into MACEDON, through the country of PERRÆBIA ouer against the temple called Pythion, and the rock vpo which it is built, where there lay no garrison: which gaue him better hope to passe that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrownes and hardnes of the way vnto it. So, he brake the matter of his councel. Thereup of Scipio Na. Scipio called Nasca (the son adopted of that Great Scipio the Afra 1 CAN, who became afterwards a great man, and was prefident of the Senate or councell) was the first man that offered himselfe to leade them, whom it would please him to send to take that passage, & to assault their enemies behind. The second was Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Amylius, who being but a very yong man, rose notwithstanding, and offered himselfe very willingly. Amylius was very glad of their offers, and gauethem not so many men as Polybius writeth, but so many as Nasica himself declareth in a letter of his he wrot to a king, where he reportethal the story of this journy. There were 3000 ITALIANS, leauied in ITALY, by the confederates of the ROMAINES, who were not of the ROMAINE legions, and in the left wing about 5000. Besides those, Wasica tooke also 120. men at armes, and about 200. CRETANS and THRACIANS mingled together, of those Harpalus had sent thither. With this number Nasica departed from the campe, and tooke his way toward the fea fide, and lodged by the temple of Hercules, as if he had determined to do this feate by fea, to enuiron the campe of the enemies behind. But when the fouldiers had supped, & that it was darke night, hemade the captaines of enery band priny to his enterprise, and so marched all night a contrary way from the sea, vntil at the length they came vnder the temple of Pythion, where he lodged to rest the souldiers that were sore travelled all night. In this place, the mount The hight Olympus is about ten furlongs high as appeared in a place ingrauen by him that measured it.

Olympus.

bins Max

felues to

flraights.

Olympus mount is suft, by measure made with line, Twelve hundred feuenty paces trod, as measure can assigne. The measure being made right o're against the place, Whereas Apolloes temple stands, ybuilt with stately grace. Euen from the leavell plot, of that same countries plaine. Vnto the top which all on high doth on the hillremaine.

And so Xenagoras the sonne of Eumelus, Inolden dayes by measure made, the same did find for vs: And did engrave it here in writing for to fee, When as he tooke his latest leane (Apollo god) of thee.

Yet the Geometricians fay that there is no mountaine higher, nor fea deeper, then the length of ten furlongs: fo that I thinke this Xenagoras (in my opinion) did not take his measure at aduenture, and by gesse, but by true rules of the art and instruments Geometricall. There Nasica re-Aed all night. King Perseus perceiving in the meane time that Amylius stirred not from the place where he lay, mistrusting nothing his practise, and the coming of Nasica, who was at hand, vntill such time as a traytor of CRETE (stealing from Nasica) did reueale vnto him the pretended practife, as alfo the ROMAINE's compassing of him about: he wondered much at these newes, howbeit he remoued not his campe from the place he lay in, but dispatched one of his captaines called Milon, with ten thousand strangers, and two thousand MACEDONIANS: and straightly commanded him with all the possible speed he could, to get the top of the hill before them. Polybius faith, that the ROMAINE'S came and gaue them an alarum, when they were fleeping: But Nasica writeth, that there was a maruellous sharpe and terrible battell on the top of the mountaine: and faid plainely, that a Thracian souldier coming towards him, hethrew his dart at him, and hitting him right in the breft, flew him starke deade; and having repulsed their enemies, Milon their captain shamefully running away in his coat without armor or weapon, he followed him without any danger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safety of all his company. Westerwest This conflict fortuning thus, Perfeus raised his campe in great haste from the place where he was, of Macedon & being disappointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wits end, & not knowing how to determine. Yet was he constrained either to stay, & incampe before the city of Pydne, there to take the hazard of battel, or else to deuide his army into his cities and strong holds, and to receive the wars within his own country, the which being once crept in, could never be driuen out againe, without great murder and bloudshed. Hereupon his friends did counsell him, to chuse rather the fortune of battell: alleadging vnto him, that he was the stronger in men a great way, & that the MACEDONIANS wold fight luftily with all the courage they could, confidering that they fought for the fafety of their wives & children, and also in the presence of their king, who should both see every mans doing, and fight himselfe in personalso for them. The king moued by these perswasions, determined to venture the chance of battell. So he pitched his campe pitched his and viewed the fituation of the places all about, & deuided the copanies amongst his captaines, earp; he purposing to giue a hot charge vpon the enemies when they should draw necre. The place and fore the civil country was such, as being al chapion, there was a goodly valley to range a battel of footmen in, and litle prety hils also one depending vpo another, which were very commodious for archers, naked men, & fuch as were lightly armed to retire themselues being diffressed, & also to enuiron their enemies behind. There were two small rivers also, A fon and Lencus that ran through the fame, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the latter end of Sommer, yet of Elon & they would annoy the Romains notwithstanding. Now when Amylius was loyned with Na. Lewen. sca, he marched on straight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiuing afar off their battel marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same the wondred to behold it, and suddenly stayed his army, considering with himselfe what he had to do. Then the yong captains having charge vnder him, defirous to fight it out presently went vnto him to pray him to give the onfet, but Nafica specially aboue the rest, having good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. Emylius smiling, answered him: So would I do, if I were Emylius as yong as thou. But the fundry victories I have wonne heretofore, having taught me by experience the faults the vanquished do commit, do forbid me to go so hotly to worke (before my fits, forgifouldiers have rested, which did returne but now) to assault an army set in such order of bat-ung sharge rell. When he had answered him thus, he commanded the first bands that were now in view possible. of the enemies, should embattell themselues, shewing a countenance to the enemie as though they would fight: and that those in the rereward should lodge in the meanerime, and fortific for sign of the world fight: the campe. So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by changing from man to man, take before the enemies were aware of it; he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyse, and the enemies neuer perceiuing it. But when night came, and euery man had supped, as they were going to sleepe and

the Ramaines when the Moone is eslipfed.

The cause of an eslipfe

skirmish.

take their rest: the Moone which was at the full, and of a great height, began to darken and to change into many forts of colours, loofing her light, vntill such time as she vanished away, and was eclipfed altogether. Then the ROMAINES began to make a noise with basons and pans, as their fashion is to do in such a chance, thinking by this found to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting vp many torches lighted and firebrands into the aire. The Mac E-DONIANS on the other fide did no fuch matter within the campe, but were altogether ftriken with an horrible feare: and there ranne a whispering rumour through the people, that this figne in the element fignified the eclipse of the King. For Amylius was not ignorant of the diuerfities of the eclipfes, and he had heard fay the caufe is, by reason that the Moone making her ordinarie course about the world (after certaine revolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round shadow of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden, vntill such time as hauing past the darke region of the shadow, she commeth afterwards to reconer her light which she taketh of the Sunne. Neuerthelesse, he being a godly deuout man, so soone as he perceiued the Moone had recouered her former brightnesse againe, he facrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning also by the breake of day, making facrifice to Hercules, he could neuer have any fignes or tokens that promifed him good luck, in facrificing twenty oxen one after another; but at the one& twentieth he had fignes that promifed him victory, so he defended himself. Wherfore, after he had vowed a folemne facrifice of an hundred oxen to Herenles, and also games of prices at the weapons, he commanded his captaines to put their men in readinesse to fight: and fo fought to win time, tarying till the Sunne came about in the afternoone towards the West, to the end that the Romaines which were turned towards the East, should not have it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed himselse in his tent, which was all open behind towards the fide that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemics lay. When it grew towards night, to make the enemies fet vpon his men, some say he vsed this policy. He made a horse be driven towards them without a bridle, & certain Romains followed him, as they would have taken him againe: and this was the caufe of procuring the skirmish. Other fay, that the THRACIANS scruing vnder the charge of captaine Alexander, did set vpon certaine forragers of the ROMAINS, that brought forrage into the campe:out of the which, seuen hundred of the Ligraians ranne fuddenly to the refeue and reliefe coming fill from both armies, at the last the maine battel followed after. Wherfore Amylius like a wife General forefeeing by the danger of this skirmish, and the stirring of both campes, what the fury of the battell would come to: came out of histent, and paffing by the bands did encourage them, and prayed them to flicke to it like men. In the meane time, Nafica thrusting himselfe into the place where the skirmish was hottest, perceived the army of the enemies marching in battell ready to ioyne. The first that marched in the voward were the Thracians, who seemed terrible to look vpon, as he writeth himself: for they were mighty made men, & caried maruellous bright targets of steele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, & their thighes with takes, their coates were black, and marched shaking heavy halberds vpon their shouldiers. Next vnto these THRACIANS, there followed them all the other strangers and souldiers whom the king had hired, diverfly armed and fer forth: for they were people of fundry nations gathered together, among whom the PEONIANS were mingled. The third fquadron was of MACEDONI-Ans, and all of the chosen men, aswell for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantnes of their persons: & they were all ingoodly gilt armours, & braue purple cassockes vponthe, spicke and span new. And at their backes came after them, the old bands to shew themselues out of the campe with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to shine with the brightness of their steele and copper. And all the hils and mountaines thereabouts did ring againe like an Echo, with the cry and noise of so many fighting men, one encouraging another. In this order they marched so fiercely with fo great heart-burning, and fuch swiftnesse: that the first which were slaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlongs from the camp of the Romains. The charge being given and the battel begunne, Amylius gallopping to the voward of the battel, perceived that the captains Detroit of the Macedonians which were in the first ranks, had already thrust their pikes into the Ro-Amplies. MAINES targets, so as they could not come neere them with their swords; and that the other MACEDONIANS carying their targets behind them, had now plucked them before them, and did base their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the targets of the Ro-MAINES. Which when he had confidered, and of what strength and force his wall and ranke

PAVLVS ÆMYLIVS.

of targets was, one iouning so necreanother, and what a terrrour it was to see a front of a battell with so many armed pikes and steele heads: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any fight he euer faw before, neuertheles he could wifely diffemble it at that time. And fo paffing by the companies of his horsemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he shewed a noble cheereful countenance vnto them that fought. But on the contrary fide, Perfits the king of Perfits go MACEDON, as Polybius writeth, so soone as the battell was begun, withdrew himselfe, and got the battell into the city of PYDNE, vnder pretence to go to do facrifice vnto Hercules: who doth not accept rows Eldne. the faint sacrifice of cowards, neither doth receive their prayers, because they be vnreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not should hit the white: nor that he should winne the victory, that bideth not the battell, neither that he should have any good, that doth nothing towards it: nor that a naughty man should be fortunate and prosper. The gods did fauour Amywoney lalius prayers, because he prayed for victory with his sword in his hand, and fighting did call to
bour, we
bour, we
have them for aide. Howbeit there is one Posidonius a writer, who saith he was in that time, and moreouer that he was at the battell: and he hath written an history containing many bookes of the acts of king Perfeus, where he faith, that it was not for faint heart, nor vnder colour to facrifice vnto Hercules, that Perfess went from the battel, but because he had a stripe of an horse on the thigh the day before: who though he could not very well helpe himselfe, and that all his friends fought to perswade him not to go to the battell, yet he caused one of his horses to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly vied to ride vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of darts were throwne at him fro both fides. And among those, he had a blow with a dart that hurt him somewhat, but it was ouerthwart, & not with the point, and did hit him on the left fide glancing wife, with fuch a force, that it rent his coat, and rased his skin vnderneath, so as it left a marke behind a long time after. And this is all that Polidonius writeth to defend and excuse Perseus. The Romains having their hands full, and being staiced by the battell of the MACEDONIANS that they could make no breach into them, there was a captaine of the Pelignian's called Salius, who tookethe enfigne Salius 4 of his band, and cast it among the prease of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians set upon captains of of his band, and call it among the prease or his enemies. I not affect the first among the prease of his band, and call it among the prease or his enemies. I not affect the first among the prease of his band, and call it among the prease or his pelignant of the prease them, with a martichous force and the property of them and dishonour for fouldiers to lose or forsake their ensigne. Thus was there maruellous them some force of both fides vsed in that place; for the Pelignians proued to cutthe Macedonians and three pikes with their fwords, or else to make them give backe with their great targets, or to make a thremmies. breach into the, and to take their pikes with their hands. But the MACEDONIANS to the contrary, holding their pikes fast with both hands, ran the through that came necre vnto them, so that neither target not corflet could hold out the force and violence of the push of their pikes, in so much as they turned up the heeles of the PBLIGNIANS and THRACIANS, who like desperate beafts without reason, shutting in themselues among their enemies, ranne wilfully vpon their owne deaths, and their first ranke were slaine enery man of them. Thereupon those that were behinde, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backs, and only retired giving backe towards the mountaine Olocrus. Emylius feeing that (as Posidonius writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, because that some of his mengaue backe: other durst not from the battell of the MACEDONIANS, which was so strongly imbattelled on enery side and so mured in with a wall of pikes, prefenting their armed heads on enery fide a man could come, that it was impossible to breake into them, no not so much as come neere them onely. Yet notwithstanding, because the field was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the front, could not alwayes keepe that wall, continuing their targets close one to another, but they were driven of necessity to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great force of the fouldiers: that in one place they thrust forward, and in another they give backe, and leave a hole. Wherefore Amylius suddenly taking the vantage of this occafion, deuided his men into small companies, and commanded them they should quickly thrust in betweene their enemies, and occupy the places they saw voide in the front of their enemies, and that they should set on them in that fort, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with diverse companies in fundry places. AEmylius gave this charge vnto the private captaines of every band and their lieuetenants, and the captaines also gaue the like charge vnto their fouldiers that could skilfully execute their commandement. For they went presently into those parts where they saw the places open, and being once

fought and one houre.

entred in among them, some gaue charge vpon the flanckes of the MACEDONIANS, where they were all naked and vnarmed: other set vponthem behind, so that the strength of all the corpes of the battell (which confifteth in keeping close together) being opened in this fort, was straight ouerthrowne. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few against a few, the MACEDONIANS with their litle short swords, came to strike vpon the great shields of the Ro-MAINES, which were very strong, and coucred all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrary, were driven of necessity to receive the blowes of the strong heavy swords of the ROMAINES, vpontheir light weake targets, fo that what with their heauinesse, and vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corflet, but they passed it through, and ran them in. By reason whereof they could make no long resistance, whereupon they turned their backs and ranne away. But when they came to the fquadron of the old beaten fouldiers of the Macedonians, there was the crucilest fight and most desperate service, where they fay that Marcus Cato (fon of great Cato, and fon in law of Amylius) shewing all the valiantnes in his person that a noble mind could possibly persorme, lost his sword which fell out of his hand. But he like a yong man of noble courage, that had bin valiantly brought vp in all discipline, & knew how to follow the steps of his father (the poblest person that euer mansaw) was to Thew then his valure and worthines, and thought it more honor for him there to die, then liuing to suffer his enemies to enjoy any spoile of his. So, by and by he ran into the ROMAINE army, to find out some of his friends, whom he told what had befallen him, and prayed them to help him to recouer his fword; whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lufty valiant fouldiers together, they rushed straight among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so did set vpon them with such force and fury, that they made a lane through the middest of them, and with great flaughter and spilling of bloud, euen by plaine force, they cleared the way still before them. Now when the place was voided, they sought for the sword, and in the end found it with great ado, amongsta heape of other swords and dead bodies; whereat they reioyced maruelloufly. Then finging a fong of victory, they went again more fiercely then before to giue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not yet broken afunder: vntill such time as at the length, the three thousand chosen MACEDONIAN's fighting valiantly even to the last man, and neuer forfaking their rankes, were all flaine in the place. After whose ouerthrow, there was a great flaughter of other also that fled, so that all the valley and soote of the mountaines therea. bouts was couered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the Romaines did passe ouer the river Leucus, they found it running all bloudy. For it is said there were slaine at this field of Perfeus men, aboue five and twenty thousand: and of the ROMAINES fide, as Posidonius saith, not aboue sixescore, or as Nasica writeth, but sourescore only. And for so great an ouerthrow, it is reported it was wonderful quickly done, & executed. For they beganto fight about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and had wonne the victory before foure, and all the rest of the day they followed their enemies in chase, an hundred and twenty surlongs from the place where the battell was fought, so that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So fuch as returned, was received with maruellous great ioy of their pages that went out with linkes and torches lighted, to bring their masters into their tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them vp with crownes & garlands of laurell, fauing the Generals tent onely: who was very heavy, for that of his two fonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be found, which he loued best of the twaine, because he saw he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethren. For euen then, being new crept out of the shell as it were, he was maruellous valiant and hardie, and defired honour wonderfully. Now Amylius thought he had bene cast away, fearing lest for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the raffinesse of his youth, he had put himselfe too farre in fight amongst the prease of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard straight what sorow Æmylius was in, and how grieuously he tooke it. The Romain's being set at supper, rose from their meat, and with torch-light some ran to Amylius tent, other went out of the campe to seeke him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: fo all the campe was ful of forow & mourning, the valleys and hils all about did ring againe with the cries of those that called Scipio aloud. For even from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and fingular parts required in a captaine and wise gouernour of the common-weale, aboue all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his coming againe, he happily returned from

the chase of the cnemies, with two or three of his familiars onely, all bloudied with new bloud (like a fwift running greyhound fleshed with the bloud of the hare) having pursued very farre for ioy of the victory. It is that Scipio which afterwards destroyed both the cities of CARTHAGE and NVMANPIVM, who was the greatest man of war and valiantest captaine of the ROMAINS in his time, and of the greatest authority & reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she did beare to so noble an exploit suffered Amylius for that time to take his full pleasure of that noble victory. And as for Perseus, he fled first fro Perseus fled the city of Py DNE, vnto the city of Pella, with his horsemen, which were in manner all saued. from "Idne When you have footmen that saued themselves by Sving meeting them by the year called them." Pella. Wherupon the footmen that faued themselues by flying, meeting them by the way, called them traytors, cowards, & villaines; and worse then that, they turned them off their horse backes, and fought it out lustily with them. Perfeus seeing that, and fearing lest this mutiny might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horse out of the high way, and pulled off his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe in his hand, fearing to be knowne thereby; and that he might the more easily speake with his friends by the way, he lighted on foot, & led his horse in his hand. But fuch as were about him, one made as though he would mend the latchet of his shoo, another seemed to water his horse, another as though he would drink: so that one dragging after another in this fort, they al left him at the last, & ran their way, not fearing the enemies fury fo much, as their kings cruelty: who being grieued with his misfortune, fought to lay the fault of the ouerthrow vpon all other but himself. Now he being come into the city of Pella by night, Entsus & Eudens, two of his treasurers came vnto him, &speaking boldly (but out of time) prefumed to tell him the great fault he had committed, and to counfell him what he should do. duty to be The king was fo moued with their prefumption, that with his own hands he stabbed his dagger observed The king was 10 moued with their prelumption, that with his own hands he has been in them both, & flew them outright. But after this fact, all his feruants & friends refuled him, and Prince. there only taried with him but Enander CR BTAN, Archedamus Atolian, & Neo Bobotian. Death, the And as for the meane fouldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, & yet it indignation was not for the good will they did beare him, but for the loue of his gold and filter, as Bees that Printe. keepe their hines for loue of the hony: for he caried with him a great treasure, & gaue the leaue The cone to spoile certain plate & vessel of gold and filuer, to the value of fifty talents. But first of all when the creasure he was come into the city of AMPHIPOLIS, & afterwards into the city of ALEPSE, & that the feare was well blowne ouer, he returned againe to his old humour which was borne and bred with him, and that was anarice and misery: for he complained vnto those that were about him, Miles that he had vnwares given to the fouldiers of CRETA, his plate and veffell of gold to be spoiled, whine for being those which in old time belonged vnto Alexander the great; and prayed them with teares in his eies that had the place, they wold be contented to change it for ready mony. Now fuch as knew his nature, found straight this was but a fraud & a CRETAN lye, to deceive the CRETANS with:but those that trusted him, and did restore againe the plate they had, did lose it enery iot, for he neuer payed the peny for it. So he got of his friends, the value of thirty talents, which his enemics soone after did take from him. And with that sum he went into the Ile of Samothra-CIA, where he took the fanctuary and priviledge of the temple of Caftor & Pollux. They fay, that the Macedonians of long continuancedid naturally lone their kings: but then feeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed the, & broke withall. For they all came & fub- The Massmitted themselues to Amylius, and made him Lord of the whole Realme of MACEDON in two doulans dayes: and this doth feeme to confirme their words, who impute all Amylius doings vnto his themselves good fortune. And furely, the maruellous fortune he happened on in yeity Amphipolist, doth to Empliate confirme it much, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the gods. For one day beginning to do facrifice, lightning fell from heaven, and fet all the wood on fire worden. vpon the altar, & fanctified the facrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure daics after Perfeus had loft the battell, and that the city of PELLA was taken, as the brought to people of Rome were at the lists or shew place, seeing horses run for games: suddenly there a. Romeout rose a rumor at the entring into the lists where the games were, that Amylius had wonne a of Macedon in source harmely a Christian and the lists where the games were, that Amylius had wonne a fin foure great battell of King Perfeus, and had conquered all MACEDON. This newes was rife straight dayer, of in cuery mans mouth, and there followed vpon it a maruellous ioy and great cheere in every corner, with shouts & clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the city of Rome. Afterwards they made diligent enquiry, how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine author no man could be knowne, and enery man faid they heard it spoken: so as in the end it came to nothing, the came is

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and passed away in that fort for a time. But shortly after, there came letters, and certaine newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it, which could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We do reade also of a battell that was fought in ITALY, neare vnto the river of SAGRA, whereof newes was brought the very fame day vnto Peloponnesvs. And of another also in like maner that was fought in Asia against the MEDES, before the city of MYCALA: the newes whereof came the same day vnto the campe of the GRECIANS, lying before the city of Plato Es. And in that great journy where the Romains ouerthrew the Tarquins, & the army of the Latins: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they faw two goodly you men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victory to Rome, and they judged they were Caftor & Pollax. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white some, told them, that he wondered how they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, & tooke him softly by the beard with both their hands, and euen in the market place his haire being black before, was presently turned yellow. This miracle made them beleeue the report the man made, who euer after was called Anobarbus, as you would say, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like matter that happened in our time makethall such newes credible: For when Antonius rebelled against the Emperour Domitian, the city of Rome was in a maruellous perplexity, because they looked for great warres towards GERMANIE, But in this feare, there grew a sudden rumor of victory, & it went currantly through Rome, that Antonius himselfe was slaine, and all his army ouerthrowne, and not a man left alive. This rumour was so rife, that many of the chiefest men of Rome beleeued it, & did sacriffle thereupon vnto the gods, giving them thankes for the victory. But when the matter came to fifting, who was the first author of the rumour, no man could tell: for one put it ouer still to another, and it died so in the end amongst the people, as in a bottomlesse matter, for they could neuer boult out any certaine ground of it but eue as it came flying into Rome, so went it flying away againe, no man could tell how. Notwithstanding, Domitian holding on his journy to make this warre, met with posts that brought him letters of the certaine victory; and remembring the rumor of the victory that ran before in Rome, he found it true, that it was on the very same day the victory was gotten; and the distance between Rome and the place where the field was won, was aboue 20000 furlongs off. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But again to our cnottani history. Cn.Octanius, lieutenant of the army of Amylius by sea, came to anker under the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he wold not take Perfeus by force out of the fanctuary where he was for us usere. the reverence he did beare unto the gods Castor & Pollux: but he did besiege him in such fort, as he could not scape him, nor flie by sea out of the Iland. Yet he had secretly practised with one oroandes a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a prife with him for a fum of mony to conuey him away by night: But the CRETAN ferued him a right CRETANS tricke. For when he had taken aboard by night into his veffel, all the kings treasure of gold & filuer, he sent him word that he should not faile the next night following to come into the peere by the temple of Ceres, with his wife, his children and feruants, where indeed was no possibility to take shipping; but the next The mige night following he hoifed faile, and got him away. It was a pitifull thing that Perfeus was driven rable flato to do and fuffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a litle straight window vponthe wals, and not only himselfe, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knew before what flying and hardnesse meant. And yet he fetched a more grieuous bitter sigh, when one told him on the peere, that he saw Oroandes the CRETAN vnder saile in the maine seas. Then day beginning to breake, & seeing himself void of all hope, heran with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the fanctuary againe, before the ROMAINS that faw him could ouertake him. Andas for his children, he had given them himself into the hands of one Ion, whom before he had maruelloufly loued, & who did then traiteroufly betray him for he delivered his children vnto the ROMAINS. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that draue him (as a beast that will follow her litle ones being taken frő her) to yeeld himfelf into their hands that had his children. Now he had a speciall confidence in Scipio Nasica, and therefore he asked for him when he came to. yeeld himself:but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he began to lament his hard and miserable fortune every way. And in the end, considering how necessity enforced him, he yeelded himselfe into the hands of Cneus Octavius, wherein he shewed plainly that he had another vice in him more vinmanly and vile, then auarice, that was, a faint heart, and feare to die. But

hereby he deprined himselfe of others pity and compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot deny & take from the afflicted, and specially from them that have anoble heart. For he made request they would bring him vnto the General Amylius who rose from his chaire when he saw him come, and went to meete him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to meete a great king, by fortune of warre and by the will of the gods, fallen into that most lamentable state. But he to the contrary yourselve and shamefully haboured him Gife Took State Sta lamentable state. But he to the contrary, vnmanly, and shamefully behaued himselfe. For he fell basings downe at his feet, and embraced his knees, and vitered fuch vincomely speech and vile requests, 2nto as Aimylius selfc could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes against him, being hartily offended, he spake thus vnto him: Alas poore man, why dost thou discharge fortune of this station yn. fault, where thou mightest instly charge and accuse her of thy discharge, doing things, for the results. which enery one judgeth thou hast deserved thy present misery, and art vnworthy also of thy former honor. Why dost thou defame my victory, and blemish the glory of my doings, shewing ,, thy self so base a man, as my honour is not great to ouercome so vnworthy an enemy? The Ro- 33 MAINES haue cuer esteemed magnanimity, euen in their greatest enemies: but dastardlinesse, though it be fortunate, yet it is hated of every body. Notwithstanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hand, gaue him into the custody of Alius Tubero. Then Amylius went into his tent; and caried his fons, and fons in law with him, and other men of quality, and specially the yonger fort. And being set downe, he continued a great space very pensiue with himselfe, not speaking a word insomuch that all the standers by wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into discourse and talke of fortune, and the vnconstancy of these worldly things, and faid vnto the Is there any man lining my friends, who begins for the enter into the Is there any man lining my friends, who begins for the enter into the Is there any man lining my friends, who begins for the enter into the Islands. and faid vnto the Is there any man liuing, my friends, who having fortune at will, should therefore boast & glory in the prosperity of his doings, for that he had conquered a country, city, or Realme; and not rather to feare the vnconstancy of fortune who laying before our eyes, and all her wing those that professe armes at this present, so notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainely teach vs to thinke, that there is nothing constant or perdurable in this world. For ", when is it, that men may thinke themselves affured, considering that when they have ouercome others, then are they driven to miltrust fortune most, and to mingle feare and mistrust, with ioy of victory: if they will wifely confider the common course of satall destiny that altereth daily, fometime fauouring one, otherwile throwing downe another? You fee, that in an houres space we haue troden vnder our feer the house of Alexander the Great: who hath bin the mightiest and most redoubted prince of the world. You see a king, that not long since was followed & accompaned, with many thousand souldiers of horsemen & sootmen, brought at this present into such " miscrable extremity, that he is inforced to receive his meate and drinke daily at the hands of his " enemies. Should we have any better hope then, that fortune wil alwaies fautor our doings, more then she doth his now, at this present no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter wel, you ", yong men I say, be not too brag nor foolish proud of this conquest and noble victory: but think what may happen hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuy of this our present " prosperity. Such were Amylius words to these yong men, as it is reported, bridling by these and fuch like perswasions, the lusty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit and bridle of reason. Afterwards he put his army into garrifons to refresh them: and went himselfe in person in the meane time to visite Grece, making it an honorable progresse, and also a commendable. For as honorable he passed through the cities, he relieued the people, reformed the gouernment of their state, and progression euer gaue them some gift or present. Vnto some he gaue corne, which king Perseus hadgathered Greek for the wars and vnto other he gaue oiles, meeting with so great store of pronision, that he rather lacked people to giue it vnto, to receiue it at his hands, then wanting to giue, there was so much. As he passed by the city of Delenes, he saw there a great piller, four square, of white stone, which they had set up, to put king Perseus image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commanded them to fet vp his in that place, faying: It was reason the conquered should give place vnto the conquerors. And being in the city of OLYMPIA, visiting the temple of Iupiter Olympian, he spake this openly, which enerfince hath beneremembred: that Phidias had rightly made Inpiter, as Homer had described him. Afterwards when the ten ambassadors were arrived that were sent from Rome to establish with him the realm of Macedon, he redeliuered the Macedonians their Amyling country and townes againe, to line at liberty, according to their lawes, paying yearly to the Ro- sauch Ma-MAINS for tribute; a hundred talents: where before they were wont to pay vnto their kingsten sides as much Andhe made playes and some of all force & did not be produced by the second some of all force & did not be produced by the second some of all force & did not be produced by the second some of all force & did not be produced by the second some of th times as much. And he made playes and games of all forts, & did celebrate sumptuous sacrifices

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vnto the gods. He kept open court to all comers, and made noble feafts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treasure Perseus had gathered together, sparing for no cost. But through his care and forefight, there was a speciall good ordertaken, enery man so courteously receiued and welcomed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling, that the GRECIANS wondred to see him so carefull in matters of sport and pleasure: and that he tookas great paines in his own person, to see that smal matters should be ordered as they ought, as he tooke regard for discharge of more weightic causes. But this was a maruellous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous fights prepared to shew pleasure to the persons inuited, no fight nor stately shew did so delight the, as to enioy the fight and company of his person. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence & care in these matters: that to order a feast well, required as great judgement and discretion, as to set a battel: to make the one seareful to the enemics, and the other acceptable to his friends. But menesteemed his bounty & magnanimity for his best vertue and quality. For he did not only refuse to see the kings wonderfull treasure of gold and filuer, but caused it to be told, and delivered to the custody of the treasures, to cary to the coffers of store in Rome and onely suffered his sons that were learned, to take the books of the kings library. When he did reward the foldiers for their valiant service in this battel, he gaue his foninlaw Alius Tubero a cup, weying fluctalents. It is the fame Tubero we told you of before, who lived with fixteene other of his kin al in one house, and of the only revenue they had of a litle farme in the country. Some fay, that that cup was the first peece of plate that ever came into the house of the Allyans: & yet it came for honor and reward of vertue: but before that time. neither thefelues, nor their wives, would ever have, or weare any gold or filuer. After he had very well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leaue of the GRECIANS, and counfelled the Macedonians to remember the liberty the Romains had given the, & that they should be carefull to keepe it, by their good government and concord together. Then he departed from them, and took his journy towards the country of Epinys, having received commiffion from the Senate of Rome, to suffer his souldiers who had done service in the battel, and ouerthrow of king Perseus, to spoile all the cities of that country. Wherfore that he might surprise them on a fudden, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should fend him by a certain day, ten of the chiefest men of enery city. Who when they were come, he commanded them to go and bring him by such a day, all the gold & filuer they had within their cities, as well in their private houses, as in their temples and churches, and gaue vnto every one of them a captaine and garrison with them, as if it had bene only to have received and searched for the gold and filuer he demanded. But when the day appointed was come, the fouldiers in diverse places (and all at one time) fet vpon their enemies, and did rifle and spoile them of that they had, and made them also pay ransome enery man: So as by this policy, they were taken & made flaues in one day, a hundred and fifty thousand persons, and threescore & ten cities spoiled and facked enery one, And yet when they came to divide the spoile of this generall destruction of a whole Realme by the poll, it came not to cuery fouldiers part, about eleuen filuer Drachmes apeece. Which made enery one to wonder greatly, and to feare also the terror of the wars to see the wealth and riches of fo great a Realme, to mount to so little for every mans share. When Æmylius had done this fact against his own nature, which was very gentle and courteous, he went vnto the sea side to the city of ORICA, and there embarked with his army bound for ITALIE. Where when he was arrived, he went vp the river of Tyber against the streame, in king Perseus chiefe galley, which had fixteene owers on a fide, richly fet out with the armor of the prisoners, rich clothes of purple colour, and other fuch spoiles of the enemies: so that the Romains running out of Rome in multitudes of people to fee his galley, & going fide by fide by heras they rowed foftly, Amylius took as great pleasure in it, as in any open games or feasts, or triumph that had bin shewed indeed, But when the fouldiers faw, that the gold and siluer of king Perseus treafore was not divided amongst them according vnto promise, & that they had a great deale lesse then they looked for they were maruelloufly offended, and inwardly grudged Amylius in their hearts. Neuertheleffe they durft not speake it openly, but did accuse him, that he had bene too ftraight vnto them in this war:and therefore they did shew no great desire, nor forwardnesse, to The any of procure him the honour of triumph. Which Servius Galba vnderstanding, that had benean old enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men vnder him in this warreshe like an enuious viper told the people, that Amylins had not deserved the honor of triumph, and

fowed feditious words against him among the foldiers, to aggravate their il wil the more against him. Moreover he craued a day of the Tribunes of the people, to have respit to bring forth such matter as they determined to object against him: saying the time then was far spent, the Sun being but foure houres high, and that it would require longer time and leifure. The tribunes made him answer, that he should speake then what he had to say against him, or otherwise they would not grant him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long oration in his dispraise, ful of railing words, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing oration. Afterwards when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the affembly, and the next morning the fouldiers being incouraged by Contention Galbaes oration, and having confedered together, did flock about Galba, in the mount of the Ca- about A. pitoll, where the Tribunes had given warning they would keepe their affembly. Now being mylias sit-broad day. At myliastriumph was referred to the most number of visions of the most large of the most large. broad day Amylius triumph was referred to the most number of voices of the people, & the first tribe flatly did deny his triumph. The Senate, & the refidue of the people hearing that, were very fory to see they did Amylius so open wrong and iniury. The common people said nothing to it, but seemed to be very fory, howbeit they sought no redresse. The Lords of the Senate cried out vpon them, and faid, it was too much shame; and exhorted one another to bridle the insolency and boldnesse of those fouldiers, who wold grow in the end to such tumult & disorder, that they would commit all mischiefe and wickednesse, if betimes they were not looked to and preuented, seeing they did so openly stand against their Generall, seeking to deprine him of the honor of his triumph and victory. So they affembled a good company of them together, and went vpto the Capitol, and prayed the Tribunes they would ftay to take the voices of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with fuch needfull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The sentilly o-Tribunes granted to it, & filence was made. Then Marcus Seruilius, who had bene Confull, and ration for the farther bad founds when and any comban of life and death is his granter for the delivery of the farther than the farthe had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne person, & had alwaies staine rance of as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man; rose vp, and spake in fauour of Amyliu in Emyliu in this matter: I know now (faid he) better then before, how noble and worthy a captaine Paulus et Æmylius is, who hath atcheiued fuch glory & honorable victory, with fo dishonorable & disobedient fouldiers. And I can but wonder that the people not long fince reioyced and made great account of the victories and triumphs won vpon the ILLYRIANS & other nations of Africk: 66 and that now they should for spite enuy his glory (doing what lyeth in them to hinder) to bring a Macedonian king aliue in a triumph, and to shew the glory and greatnesse of king Philipand Alexander the Great, subdued by the Romain's force and power. What reason have ye, that not Iong fince, vpon a flying rumour that Amylius had won the battell against Perseus, you straight made facrifice to the gods with greatioy, praying them that you might be witneffes, of the truth thereof: and now that the person himselfe whom ye made Generall is returned home, and doth deliuer you most assured victory, you do frustratethe godsmost solemne thanks and honor due to them, and do depriue your selues also of your wonted glory in such a case: as if you were a- cc feard to see the greatnesse of your prosperity, or that you meant to pard on a king, your slaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you have more reason to hinder the triumph, as pitying the king, then enuying your Captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your patience is growne to fuch an insolent audacity, & boldnesse, that we see men present here before vs, which neuer went from the smoke of the chimney, nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at home like women and house-doues; and yet they are so impudent and shamelesse, as they dare prefume vnreuerently to your faces to prate of the office and duty of a Generall of an army, and of the desert of triumph, before you I say, who by experience of many a sore cut and wound vpon your bodies in the warres, haue learned to know a good and valiant captaine, from a vile and cowardly person. And speaking these words, he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them all the infinite scars and cuts he had received vpon his brest; and then turning him behind, shewed all fuch places as were not fit to be seene openly, and so turned himself againe to Galba, and faid vnto him: Thou mockest me for that I shew thee: but I reioyce before my countrymen and citizens, that for scruing my country night and day on horse backe, I haue these wounds ypon me which thou feeft. Now get thee about thy businesse and receive their voices: & I will come after, noting them that are naughty & vnthankful citizens, who like to be foothed with flattery, and not flourly comanded, as behoued a General in the warre. These words so reined the hardheaded fouldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other tribes agreed in one, & granted R.mylius triumphithe order and solemnitie whereof was performed in this sort. First, the people

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having fet vp fundry fcaffolds; as well in the lifts and field called Circos by the LATINES, where the games and common running of horses & chariots are made, as also about the market place, and in other streets of the citie, in the which the shew of the triumph should passe: they all presented themselues in their best gownes to see the magnificence, and state therof. All the temples of the gods also were set wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were fet through all the quarters of the citic, numbers of fergeants and other officers holding tipstaues in their hands to order the stragling people, & to keepe them vp in corners and lanes ends, that they should not petter the streets, & hinder the triumph. Furthermore the fight of this triumph was to continue three daies, wherof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images, tables, and pictures, and statues of wonderfull bignesse, all won and gotten of their enemics, & drawn in the shew vpon 250. chariots. The second day, there were caried vpon a number of carts, all the fairest and richest armour of the Macedonians, aswel of copper, as also of iron and steele, all glistring bright, being newly surbushed, and artificially laid in order (and yet in fuch fore, as if they had bin cast in heapes one vpon another, without taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) faire burganets vpon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corslets, vpon graues: round targets of the CRETANS, and iauelins of the THRA-CIANS, and arrowes amongst the armed pikes: all this armour and carriage, being bound one to another so trimly (neither being too loofe, nor too straight) that one hitting against another, as they drew them vpon the carts through the city, they made such a sound & noise, as is was fearfull to heare info that the onely fight of these spoiles of the captiues being ouercome, made the fight so much more terrible to behold, after these carts loden with armour, there followed 3000 men, which caried the ready mony in 750 veffels, which weighed about three talents apeece, & every one of them were caried by foure men: & there were other that caried great bolles of filuer, cups and goblets fashioned like pitchers, & other pots to drink in, goodly to behold, aswel for their bignes, as for their great & fingular imbossed works about them. The third day early in the morning the trumpets began to found and fet forwards, founding no march nor fweet note, to beautifie the triumph withall: but they blew out the braue alarum the found at an affault, to give the fouldiers courage for to fight. After them followed fix score goodly fat oxen, having all their hornes gilt, and garlands of flowers & no segaies about their heads, and there went by the certaine yong men, with aprons of needle-worke, girt about their middle, who led them to the facrifice, and yong boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold & filuer, to cast and sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that caried all coynes of gold deuided by basons & vessels, and enery one of them weying three talents, as they did before, that carried the great holy cup, which Alimplius had caused to be made of massic gold, set ful of precious stons, weying the weight often talents, to make an offering vnto the gods. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made and wrought after antike fashion, & notable cups of the ancient kings of Macedon: as the cup called Antigonus, and another Seleucus: and to be short, althe whole cubboord of plate of gold and filuer of king Perfeus. And next them came the chariot of his armour in the which was all king Perfess harnefle, and his royall band (they call a Diademe) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the kings children, whom they led prisoners, with the traine of their schoole-masters & other officers, & their sernants, weeping and lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked vpon them, and taught the kings yong children to do the like, to aske mercy & grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety lilechildren, two fonnes and a daughter amongst them, whose tender yeares and lacke of vnderstanding, madethem(poore soules) they could not feele their present misery, which made the people so much the more to pity them, when they saw the poore little infants, that knew not the change of their fortune: fo that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples hearts did melt for very pity, that the teares ran downe their cheekes, fo as this fight brought both pleasure and forow, together to the lookers on, untill they were past and gone a good way out of fight. King Perseus the father, followed after his children and their traine, and he was cloathed in a blacke gown, wearing a paire of flippers on his feet after his country maner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled mind, opprest with sorow of his most miscrable state & fortune. He was followed with his kinsfolkes, his familiar friends, his officers & houshold feruants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting teares, and for rowfull eyes cast

fortune, little accounting of their owne mifery. The voyce goeth, that Perfeus fent vnto Amilius Emplin to intreat him, that he should not be led through the city in the shew & sight of the triumph. But Person.

Emylius mocking (as he descrued) his cowardly faint heart, answered: As for that, it was before compatible. and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let him vnderstand thereby, that he might rather "". chuse to dye, then liuing to receiue such open shame. Howbeit his heart would not serue him, he was so cowardly, & made so effeminate, by a certain vaine hope he knew not what, that he was Fourthern contented to make one among his owne spoiles. After all this, there followed 400, princely dred crowns crownes of gold, which the cities & towns of Green had purposely sent by their ambassadors of gold for white devnto Amylius, to honour his victory; and next vnto them, he came himself in his chariot triumphing, which was paffing fumptuoufly fet forthand adorned. It was a noble fight to behold and the cites of Greece. yet the person of himselfe only was worth the looking on, without all that great pomp & magnificence. For he was apparrelled in a purple gowne branched with gold, and caried in his right hand a laurell bough, as all his army did befides: the which being deuided by bands and companics, followed the triumphing chariot of their captaine, some of the souldiers singing songs of victory, which the Romains vieto fing in like triumphs, mingling them with merry pleafant toyes, rejoycing at their captaine. Other of the also did fing songs of triumph, in the honor and praise of Almylius noble conquest and victory. He was openly praised, blessed, and honoured of eucry body, and neither hated nor enuied of honest men fauing the ordinary vse of some god. whose property is alwayes to lessen or cut off some part of mans exceeding prosperity & felicitic, mingling with mans life the sence and feeling of good and euill together: because that no liuing person should passe all his time of life, without some aduersity or misfortune, but that such (as Homer faith) should only thinke themselves happy, to whom fortune hath equally forted the good with the cuill. And this I speak, because Amylins had foure sons, two of the which he gate AEmilia in adoption vnto the families of Scipio and of Fabius, as we have faid before: & two other which adversition. he had by his fecond wife, he brought vp with him in his owne house, and were both yet very yong of the which the one died, being fourteene yeares of age five dayes before his fathers triumph: and the other died also three dayes after the pompe of triumph at twelue yeares of age. When this forrowfull chance had befallen him euery one in Rome did pity him in their hearts: but fortunes spite & cruelty did more grieue and fearethe, to see her litle regard towards him. to put into a house of triumph (full of honour and glory, and of sacrifices and ioy) such a pitifull mourning, and mingling of forowes and lamentations of death, amongst such songs of triumph and victory. Notwithstanding this, Amylius taking things like a wife man, thought that he was not only to vie constancy and magnanimity against the sword and pike of the enemy but alike first definitions. alfo against all adversity and enmity of spiteful fortune. So, he wisely weyed and confidered his inhi great present misfortune, with his former prosperitie; and finding his misfortune counterpoised with felicity, and his private griefes cut off with common joy, he gave no place to his forowes & mifchances, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triumph & victory. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sons, he left not to make his triup hant entry, as you have heard beried the eldelt of his two last ions, he lett not to make his triup nantentry, as you have neared before. And his fecond fon also being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to also he oration in & in face of the whole city he made an oration, not like a difcomforted man, but like one rather bis trauble that did comfort his forowfull countrimen for his mischance. He told them, that concerning for the death of his mens matters, neuer any thing did feare him but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mi-dealth of thildren, strusting her change and inconstancy, and specially in the last war, doubting for so great prosperity as could be wiffied to be payed home with an after intollerable advertitie & finister chace. " For as I went (faid he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatick sea, from BRINDES vnto Corry "

in one day: and from thence in fine dayes after, I arrived in the city of Delphes, where I did "

facrifice vnto Apollo. And within flue other dayes, I arrived in my campe, where I found mine ar-

my in Macenon. And after I had done the facrifice and due ceremonies for purifying of the

fame, I presently began to follow the purpose and cause of my coming: so as in fifteene dayes

after I made an honorable end of all those wars. But yet, mistrusting fortune alwaies, seeing the

prosperous course of my affaires, & considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers 😘

I needed to feare: I feared forely the would change at my return, when I thould be vpon the fea, ...

bringing home fo goodly and victorious an army, with fo many spoiles, and fo many Prince's "

and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was fafely arrived in the haven, & seeing all the city "

vpon their vnfortunate mafter, how much they forowed and bewailed his most hard and cruell

at my returne full of ioy, and of feaft and facrifices: I ftill fulpected fortune, knowing her maner well inough, that she yieth not to gratisfie men so franckly, nor to grant the so great things clearly, without some certaine sparke of enuy waiting on them. Neither did my mind being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the common-wealth, shake off this feare behind me: but that I faw, this home missiap and miserie lighted upon me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my triumph, to bury my two yong sons one after another, which I only brought up with me, for the fuccession of my name and house. Wherefore me thinks now I may fay, I am out of all danger, at the least touching my chiefest and greatest misfortune: and do beginto stablish my selse with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other vnlucky or finister chance. For she hath sufficiet. ly counternailed the fauorable victory the gaue you, with the enuious mithap wher with the hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the conquerer and triumpher, as noble an example of mans mifery and weakenesse, as the party conquered, that had bene led intriumphisating that Perseus yet conquered as he is hath this comfort left him, to fee his children liuing, & that the conque. rour, Amylius hath loft his. And this was the fumine of Amylius notable oration he made vnto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble & honourable disposed mind. And though it pitied him in his heart to fee the strange chance of king Perfeus fortune, and that he heartily desired to helpe him, and to do him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but onely to remoue him from the common prison (which the Romans call Carcer) into a more cleanly and fweeter house: where being straightly garded and looked vnto he killed himselse by abstinence from meate, as the most part of historiographers do write. Yet some writers tell a maruellous strangetale, and manner of his death. For they say the fouldiers that garded him, kept him from fleepe, watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut his eye lids (only vpon malice they did beare him, because they could not otherwise hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not fuffering him to take reft; vntil fuch time as nature being forced to give ouer he gaue up the ghost. Two of his fons died also: but the third called Alexander, became an excellent turner and joyner, and was learned, and could speake the Romain stongue very wel. and did write it so trimly, that afterwards he was chancelour to the magistrates of Rome, & did wisely & discreetly behaue himself in his office. Furthermore, they do adde to this goodly conquest of the realme of MACEDON, that Amylius conquered another speciall good thing, that made him maruelloufly well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought fo much gold and filter vnto the treasury store of Rome, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, untill the very time and yeare that Hircius and Pansa were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first wars of Augustus and Antonius. And yet Amylius had one fingular good gift in him: that though the people did greatly loue & honor him, yet he euer tooke part with the Senate and nobility, and did neuer by word nor deed any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he did euer leane to the nobility & good men. And this did Appins afterwards cast in his sons teeth, Scipio Africanus. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Censor: Appins had about him to fauor his suite, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of ancienttime the family of the Appians had ever held on their part, And Scipio Africanus, though he was a great man of himselfe, yet he was at all times fauored and beloued of the common people. Wherupon when Appius faw him come into the market place, followed with men of small quality and base condition, that had bene slaues before, but otherwise could skillfully handle such practifes, bring the people together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voices (if need were) obtains what they would in the affemblies of the citie: he spake out aloud and said: O Paulus Amylius, now hast thou good cause to sigh & mourn in thy grave where thou liest (if the dead do know what we do here on earth) to see Amylins a common sergeant, and Licinius a pratling fellow, how they bring thy fon vnto the dignity of a Cenfor. And as for Scipio, he was alwayes beloued of the common people, because he did fauour them in all things. But Amylius also, although he tooke euer the noble mens part, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people, then those that alwaies flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them: which the common people did witnesse, as well by other honors and offices they offered him, as in the dignity of the Cefor which they gaue him. For it was the holiest office of alother atthat time, and of greatest power and authority, specially for inquiry and reformation of every

mans life and maners. For he that was Cenfor, had authority to put any Senator off the councel, The office and so disgrade him, if he did not worthily behave himselfe according to his place and calling: and author and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and tipefor fittest for the place againe. Moreourr, they might by their authority, take from licentious yong men, their horse which was kept at the charge of the common-weale. Furthermore, they be the feffours of the people, and the muster-maisters, keeping books of the number of persons at every mustering. So there appeared numbred in the register booke Amilius made then of them, three hundred seuen and thirty thousand, foure hundred and two and fiftie men, and Marcus Aimylius Lepidus named president of the Senate, who had that honour source times before, and did put off the councell three Senators, that were but meane men. And the like meane & moderation he and his companion Martius Philippus kept, vpon view and muster taken of the ROMAINE horfmen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his charge and office, he fell ficke of a difeafethat at the beginning feemed very dangerous, but in the end there was no other Amilia danger, fauing that it was a lingring disease, and hard to cure. So, following the counsell of phyfitions, who willed him to go to a city in ITALY called VELIA, he took fea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleasant houses vponthe sea side, quietly and out of all from Rome, noise. But during this time of his absence, the Romaines wished for him many atime and of and dwell ten. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to fee the playes and sports, they of pelia. cried out diverse times for him: whereby they shewed that they had a great defire to see him againe. Time being come about when they vsed to make a solemne yearly sacrifice, and Æmilius finding himselfallo in very good perfect health: he returned agains to Rome, where he made sa-crifice with the other priests, all the people of Rome gathered about him, rejoycing much to fee him. The next day after, he made another particular facrifice, to giue thankes vnto the gods for recouery of his health. After the facrifice was ended, he went home to his house, and sate him downe to dinner: he fuddenly fell into a rauing (without any perfeuerance of fickneffe The death fpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him, in fuch fort, of Amilian that he died within three daies after lacking no necoffery thing that are could be in Rome. that he died within three daies after, lacking no necessary thing that an earthly man could have, to make him happy in this world. For he was even honoured at his funerals, and his vertue was Amilion adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither of gold, filuer, nor inorie, nor with foreigh. other fuch sumptuous nesses or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and goodwill of the people, all of them confessing his vertue and well doing; and this did not only his naturall countrimen performe in memory of him, but his very enemies also. For all those that met in Rome by chance at that time, that were either come out of Spaine, from Genva, or out of Mace-DON, all those that were young and strong, did willingly put themselues vnder the cossin where his body lay, to helpe to carry him: and the old men followed his body to accompany the same, calling Amilius the benefactor, sauiour, and father of their countrey. For he did not onely intreat them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleasure them: and to set forwards their causes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neare kinfinen. The inventory of all his goods after his death, did Amieus feant amount vnto the fumme of three hundred, threefcore, and ten thousand filuer Drachmas, which his two formes did inherin. But Saids heing the voncer left all his rishe was which his two sonnes did inherit. But Scipio being the yonger, left all his right vnto his elder brother Fabius, because he was adopted into a very rich house,

> conditions and life. The end of Paulus Amilius life.

which was the house of the Great Scipio Africanus,

Such they fay was Paulus Æmileus

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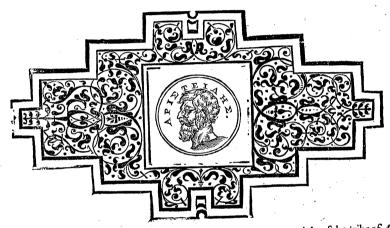
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A strange kind of death.

cause, as if they would and should have died for themselves, and not rather for their countrey and friends. And alfowhen they were dead. Pelopidas was buried by the allies and confederates of the city of THEBES, for whose cause he was slaine; and Marcellus in like manner, by the enemies sclues that had slaine him. And sure the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for in such a case: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondred at: That the enemy himselse should honour his valiantnesse and worthinesse that hurt him, more then the office of friendship performed by a thankfull friend. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honour his dead enemy, then the admiration of his worthinesse: and the friend sheweth friendship many times, rather for respect of the benefits he hath received, then for the love he beareth to his vertue.

The end of Marcellus life.

THE LIFE OF Aristides.



RISTIDES the fon of Lysimachus, was certainly of the tribe of Antio chides, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goods and wealth they diverfly write of him. For some fay, he lived poorely all the dayes of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reason of their pouerry, liued vnmaried many yeares after their fathers death. And many of the oldest writers do confirme that for troth. Yet Demetrius Phalerius, in his booke intituled Socrates, writeth the contrary: that he knew certaine lands Aristides had in the village of PHALERIA, which did yet

beare the name of Aristides lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to shew that he was well to liue, and that his house was rich & wealthy, he bringeth forth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare Mayor or Prouost of ATHENS, whom they called Archon Eponymos, because the yeare tooke the name of him that had it yearely. And they say, he came to it by drawing of the beane, according to the ancient vse of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of making their election of the faid office: in which election none were admitted to draw the beane, but such as were highest set in their subsidie bookes, according to the value and rate of their goods, whom they called at ATHENS, Pentacosiomedimnes, as you would fay, those that might dispend fine hundred bushels of wheate by the yeare, & vpwards. Secondly, he alledgeth he was banished by the Ostracismon, which banisheth the Nobility & great rich men onely: whom the common people enuie, because of their greatnesse; and neuer dealeth

with poore men. The third and last reason he makes, is, that he left of his gift, three soored stooles in the temple of Bacchus, which those do commonly offer vp, as have won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other fuch like pastimes, where they themselues had borne the charge. And those three footed stooles remaine there yet, which they say were given by Arifides and haue this inscription vpon them: The tribe of Antiochides wanne the victorie, Aristides defrayed the charges of the games, and Archefratus the Poet taught them to play his comedies. The last reason, though it seeme likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For Epaminondas (whom euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwayes lived in great ponertie) and Plato the Philosopher, tooke vpon them to defray the charges of games that were of no small expence: the one having borne the charges of flute players at THEBES, and the other the dance of the children which danced in a round at ATHENS: towards the furnishing of which charges Dion the Syracus an gaue Plato mony, and Pelopidas also gaue Epaminondas money. Now, this is not spoken that vertuous men should alwayes refuse the gifts of their Good men friends; and that they might not in some fort accept their friends courtesie offered them; but because they should thinke it vncomely and dishonourable for them, to take any thing to enrich themselves, or to spare and hoord vp. Howbeit where there is any honorable act to be done. or any publike shew to be made, not tending to their private benefite: in such a case they should not refuse their friends louing offer and goodwill towards them. And where Demetrius saith, the three footed stoole was offered up in the temple of Bacchus, Panetius declareth plainely, that Demetrius was deceived by the femblance of the name. For fince the time of the wars of y MEDES, vnto the beginning of the war of PELOPONNESVS, in all the registers and records kept of the defrayers of the charges of common playes, there were found but two men bearing name of Aristides that obtained victory; and neither of them both was fonne vnto Lysimachus, whom we write of at this present. For the one is expresly named the son of Xenophilus, and the other was long after the same Aristides we now speake of as appeareth easily by the writing and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we have vied in GRECE ever fince Euclides time. Moreouer it is easie to be knowne, by the name of the Poet Archistratus that is adjoying to it: for there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all the wars of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of Peloponnesus, many do put him in for an Author and maker of rimes and fongs that were fung in common dances. Yet for all Panatius objections, the matter is to be better looked into, and confidered of. But for the Ostracismon banishment, it is true, that fuch as were great men in estimation about the comon people, either in same, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were subject vnto this banishment. For Damon himselfe, being Pericles schoolemaster; was banished, only because the common people thought him too wife. Moreouer, Idomaneus writeth, that Aristides was their prouost for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voice of the ATHENIANS that chose him. And if he were prouost fince the journey of PLA- was too TAES, as Demetrius writeth, it is likely inough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable service, which other were wont to obtaine for their riches. But this Demetrius doth not only defend Aristides, but also Socrates pouertie, as if it were a foule vice and reproch to be poore. For he writeth, that he had not only a house of his own, but also threescore and ten Scientes minas atvsurie, which Criton gave him interest for. But now to our story againe. Aristides was Clifthenes very friend, he that restored the gouernement at ATHENS after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and did renerence Lycurgus the Law-maker of the LACED EMONIANS for his lawes, about all the men in his time: and therefore he euer fauoured the state of Arisfocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and haue the fouer aignitie. How beit he euer had Themistocles (Neocles sonne) his continual aduersarie, as taking part with the contrary, and defending the popular state of gouernement. Some say, that being schollers, and brought vp together, they were statistical euer contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest and euer after, men beganne to see the natural linclination of them both, by their contrarie affections. For Themistocles was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and subtill, and would venture on any thing vpon light occasion. Aristides contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant and wealth. maruellous well staied, who would for no respect be drawneaway from equity and instice, nei- Themston ther would lie, flatter, nor abufe any body, though it were but in sport. Notwithstanding Ari- cles dispofus of CHIO writeth, that their malice beganne first of light loue, and that it grew to greatesse defiding by processe of time betweenethem: (for faith he) both the one and the other of them fell in zature.

mon thefts the officers of the city did commit, he stopped the theeues mouthes that so highly

praifed and commended him for so honest a man: but yet of the noble and honest citizens he

wasmuch commended. Furthermore, on a time when Dathis Lieutenant to Darius king of Per-

SIA, Was come with all his nauy to go aland about MARATHON, in the countrey of ATTICA,

vpon pretence (as he faid) to be reuenged only of the Athenians, that had burnt the city of

SARDIS, but indeed of mind to conquer all GRECE, and to destroy the whole country before

haue growne among them, and perswaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and

counfell, that had best experience in the war. And so he did much advance Militades honor. For

after that Aristides had once yeelded his authority vnto him, every one of the rest did the like

when it came to their turne; and fother all summitted themselues vnto the rule and leading. But

on the day of the battel, the place where the Athenians were most combred, was in the mid-

dest of the battell, where they had set the tribes of the Leontides, and of Antiochides: for thither

the barbarous people did bend altheir force, & made their greatest fight in that place. By which

occasion, Themistocles & Aristides fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the tribe

Leontites, and the other of Antiochides, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying

campe at Marathon, with histribe and countreymen, to looke to the prisoners and spoile

they had won of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceived the opinion they had of his wif-

dome. For notwithstanding there was great store of gold and filuer, much apparell, moueables,

and other infinite goods and riches in all their tents and paullions, and in the ships also they

for partiality. Ariflides

them, nor the enuy they conceived one against another, but cotinued against each other in matters of state: such were their malice towards one another. In which calling, Themistocles sought the way to winne friends, by whose meanes he came to great preferment in short time, and had made himselfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of ATHENS, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall: The gods forbid (quoth he) I should ever occupie the place of a governour, where my friends should not find more fauour then strangers, that do me no pleasure. But Aristides taking another course by himselfe, would not stand vpon his friends in genernment. First, because he would do no man wrong with pleasuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requests. Secondly, because he saw many rulers and men of authority bold to do iniustice and manifest wrong, bearing themselues upon their friends: but he carried this opinion, that no honest man or good citizen, should trust to any bolstering of friends, but to his owne instand vpright doings. Notwithstanding, Aristides perceining that Themistocles did rashly alter many things, and euer encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings, he was enforced formetime to croffe Themissocies againe, and to speake agains that he preferred, partly to be euen with him, but most to hinder his credite and authority, which increased still through the peoples fauour and goodwils towards him: thinking it better by contrarying him a little to difappoint sometime athing that might have fallen out well for the common-wealth, rather then by giving him the head, to fuffer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that Themistocles having preferred a matter very profitable for the common-wealth, Aristides was fo him, that when the counsell brake vp after Themistocles motion was rejected, he spake it openly before them all that the common wealth of ATHENS would never prosper vntill they both men, Another time, Arifides moued a matter to the people, which diverse were against, but yet conflancie. found him very constant and resolute in matters of state, what soeuer happened: which wan him dation of the ancient foothfayer Amphiaraus, to this effect:

ARISTIDES.

He will not onely feeme, a inst man by his face, But inft indeed he will be found, and vertue still embrace With all his thought and foule, from whence there may proceed Grane counsels, for to beautifie his countries crowne indeed.

All the people straight cast their eyes vpon Aristides, as vpon him, that in truth aboue all other most described the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stout and resolute, not only to resist fauour & friendship, but to reject hate and anger also. For in case of instice, neither could friendfhip make him go awry for his friends sake: nor enuy could moue him to do iniustice, to his very enemy. For proofe hereof it is written, that he had an enemy of his in fuite of law, and did prosecute it to indgement insomuch as after the plaint was read, the Indges were so angry with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would have give fentence against him. But Arifides rifing from his place, went and kneeled at the Iudges feete with the offender his enemie, and befought them to give him leave to speake, to instiffe and defend his cause, according to the course of law. Another time he being Judge betweene two private men that pleaded before him, one of them faid vnto him: Aristides, this fellow mine aduer fary here, hath done you great iniury. My friend (quoth Aristides againe) I pray thee tell me only the iniury wife sping, he hath done thee, for I am Judge here to do thee right, and not my selfe. Moreouer, he being

loue with Stefileus, borne in the Ile of CAOs. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not eafily from much against it as Themistocles purpose took no place. Moreouer Aristides was so carnest against were laid in Barathrum, which was a prison or hole, wherinthey put all theeues and condemned it went with him. And when the Judge or President of the counsell did put it to the people, to know their allowance of it: Arifides perceiving by the arguments made against it, that the matter he preferred was hurtful to the comon-wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not have it passe. Many times also Aristides spake by other men, when he would have a thing go forward, for feare lest Themistocles spitetowards him, would hinder the benefite of the common-wealth. They great commendation. For he was never the prouder for any honour they gave him, nor thought himselfe disgraced for any ouerthrow he received: being alwayes of this mind, that it was the duty of an honest citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to do his countrey service, without respect and hope of reward of money, or for honour and gloric. Therefore when certaine verses were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of Aschilus made in commenchosen high treasurer of all the revenues of ATHENS, did declare that all the officers before him, Aillide & other his late predeceffours, had greatly robbed and spoiled the common treasure, but specially Themissocles: who was a wife man, and of great judgement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when Aristides was to give vp his account, Themistocles and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practife they condemned him, as Idomeneus writeth. Yet the noblest drillides citizens feeing what injury they offered Ariftides, tooke his cause in hand, and found meanes to desided and procure the people not only to release the fine imposed upon him, butto restore him againe to condemned, his office of high treasurer for the yeare following: in the which he seemed to repent his former his office. ftraightnesse in gouernment the yeare before, & dealt more favourably with those he had to do driftedes with, and would not examine enery thing fo straightly as he did before. Wherupon such as were feel, and he theeues and stealers of the treasure of the comon-wealth, did maruellously praise and like him, made treasure

and became futers for him to continue in the office. But when the day of election came, that the futer again. ATHENIANS would chuse him againe, Aristides selse reproued them, and said: When I Aristides faithfully discharged the duty of mine office committed to me by you, I then received shame openly reand reprochat your hands: and now that I have diffembled, not feeming to feethe thefts and robberies done vpon your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. 12 the com-But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more ashamed of the honour you do me monwealth now, then I was of the fine you did fet voon me, when you condemned me the last yeare: and I flesh their am fory to speake it, that you should thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then Prails. to preserve the common-wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the com-

him: the ATHENIANS chose ten captaines to go to the warres among whom Militades was Militades the chiefest man of authority. But Aristides drew very neare him in reputation and credite, be- diefe of cause he did very good service in obtaining the victory, specially when he agreed with Miltia- the ten cepdes in counfell, to giue battell vpon the barbarous people: and also when he willingly gaue trent e-Milliades the whole rule and order of the army. For enery one of the ten captaines did by turnes gain Da. leade the whole army for one whole day: and when Aristides turne came about, he gaue his this the preferment thereof vnto Miltiades, teaching his other companions, that it was no shame, but Persuas honour for them to be ruled by the wisest. Thus by his example he appealed all strife that might Lieutenans

one another: so as the barbarous people at the last being ouerthroune, they made them flie, and draue them to their ships. But when they were imbarked and gone, the captaines of the ATHE-visionie. NIANS perceiuing they made not towards the Iles, which was their direct course to returne into of the Per-

Asia, but that they were driven backe by storme of wind and pyrries of the sea, towards the coast of ATTICA & the city of ATHENS, fearing lest they might find ATHENS vnfurnished for defence, and might fet vpon it: they thereupon sentaway presently nine tribes that marched thither with such speed, as they came to Athens the very same day, and lest Aristides in the

would be

Themiflo-

had taken of theirs: he was not so couetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any other to meddle with the vnleffe by stealth some prouided for themselues. As' amongst other, there was one Callias, one of Ceres priefts, called Dadouchos, as you would fay, the torch-bearer, (for in the The wided fecret facrifices of Ceres, his office was to hold the torch) whom when one of the barbarous peopart of Cal. ple faw, and how he wore a band about his head, and long haire, he tooke him for fome king, and falling on his knees at his feet, kitfed his hand, and shewed him great store of gold he had hidden and buried in a dirch. But Callias, like a most cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, took away the gold, and killed the poore foule that had shewed him the place, because he should not tell it to others. Hereof it cometh, that the comicall Poet do call those that came of him in mockerie, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a dirch because of the gold that Callias found in it. Immediatly after this battell, Ariftides was chosen prouost of ATHEN'S for the yeare: albeit Demetrius Phalerius writeth, that it was a little before his death, after the journey of PLATEES. For in their Chronicles, where they fet in order their prouosts of Athens for the yeare, since Xanthippides time, there appeared no one name of Ariftides in that yeare that Mardonius the king of Persians Lieutenant was ouerthrowne by Platæes, which was many yeares after: but contrariwife, they find Ariffides enrolled among the prouosts immediatly after Phanippus, in the yeare the battell was fought at MARATHON. Now the people did most commend Aristides iustice, before all his other vertues and qualities; because that vertue is most common and in vse in our life, and deliuereth most benefite to men. Hereof it came, that he being a meane man. obtained the worthiest name that one could have, to be called by the whole city, a just man. This furname was neuer defired of kings, princes, nor of tyrants, but they alwaies delighted to be furnamed, some Poliorcetes, to say, conquerors of cities: other Gerauni, to say, lightning or terrible: other Nicanores, to fay fubduers: and some other, Atrand Hieracles, to fay, Eagles or Faulcons, or fuch like birds that prey: defiring rather (as it should appeare by those surnames) the praise and reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that rifeth by vertue and goodnesse. Yet not with standing, God whom they desire most to be likened to, doth excell all humane nature in three feuerall things: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the most honourable & precious thing. For as the naturall Philosophers reason, all the foure elements & Vacuum, are immortall and vncorruptible, and fo are force and power. earth-quakes, lightning, terrible ftormes, running rivers, and inundations of waters: but as for The graife inflice and equity, no man is partaker of them, faue onely God, by meanes of reason and vnderof inflice.

The graife inflice and equity, no man is partaker of them, faue onely God, by meanes of reason and vnderof inflice. standing. Therefore, because men commonly have three sundry affections of the gods: the first, that they thinke them bleffed: the fecond, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleffed, for the eternity and immortalitie of their godhead: that they feare them, because of their omnipotency and power: and that they loue and worship them, for their instice and equitie. And yet notwithstanding, of those three, men do couet immortality, which no flesh can attaine vnto: and also power, which dependeth most vpon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the gods of their goodnesse haue made vs capable. But here they shew themselves fooles. For Iustice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, seeme divine and celestiall: where without instice, and dealing vniustly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the world. But now againe to Aristides. This furname of a just man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwards it turned him to great ill will, and specially by Themistocles practise: who gaue it out euery where, that Aristides had ouerthrowne all iustice, because by consent of the parties he ele envieth was euer chosen Arbitrator to endall controuersies; and that by this meanes he secretly had procured the absolute power of a king, not needing any gard or soldiers about him. The people moreover being grown very diffolute & licencious, by reason of the victory of Marathon, and feeking to haue all things passe by them and their authority, began now to mislike, and to be greatly offended, that any private man should go before the rest in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all shires of Attica into the city of Athens, and so banished Aristides with the Ostracismon; disguising the enuy they bare to his glory with the name withthe o- of feare of tyranny. For this maner of banishment called ofracismon, or Exestracismon, was no fraisines, ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed: but to give it an honest cloke, they of the Offra. faid it was onely a pulling downe and tying short of too much greatnesse and authority, exceeding far the matter and countenance of a popular state. But to tell you truly, it was none other-

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wife, then a gentle meane to qualifie the people's enuy against some private person: which enuy bred no malice to him whose greatnesse did offend them, but onely tended to the banishing of him for ten yeares. But afterwards when by practife, this Oftracifmon banishment was laid vpon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon Hyperbolus that was the last man so banished, they never Hoperbolus after yield it any more at ATHENS. And by the way it shall not be amisse to tell you here, why the last man and wherefore this Hyperbolus was banished. Alcibiades and Nicias were the chiefest men of A. banished THENS at that time, and they both were euer at fquare together; a common thing among f great offracijus, men. They perceiving now by the peoples affembling, that they went about to execute the 6- The could stracismon, were maruellously affraid it was meant to banish one of them: wherefore they spake of Hyperbo. together, and made both their followers friends with each other, and joyned them in one tribe ment, together, infomuch, when the most voices of the people were gathered to condemne him that should be banished, they found it was Hyperbolus. The people therewith were much offended. to see the Offracisson so embased and scorned, that they never after would vie it againe, and so left it off for euer. But briefly to let you vnderstand what the Oftracismon was, and after what fort they vied it; ye are to know, that at a certain day appointed, enery citizen caried a great fliell in tion of the his hand, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would have banished, and brought it into Ofracisa certaine place railed about with woodden barres in the market place. Then, when every man had brought in his shell, the magistrates and officers of the city did count and tell the number of them; for if there were leffethen 6000 citizens, that had thus brought these shells together, the Ofracismon was not full and perfect. That done, they laid apart every mans name written in these shels: and whose name they found written by most citizens, they proclaimed him by found of trumpet, a banished man for ten yeares, during which time not with standing, the party did enioy al his goods. Now every man writing thus his name in a shel, whom they would have banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the countrey (very simple) that could neither write nor reade, who came to Ariftides (being the first man he met with) and gaue him his shell, plaineman praying him to write Aristides name vpon it. He being abashed withall, did aske the countrey shat came man, if Arifides had euer done him any displeasure. No, said the country man, he neuer did me with his hurr, nor I know him not but it grieves me to heare every man call him a just man. Aristides hearing him fay fo, gaue him no aniwer, but wrote his own name vpon the shell, and deliuered it a- problems. gaine to the country man. But as he went his way out of the city, he lift up his hands to heaven, fidename. and made a prayer contrary to that of Achilles in Homer, befeeching the gods that the ATHENI- int. ANS might neuer haue fuch troubles in hand, as they should be compelled tocall for Aristides againe. Notwithstanding, within three yeares after, when Xernes king of Parsia came with his Arisides army through the countries of THESSALY and BOEOTIA, & entred into the heart of the coun-called from try of ATTICA, the ATHENIAM's renoking the law of their oftracifmon, called home againe all those they had banished, and specially, because they were affraid Aristides would take part with the barbarous people, and that his example should move many other to do the like; wherin they were greatly deceived in the nature of the man; for before that he was called home, he continually trauelled up and downe, perfuading and incouraging the Grecians to maintaine and defend their liberty. After that law was repealed by proclamation, & that Themificeles was chosen the only Lieutenant general of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully aid and affift him in althings, as well with his trauell, as also with his counsell; and thereby wan his enemies great honour, because it stood upon the safety and preservation of his countrey. For when Euribiades, Generall of the army of the GRECIANS, had determined to for sake the Ile of SALAMINA, and that the gallies of the barbarous people were come into the middest of the seas, and had enuironed the Iles all about, and the mouth of the arme of the straight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus inclosed in: Aristides departing out of the Ile of Agina with a maruellous boldnesse, ventured through the middest of all the barbarous ships and sleete, and by good hap got in the night into Themistocles tent, and callinghim out, spake with him there in this fort: Themistocles, if we be both wife, it is high time we should now leave off this vaine enuy and spite we deflides haue long time borne each other, and that we should enter into another fort of enuy more ho- atti and nourable and profitable for vs both: I meane, which of vs two should do his best endeauour to faue Grece: you, by ruling and commanding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counfelling you the best, and executing your commandement: considering you are the man alone that will roundlieft come vnto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we should

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wife coun. Xermes firing out of Greece. A Bratageme of Themisto-

should hazard battell by sea within the straight of SALAMINA, and that assoone as might be possible. But if our friends and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you your enemies do helpe it forward. For it is faid, that the fea both before and behind vs, & round about vs, is couered all ouer with their ships, so as they that would not before, shall now be compelled of force, and in spight of their hearts, to fight and bestirre them like men: because they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to escape, nor to slie. Whereunto Themistocles answered I am fory, Aristides, that herein your honesty appeareth greater then mine: but fince it is fo, that you have deserved the honor in beginning, and procuring fuch an honourable and commendable strife betweene vs. I will henceforth indeauour my selfe to exceed you in continuing this your delire. After which answer, he told Aristides, how he purposed to mocke the barbarous king, and praied him to intreate Eurybiades to yeeld to his deuice, and to perswade him that there was no other way to saue GRECE, but to fight by sea : for Eurybiades gaue more credit to Aristides perswasions, then he did to Themistocles words: for when all the captaines were called to councell, to determine whether they should give battell, or not: one Cleocritus CORINTHIAN faid to Themistocles, that his counsel did not like Aristides at all as it feemed, because he spake neuer a word to it being present. Aristides answered him straight, that he vtterly mistooke him. For (quoth he) if I did not thinke his counsell good, I would not hold my peace as I do:but now I am mute, not for any goodwill I beare him, but because I find his counfell wife and found. While the captaines of the GRECIANS were reasoning in this fort, Aristides feeing Psyttalea (a litle lland before Salamina within the straight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valiantest and lustiest fouldiers he had of all his countrey men, into the least foystes or pinnaces he had among all his galleys: and went with them. and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrew all the barbarous people he found there, and put them to the fivord enery man, taking the chiefest of them only prisoners: among which were three sons of Sandauce, the kings fifter, whom he fent vnto Themistocles. These three Lords were all slain by the commandement of Euphrantidas the foothfayer, and facrififed to Bacchus Omestes, as to fay, the cruell Bacchus, and eater of raw flesh, and all vpon an Oracle they had received. That done, Aristides dispersed his souldiers about the Ile, to receive all such as were by fortune of war, or of the sea, cast into the Handsto the end that no enemy of theirs shold scape their hands, nor any of his friends should perish. For the greatest fleete of all their ships, & the sharpest encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Iland; and therefore the tokens of triumph were fet there. After the battell was won, Themistocles to feele Aristides opinion, said vnto him: We have done a good peece of service, but yet there is another behind of greater importance, & that is this: We must bring all Asia into Evrope, which we may easily do, if we saile with all speed to the straight of Hellespont, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then Aristides cried out, Stay there, neuer speake of that but I pray you let vs rather seeke all the waies we can, how to drive this barbarous king out of GRECE, left if we keepe him in still with so great an army (and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we drive him then to fight like a desperate man, and perill our selues, we cannot tell to what. When Themissocies had heard his opinion, he fecretly fent the Eunuke Arnaces his prisoner, vnto king Xerxes, to advertise him fro him, that he had altered the GRECIANS purpose, which was fully bent to have broken vp the bridge he had made at the straight of Hellespont to passe ouer his army and that he was the willinger to let him vnderstand it, that he might the better prouide for the safety of his person. King Xerxes xervises being noted with this aduertisement, tooke straight his journey, and with all speed went to re-Mardonius couer the straight of Hellespont, & lest Mardonius his Lieutenant generall in Grece, with three hundred thousand of the best souldiers of his army. This Mardonius was maruellously Greewith dreaded of all the GRECIANS, for the wonderfull great army he had by land, and he did threaten them also by his letters he wrote vnto them: You have (said he) with your ships by sea, o. uercome men acquainted to fight by land, and that neuer handled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fields of BOEOTIA, are very faire and large for horsemen and sootemen to make proofe of their valiantnesse, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the ATHENIANS, by the king his mafters commandement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build vp their city againe, to give them a great pension, and furthermore to make them Lords of all GRECE, so they would give ouer, and leave off these warres. The LACED EMONIANS being forthwithaduerrised of his letters written to the ATHENIANS.

and fearing left they would have bene perswaded by them: fent their Ambassadours withall fpeed to ATHENS, to pray them to fend their wives and children vnto Sparta, and also to offer them victuals, to relieve their poore old people, because of the great scarcity that was at A-THENS, for that their city was burnt and razed, and all their country besides destroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIAN'S having heard the offers of the Ambaffadors of LACED E-Mon, madethe a maruellous answer through Arilides cousel, & this it was: That they bare with The mble MON, made the a marue Hous answer through Aristans could, of this it was: I flat they have with mind of the the barbarous people, though they thought all things were to be fold for gold & filter, because Athenians. they effeemed nothing more precious nor better in this world, then to be richard wealthy: but on the other fide, they were greatly offended with the LACED AMONIANS, that they onely regarded the present pouerty, and necessity of the Athenians, and did forget their vertue and noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preservation of GRECE, by offering them victuals to line withall, The people approuing this answer, Arifides then caused the Ambassadours of Sparra to come to the assembly, and commanded them to tell the La-CEDEMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the gold aboue, or vnder the ground, could not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any fumme of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of GRECE. And to the herauld that came from Mardonius, he shewed the Sunne, and faid vnto him: So long as yonder Sunne keepeth his course about the world, so long will the Athenians be mortall enemies unto the Persians, because they have spoiled and destroyed all their country, and have defiled and burnt the temples of their gods. Besides, he willed that the priefts, by commandement of the people, should excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to fend vnto the Persians to make peace with them, and to breake their league and alliance with the other GRECIANS. Hereupon, when Mardonius came againe the second time to ouerrun the country of ATTICA, the ATHENIANS got them againe into the Ilcof SALAMINA, and then they fent Aristides Ambassadour vnto the LACED EMONIANS. He sharpely tookethem vp, and reproued their sloth & negligence, because they had againe forfaken ATHENS, and left it to the spoile of the barbarous people: & prayed them yet they would looke to faue the rest of GRECE. The Ephori(which were certaine officers that ruled all things within the city of Sparta) when they had heard Arifides perswasions, straight tooke order for aide, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their folemne feasts they called Hyacinthia. Howbeit the next night following, they sent out fine thousand citizens born in Sparta, into the field, al proper men & valiant soldiers, enery one of them carying with him feuen Ilotes (which are the country men and flaues in the country of LACED AMONIA) not making the Ambassadors of ATHENS priny to it at al. Wherfore Aristides came againe another time into their counsell, to coplaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and faid he dreamed, or elfe he mocked them: for their army which they had sent against the strangers (for so they called the Persians) was already at the city of O-RESTION in ARCADIA. Aristides hearing their answer, replied, that they were to blame to mock them in that fort, to fend away their men so secretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceive their friends, but their enemies rather. Idomineus in his flory reporteth the matter thus in every point: notwithstanding, in the decree that was made to send Ambassadours to Sparta, Aristides is not named for Ambassadour, but there are other appointed : as Cimon, Xanthippus, and Mironides. Afterwards Ariftides was cho- Arifides fen by voices of the people, Lieutenant generall of the army of ATHENS, in this warre against Lieutenant the Persians, and went varo the campe of the Grecians by the city of Plathes, with the difference of t eight thousand footemen well armed and appointed. There he found king Pausanias the onely niante-Generall of all the whole power and army of the GRECIANS, who brought with him the fotce Mardoniof Sparta: and there came daily into his campe one after another, a maruellous great multitude of other GRECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incamped all along the river of Asopvs: but because their campe stretched out a maruellous way in length, king of Lacedamon they were not intrenched at al, but had only fortified a peece of ground foure square with a wal. General of about, which was ten furlongs on energy fide, to place all their cariage and chiefest things in. And all Greece. for the GRECIANS againe, the soothsayer Tisamenus, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told Paufanias, and all the GRECIANS together, that they should have the victory, so they did not assault oracles of atall, but only defend. And Arifides, that had fent to the Oracle of Apollo at DELPHES, in the the vitterio name of § ATHENIANS, had answer: They should ouercome their enemies, so they did sacrifise of Places.

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Strife bothe Athe. mians and

and make speciall prayers vitto Inpiter and Iuno of mount CITH ERON, vitto Pan, and vitto the Nymphes Sphragitides, and also vnto the demy gods, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hypsion, Acteon, and Polyidus: and so that they did hazard battel also within their own territories. and in the plaine of Ceres Eleusinian, and of Proferpina. This Oracle troubled Aristides maruelloufly, because the demy gods whom they had commandement to do sacrifice vnto, were the founders and ancestors of the PLAT ÆIANS: and the caue of the Nymphes Sphragitides, is one of the tops of the mount CITHERON, looking towards the West, where the Sunne setteth in Somer. They fay there was an Oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants thereabouts, & bestraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, Nympholepti, as who would fay, taken with the Nymphes. And againe, to tell the ATHENIANS they should have the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of Ceres Eleusinian, and within their owne teritory; it was even to fend them backe again into the country of ATTICA. Arifi-Arymnessus des being thus perplexed, Arimnessus captaine of the PLATEIANS, had such a vision in the night in his fleepe. He thought, that Impiter the fauiour did appeare vnto him, and asked him what the GRECTANS intended to do: and that he answered: My Lord, we must to morrow remoue our campe into the territories of ELEVSIN, & there we wil fight with the barbarous people, according to the comandement the Oracle of Apollo hath given vs. Then that Impiter replied, that they were greatly deceived: for all that Apollo had declared by his Oracle was meant within the territories of the PLAT EIANS, and that they should find it true, if they considered it well. Arimneflus having plainly seene this vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight fent for the oldest citizens, and confidering with them where this place should be, he found at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHERON, by the city of NYSIA, there was an old temple they called the temple of Ceres Eleusinian, and of her daughter Proserpina. When he heard them fay to, he went straight and told Aristides of it, and found that it was an excellent place to fet an army in battell ray, that had but few horsemen: for that the foot of mount CITHERON did let the horsemen, they could not go to the place where the temple stood, and where the plaine and valley did end: besides also, that the chappell of Androcrates was even in that place. which was all hidden with thicke wood round about it. And because they should lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commandement of the Oracle for hope of victorie, the PLATEIANS (through Arimnestus counsell and aduice) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLAT ÆE's should betaken away towards ATHEN's side, & that the land therof shold be given clearely vnto the ATHENIANS, because they should fight with the barbarous people in their owne land, for the defence and preservation of GRECE, according to the commandement of the Oracle. This noble gift and prefent of the PLAT ÆIANS was fo famous, as many yeares after, king Alexander the great having conquered the Empire of As 1 A, built vp the wals again of the city of PLATÆEs, and when he had done, made a herauld openly proclaime it at the games Olympical, that Alexander had done the PLAT EIANS that honor and dignitie, for a memorial and honour of their magnanimitie, because in the warre against the Persian stans, they had freely and liberally given away their land vnto the Athenians, for the fafety of the Grecians: and had shewed themselues of a noble courage also, and very willing to defend the state of GRECE. Now when the army of the GRECIANS came to be fet in order of battell, there fell a firife betweene the Athenians & the Thegeates, because the Athenians would needs (according to their old custome) have the left wing of the battel if the LACED EMONIANS had the right wing; and the TEGEATES on the contrary part, would have the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alledging the famous acts & notable service of their ancestors in former wars, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutine. But Aristides stept betweene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valiantnesse: and as for you, my Lords of Sparta (faid he) and you also my masters of Grece: we tell you, that the place neither giueth nor taketh vertue away, and we do affure you that wherfoeuer you place vs, we will so defend and keepe it, as we will not impaire nor blemish the honour we have won in former foughten battels and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to brag of our anceftors doings, but to flew our felues valiant in defence of all GRECE. For this battell will make good proofe of all the GRECIANS, how much estimation enery city, enery captaine, and particular person will deserve for his part. When Aristides had spoken, the captaines and all other of

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the counfell concluded in fauour of the ATHENIANS, that they should have one of the wings of the battell. But by this meanes all GRECE stood in maruellous garboile at that time, and the flate of the ATHENIANS specially in great danger. For a number of the noblest citizens of A-THENS, and that brought great substance with them to the wars, being now at low state, and in pouerty, their goods being spent and gone, and seeing themselues discountenanced, not bearing that rule and authoritie in the commonwealth they were wont to do, because other were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the cities they gathered together, and met at a house The confidence in the city of Plat Es, and there conspired to ouerthrow the authority of the people at A-resposite
THENS: and if they could not obtain their purpose, then that they would rather lose all, and
wenof dberray their country vnto the barbarous people. While these things were practised in the camp shens. many being of the conspiracy, Aristides came to an inckling of it, and was maruellously affraid, because of the time: wherefore he began to be carefull of the matter; being of such importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderstand the whole conspiracy, little knowing what a number might be drawn into this treason, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected that which was just, then what was profitable for the time. So he caused eight persons onely of the great number to be apprehended, & of these eight, the two first whom they would have indited as principals, and were most to be burdened for the conspiracy, Assenines of the town of LAMPRA, & Egefias of the towne of ACHARNA, they found meanes to flie out of the camp, and to fauethemselves. And for the other, Arisides setthem at liberty, and gaue them occasion that were not discouered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: saying, that the battel should be their judge, where they shold purge themselves of all accusations laid against them, and shew the world also, that they never had any other intention but honest & good, towards their country. Mardonius, to proue the courage of the Gaecians, had fent all his horfemen (wherein he was farre stronger then the GRECIANS) to skirmish with them. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITH ERON, in ft. ong places and full of stones, saving the three thousand ME GARI- Mount CI. ANS, that camped in the plaine; by reason whereof, they were fore troubled & hurt, by the horsmen of the barbarous people that fet vpon them on every fide, for they might charge them where they would. In so much, in the end, perceiuing they alone could no longer refist the force of so great a multitude of the barbarous people, they sent with all speed possible to Paulantas, to prayhim to fend them prefent aide. Paulinias hearing this newes, and feeing in his owne fight the campe of the MEGARIANS almost couered with shot and darts which the barbarous people threw at them, and that they were compelled to fland close together in a litle corner: he wist not what to do. For to go thither in person with the LACED EMONIANS that were footemen heavy armed, he thought that was no way to helpe them. So he proved to put some ambitious desire & enuy of honor, among the private captaines & generals of the army of the other GR E-CIANS, which were then about him: to fee if he could moue any mans courage and defire, to offer himselfe willingly to aide the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deafe eares, but Ari-Stides, who promised to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought Olympiodorus into the field (one of the valiantest captaines that served under him) with his company of 300 chosen men, and certain shot mingled amongst them. These souldiers were ready in a moment, & marchedstraight in battel ray, a great pace towards y barbarous people. Massitius, that was General of the horsmen of the Persians, agoodly tall man, perceiuing their coming towards him: turnedhis horse, and galloped to them. The ATHENIANS tarried him, and kept their ground, and the borse. the encounter was very hote, because both the one and the other side did the best they could at Persides. this first onset to put the rest of the battell in icopardy: and they fought so long, that Massificus horse was shot through the body with an arrow, that put him to such paine as he neuer left slinging, til he cast his master on the ground, armed as he was at all peeces. So being on the ground, he could not rife againe, aswel for the weight of his armor, as for that the ATHENIANS came so fodainly vpon him. And not with standing there were many about him to hew him in peeces, yet they could find no way how to kil him, he was so throughly armed & loden with gold, copper, and iron, not only upon his body and his head, but also on his legs and armes whill at the length there was one that thrust y head of his dart through his bener, & so killed him. The Persians Massins perceiuing that, fled immediatly, & forfooke the body of their General. Shortly after it appea- flains by red to the GRECIANS, that they had sped well at this skirmish, not because they had slain many he Athericans. enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous people made for the losse of Masistius. For

his deathdid so grieue them, that they polled themselues, they clipped off their horseand moyles haires, and filled befides all the field thereabouts with pitifull cries & fhreekes, as those that had lost the valiantest and chiefest man of authority of all their camp, next vnto Mardonius the kings Lieutenant. After this first skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their campe, and would not come into the field many dayes after for the foothfayers did promife both fides the victorie, as much the Persians, as the Grecians, fo they did but only defend and contrariwife, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowne, that did affault. But Mardonius finding victuals waxed scant, and that they were stored but for few dayes, and moreouer how the GRE. CIANS daily grew stronger by continual repaire to their camp, the longer he delayed in the end he refolued to tarry no longer, but to passe the river As or vs the next morning by breake of the day, and fuddenly to fet upon the GRECIANS. So he gaue the captaines warning the night before what they should do, because every man should be ready. But about midnight there came a horseman without any noise at all, so neere to the GRECIANS campe, that he spake to the watch, and told them he would speake with Aristides Generall of the ATHENIANS. Ariflides was called for straight, and when he came to him, the horseman said vnto Aristides: I am Alexander king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great goodwill I beare you, haueput my ting of Ma- felf in the greatest danger that may be, to come at this present time to advertise you, that to morrow morning Mardonius will give you battell: because your enemies sudden coming vpon you. should not make you affraid, being suddenly charged, and should not hitter also your valiferret count ant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to Mardonius, that makes him to fight, but onely scarcity of victuals that forceth him to do it confidering that the Prognosticators are all against it that he should give you battel both by reason of the ill tokens of their facrifices as also by the answers of their Oracles, which hath put all the army in a maruellous feare, & stand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at a venture or els if he wil needs lie still to be starued to death for very famine. After king Alexander had imparted this fecret to Arifides, he prayed him to keepe it to himselfe, and to remember it in time to come. Arifides answered him then, that it was no reason he should keepe a matter of so great importance as that from Paulanius, who was the Liuetenant generall of their whole army: notwithstanding, he promised him he would tell it no man else before the battel, and that if the gods gaue the GRECIANS the victorie, he did affure him, they should all acknowledge his great fauour and goodwill shewed vnto them. After they had talked thus together, king Alexander left him, and returned backe againe : and Ariftides also went immediatly to Paulavias tent, and told him the talke king Alexander and he had together. Thereupon the private captaines were fent for straight to councell, and there order was giuen, that every man should have his bands ready, for they should fight in the morning. So Pausanias atthat time (as Herodotus writeth) faid vnto Aristides, that he would remove the A-THENIANS from the left to the right wing, because they should have the Persians themsclues right before them, and that they should fight so much the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they had ouercome them before in the first encounter;and that himself would take the left wing of the battel, where he should encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS fide. But when all the other private captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderstood it, they were maruellous angry with Pausaias, and said he did them wrong, and had no reason to let all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, & onely to remoue them, as if they were flaues, to be appointed at his pleafure, now on the one fide, then on the other, & to fet them in fight with the valiantest soldiers they had of all their enemies. Then faid Aristides to them, that they knew not what they faid, and how before they misliked, and did striue with the TEGEATES, onely for having the left wing of the battell; and when it was granted, they thought themselves greatly honoured that they were preferred beforethem, by order of the captaines: and now where the LACEDEMO-NIANS were willing of themselues to give them the place of the right wing, and did in manner offer them the preheminence of the whole army; they do not thankfully take the honor offered them, nor yet do reckon of the vantage and benefit given them to fight against the Persians felues, their ancient enemies, and not against their naturall countreymen anciently descended of them. When Arifides had vsed all these perswasions vnto them, they were very welcontented to change place with the LACED AMONIANS: and then all the talke among them was to encourage one another, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came against them, had no

them, had no better hearts nor weapons, then those whom they before had ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For faid they, they have the same bowes, the same rich imbrodered pownes, the fame golden chaines and carcanets of womanish persons, hanging on their cowardly bodies & faint hearts: where we have also the same weapons & bodies we had, and our hearts more lively and couragious then before, through the fundry victories we have fince gotten of them. Further, we have this advantage more; that we do not fight as our other confederates the GRECIANS do, for our city and country only but also to continue the fame and renown of our former noble fernice, which we wan at the journeys of Marathon and of Salamina: to the end, the world should not thinke that the glory of these triumphes and victories was due vnto Miltiades onely, or vnto Fortune, but vnto the courage and worthinesse of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied to change the order of their battell in haft. The THEBANS on the other fide that tooke part with Mardonius, receiving intelligence of the altering of their battell, by traytors that ranne betweene both campes, they straightfold Mardonins of the the ofir. He thereupon did suddenly also change the order of his battell, and placed the right wing bans, of the Persians against the left wing of his enemies: either because he was affraid of the A-THENIANS, or elle for greater glory that he had a defire to fight with the LACED EMONI. ANS, and commanded the GRECIANS that tooke his part, that they should fight against the ATHERIANS. This alteration was fo openly done, that every man might fee it: whereupon Paulanias removed the LACEDEMONIAN'S againe, and fet them inthe right wing. Mardonius feeing that, removed the PERSIANS againe from the right wing, and brought them to the left wing (where they were before) against the LACED EMONIANS: and thusthey consumed all that day in changing their men too and fro. So the captaines of the Grecians fate in counfell at night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remove their campe, and lodge in some other place where they might have water at commandement: because their enemies did contimually trouble and spoile that water they had about them, with their horses. Now when night came, the captaines would have marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed: but the people went very ill willing, and they had much ado to keepe them together. For they were no fooner out of the trenches & fortifications of their campe, but the most part of them ran to the city of Plat Es, and were maruelloufly out of order, dispersing themfelues here and there, and fet up their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them : and there were none that taried behind, but the LACED #MONTANS onely, and that was against their wils : for one of their captaines called Amompharetus, a maruellous The stub hardie man, that feared no danger, and longed fore for battell, he was in fuch a rage with these of Among trifling delayes that he cryed it out in the camp, that this remouing was a goodly running away, thateur and fware he would not from thence, but would there tary Mardonius coming with his com- Captaine of pany. Paufanius went to him, and told him he must do that the other GRECIAN'S had consented demonstrate to in counfell, by most voices. But Amompharetus tooke a great stone in his hands, and threw it downe at Paulanias feete, and told him, There is the figne I giue to conclude battell, and I passe not for all your cowardly conclusions. Amompharetus stubburnnesse did so amaze Pausanias, that he was at his wits end. So he fent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwards on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might go together, and therwithall made the rest of his men to march towards the city of PLATEES, Supposing thereby to have drawne Amompharetus to have followed him, or else to let him remaine alone behind. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and Mardonius understanding that the GRECIANS did for sake their first lodging, he made his The batted army presently march in battell ray to set vpon the Laced Amonians. So the barbarous peo. of the Greple made great shoutes and cries, northinking to go fight, but to sacke and spoilethe GRECI- the Perst. Ans flying away, as indeed they did little better. For, Paufanias feeing the countenance of his e- ans, at the nemies, made his enfignes to ftay, and commanded every man to prepare to fight; but he for- sity of Place gate to give the GRECIAN's the fignall of the battell, either for the anger he took against Amompharetus, or for the sudden onset of the enemies, which made them that they came not instraight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begun, but stragling in small companies, some here, and fomethere. In the meane time, Paulanias was busie in facrificing to the gods, and seeing that the first facrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothfayers observations they made, he commanded the Spartans to throw their targets at their feete, and not to stirre out of their places, but onely to do as he bade them, without refifting their enemies. When he

were at hand, and that their arrowes flew amongst the thickest of the LACED EMONIANS, and did hurt diuerse of them, & specially poore Callicrates among the rest, that was one of the good-Haise with lieft men in all the GRECIAN'S hoaft and army. He having his deaths wound with an arrow, con fighties before he gaue up the ghost, said, His death did not grieue him, because he came out of his country to die for the defence of GRECE: but it grieued him to die fo cowardly, having given the enemy neuer a blow. His death was maruellous lamentable, and the constancie of the Spar. TANS wonderfull: for they neuer flirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defend themselues against their enemies that came vpon them, but suffered theselues to be thrust tan soldi. through with arrowes, and slaine in the field, looking for the houre the gods would appoint them, and that their captaines would command them to fight. Some write also, that as Pausanias was at his prayers, and doing facrifice vnto the gods a litle behind the battel, certaine of the Ly-DIAN'S came vpon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his facrifice; and that Pansanias, and those that were about him (hauing no other weapons in their hands) draue them away with force of staues and whips. In memory whereof, they say there is a solemne procession kept at Sparta on that day, which they call the Lydian's procession, where they whip and beate yong boyes about the altar. Then was Paulanias in great diffresse, to see the priests offer facrisice vpon sacrisice, and that not one of them pleased the gods: at the last he turned his eyes to the temple of Iuno, and wept, and holding vp his hands, befought Iuno Citharon, and all the other gods (patrons and protectours of the country of the PLAT ÆIANS) that if it were not the will of the gods the GRECIANS should have the victory yet that the conquerors at the least should buy their deaths dearely and that they should find they fought against valiant men and worthy fouldiers, Paulanias had no fooner ended his prayer, but the facrifices fell out very fauourable, in so much as the Priests and Soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gaue commandement to march toward the enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently that they should march. So as he that had seene the squadron of the LACED EMONI-ANS, would have faid it had bene like the body of a fierce beaft raifing vp the briftles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people saw they should have hot battell, and that they should meete withmen that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they couered their bodies with great targets after the Persian fashion, & bestowed their arrowes lustily vpon the Lacebe-MONIANS, but they keeping close together, and couering themselues with their shields, marched on still vponthem, vntil they came to joyne with the enemy so lustily, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thrusts and blowes of the pikes & speares vpon their breasts, & ouerhwart their faces, that they sue many of them, & laid them on the ground. For all that, they died not cowardly, but tooke the LACED EMONIANS pikes & speares in their bare hands, and breake them in two by strength of their armes: and then they quickly pluckt our their cimiters and axes, and luftily laid about them, and wrung the LACED EMONIANS shields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now whilest the Laced Amonians were bufily fighting with the barbarous people, the Atheni-ANS flood fill imbattelled farre off, and kept their ground. But when they faw the LACED EMO. NIANS tary folong, and that they came not, & heard a maruellous noise of men as though they were fighting, and besides that there came a speedy messenger vnto them sent from Pausanias, to let them vnderstand they were fighting: then they marched with all speed they could to helpe them. But as they were coming on a great pace ouer the plaine, vnto that part where they heard the noise, the Greenan that were on Mardonius side came against them. Aristides seeing them coming towards them, went a good way before his company, and cried out as loud as he could for life, and conjured the GRECIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GRECE, to leaue off thele warres, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe them that ventured their liues, to defend the commonwealth and fafety of all GRECE. But when he faw they would needs fight for any request and conjuration he could vie, and that they came stil vpon them, bending themselves to give charge; then he stayed his going to relieue the LACEDE-MONIANS, and was compelled to make head against those that set vpon him & his company, they being about fifty thousand men; of the which, the most part notwithstanding went their waies, and left the army specially when they understood the Persians were ouerthrown and fled. The furie of the battell and cruellest fight (as they fay) was where the THEBANS were: be-

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cause the Nobility & chiefest men of the country fought very earnestly for the Persians, but the people refused, being led by a smal number of the Nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the LACED EMONIANS being the first that ouerthrew y Persian's, and made them flie: & they flue Mardonius the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one Mardonius Arimnessus Spartan gauchim vpon his head, rightly as the Oracle of Amphiaraus had prophe Arimnessus cied before vnto him. For Mardonius before the battell had sent thither a Lydian, & a Cari- a Spartan AN vnto the Oracle of Throphonius, of the which the prophet made answervnto y Carian, in with above the CARIAN tongue: and the man of Lydia lay within the fanctuary of Amphiaraus, where he thought in his dream that one of the priests of the temple willed him to go out of the place he was in and he denying it, the priest took a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was flaine with the blow. And thus it is written. And furthermore; the LACED EMONIANS did chase the Persians slying into their fortifications they had in a wood: and the Athenio ANS also shortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS, whereof they slue in the field three hundred of the noblest and chiefest of them. For euen as the Theban's began to turne taile, newes came vnto the Athenians, that the Persians had intrenched these lues within their fort & strength in the wood, where the LACED EMONIANS did befrege them. The ATHENIANS suffered the GRECIANS that fled to faue them selues, and they went to helpe the LACED EMONIANS, to take the fort of the barbarous people: who went before but flenderly about it, because they hadno experience to make an affault, nor force vpon a wall. But fo foone as the ATHENIANS came in to them, they straight tooke it by affault, and made great slaughter of the Persians and barbarous people. For of three hundred thousand fighting men that Mardonius had in his campe, there were faued onely but forty thousand led vider Artabazus; and of the Greetans side there were not slaine about thirteene hundred and threescore in all; amongst which also there were threeses the state of the st two and fiftic Athenians, all of the tribe of Antides, the which had done more valiantly that day, then any other tribe, as Clidemus writeth. And this is the cause why the Aantides made a solemne facrifice vnto the Nymphes Sphragitides, at the common charge, according to the order Athousand ginen them by the Oracle of Apollo, to give them thankes for this victorie. Of the Lac ED #-MONIANS there died fourescore and eleven: and of the TEGEATES fixteene. But I marvell Heterore rodotus faith, that none but these people onely fought in that iourney against the barbarous nation, and no other GRECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues also do shew that it was a generall victory and exploit of all the GRECIANS together. And moreouer, if there had bene but these three people onely that had fought against them, and that all the reft had ftood and looked on, and done nothing: fure there had bene no fuch Epigram as this, engrauen vpon the altar or tombe that was fet vp in the place of the battell:

When the victorious Greekes, had driven out of their land The Persians by force of armes, which long did them withstand, They built to mighty Ioue, this holy altar here, And made it common for all Greece, as plainely may appeare, In guerdon of the good, which he did them restore,

In guerdon of their liberty, which lik'd them euermore. This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIAN'S call Badromion, that is, about the moneth of July, or after the Boeotians account, the fixe and twentieth of the moneth they call Panemus, on which day there is kept a common affembly of the estates of GRECE, in the citie of PLATEES, where the PLATEIANS make a solemne sacrifice vnto Inpiter, protectour of their liberty, to give him thankes alwayes for this victory. It is no maruell that there was fuch difference then betwixt the moneths and dayes, confidering that even now when Aftronomie is more perfectly vnderstood then it was then, some do yet beginne and end their moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great battell and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there arofe a great strife betwixt the Athenians and the Laced E.

Monians, touching the reward and honour of the victorie. For the Athenians would be the stripe of the stri not gine place vnto the Laced Emonians, nor suffer them to set vp any tokens or signes distensions and Local of triumph. Whereupon the Grecians running to armes in mutinie together, by this occafion they had almost spoiled one another; had not Arifides through his wisdome and wise per-Iwasions, staied and quieted the other captaines his companions, and specially one Leocrates of the viand Myronides, whom he wan with fuch different and gentle words, that they were contented thrie.

Gresco.

Sparta.

Athen.

Cerinih.

The Gresi.

ans grant

ARISTIDES.

to referre it wholly vuto the arbiterment and judgement of the other people of GRECE. So the GRECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their controuerses. In this councell holden there, Theogiton a captaine of the MEGARIANS, faid for his opinion, that to auoide the civill warre might grow betweene the Grecians vpon this quartell: he thought it more requifite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victory vnto some other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose vp Cleocritus Corinthian, seeming to every manthere that he would have requested this honour for the citie of CORINTH, being indeed the third city in estimation of all Grece, vnto Sparta and Athens: howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the PLAT EIANS, which was maruellously liked, and well thought of by every man: for his opinion went flatly with the PLATEIANS, that to end this strife, they should give the honour of this victory vnto the city of Plat Els, and fo would neither of both parties be angry that they should be honoured. Vpon his words Aristides first agreed on the Athenians behalfe, and then Pausamas for the Laced Emo-NIANS, That the PLAT ÆIANS should have the reward. Now they both being agreed, before the spoile was divided betweenethem, they setaside fourescore talents that were given to the PLATEIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto Minerua, and gaue her an image, and set out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACED Æ-MONIANS notwithstanding, did set vp their tokens of victorie by themselnes, and the A-THENIAN'S theirs also by themselves. So they sending vnto the Oracle of Apollo in the citie of Delphes, to know vnto what gods, and how they should do facrifice: Apollo answered them that, they should build vp an altar vnto Iupiter, protectour of their liberty; howbeit that they should put no facrifice vponit, vntill they had first put out all the fire through the whole country, because it had bene pollured and defiled by the barbarous people; and then, that they should fetch pure and cleane fire at the common altar, whereon they do sacrifice vnto A. pollo Pythias, in the citie of Delphes. This answer being delinered, the great Lords and officers of GRECE went through all the countrey to put out the fire euery where. And there was a man of the same city of PLATÆE's at that time called Euchidas, that came and offered himselfe, and promised he would bring them fire from the temple of Apollo Pythias, with all possible speed that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he had sprinkled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of Jaurell vpon his head, and went inthat manner to take fire from the altar of Apollo. When he had done, he hied him againe as fast as he could runne for life, vnto the city of PLATÆES, and came thither before the Sunne was fet, having come & gone that day a thousand furlongs. But after he had saluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fire he brought, he fell downe dead at their feet, and gaue vp the ghost. The PLATEIAN'S lift him vp starke dead, and buried him in the temple of Diana Enclia, to say, of good renowne: and caused afterwards this Epitaph following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

Euchidas

Engraved heere doth lye, Enchidas speedy mans Who in one day both too and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne? Euenfrom this felfe same place, which thou doest here behold, Such haste, post haste, be swiftly made, thereof thou maist be bold.

Many thinke that this goddesse Euclia is Diana, and so they call her. But other hold opinion she was the daughter of Hercules, and Myrto the Nymph Menatius daughter, and Patroclus fifter, that died a virgin, and was honored afterwards as a goddesse of the Bobotians, and of the LOCRIANS. For inali their cities and townes in open places, they finde an altar and image dedicated vnto her : and all that are maried, do facrifice to her vpon that altar. Afterwards there A General Was a generall councell holden by all the GRECIANS, in the which Ariffides made a mo-A Grandal tion, that all the cities of GRECE should yearely send their deputies at a certaine day appointments. ted, vnto the citie of Plat EEs, there to make their prayers and facrifices vnto the gods: and that from flue yeares, to flue yeares, they should celebrate common games, that should be called the games of liberty and that they shold also leavie through all the provinces of GRECE, for maintenance of the warres against the Persians and barbarous people, ten thousand footemen, athousand horsemen, and a fleere of an hundred saile. Also that the PLAT ÆIANS thenceforth should be taken for deuout and holy men, and that no man should be so hardy as to hurt or offend them; and that they should onely tend the factifices vnto the gods, for the health and prosperity of GRECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and manner aforefaid and the PLAT ELAN'S bound themselves yearely to keep solemne sacrifices and aniversaries Solemne for the foules of the Grecians that were flaine in their teritories, fighting for defence of facilities tor the following of the GRECIANS that were name in their criticities, inguiting to the fixteenth and funer the liberty of the GRECIANS. And this they observe yet vnto this day in this fort. The fixteenth day of the moneth of Mamacterion (which the Bo E OTIANS call Alalcomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they go a procession, and before the procession goeth a trumpetter that any yearsly month of rangery they go a processor, and before the processor grant by for the foundeth the alarum. Then there follow certaine chariots loden with branches of firre-tree, and Grecians with no fegaves and garlands of triumph: then a blacke bull, and certaine yong gentlemen noble shat were men sonnes, that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, such as they vseto state at powre vpon the graues of dead men for propitiatory oblations; and other yong boyes free the battell borne, that carry oiles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in viall glasses: for no seruant or bondman may lawfully be admitted to have any office about this mystery, for that they whose memory they honor, died all fighting for defence of the liberty of GRECE. After all this shew, followeth the prouost of the PLAT EIANS for that time being, last of all; who may not al the rest of the yeare besides so much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall pot in one of his hands, which he taketh in the towne-house, and a naked sword in the other hand, and so goeth through the city in this fort after all the pompe aforesaid, vnto the Church-yard where all their graues be that were flaine at that battell. So when he cometh thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the four esquare pillars and images that stand vpon those tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and sweete sauours: afterwards, he facrificeth a bull, and layeth him vpon a heape of wood hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men; and making certaine prayers and petitions vnto Iupiter and Mercurie, gods of the earth, he doth folemnly inuite the foules of those valiant men that died fighting for the liberty of GRECE, vnto the feaft of the funerall facrifice. Then he taking a cup full of wine in his hand, and spilling it all vpon their tombes, he speaketh these words aloud: I drinke to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in desence of the liberty of GRECE. This folemne ceremony and aniuerfarie, the Plat Elans do duely observe vnto this present day. Now whenthe ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, Aristides perceiuing the people were bent to stablish a popular state, where the people might beare the whole rule and authority, judging them well worthy to be confidered of, in respect of their noble service and valiant courage they had shewed in this warre: and confidering also that they would hardly be Arifides brought to like of any other gouernement, being yet in armes, and very frout, by reason of the famous victories they had obtained: he caused a law to be made, that all authority of gouernement should runne in equality among the citizens, and that then ce foorth all burgesses (as well A wirked poore as rich) should be chosen by voices of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreouer, when Themistocles told in open affembly, that he had athing in his head eles. would be greatly to the profit and commodity of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diverse respects: the people willed him to tell it vnto Aristides onely, and to take his aduice in it, to know whether it was meete to be done, or not. Then Themistocles told him secretly misseles betweene them, that he thought to fet the arcenall on fire, where all the GRECIANS flips lay: alledging, that by this meanes the Athenians shold be the greatest me of power in al Grece. of the A-Ariflides hearing that, without any more, came presently to the people againe, and told the theniam. whole councell openly, that nothing could be more profitable indeed for the whole commonwealth, and withall more wicked and vniust, then that Themistocles thought good to do. generals of When the people heard Aristides answer, they willed Themistocles to let his deuice alone the Atherina ans against what soeuer it were: so great insticers were the Athenians, and so much did they trust A. the barbas ristides wisdome and equity besides. So they made Aristides afterwards Generall of the armie rous people. of the Athenians together with Cimon, and fent them to make warre against the barba-inflice and rous people. Arifides at his coming thither, feeing Paulanias, and the other captaines that were verius

king this course, it was not noted how by little and little he cut off the rule and authority of the Gree,

Generals ouer the whole army dealing hardly & churlishly with the people their confederates, the Lacehe onthe contrary fide, spake gently vnto them, and snewed himselfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and inst to enery at their body, not oppressing some to ease other, in destraying the charges of the warres. Aristides taPaglanias Sometons.

Paufanias

Arifides

LACED EMONIANS in GRECE, notby force of armes, nor by ships, not by numbers of horses, but onely by his graue and wife gouernment. For if the iustice and vertue of Aristides, and the mildnesse and curtesse of Cimon made the government of the ATHENIANS to be liked of and accepted of althe other people of GRECE: the conctonfiesse, pride and siercenesse of Paulanias, made it much more to be defired. For Paufanias neuer spake vnto the other captaines of the people, allies, and confederates, but it was ever in choler, and he was too fharpe with them: and for the poore private fouldiers, he would cause them to be cruelly whipped for every small offence, or else make them stand a whole day together on their feete, laying a heavy iron anker vpontheir shoulders. No man durst goe forrage, neither for straw, norrecdes to make them couches of, nor durst water their horse before the Spartans: for he had set skouts for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when Arifides thought to have spoken to him, and to haue told him something, he frowned upon him: and said he had no leyfureto speake with him now, and so would not heare him: whereupon the captaines of the other GRECIANS, and specially those of CHIO, of SAMOS, & of LESBOS, did afterwards follow Aria fides, and perswaded him to take voon him the charge & authority to command the other people of GRECE, and to take into his protection the allies and confederates of the fame, who long fithens wished to reuolt from the gouernement of the LACED EMONIANS, and onely to submit themselues vnto the Athenians. Aresides answered them thus: that they had not onely reason to do that they said, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the Athenians might have good ground and assurance of their vindoubted fidelity and good service, they should deliver them manifest testimony and assurance thereof, by some famous act attempted against the LACED EMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durst nouer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. Vliades SAMIAN, and Aniagoras of CHIO hearing imm aft of him fay fo, both captaines of galleys confedered together they wet one day to fet vpon the Admirall galley of Paufanias, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one fide of her, and the other on datagoras datagoras the other fide, as fine was rowing before all the fleete. Pansanias feeing them, flood vp flraight in Eansanias. a maruellous rage against them, & threatned them that before it were long he would make them know they had bene better to have affaulted their owne naturall country, then to have serveon him as they had done. But they answered him, and bad him get him away quickly if he were wife, and let him thanke Fortune hardly, that granted the GRECIANS victory at the battell of PLATÆE'S vnder his leading: and that it was nothing else but the onely reuerence and respect of the fame, that had made the GRECIANS hold their hands till now, from giving him that inft punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserved. So the end was, they left the LACED EMONI-ANS, and stucke vnto the ATHENTANS: wherein was easily discerned the great courage and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACED EMONIANS. For when they faw their captaines were ratice of the marred and corrupted, through the ouer great authority and liberty they had, they willingly gaue vp their commandement ouer the other GRECTANS, and did no more fend their captaines to be Generals of the whole army of GRECE: thinking it better for their citizens, that they shold be obedient, and in enery point observe the discipline and law of their country, then if they had bene otherwise the onely rulers and Lords over the whole country. Now at what time the LA-CED EMONIANS did commandall GRECE, as Lords, the cities and people of GRECE did pay a certaine fum of money, towards defraying of the charges of the warres against the barbarous people. But after that their feigniority and rule was taken from them, the GRECIANS were contented ataxe should be leauied, and that every city should be reasonably sessed, according to their wealth and ability:because every city might know what they should pay. And for this purpose, they prayed the ATHENIANS they wold appoint Aristides to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power and authority to taxe and fesse enery city indifferently, considering the greatnes of the territory, & the reuenues of the same, as every one was reasonably able to beare it. But if Ariftides were poore when heentred into that great charge & office of authority, wherein all GRECE in maner did refer themselves vnto his discretion: he came out of that office more poore, and had made his affestement and taxation not onely justly and truly, but also so indifferently according vnto eucry mans ability, that there was no man could find fault with his doings. And like as the ancient men in old time did celebrate and fing out the bleffednesse of those that lived vnder the reigne of Saturne, which they called the golden age: even so did the people and confederates of the ATHENIAN'S afterwards honour the affeffement made by Arifides

calling it the fortunat & bleffed time of GRECE, and specially, when shortly after it did double, and treble on the sudden. For the taxe Aristides made, came to about source hundred and threefcoretalents: and Pericles raised it almost vnto a third part. For Thusydides writeth, that at the beginning of the warres of Peloponnesus, the Athenians leavied fixe hundred talents vearely vpon their confederates. And after the death of Pericles, the oratouts & counsellors for matters of state, did raise it vp higher by little and litle, vntill it mounted to the summe of thirteene hundred talents. And this was not because the warres did rise to so great a charge, by reafon of the length of the fame, and of the losses the ATHENIANS had received; but for that they did accustome the people to make distributions of money by hand vnto every citizen, to make them fet vp games, and make goodly images, and to build vp sumpruous temples. Thus was Arithides therefore inftly honored, praised and esteemed about all others, for this inst imposition of taxes, faning onely of Themistocles: who went vp and downe fleering at the matter, saying it was nomeete praise for an honest man, but rather for a coffer well barred with iron, where a man might fafely lay vp his gold & filuer. This he spake to be euen with Aristides, which was nothing twins the like the sharpe gird Aristides gaue him openly, when Themistocles talking with him, told him it misseles was an excellent thing for a captaine to be able to know, and to present the counsels and doings and Aristides are supported by the counsels and doings and Aristides are supported by the counsels and doings and Aristides are supported by the counsels and doings and Aristides are supported by the counsels and doings and Aristides are supported by the counsels and doings and Aristides are supported by the counsels are sup of the enemies: And so it is, faid Arifiides againe, not onely a needfull, but an honest thing, and meete for a worthy Generall of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So Arifides made all the other people of GRECE to sweare, that they would truly keepe the articles of the alliance, and he himselfe as Generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their oaths in the name of the Athenians: and so pronouncing execrations and curses against them that should breake the league and oath taken, he threw iron wedges red hot into the fea, and prayed the gods to destroy them even so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstanding, afterwards (in my opinion) when there fell out great alteration in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced torule more straightly then before: Aristides then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the danger & burthen of periury and execration, and that they should not let for fearetherof to do any thing whatfoeuer they thought meete or necessary. To conclude, Theophrastus writeth, that Anilides was not onely a perfect, an honest, and inst man, in private matters betwirt party and party: but in matters of state, and concerning the commonweale, he did many things oftentimes according to the necessity of the time; and troubles of the city, wherein violence and iniuflice was to be vied. As when the question was asked in open councell, to know whether they professed might take away the gold & filuer, that was left in the Ile of DELOS fafely laid vp in the temple necessities of Apollo, to beare out the charges of the warres against the barbarous people, and to bring it fro thence vnto ATHENS, vpo the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the ar- redon. ticles of the alliance, made and fworne among all the GRECIANS; Aristides opinion being afked in the same, he answered: it was not iust, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding Aristides had brought his city to rule and command many thousands of people, yet was he still poore for all that, and till his dying day he gloried rather to be praifed for his pouerty, then for all the fa- Arifides all that, and the his dying day negioned rather to be practed for the policy mous victories & battels he had won and that plainly appeared thus. Callias Geres torch-bearer, gland in mous victories & battels he had won and that plainly appeared thus. Callias Geres torch-bearer, gland in hazard of life to hippurity. was his neare kinsman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life; so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Judges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vitered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other bymatters, left the chiefe matter, and spake thus to the Judgesmy Lords, you all know Arifides the son of Lysimachus, and you are not ignorant also that his vertue hath made him more estecmed, then any man else is or can be, in all GRECE. How thinkeye doth he live at home, when you're him abroad vp and downe the city, in a threed-bare gowne all to be tattered. Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all see quake for very cold, being fo ill arraied and clothed? And yet M. Callias here his cofin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable, that notwithstanding Aristides hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authority among you, he suffered him and his poore wife & children ready to beg & starue for any helpe he gineth him. Callian perceiving the Judges more angry with him for that, then for any matter else he was accused of : he prayed Artifides might be fent for, and willed him to tell truly whether he had not offered him good round fums of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take it; which he euer refused, and answered him alwayes, That he could better boast of his pouerty, then himselfe could of his riches

thing to 4. war with Who may

mistosles.

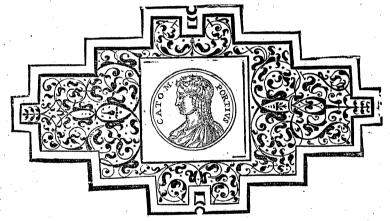
children.

(which he faid many did vie ill, and few could vie them well) and that it was a hard thingto find one man of a noble mind, that could away with pouerty, and that fuch onely might be ashamed of poucrty, as were poore against their wils. So Aristides confirmed all he spake to be true: & euery man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as Aristides, then rich as Callias. This tale is writtethus by Assiming the Bocratian philosopher: & Plato reporteth of him also, that notwithstanding there were many other famous and noble men of Athens, yet he gaue Arifides praise about them all. For others, said he, (as Themisticcles, Cimon, and Pericles) have beautified the city with stately porches, & sumptuous buildings of gold and silver, and with store of other sine superfluous devices: but Arifides, was onely he, that vertuously disposed himselfe and all his doings, to the furtherance of the state and common weale. His inflice and good nature appeared plainly in his doings, and behaviour to-wards Themisfocles. For though Themisfocles was ever against Aristides in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practife he was banished from Athens: yet when Themistocles was accused of treason to the state, having diverse sharpe enemies against him, as Cimon, Alemeon, with diverse other, Aristides sought not revenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither spake nor did any thing against him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioyee to see his enemie in misery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his prosperity. And touching Ariftides death, fome write that he died in the realme of Pont's, being fent thither about matters of the state: and other thinke he died an old man in the citie of A-THENS, greatly honoured and beloued of all the citizens. But Craterus the Macedonian writeth of his death in this fort: After that Themistocles (faith he) was fled, the people of ATHEN's became very stubburne and insolents wher upon, many lewd men grew to be comen appeachers and accusers of the noble men and chiefest citizens, and to stirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people against them, who were waxen proud by reason of their prosperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Among the rest, Aristides was condemned for extortion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, vpon one Diophantes accufation, of the village of Amphitrope: who burthened him, that he tooke money of the Ionians, to make the annual tribute cesse which they payed vnto Athens: and so Craterus faith, that because Aristides was not able to pay the fine they set vpo his head (which was flue Minas) he was driuento for sake ATHENS, &to gethim into Ionia, where he died. Yet doth not Craterus bring forth any probable matter to proue this true he write that his pleading, his sentence and condemnation, or any decree passions of the sentence and condemnation are the sentence a fed against him, although he vsed great diligence else in collecting all such matters, and vouching his authors. Furthermore, all other writers that have specially noted the faults & offences committed by the people of Athens in former times against their captaines and governours: they do declare Themistocles exile, Militades captinity that died in prison, Pericles fine wherein he was condemned, and Paches death that flue himselfe in the pulpit for orations, when he saw he was condemned: and tell diuerse such stories, adding too also Aristides banishment: but yet they make no matter of mention of the condemnation which Craterus speaketh of Moreouer, Aristides tombe is to be seene atthis day vpon the hauen of PHALERVS, which was set vp for him at the charge of y common wealth, as it is reported, because he died so poore a man, as they found nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go surther, and say that his daughters were maried mai thank by decree of the people, at the charge of the commonwealth, & that the city gaue enery one of them three thousand Drachmas; and his sonne Lystmachus, a hundred Minas of silver, and a hundred Iugera; and at Alcibiades request, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him source. Drachmas a day besides, of ordinary allowance, Furthermore, when this Lysimachus died, he lest aliue one onely daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the people appointed, as *Callifthenes* writeth, as much prouifion to liue withal, as they gaue to any that wanthe Olympian games. And fithence, Demetrius Phalerian, Hyeronimus Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotlethe Philosopher, at the least if the booke intituled of Nobility be any of Aristotles works: all these agree together, that one Myrto, Aristides daughters daughter, was maried to the wise Socrates, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) because she was a poore widow, and could not be maried for her pouerty, having much ado to line. Yet Panatius doth write against him, in his booke of Socrates life. But Demetrius PHALERIAN Writeth in his booke he intituled Socrates, that he could remember very well he had scene one Lysimachus, Aristides sonnes sonne, or his daughters sonne, that was very poore, and lined of that he could get to interprete dreames, by

certaine tables, wherein was written the artto interprete the fignification of dreames; and that he kept commonly about the temple of Bacchus called Iacchion, vnto whom, together with his mother and his sister, he said he had caused the people to give them a Triobulum apeece, euery day towards their liuing. It is very true that the selfe same Demetrius Phalerian, when he reformed the state of Athens, ordained that his mother and sister should have each of thema Drachma by the day to find them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new nor ftrange thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe and to relieue the The Atherne women that dwelt in the city: confidering that in times past, Aristogiton having a litle daughter in the Ile of Lemnos, in very hard and poore estate, and that could not be bestowed in mariage this liberation. for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to Athens, and maried her in one of the noblest houses of the city, & made her a joynter besides in the village of Potamos. Which great courtesseand humanity of theirs, bath euer deserved great same and commendation, and yet continueth euenvntill this day, in that noble city of Athens, in the mouth of euery manthere.

The end of Aristides life.

THE LIFE OF Marcus Cato the Censor.



ARCPS Cato and his ancestors, were (as they fay) of the city of THV s-CVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and dealt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and liued in the countrey of the Sa-BYNES, vpon certaine land his father left him. And thoughto many his ancestors were knowne to haue bene obscure: yet he himselfe did his ancestors were knowne to haue belief oblicing. Yet he his ham, and fay-highly commend his father Marcus, by bearing his name, and faying he was a fouldier, and had ferued valiantly in the field. And he relief halfo of another Cato that was his great grandfather, who for his valiant feruice had bene of trewarded of the Generals, with such hono-

rable gifts, as the Romaines did vie to give vnto them that had done some famous act in any battell; and how that he having lost five horses of service in the warres, the value of the same was restored to him againe in mony of the common treasure, because he had shewed himselse trufty and valiant for the common wealth. And where they had a common speech at Rome, to call them vpffarts that were no gentlemen borne, but did rife by vertue: it fortuned Cato to be case called called one of them. And for his part he did confesse it, that he was the first of his house that an opsiare.

MARCUS CATO.

euer had honour, and office of state; but by reason of the noble acts and good service of his ancestors, he maintained he was very ancient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, Priscus: but afterwards by reason of his great wisedome and experience, he was surnamed Cato, because the Romain es call a wise man, and him that hath seene much, Cato. He was somewhat giuen to be red-faced, and had a paire of staring eyes in his head, as this mantelleth vs., that for ill will wrote these verses of him after his death:

Pluto (the god) which rules the Furies infernall. Will not receive the damned chost, of Porcius in his hall. His fawcy coppered no le, and fierie staring eyes, His common flanderous tales, which be did in this world deuife, Made Pluto stand in dread, that he would brawle in hell,

Cato a fouldier at fe. Benteene yeares of

This Ma-Cato the elder wondered at thethrifet. neffe of Manista

Although his bones were drie and dead; on earth he was so fell. Furthermore touching the disposition of his body, he was maruellous strong and lustic, and all because he did vsc to labour and toile even from his youth, and live sparingly, as one that was euer brought vp in the warres from his youth; fo that he was of a very good constitution, both for strength of body, and for health. As for vtterance, he esteemed it as a second body, and most necessary gift, not only to make men honest, but also as a thing very requisit for a man that should beare sway and authority in the common wealth. He practised to speake well in little villages neare home, whither he went many times to pleade mens causes in courts judiciall, that would retain him of counfell: fo as in short time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue cate an ex- at will, and in processe of time became an excellent Orator. After he was thus well known, they cellent ora- that were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certaine noble mind in him, worthy to be employed in matters of state and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not onely refuse to take fees for his pleading, and following the causes he maintained: but furthermore made no reckoning of the estimation he wan by that manner and practife, as though that was not the onely marke he shot at-But his defire reached further, rather to win himfelfe fame by feruice in the warres, and by valiant fighting with his enemy, then with fuch a quiet and pleafing manner of life. Infomuch as when he was but a young stripling in manner, he had many cuts vpon his breast, which he had received in diverse battels and encounters against the enemies. For he himselfe writeth, that he was but feuenteene yeares old, when he went first vnto the warres, which was about the time of Hannibals chiefe prosperity, when he spoiled and destroyed all ITALY. So when he came to fight he would ftrike luftily, and neuer ftirre foote nor give backe; and would looke cruelly you his enemic, and threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voice, which he vied himfelf, and wifely taught other alfo to vse the like for such countenances, said he, many times do feare the enemies more then the fword ye offer them. When he went any journey, he euer marched on foote, and caried his armor vpon his backe & had a man waiting on him that caried his victuals with him with whom he was neuer angry (as they fay) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or fupper, but did helpe to dreffe it himselfe for the most part, if he had any leisure, when he had done the dutie of a private souldier in fortifying the campe, or such other needfull businesse. All the while he was abroad inferuice in the wars, he never dranke other then cleane water, vnleffe it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a little vineger; but if he faw he nius cusius were weake, he wold then drink a litle wine. Now it fortuned that Manius Curius the ROMAINE who had triumphed thrife, had a prety house & land hard by Cato, where he kept in times past. being Gone. Which Cate for a while would visite oft. And he confidering how little land he had to his house. & what a litle house he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondred with himselfe what manner of man Curius had bene, that having bene the greatest man of Rome in his time, and hauing subdued the mightiest nations and people of all ITALY, and driven king Pyrrus also out of the same: yet himself with his owne hands did manure that litle parch of ground, and dwell in so poore & small a farme. Whither notwithstanding after his three triumphs, the SAMNITES sent their Ambassadors to visite him, who found him by the fires side seething of parseneps, and presented him a maruellous deale of gold, from their state and communalty. But Curius returned them again with their gold, and told them, that fuch as were contented with that supper, had no need of gold nor filuer; and that for his part, he thought it greater honor to command them that had gold, then to have it himselfe. Cato remembring these things to himselfe, went home againe,

and began to think evpon his house, of his living, of his family and servants, and also of his expences, and to cut off all superfluous charges, and fell himselfe to labour with his owne hands, morethen euer he had done before. Furthermore, when Fabius Maximus tooke the city of TARENTYM againe; Cato served vnder him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with Nearchus the Pythagorian Philosopher, in whom he took maruellous de- Nearthus light to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which Nearchus held the same opinion of pleasure, that the Pytha-Plate did, by calling him the sweete poyson and chiefest baite to allure men to ill: and saying that Phylosothe body was the first plague vnto the foule, and that her onely health, remedic, and purgation pher, carees stood vpon rules of reason; good examples and contemplations; that drive sinfull thoughts and carnall pleasures of the body, farre off from her. Cato moreouer gaue himselfe much to sobriety and temperance, and framed himselfero becomen with litle. They say he fell in his very old stature. age to the studie, of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited somewhat by Thucydides, but much more by Demosthenes, to frame his matter, and also to be eloquent: ned the which plainly appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, and flories taken out of the Greeke authors: and many of his sentences and morals. his adages and quicke bioldage. answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a noble man of Rome at Cato press. that time, one of great authority, & a deepe wife man befides, who could eafily discerne buds of by Demovertue sprouting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable disposition to themselves helpe forward, and to aduance fuch; his name was Valerius Flaccus, a neere neighbour vnto Cato, quence. who was informed by his feruants of Catoes strange life, how he would be doing in his ground Flacewa with his owne hands: and how he would be gone every day betimes in the morning to little vil. grave wife lagesthereabours, to pleade mens causes that prayed his counsell, and that when he had done he would come home againe: & if it were in Winter, that he would but cast a litle coat on his shoulders and being Sommer he wold go out bare-necked to the wast, to work in his ground among his servants and other workmen: and would besides, sit & eate with them together at one boord, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him also a world of such maners and fashions he vfed, that shewed him to be a maruellous plaine man, without pride, & of a good nature. The they told him what notable wife fayings and grave fentences they heard him fpeake. Valerius Flaccus hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with Cato, and perceiting he was of a very good nature, and well given, and that he was a good graffe to be fet in a better ground, he perswaded him to come to Rom B, and to practife there in the affembly of the people, in the common causes and affaires of the comonweale. Cate followed his counfell, who having bin no long practifer among them, did grow cate goods. straight into great estimation, and wan him many friends, by reason of the causes he tooke in to Rome by hand to defend and was the better preferred and taken allo, by meanes of the special fauour and Flatter countenance Valerius Flaccus gaue him. For first of all, by voice of the people he was chosen Tribune of the fouldiers (to fay, colonell of a thouland footmen) & afterwards was made treasurer: Catachofes and so went forwards, and grew to so great credite and authority, as he became Valerius Flaccus williams. companion in the chiefest offices of state, being chosen Consult with him, and then Censor. But cateer of to begin withall, Cato made choise of Quintus Fabius Maximus, aboue all the Senators of Rome, Senate. and gaue himselfe to follow him altogether; and not so much for the credit & estimation Fabius catefalism Maximus was of (who therein excelled all the ROMAINES of that time) as for the modely and ed Fabins discreet gouernment he saw in him, whom he determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour &example. At which time Cato patfed not for the malice and cuill will of Scipio the Great, who did Catossemus ftriue atthat present being but a yong man, with the authority and greatnes of Fabius Maximus, lation with as one that seemed to enuy his rising & greatnesse. For Cato being sent treasurer with Scipio, when Great. he vindertook the journy into A FRICKE, and perceiving Scipioes bountiful nature, & disposition to large gifts without meane to the fouldiers: he told him plainely one day, that he did not fo cate being much hurt the commonwealth in wasting their treasure; as he did great harme in changing the treasures. ancient manner of their aunceftours: who yied their fouldiers to be contented with litle, but he raught them to fpend their superfluous mony (al necessaries prouided for) in vaine toies & trifles ean, reproto serue their pleasure. Scipio made him answer he would have no treasurer should controll him und him in this fort, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the for his wars, with full failes as it were, and that he would (and did also determine) to make the state prinieto all his doings, but not to the mony he spent. Cate hearing this answer, returned with speed

Catoes sharpnesse. gdeth firbeafts. by the A. eĥenia#s of their la

out of Sicile vnto Rome, crying out with Fabius Maximus in open Senate, that Scipio fpent infinitely, and that he tended playes, comedies, and wreftlings, as if he had not bene sent to make warres, inuafions, and attempts vpon their enemies. Vpon this complaint the Senate appointed certaine Tribunes of the people, to go and see if their informations were true: and sinding them fo, that they should bring him backe againe to Rome. But Scipio shewed farre otherwise to the commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparent victory, through the necessary preparation and provision he had made for the warres; and he confessed also, that when he had difpatched his great bufinesse, and was at any leasure, he would be prinately merrie with his friends: and though he was liberall to his fouldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his dutie and charge in any matter of importance. So Scipio tooke shipping, and failed towards Africke, whither he was sent to make warre. Now to returne to Cato. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that diverse called him the Demosthenes of Rome: howbeit the manner of his life was in more estimation then his eloquence. For all the youth of Rome did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of words, and one enuied another which of them should come nearest: but few of them would file their hands with any labour as their forefathers did, & made a light supper and dinner without fire or prouision, or would be content with a meane gown, and a poore lodging, and finally would thinke it more honourable to defie fancies and pleasures, then to have and enjoy them. Because the state was waxen now of such power and wealth, as it could no more retaine the ancient discipline, and former austerity & straightnesse of lifeit vsedibut by reason of the largenesse of their dominion and feigniority, & the numbers of people and nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medley of fundry countrey fashions, examples, and maners. This was a cause, why in reason mendid so greatly wonder at Catoes vertue, when they saw other straight wearied with paines and labour tenderly brought vp like pulers; and Cato on the other fide neuer onercome, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coueted honor, nor in his age also when he was gray headed and bald, after his Consulship and triumph: but like a conquerour that had gotten the maistery, he would neuer giue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth himselfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backethat cost him aboue 100 pence, and that his hinds and workemen alwayes drunke no worfe wine, when he was Confull and Generall of the army, then he did himselfe: and that his cater neuer bestowed in meate for his supper, aboue thirty Asses of Romains money; and yet he said it was, because he might be the stronger, and apter to do service in the wars for his country & the common wealth. He said furthermore, that being heire to one of his friends that died, he had a peece of tapeftry by him with a deepe border, which they called them the BABYLONIAN border, and he caused it straight to be fold; and that of all his houses he had abroad in the country, he had not one wall plastered. nor rough cast. Moreouer he would say, he neuer bought bondman or slaue dearer, then a thoufand five hundred pence, as one that fought not for fine made men and goodly personages, but firong fellowes that could away with paines, as carters, horse-keepers, neat-heards, & such like: and againe he would fell them when they were old, because he would not keepe them when they could do no service. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a man bought any thing deare, that was for litle purpose; yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to beflow so litle, for that which needed not. He wold have men purchase houses, that had more store of arable land and pasture, the of fine hortyards or gardens. Some fay, he did thus for very mise-Gentlevesse ry and couctous fields their thinke, and tooke it that he lived so sparingly, to move others by his example to cut off all superfluity and waste. Neuerthelesse, to sell slaues in that sort, or to turne them out of doores when you have had the service of all their youth, & that they are grown old, Gentleneffe as you vie brute beaftes that have served whilest they may for age: me thinkes that must needes proceed of too seuere and greedy a nature, that hath no longer regard or consideratio of humanity, then whilest one is able to do another good. For we see, gentlenesse goeth further then iustice. For nature teachethys to vse instice onely to them, but gentlenesse sometimes is shewed vnto bruite beafts: and that cometh from the very fountaine and spring of all courtesseand humanity, which should neuer dry vp in any man liuing. For to say truly, to keep cast horses spoiled in our service, and dogs also, not only when they are whelpes, but when they be old, be even tokens of loue and kindnes. As the ATHENIANS made a law, when they builded their teple called Hecatompedon: that they should suffer the moyles and mulets that did service in their cariages about

about the building of the same, to graze every where, without let or trouble of any man. And they fay there was one of their moiles thus turned at liberty, that came her felfeto the place to labour, going before all the other draught beafts that drew vp carts loden towards the caffell. and kept them company, as though fhe seemed to encourage the rest to draw: which the people liked fo well in the poore beaft, that they appointed the should be keept whilft she lived, at the charge of the town. And yet at this present are the graves of Cimens mares to be seene, that wan him thrice together the prize of the horse race at the games Olimpian, and they are hard by the graue of Cimon himselfe. We heare of diverse also that had buried their dogsthey brought up in their house, or that waited on them: as among other, old Xanthippus buried his dog in the top of a Xambippus cliste, which is called the dogs pit til this day. For when the people of Athens did for sake their duried his city at the coming downe of the king Xerxes, this dog followed his master, swimming in the sea summed by his galleys fide, from the firme land, vnto the Ile of SALAMINA. And there is no reason, to by his galvie liuing and fensible things, as we would vie an old shoo or a rag, to cast it out vpon the dunghill when we have worn it, and can ferue vs no longer. For if it were for no respect else, but to vse thousto Se. vs alwaies to humanity, we must euer shew our selues kind and gentle, euen in such small points sofpitie. And as for me, I could neuer find in my heart to sell my draught Oxe that had ploughed belanded. my land a long time, because he could plough no longer for age: and much lesse my slaue, to sell him for a little money, out of the countrey where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his old trade of life, wher with he was best acquainted, & then specially, when he shall be as vnprofitable for the buyer, as also for the feller. But Cato on the other side gloried, that he left his horse in Spaine he had served on in the warres during his Consulship, because he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing him home by feainto ITALIE. Now a queffion might be made of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was noblenesse or a niggardlinesse in him:but otherwise to say truly, he was a man of a wonderfull abstinence. For when he was Generall of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three bushels of wheate cases a moneth of the commonwealth, for himselfe and his whole family and but a bushel and a halfe straight of barly a day, to keepe his horse and other beasts for his cariage. On a time when he was Præ- Cato Pretor, the gouernement of the Ile of SARDINIA fell to his lot: and where the other Prætors be-torinsarforchim had put the countrey to exceeding great charge, to furnish them with tents, bedding, clothes, and fuch like stuffe, and burthened them also with a maruellous traine of servants and their friends that waited on them, putting them to great expense in feasing and banqueting of them: Cate in contrary manner brought downeall that excelle and superfluitie, vnto a maruellous neare and vncredible fauing. For when he went to vifite the cities, he came on footeto cates them, and did not put them to a peny charge for himselfe: and had onely one officer or bailiffe of the state that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine in his circumstance. to the gods in his facrifices. But though he came thus fimply to the subjects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed himselfe seuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iu- catter seftice:and spared no man, in any commandement of service for the state, and commimonwealth: for he was therein so precise, that he would not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vnder his gouernement, both to loue and feare the Empire of Rome, more then euer they had before as appeareth plainely by the manner both of his spea- career king and writing:because it was pleasant and yet graue: sweete and searcfull:merry and seuere, speed and seurentious and ver samiliar, such as is meete to be speed. And he was to be compared the mining. fententious and yet familiar, such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared vnto Socrates: who (as Plato faith) at the first fight was a plaine simple manto them that knew him The praise but outwardly, orelfe a pleasant taunter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and of Suraire, found him throughly, they saw he was full of graue sentences, goodly examples, and wise perfwafions, that he could make men water their plants that heard him, &leade them as he would by the care. Therefore I cannot fee any reason that moues men to say, Cate had Lysias grace and vtterance. Notwithstanding, let vs referre it to their judgements that make profession to discerne Oratours graces and filles: for my part I shall content my selfeto write at this present, only certaine of his notable sayings and sentences, perswading my self that mens maners are better discerned by their words, then by their lookes, and so do many thinke. On a time seeking to diffwade the people of Rome, which would needes make a thankefull distribution of corne vnto enery citizen, to no purpose, he beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a hard caten say. thing (my Lords of Rome) to bring the belly by perswasions to reason, that hath no cares. ing.

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And another time, reprouing the ill gouernment of the city of Rome, he faid: it was a hard thing to keepe vp that state, where a litle fish was fould dearer then an Oxe. He said also that the Ro-MAINES were like a flocke of sheepe for faith he, as every Weather when he is alone, doth not obey the shepheard, but when they are altogether they one follow another for loue of the formost euen so are you for when you are together, you are all contented to be led by the noses by fuch, whose counsell not a man alone of you would vie in any private cause of your owne. And talking another time of the authoritie the women of Rome had ouer their husbands, he faid: other men commanded their wives, and we command men, and our wives command vs. But this last of all he borrowed of Themistocles pleasant sayings. For his sonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day: The ATHENIANS command all GRECE, I command the ATHENIANS, you command me, and your fonne ruleth you. I prayyoutherefore bid him vse the liberty he hath with some better discretion, soole and asse as he is. fithence he can do more by that power and authoritie, then all the GRECIANS besides. He faid also that the people of Rome did not only delight in diverse forts of purple, but likewise in diverse sort soft exercises. For said he, as diverse comonly die that colour they see best esteemed and is most pleasant to the eye: euen so the lusty youthes of Rome do frame themselves to such exercise, as they see your selues most like and best esteeme. He continually aduised the Ro-MAINES, that if their power and greatnesse came by their vertue and temperance, they should take heed they became no changelings, nor waxe worfe; and if they came to that greatnesse by vice and violence, that then they should change to better, for by that meanes he knew very well they had attained to great honour and dignity. Again he told them, that fuch as fued ambitioufly to beare office in the commonwealth, and were common futers for them, did feeme to be afraid to lose their way, and therefore would be sure to have others and sergeants before them, to flew them the way, left they should lose themselves in the city. He did reproue them also, that often chose one man to continue one office still: for it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your officers, or that you have not many choice men you think worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that led a maruellous wicked and an abhominable life, of whom he was wont to fay, that when his mother prayed vnto the gods that she might leaue her sonne behind her, she did not thinke to pray, but to curse: meaning to have him live for a plague to the world. And to another also that had vnthriftily sold his lands which his father had left him, lying vpon the sea side, he pointed vnto them with his finger, & made as though he wondred how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger then the sea: for that which the sea hardly cofumeth and eateth out by litle and litle a long time, he had confumed it all at a chappe. Another time, when king Eumenes was come to Rome, the Senate entertained him maruellous honourably, and the noblest citizens did striue, enuying one another, who should welcome him best. But Cate in contrary maner shewed plainely, that he did suspect all this feasting and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friends told him, I maruell why you flie from king Eumenes company, that is so good a Prince, and loues the Romains so wel: Yea, said he, let it be so, but for all that, a king is no better then a rauening beast that liues of the prey: neither was there euer any king fo happie, that deserved to be compared to Epaminondas, to Pericles, to Themissocles, nor to Manius Carius, or to Hamylear, surnamed Barca. They say his enemies did malice him, because he vsed commonly to rise before day, and did forget his owne businesse to follow matters of state. And he affirmed that he had rather lose the reward of his well doing, then not to be punished for doing of euill; and that he would be are with all other oftaiorsanta fending ignorantly, but not with himselfe. The Romaines, having chosen on a time three aff foref. Ambaffadors to fend into the Realme of BYTHINIA, one of them having the goute in his feet, the other his head full of curs and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: Cato laughing, fay, roder. faid, the Romains fent an Ambaffade that had neither feet, head nor heart. Scipio fued once to Cate at Polybius request, about those that were banished from Achaia. The matter was argued , afterwards in the Senate, and there fellout diuers opinions about it. Some would have had them restored to their countrey and goods againe : other were wholly against it. So Cato rising vpat the last, said vnto them: It seemes we have little else to do when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these old GRECIANS, whether the ROMAINES OF the ACHA-TANS shall burie them. In the end, the Senate tooke order they should be restored vnto their country againe. Wherupon Polybius thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the

So Cato knew it. But Paccus being affraid to come neare his master, hanged himselse: and then

banished men whom they had restored by their order, might enjoy their former estates and honours in Achara, they had at the time of their banishment; but before he would moue the suite unto the Senate, he would feele Catees opinion first, what he thought of it. Who answered him. fmiling: Me thinkes Polybius thou art like Vly fes, that when he had scaped out of Cyclons caue the Giant, he would needs go thither againe, to fetch his hat and girdle he had left behind him there. He faith alfo, that wife men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wife men. For wife men faith he, do fee the faults fooles commit, and can wifely avoide them ! but fooles neuer studie to follow the example of wife mens doings. He said also that he ener liked voung men better that blushed, then those that ever looked whitely; and that he would not have Bloghing in him for a fouldier, that wags his hand as he goeth, remoues his feete when he fighteth and rowteth and snorteth louder in his sleepe, then when he cryeth our to his enemie. Another time when he would taunt a maruellous fat man: See, faith he, what good can fuch a body do to the commonwealth, that from his chinne to his codpeece is nothing but belly & And to another man that was given to pleasure, and defired to be great with him! My friend faid Cate, as refufing his acquaintance: I cannot live with him that hath better judgement in the palate of his mouth, then in his heart. This was also his saying, that the soule of a lover, lived in anothers bodie. And that in al his life time he repented him of three things. The first was if that he ever told limeth in fecret to any woman the fecond, that euer he went by water, when he might hauegone by land: the third that he had bene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious old man, he would fay to reproue him: O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it. helpe it not besides with your vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the people that was suspected to be a poyforer, and would needs paffe fome wicked law by voice of the people, he would fav: O yong man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drinke the drugges thou givest, or to receive the lawes thou offerest. Another time, being reuiled by one that led a lewd and naughrie life:Go thy way, faid he, I am no man to foold with thee; for thou art fo vsed to reuile, and to be reuiled, that it is not dainty to thee; but for my felfe, I neuer vie to heare feolding, and much leffe delight to feold. These behis wife sayings we find written of him, whereby we may the easilier coniecture his manners and nature. Now when he was chosen Confull with his friend Valerius Cate and Flacens, the gouernment of Spaine fell to his lot, that is on this fide of the river of BETIS. So Flacens Cato having fuddued many people by force of armes, & won others also by friendly means: for confete. dainly there came a maruellous great army of y barbarus people, against him, & had enuironed career de. him fo, as he was in maruellous danger, either shamefully to be taken prisoner, or to be flaine in the field. Wherefore he fent prefently vnto the CBLTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbors vnto the marches where he was. Thefe CELTIBERIANS did aske him two hundred talents to come and helpe him: but the ROMAIN's that were about him, could not abide to hire the barbarous peopleto defend them. Then Cate told them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonor vnto them. For said he, if the field be ours, then we shall pay their wages we promifed, with the spoile and money of our enemies; and if we lose it, then our selues and they lye by it, being left neither man to pay nor yet any to aske it. In the end he wan the battell, after a fore conflict, and after that time he had maruellous good fortune. For Polybius writeth, that all the wals of the cities that were on this fide the river of B # r1 s, were by his commandement razed in one day, which were many and full of good fouldiers. Himfelfe writeth, that he tooke moe cities in Spaine, then he remained there dayes: and it is no vaine boast, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of them. Now, though the fouldiers under him had gotten well in this journey, and were rich, yet he caused a pound weight of filuer to be giuen to euery fouldier besides: saying he liked it better that many should returne home with filuer in their purses, then a few of them with gold onely. But for himselfe he affirmed: that of Catenabe all the spoile gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thing, saving that which he took in meate finance and drinke. And yet faid he, I speake it not to reproue them that grow rich by such spoiles: from spoiles: but because I would contend in vertue rather with the best, then in money with the richest, or in couctousnesse with the most auaritious. For not onely he himselfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his Officers also under him kept the same course. In this Spanish iourney, he he had fine of his fernants with him, whereof one of them called Pacens, brought three young boyes that were taken in the warres, when the spoile was fould to them that would give most.

MARCUS CATO.

placed in

Cate fold the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treasurie chests of sauing Differd be. at Rome. Now while Cate was in Spaine, Scipio the Great that was his enemie, and fought to hinder the course of his prosperity, and to have the honour of conquering all the rest of and Scipio. Spaine, he made all the friends he could to the people, to be chosen in Catoes place. He was no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible speede he could to be gone, that he might make Catoes authority ceasie the sooner. Cato hearing of his hastie coming, tooke onely fine enfignes of footemen, and fine hundred horfemen to attend vpon him home: with the which, in his journy homeward, he ouercame a people in Spaine called the LACETANI-ANS, and tooke fixe hundred traitours also that were fled from the Romaine's campe to their enemies, and did put to death enery mothers child of them. Scipio storming at that, said Cato did him wrong. But Cate to mocke him finely, faid: It was the right way to bring Rome to flourish, when noble borne citizens would not suffer meane borne men, and vostarts as himselfe was, to go before them in honour: and on the other fide when meane borne men would contend in vertue, with those that were of noblest race, and farre about them in calling. For all that, when Caiv came to Rome, the Senate commanded that nothing should be changed nor altered otherwise, then Cato had appointed it, whilest he was in his office. So that the gouernement for which scipio made fuch earnest fute in Spain , was a greater disgrace vnto him, then it was vnto Cato: because he passed all his time and office in peace, having no occasion offeredhim to do any notable feruice worthy memorie. Furthermore, Catoafter he had beene Confull, and had granted to him the honourto triumph, did not as many others do, that feeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honour and dignitie; who, when they have bene called to the highest offices of state, as to be Consuls, and have also granted them the honour to triumph, do then leaue to deale any more in matters of state, and dispose themselues to line merily and quietly at home and not to trouble themselues any more. Now Cate farre otherwise be-Caren affer haued himselfe: for he would neuer leaueto exercise vertue, but began afresh, as if he had bene a yong nouice in the world, and as one greedy of honour and reputation, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his friends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their causes for them that required his counsell, and go with his friends also into the warres : as he went with Tiberius Sempronius the Consull, and was one of the Lieutenants at the conquest of the country of THRACE, and ynto the provinces adioyning to the river of Danv By vpon those marches. After that, he was in GR BC B also, Colonell of a thousand footemen, under Manius Aquilius, against king Antiochus surnamed the Great, who made the Romaines so much affraid of him, as euer they were of enemy, but Hannibal. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of Asia, which Selencus Nicanor enioyed before, and had subdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was so proud hearted, as he would needs have wars with the Romains, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest shew and pretence of warres, faying it was to fet the GRECIANS at liberty, who had no cause thereof, considering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of king Philip, and of the MACEDONIANS, through the goodnes of the Romaines. Notwithstanding, he came out of Asia into Grece with a maruellous great army, and all Grece was straight in armes and in wonderfull danger, because of the great promises and large hopes the governours of diuerse cities (whom the king had wonne and corrupted with money) did make vnto him. Whereupon Manius dispatched Ambassadours vntothecity, and sent Titus Quintus Flaminius among others, who kept the greatest part of the people from rebelling (that were easily drawn to giue care to this innouation) as we have expressed more amply in his life: And Caso being sent Ambassadour also, perswaded the Corinthians, those of Patras, and the Egrans, and made them sticke still to the Romain es, and continued a long time at Athens. Some say they find an oration of his written in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their auncestours: wherein he said, he tooke great pleasure to see Athens, for the beauty and statelinesse of the citic. But this is false: for hespake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he could have vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had bene disposed but he did like the lawes and customes of his own country, and the Komaine tongue so well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did

once mocke Posthumius Albinus, who wrote an history in the Greek tongue, praying the readers

in his preface to beare with him, if they found any imperfection in the tongue: Mariefaid Ca- Cate more, in his preface to Beare with him, it they found any imperfection further tongue: Marterial Carbon his he had deferued pardon indeede; if he had beene forced to have written his storie in the miss Albimius Albim Greeke tongue, by order of the states of GRECE, called the councel of the Amphictyons. They fay the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his ready tongue. For what he had vttered quickly in maint for few words vnto the interpreter, the interpreter was driven to deliver them againe with great for what is the words with great for which a few words vnto the interpreter, the interpreter was driven to deliver them againe with great for its like circumstances & many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS words Grake lay all in their lippes, and the Romaines words in their heads. Now king Antiochus kept all King Antithe straights and narrow passages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinary ochos arm). way and entrie into GRECE) and had fortified them aswell with an army that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as also with walls and trenches he had made by hand, besides the naturall strength and fortification of the mount it selfe in fundry places : and so he determined to remaine there, trufting to his owne strength and fortifications aforesaid, and to turne the force of the warres some other way. The ROMAINS also they dispaired vtterly they should be able any way to charge him before. But Catoremembring with himselfe the compasse the Persi- caton do-ANS had fetched about before time likewise to enter into GRECE, he departed one night from ingraging the campe with part of the army: to proue if he could find the very compasse about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the mountaine, their guide that was one of the prisoners taken in the countrey, lost his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruellous steepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore fouldiers were in maruellous ill taking. Cato feeing the danger they were brought into by this lewd guide, commanded all his fouldiers not to stir a foote from thence, and to tarrie him there : and in the meane time he went himselse alone, and Liscius Manlius with him, (a lustie man, and nimble to clime voon the rockes) and so went forward at aduenture, taking extreme and vncredible paines, and in much danger of his life, grabbling all night in the darke without Moone light, through wild Oliue trees, and high rockes (that let them they could not see before them, neither could tell whither they went) vntill they stumbled at the length vpon a litle path way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they fet vp certaine markes and tokens, vpon the highest toppes of the rockes they could choose, by view of eye to be discerned furthest off vpon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had Mount done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the fouldiers, whom they led towards the marks Callidro. they had fet vp: vntill at the length they found their path-way againe, where they put their fouldiers in order to march. Now they went not farre in this path they found, but the way failed them straight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worse case then before, and ingreater feare, not knowing they were so nearetheir enemies, as indeed they were. The day beganne to breake a litle, and one of them that marched foremost, thought he heard a noise, and that he faw the GREEKE's campe at the foote of the rockes, and certaine fouldiers that kept watchthere. Whereupon Gato made them stay, and willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, because he had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commandement. They were with him at a trice, to know his pleasure: so Cato said vnto them: My fellowes, I must have some of our enemics taken prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that passage, what number they be, what order they keepe, how they are camped and armed, and after what fort they determine to fight with vs. The way to worke fouldiers. this feate standeth upon swiftnesse and hardinesse to runne upon them sodainely, as Lyons do,

which being naked feare not to runne into the middest of any heard of fearefull beasts. He had

their small number, as also for theill order they kept: he made the trumpets sound straight, and

his fouldiers to march in battell with great cryes, himselfe being the foremost man of all his

no sooner spoken these words, but the FIRMANIAN souldiers beganne to runne downe the Thebildmountaines as they were, you those that kept the watch; and so setting vponthem, they being reliant at out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man prisoner. When they had him, they sumps of straight brought him vnto Cato, who by oth of the prisoner, was aduertised how that y strength Catoes Sailof their enemies army was lodged about the person of the King, within the straight and valley distr. of the faid mountaine; and that the fouldiers they faw, were fixe hundred Atolians, all braue sifed of the fouldiers, whom they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer King frength of Antiochus campe. When Cato had heard him, making small account of the matter, as well for the same.

troupe, with a fword drawne in his hand. But when the ÆTOLIANS faw them coming

Catoes vitraife his

Manius (&

downe the rockes towards them, they began to flie for life vinto their great campe, which they tais receive filled full of feare, trouble, and all diforder. Now Manius at the fame prefent also, gaue an affault of therman vnto the walles and fortification the king had made overthwart the vallies and firaights of the Prus.

King Anti.

mountaines: at which assault king Antioebus selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake action boar forms of his prough selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake action boar forms of his prough selfer forms or the selfer forms of his prough selfer forms or the selfer forms or the selfer forms of his prough selfer forms or the selfer forms or the selfer forms of his prough selfer forms or the selfer f fome of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for very paine and anguish he felt, he turned his horse back, and got him behind the preasse. And then there were none of his army that made any more refishance, or that could abide the fiercenesse of the Romaines. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, because it was unpossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high rockes on the one fide of them, and with bogges and deepe marishes on the other fide, which they must needes fall into if their feete slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yetthey fell one vpon another in the straights, & ran so in heapes together, that they cast themfelues away, for feare of the Romaines I words that lighted vpon them in every corner. And there Marcus Cato, that never made ceremonie or nicenesse to praise himselfe openly, nor reckened it any shame to do it, did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out vponall victorie and king amio- famous exploits: and so did fer it out with all the oftentation and braue words he could give. For he wrote with his owne hands; and fuch as faw him chafe and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driven to fay, that Cato was not bound to the ROMAINES, but the ROMAINES bound vnto Cato. And then Manius the Confull felfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced Cato a great while, that was also hote with chasing of the enemic, and spake a. loude with great joy before them all that neither he nor the people of Rome could recopence Cato, for his valiant service that day. After this battell, the Confull Manius sent Cato to Rome, to be the messenger himselfe to report the newes of the victorie. So he imbarked incontinently es Rome to and had fuch a faire wind, that he paifed ouer the feas to BRINDES without any danger, and went from thence vnto Tarentym in one day, and from Tarentym in foure dayes moreto Reme, And so he came to Rome in five dayes after his landing in ITALY, and made such speed that himfelfe was indeed the first messenger that brought newes of the victory. Whereupon he filled all Rome with iou and facrifices, and made the Romaines so proud, that ener after they thought themselues able men to conquer the world both by sea and land. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble acts Cato did. But for his doings in civill policy and state, he seemed to be of his opinion: that to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good governour of the commonwealth could employ himselfe vnto: for he accused many & Subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be short, caroan at- he did alwaies stirre up some accuser, as he did Petilius against Scipio. But Scipio, by reason of his nobilitie, the greatnesse of his house, and the magnanimitie of his mind, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him; being out of all feare, they should be able to condemne him; and so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he joyned with other that accused Lucius Scipie, his owne brother, and followed the matter to fore against him. that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the common-wealth; who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people renoked his condemnation. It is faid that Cato coming through the market place one day, and meeting with a yong man by the way that had ouerthrowne his adversarie in fuite. and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame & foile before the people, he embraced him with a good countenance, and faid vnto him: Oh my fonne, facrifices that good children should offer to their fathers soule, be not lambs nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free himselfe from danger, in administration of the commonwealth. For if they could catch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemics straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of four escore yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted. That it was a harder thing to give vp an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongst whom he lived. And yet was not this the last fute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was fourescore and tenne yeares of age, he accufed Servius Galba. And thus he lived as Nestor, in manner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall fuite and action. For when he wrestled with the first scipio the African about matters of flate and common wealth, he went on vnto the time of the fecond, that was adopted by the first Scipioes sonne, the natural I sonne of Paulus Amylius, who ouercame Perseus, king of Machon.

Furthermore, Marcus Cato ten yeares after his Gonfulship, sued to be Censor, which was in Rome the greatest office of dignitie that any citizen of Rome could attaine varo and as a man Thedignity may fay, the roome of all glory and honor of their common wealth. For among other authorities, the Cenfor had power to examine mens lives and manners, and to punish every offendor, she cenfor. For the Romain's were of that mind, that they would not have men marry, beget children, live prinately by themselucs, and make seasts and bankets at their pleasure, but that they should stand in seare to be reproued and enquired of by the magistrate; and that it was not good to give every body liberty, to do what they would, following his owne lust and fancie. And they judging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other things that are openly done at noone dayes, & in the fight of the world, vsed to choose two Censors, that were two Surneyors of maners, to feethat enery man behaued himselfe vertuously, & gaue not themfelues to pleasure, nor to breake the lawes and customes of the common welth. These officers censors were called in their tong, Cenfores, and alwayes of custome, one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a commoner. These two had power and authority to disgrade a Knight, by taking away his horse, and to put any off the Senate, whom they saw liue dissolutely and disorderly. It was their officealfo, to feffe and rate every citizen according to the estimation of their goods to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of every man, & to keep books of them, befides many o. ther prerogatives they had belonging to their office. Therfore whe Catocameto fue for this office among other, the chiefest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very enuy, thinking it shame and dishonor to the Nobility, to suffer men that were meanely borne, and vp-tours and flarts (the first of their house and name, that cuer came to be are office in the state) to be called & Nobilitie preferred vnto their highest offices of state in all their comon wealth. Other also that were il liucrs, and knowing that they had offended the lawes of their country, they feared his cruelry too Carreffine. much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the law in his owne hands. So when they had confulted together about it, they did fet vp feuen competitors against him, who flattered the people with many faire words and promises, as though they had need of magistrates to vse them gently, and to do things for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shewing, no countenance that he would viethem gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for o rations, threatning those that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they must reforme their citie, and perswaded the people not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest Phisitions: and that himselfe was such a one as they needed, and among the PATRICIANS Valerius Flaceus another, in whose company he hoped (they two being chose Censors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burning and cutting off (like Hydraes heads) all vanitie and voluptuous pleasures, that were crept in amongst them; and that he saw well inough, how all the other futers fought the office by dishonest means, fearing such officers as they knew would deale instly and vprightly. Then did the people of Rome shew themselves nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refused not the sowernesse or seueritie of Cato, but rejected these meale-mouthed men, that feemed ready to pleafe the people in all things: and thereupon chose Gentler. Marcus Cato Censor, and Valerius Flaceus to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had bene present officer, and no suter for the office, being in themselves to give it to whom they cannot atta thought good. The first thing he did after he was stalled in his Censorship, was that he named in his Censorship. Lucius Valerius Flaccus his friend and fellow Cenfor with him, prince of the Senate: and among Cato pus many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate, he put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Se-Lucius nate, that had bene Confull scuen yeares before, and was brother also vnto Titus Quintius Flaminius that ouercame Philip king of MACEDON in battell, which was greater glorie to him, of the Sethen that he had bene Consull. But the cause why he put him off the Senate, was this: This Lu-nate. cius Quintius caried euer with him a young boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenance and credite vnto, as to any of his best familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned on a put Quin. time whilest Lucius Quintius was Consull and governor of a province, that he made a feast, time of the and this boy being face him the bo and this boy being fet at his table, hard by him, as his maner was, he began to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was pretily merrie: and foothing him, told him he loued him fo dearely, that vpon his departing from Rome, when y sword-players were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated swords, to shew the people pastime, he came his way, & left the fight of that he neuer faw, that was very desirous to have seen a man killed. The this Lucius Quinteus, to make him feethe like, faid care not for y fight thou hast lost, boy, for I wil let thee fee as much

Lucius Quintius

And when he had spoken these words, he commanded a prisoner condemned to die, to be ferched and brought into his hall before him, and the hang-man with his axe: which was forthwith done according to his commandement. Then asked he the boy, if he would straight indergel fee the man killed: Yea fir faid the boy: and with that he bade the hang-man strike off his head: Most writers report this matter thus: And Cicero to confirme it also, wrote in his booke de Semetinte, that the same was written in an oration Cato made before the people of Rome. Now Lucius Quintius being thus shamefully put off the Senate by Cato, his brother Titus being offended withall, could not tell what to do, but befought the people that they would command Cato to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereupon Cato openly

before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when Lucius denied it, affirming it was notfo: Cate would have him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But Lucius prayed them to pardon him, who faid he would not fweare: whereupon the people judged straight that he deserved well that shame. So not long after,

certainegames being shewed in the Theater, Lucius came thither, and passing beyond the ordinary placethat was appointed for those that had bene Consuls, he went to sit aloose off amongst the multitude. The people tooke piție on him, and made such ado about him, as they

forced him to rife, and to go fit among the other Senators that had bene Confuls: faluing the best they could, the sharne and dishonour happened vnto so noble a house. Caso put out of the Senate alfo, one Manlius, who was in great toward linesse to have bene made Consult the next yeare following, onely because he kissed his wifetoo louingly in the day time, and before his

daughter: and reproouing him for it, he told him, his wife neuer kissed him, but when it thundered. So when he was disposed to be merrie, he would say it was happy with him when suppler thundered. He tooke away Lucius Scipioes horse from him, that had triumphed for the victo-

ser.
Merry with ries he had wonne of the great King Antiochus: which wanne him much ill will, because it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare Scipio the African, that

was dead. But the thing that most grieued the people, of all other extremities he vsed, was his abandereth. putting downe of all feafts and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly seene in it, it was vnpossible, because it was so common athing, and enery man was giuen so to it. Therefore Cato to fetch it about indirectly, did praise enery citizens goods, and

rated their apparell, their coaches, their litters, their wines chaines and iewels, & alother moneables and houshold stuffe, that had cost aboue a thousand fine hundred Drachmes apeece, at ten

times as much as they were worth to the end that fuch as had bestowed their mony inthose curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for euery thousand Asses that those tri-

fling things were praised at, the owners thereof should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasurie to the end that they who were grieued with this taxe, and saw other pay lesse subsidie (that were as much worth as themselues, by liuing without, such toyes) might call home them-

felues againe: and lay afide fuch foolish brauery and finenesse. Notwithstanding Cato, was ennied euery way. First, of them that were contented to pay the taxe imposed, rather then they would leaue their vanitie; and next, of them also, that would rather reforme themselues, then pay

theraxe. And somethinke that this law was deuised rather to take away their goods, then to let Superfluons them to make any shew of them: & they have a fond opinion besides, that their riches are better

things rec scene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Whereat they say Aristotle the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things.

And Scopas the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar friends asked him, I know not what tri-

fling thing, and to make him grant it the fooner, told him it was a thing he might well spare, and ming thing, and to make him grant it the 100ner, told him it was a thing he might went part, and di intojes, did him no good. Mary faid he, all the goods I haue, are in fuch toyes as do me no good. So this

couetous desire we haue to be rich, cometh of no necessary desire in nature, but is bread in vs by a false opinion from the common fort. Now Caio caring least of all for the exclamations they

made against him, grew to be more straight and seuere. For he cut off the pipes and quils prinate men had made to conuey water into their houses and gardens, robbing the city of the water that

came from their common conduit heads, and did plucke downealfo mens porches that were made before their doores into the streete, and brought downe the prises of common workes in

the city, and moreouer raised the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could

MARCUS CATO. all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of most men. Wherefore Titus

Flaminius, and certaine other being bent against him in open Senate, caused all Catoes couenants and bargaines made with the mafter worke-man, for repairing and mending of the common buildings & holy places, to be made voide, as things greatly prejudiciall to the commonwealth. And they did also stirre up the boldest & rashest of the Tribunes of the people against him because they should accuse him vitto the people, and make request he might be condemned in the

fumme of two talents. They did maruelloufly hinder also the building of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate house; which vallace was finished notwithstanding, and called after his name, Basilica Porcia: as who would Basilica

fay, the pallace Porcius the Cenfor built. Howbeit it seemed the people of Rome didgreatly like by Cata, and commend his government in the Cenforship: for they set up a statue of him in the temple cateria. of the goddeffe of Health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumph, but only ingra- mage for pp

uedthis inscription word for word, to this effect by translation: For the honour of Marcus Cato ple of the

the Cenfor: because he reformed the discipline of the common wealth of Rom (that was farre goddelless out of order, and given to licencious life) by his wife precepts, good maners, and holy inflituti-

ons. Indeed, before this image was fet vp for him, he was wont to mockeat them that delighted, and were defirous of fuch things: faying they did not confider how they bragged in founders, sions,

painters, and image-makers, but nothing of their vertues; and that for himselfe, the people did alwayes cary lively images of him in their hearts, meaning the memorie of his life and doings.

When some wondered why diverse meane men and vnknowne persons had images set up of them, and there were none of him, he gaue them this answer: I had rather men should aske why

Cato had no image fet up for him, then why he had any. In the end, he would have no honest man hould are

abide to be praifed, vnleffe his praife turned to the benefit of the common wealth; and yet was bide to be he one of them that would most praise himselfe. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awrie, for the

and that men had gone about to reproue them, he would fay they were not to be blamed, for common they were no Catoes that did offend. And such as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and wealth.

came short of his manner, he called them left handed Catoes. He would say that in most dange-

roustimes the Senate vsed to cast their eyes vpo him, as passengers on the sea do looke vpon the master of the ship in a storme; and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put

ouer matters of importance, vntill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other as by himselfe. His authority was great in matters of state, for his wise-

dome, his eloquence, and great experience. Befides this commendation, they praifed him for what cate a good fatherto his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good fauer for his profit: for he

was neuer carelesse of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore me thinkes I must bis hops, needs tell you by the way some part of his well doing, to follow our declaration of him: First ground

of all he maried a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both would make and shile her proud and frout enough: but yet he thought the nobler borne, would be the more ashamed dren.

of difthonesty, then the meaner borne: and therefore they would be more obedient to their establishes husbands, in all honeft manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he said: that he that beate ble borne

his wife or his child, did commit as great a facriledge, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest things of the world; and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good husband then a velt was.

good Senatour. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of old So- Socrates crates, then his patience, in vling his wife well, that was luch a shrew, and his children that were fo hare-brained. After Catoes wife had brought him a fonne, he could not have fo earnest bearing

businesse in hand, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to with the go hometo his house, about the time his wife did vnswaddle the young boy to wash and shift of his wife.

him: for the gaueit fucke with her owne breafts, and many times would let the flaues chil- catoes wife

dren sucke of her also, because they might have a natural loue towards her sonne, having was murse to be owned. fucked one milke, and bene brought vp together. When his sonne was come to age of dis-

cretion, and that he was able to learne any thing, Cato himselfe did teach him, notwithstanding he had a flaue in his house called Chilo (a very honest man, and a good Grammarian) who chilo a

did also teach many other; but as hesaid himselfe, hedid not like a slaue should rebuke his Grammafonne, nor pull him by the cares, when peraduenture he was not apt to take very fodainely that "ian-

was taught him: neither would he have his sonne bound to a slaue for so great a matter as

that, as to have his learning of him. Wherefore he himselfe taught him his grammer, the law,

downe by

and to exercise his body, not onely to throw a dart, to play at the sword, to vawt, to ride a horse; brought ap and to handle all forts of weapons, but also to fight with fifts, to abide cold and heate, and to busonnein. swim ouer a swift running river. He said moreover, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his owne hand, because his son might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell the. He said also, that he tooke as great heed of speaking any foule or vncomely words before his son, as he would have done if he had bene before the Veitall Nunnes. He neuer was in the hot house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the Romaines at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathethemselues with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one another naked. But afterwards they having learned of the GREEKES to wash themselves naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe euen with their wives. There lacked no towardlinesse, nor good disposition in Catoes sonne, to frame himselfe vertuous for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himselfe willing to follow whatsoener his father had taught him. Howbeit he was fuch a weake puling, that he could not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painefull life, which himselfe had kept. Yet he became valiant in the warres. For he fought maruellous stoutly in the battell, in which Perfeus King of MACEDON was ouerthrowne by Paulus Amylius: where his fword being striken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweaty besides, he sell into a great fury, and prayed some of his friends to help him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vpon the enemics in that place where his fword fell out of his hand, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them; and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much ado, being vnder such an heape of dead bodies and other weapons as well Romaines as Macedonians, one lying on another. Paulus Amylius the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly commend the yong man. And at this day there is a letter extant from Cato to his fon, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recouering of his sword againe. Afterwards, this Cato the yonger maried Tertia, one of Paulus Æmylius daughters, and fifter vnto Scipio the second, and so was matched in this noble house, not only for his owne vertues sake, but for respect of his fathers dignitic and authority: whereby the great care, paines, and study that Cato the father took in bringing vp his sonne, in vertue & learning, was honourably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great number of young litle slaues which he bought, when any would fell their prisoners in the warres. He did chuse them thus young, because they were apt yet to learne any thing he would traine them vnto, and that a man might breake them like young colts, or little whelpes. But none of them all, how many socuer he had, did euer go to any mans house, but when himselfe or his wifedid fend them. If any manaske them what Cato did: they answered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or els they must sleepe:

Caro the maried Tertia Paulus Æmylius daugh. Scipio the fecund was **Æmylius** naturali, fanne. Catoes difcipline to for he loued them well that were fleepy, holding opinion that flaues that loued fleep were more his flanes. tractable and willing to do any thing a man would fet them to, then those that were waking. Catees opifleepy men.

then lust and defire of women: he was contented his flaues might company with his bondwomen in his house, for a peece of mony he appointed them to pay, but with straight commandement besides, that none of them should deale with any other woman abroad. At the first when he gaue himselfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his servants did about his person saying that it was a foule thing for a gentleman or nobleman, to fall out with his seruants for his belly. Afterwards as he rose to better state, & grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his friends and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he wold scourge the with whips & leather thongs, that had not waited as they should haue done at the boord, or had forgotte any thing he would haue had done. He would energraftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they should be friends, being euer iealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to die, he would put him to death before them all: Howbeit in his later time he grew greedy, & gaue vp his tillage, faying that it was bushasary more pleafant then profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his mony furely, and bring a certaine reuenueto his purse, he bestowed it vpon ponds, and naturall hote bathes, places fit for fullers craft; vpon medowes and pastures, vpon copiles and young wood; and of all these

And because he thought that nothing did more prouoke slaues to mischiese and naughtinesse,

he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would fay, Iupiter him felfe could not diminish. Furthermore he was a great vsurer, both by land and by sea; and the vsury he tooke cate a by fea, was most extreme of all other, for he vsed it in this fort, He would hauethem to whom he great offer they should have so many ships. Then he would venture among them for a part onely, whereof Quintius his slave whom he had manumissed, was made his factor, and vied to saile and trafof Quintius his slave whom he had manumissed, was made his factor, and vied to saile and trafof probability. ficke with the merchants, to whom he had lent his mony out to viury. And thus he did not venture all the mony he lent, but a litle peece onely for his part, and got maruellous riches by his v. furie. Moreouer he lent money to any of his flaues, that would therewith buy other yong flaues, whom they taught and brought vp to do feruice, at Catoes charge and coft; and then they fold them again at the yeares end, and fome of them Cato kept for his owne feruice, and gaue his flaues as much for them as any other offered. Therefore to allure his fon in like maner to make profit of his mony, he told him it was no wife mans part to diminish his substance, but rather the part of a widow. Yetthis was a token of a most greedy couetous mind, that he durst affirme him to be divine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimony more then his father left him. Furthermore, when Cato was growne very old, Carneades the ACADEMICK, and Diggenes the STOICKE, were fent from ATHENS as Ambassadors to Rome, to sue for a releafe of a fine of five hundred talents which they had imposed on the ATHENIAN'S vpon a condemnation passed against them for a contempt of appearance by the sentence of the Sicyont- corneades ANS, at the fuite of y Or op IANS. Immediatly when the fetwo philosophers were arrived in the use Philocity of Rome, the yong gentlemen that were given to their books, did visit and welcome them, sophers sent and gaite great reverence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to Carneader. Amballar whole grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse then the same ranne of him, Rome. & specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not fuppresse his praise. Rome straight was ful, as if a wind had blowne this rumor into euery mans earcithat there was a Grecian arrived, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence wold leade a man as he lift. There was no other talke a while through the whole citie, he had fo inflamed the yong gentlemens minds with love and defire to be learned; that all other pleafures and delights were let afide, and they disposed themselues to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophic, as if some secret and divine inspiration from about had procured them to it. Wherof the Lords and Senators of Rome were glad; and reioyced much to fee their youth fo well given to knowledge, and to the studie of the Greeke tongue, and to delight in the companie of these two great and excellent learned men. But Marcus Cato, even from the beginning that yong men began to study the Greeke tongue, & that it grew in estimation in Rome, did dislike led the of its searing less the youth of Rome that were desirous of learning and cloquence, would vetter. ly give over the honor and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he saw the estimation and same tongs. of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such fort that Caius Aquilius, one of the chiefest of the Senate made sure to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the city by fome honest meane and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambaffadours were long there and had not difpatch: confidering also they were cunning men, and could eafily perfwade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might persuade them to determine some answer for them, and so to send them home againe to their schooles, to teach their children of GRECE, and to let alone the children of Rom E, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any private ill will or malice he bare to Carneades, as some men thought but because he generally hated Philosophie, and of ambition despised the muses and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had said, the ancient Socrates was but a busie man, and a stirrer vp of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to viling tyranny and rule in his country: but peruerting and changing the manners and customes of the same, and alluring the subjects thereof to a disliking of their lawes and ancient customes. And he laughed at Socrates schoole, that taught the art of Eloquence: saying his schollers waxed old, and were still so long in learning, that they meant to vse their eloquence and pleade causes in another world before Minos, when they were dead. Therefore to plucke his sonne for the study of the Greeke tongue, he said to him with a strained voice, and in a bigger found then he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecie or inspiration)

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that fo long as the Romaines disposed themselves to study the Greeke tongue, so long would they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proued his vaine words false and vntrue. For the city of Rome did neuer flourish so much, nor the Romaine Empire was ever so great, as at that time, when learning and the Greeke tongue most flourished. Howbeit Cato did not onely hate the Philosophers of GRECE, but did mislike them also that professed phisicke in Rome. For he had either heard or read the answer Hippocrates made, when the King of PERSIA fent for him, and offered him a great fumme of gold and filter, if he would come and ferue him: who fware he would neuer ferue the barbarous people that were naturall enemies to the GRECIANS. So Cato affirmed it was an oath that all other Philitions sware ever after: wherefore he commanded his fonne to flie from them all alike, and faid he had written a little booke of phisicke, with the which he did heale those of his house when they were sicke, and did keepe them in health, when they were whole. He neuer forbade them to eate, but did alwayes bring them vp with hearbs, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringdoues and hares: for fuch meates. faid he are good for the fick, and light of digestion, saving that they make them dreame & fnort. that cate them. He boasted also how with this maner of phisicke, he did alwayes keepe himselfe in health, & his family from ficknesse. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife and his fonne also. But he himselfe was of a strong nature, and a lusty body, full of strength, & health, and lined long without sicknesses for that when he was a very old man and past mariage, he loued women well, and maried a yong maiden for that cause onely. After his first wife was dead, he maried his sonne vnto Paulus A Emylius daughter, the sister of Scipio, the second African. Cato himselfe being a widower, tooke paines with a prety your maide that waited in his house, and came by stealth to his chamber: howbeit his haunt could not long continue secret in his house, and specially where there was a young gentlewoman maried, but needs must be spied. So, one day when the young maid went somewhat boldly by the chamber of yong Cato, to go to his father, the yong man faid neuer a word at it: yet his father perceiued that he was somewhat ashamed, and gaue the maide no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his fonne and daughter in law were angry with the matter, faying nothing to them of it, nor shewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the market place (as his maner was with a trainethat followed him, amongst whom was one Salonius that had benehis clearke, and waited vpon him as the rest did. Cato calling him out aloud by his name, asked him if he had not yet bestowed his daughter. Salonius answered him, he had not yet bestowed her, nor would not before he made him privy to it. Then Caro told him againe: I have found out a husband for her, and a fonne in law for thee, and it will be no ill match for her vnleffe she mislike the age of the man; for indeed he is very old, but otherwise there is no fault in him. Salonius told him againe, that for that matter he referred all to him, and his daughter alfo, praying him euento make what match he thought good for her: for she was his humble seruant. and relyed wholly vpon him, standing in need of his fauour and furtherance. Then Cato began to discouer, and told him plainely he would willingly marrie her himselfe. Salonius therewith was abashed, because he thought Cato was too old to marrie then, and himselfe was no fit man to match in any honourable house, specially with a Consull, and one that had triumphed: howbeit in the end, when he faw Cato meant good earnest, he was very glad of the match, and fo with this talke they went on together to the market place, and agreed then you the mariage. Now while they went about this matter, Cato the sonne taking some of his kinne and friends with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thing, that for spite he should bring him a steppe-mother into his house. Then his father cried out, and faid: O my fonne, I pray thee fay not fo, I like well all thou doeft, and I find no cause to complaine of thee: but I doit, because I desire to have many children, and to leave many fuch like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some fay that Pififratus the tyrant of A-THENS, made fuch a like answer vnto the children of his first wife, which were men growne when he maried his second wife Timonassa, of the towne of Argos, of whom he had (as it is reported) lophon, and Theffalus. Butto returne againe to Cato, he had a fonne by his fecond wife, whomhe named after her name, Cato SALONIAN: and his eldest sonne died in his fen by her. office being Prætor, of whom he often speaketh in divers of his bookes commending him for a very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very patiently, and like a graue wise man, not leaving therfore to do any service or busines for the state, otherwise then he did before.

Catotali

Catest an-Cato mari daughter, ry old man

And therein he did not as Lucius Lucullus, and Metellus furnamed Pius, did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of government and state, after they were waxen old. For hethought it a charge and dutie, whereunto every honest man whilest he lived was bound in al piety. Nor as Scipio African had done before him, who perceiuing that the glory & fame of his doings did but purchase him the ill will of his citizens, he changed the rest of his life into quietnesse, and for sooke the city and all dealings in commonwealth, and went and dwelt in the countrey. But as there was one that told Diony fins the tyrant of Syracvsa, as it is written, that ting and he could not dye more honorably, then to be buried in the tyranny: euen fo did Cato thinke, that monuments. he could not waxe more honeftly old, then in feruing of the comonwealth vnto his dying day. So at vacant times, when Cato was defirous a litle to recreate and refresh himselfe, he passed his time away in making of bookes, and looking vpon his husbandry in the countrey. This is the cause why he wrote so many kinds of bookes and stories. But his till age and husbandry in the countrey, he did tend and follow in his youth, for his profite. For he faid he had but two forts of reuenue, tillage and sparing: but in age what source he did in the countrey, it was all for pleafure, and to learne fomething euer of nature. For he hath written a book of the country life, and of tillage, in the which he sheweth how to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe fruits: he would needs shew such singularitie and skill in all things. When he was in his house in the country, he fared a little better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and fuch as had land lying about him, to come and suppe with him, and he would be merry categories. with them: for that his company was not onely pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but pany pleafant and liking to old folkes as himselfe. alfoto the younger fort. For he had feene much, and had experience in many things, and vied much pleasant talke profitable for the hearers. He thought the boord one of the chiefest means your to breed loue amongst men, and at his ownetable would alwayes praise good men and vertuous The table 4 citizens, but would suffer no talke of euill men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is coprocure thought the last notable act and service he did in the common wealth, was the overthrow of lowe, and CARTHAGE: for indeed he that wan it & razed it vtterly, was Scipio the second, but it was chiefly through Catoes counsell and aduise, that the last warre was taken in hand against the CAR- be red. THAGINIANS, and chanced upon this occasion. Cato was sent into Africk & to understand the cause and controuersie that was betweene the CARTHAGINIAN'S and Massinissa, King of Nv- Catoda MIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was sent thither because King Massinisa therefile had ever bene a friend vnto the ROMAINES, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become tof wars their confederates fince the last warres, in the which they were ouerthrowne by Scipiothe first, Carthagiwho tooke for a fine of them a great part of their Empire, and imposed vpon them besides, a niam. great year ely tribute. Now when he was come into that country, he found not the city of Car-THAGE in misery, beggery, and out of heart, as the Romains supposed: but full of lusty youths, very rich and wealthy, and great store of armour and munition in it for the wars, so that by reafon of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high faile, and stooped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the Romain's to leaue to vnderstand the controuersies betwixt the Carthaginians and Massinissa, and ratherto provide betimes to destroy CARTHAGE, that hath euer bene an ancient enemie to the Romaines, and ener fought to be reuenged of that they had suffered at their hands before, and that they were now growneto that greatnes and courage in fo short time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the Romannes, as ever they did before. Therfore fo foone as he returned to Rome, he plainely told the Senate, that the losses and harmes the CARTHA-GINIAN'S had received by the last wars they had with them, had not so much diminished their power and strength, as the same had shewed their owne folly and lacke of wisdome: for it was to be feared much, lest their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakned them for the wars. And that they made warres now with the NVMIDIANS, to exercise them only, meaning afterwards to war with themselues: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission and stay of warres, only expecting time and oportunitie to breake with them againe. They say moreouer, that besides the perswassions he vsed, he brought with him of purpose AFRICKE figs in his long fleeues, which he shooke out among st them in the Senate: & when the Senators maruelled to fee fo goodly faire greene figges, he faid: The country that beareth them, is not about three dayes failing from Rome. But yet this is more strange which they report of himbesides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this

was ever the one end of his tale: Me thinketh still CARTHAGE would be veterly destroyed. Fublius Scipio Nasica, vsed euer in like maner the contrarie speech: that he thought it meete Can-THAGE should stand. This Publius Scipio saw, in my opinion, that the Romaines through their gaing Cates pride and infolencie were full of abfurdities, and caried themselues very high, by reason of their forthede: happy successe and victories, and were so lostie minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them:
frequing of carthage. and that by reason of their great authority, they imagined they might bring their citie to what height they would. Therfore he spake it that the scare of CARTHAGE might alwaies continue as a bridle, to raine in the insolencie of the people of Rome, who knew wellenough, that the CARTHAGINIAN'S Were of no sufficient power to make wars with the Romaines, nor yet to ouercome them: and even fo were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all. Cato still replied to the contrary, that therinconsisted the greatest danger of all that acity which was euer of great forceand power, and had bene punished for former warres and miserie, would alwayes have an eye of reuenge to their enemies, and be much like a horse that had broken his haltar, that being vnbridled, would run vpon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor found aduice, so to suffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward danger, and the feare they flood in to lofe their conquest: and specially, when they left meanes within the citie selfe to fall still again to their former quest: and specially, when they left meanes within the citie selfe to fall still again to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose Cato was the occasion of the third and last war the Romaines had against the Carthaginians. But now when the warre was begun, Cato died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would fay, who it should be that should end those wars. And it was Scipio the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge onely as a Colonel ouer a thousand footmen; but in all battels, and wheresoeuer there was wars, he fhewed himselfe euer valiant and wise. Insomuch as newes being brought thereof continually Vnto Rome, and Cato hearing them, spake (as they say) these two verses of Homer:

This onely man right wife reputed is to be, All other seeme but shadowes, set by such wise men as he.

Which prophecie Scipio soone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreouer, the issue Cato left behind him, was a fonne he had by his fecond wife: who was called (as we faid before) Cato San LONIAN, by reason of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldest son that died before

him. This Cato SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a sonne behind him that came to be Confull, and was grandfather vnto Cato the Philosopher, one of the most vertuous men of his time.

THE



THE COMPARISON OF Aristides with Marcus Cato.



OW that we have fet downe in writing, these notable and worthie Arifides things of memorie : if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhaps the difference betweene the one and the other the comwill not easily be discerned, seeing there be so many similardes and re- mon wilsh. semblances one of another. But if we come to compare them in euery particularitie, as we would do Poets workes, or pictures drawne in tables: first, in this we shall find them much alike, that having had nothing else to preferre and commend them, but their onely vertue and

wisedome, they have bene both governours in their common wealth. and have thereby atchieued to great honour and estimation. But me thinkes when Aristides came to deale in matters of state, the common wealth and Seigniorie of ATHENS being then of nogreat power, it was easie for him to aduance himselse, because the other Gouernours and Captaines of his time, and that were competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authoritie. For the taxe of the richest persons then at Athens in revenue, was but at five hundred bushels of corne and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni. The second taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushels, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where Marcus Caso coming out of a litle village from a rude countrey life, went at the first dash (as it were) to plunge him. felscinto a bottomlesse sea of gouernment in the common wealth of Rome: which was not ruled then by fuch governours and Captaines, as Curius Fabricius, and Oftilius werein old time. For the people of Rome did no more bestow their offices vpon such meane labouring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they would looke now vpon the nobilitie of their houses, and voon their riches that gauethem most money, or sued earnestly to them for the office. And by reason of their great power and authority, they would be waited vpon and sued vnto, by those that sought to beare the honourable offices of the state and commonwealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to have Themistocles an adversary and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goods his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fine hundred talents, when he began to deale in state) in respect as to contend for the chiefest place of honour and authority against Scipio African, Seruilius Galba, or Quintius Flaminius, having no other maintenance, nor helpe to trust vnto, but a tongue speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnesse. Moreouer, Aristides at the battels of Marathon, and of Platæes, was but one of the ten captaines of the Athenians: where Cato was chosen one of two Consulsamong many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seven other that made suite for it, which were all men of great reputation in the city, and yet was Cato preferred before them all. Furthermore, Arifides was neuer

ARISTIDES AND CATO

the chiefest in any victory. For atthe battell of MARATHON, Militades was the Generall; and at the battell of Salamina, Themistocles: and at the journey of Plat Ees, king Pausamas as Herodotus fai.h, who writeth that he had a maruellous victory there. And there were that strined with Aristides for the second place, as Sophanes, Amynias, Gallimachus, and Cynegirus, enery one of the which did notable valiant feruice at those battels. Now Cato was Generall himselfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthinesse and counsell, during the warre he made in Spaine while he was Confull. Afterwards also in the journey where king Antiochus was ouerthrowne in the countrey of THERMOPYLES, Cate being but a Colonell of athousand footmen, and serving vnder another that was Confull, wanne the honour of the victory, when he did suddenly set vpon Antiochus behind, whereas helooked only to defend himselfe before. And that victory without all doubt was one of the chiefest acts that ever Cato did, who drave As IA out of GRECE, and opened the way vnto Lucius Scipio to paffe afterwards into Asia. So then for the wars, neither the one nor the other of them was ever overcome in battell: but in peace and civill government, Aristides was supplanted by Themissacles, who by practise got him to be banished Athens foratime. Whereas Cate had in manner all the greatest and noblest men of Rome that were in dipleasure histime, sworne enemies vnto him and having alwayes contended with them even to his last houre, he euer kept himselfe on sound ground, like a stout champion, and neuer tooke sall nor foile. For he having accused many before the people, and many also accusing him, himself was neuer once condemned, but alwaies his tongue was the buckler and defence of his life and innocencie. Which was to him so necessary a weapon, and with it he could helpe himselfe in so great matters, that (in my opinion) it was the only cause why he neuer received dishonor, nor was vninfly condemned: rather then for any thing else he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truly, cloquence is a fingular gift, as Amipater witneffeth, in that he wrote of Ariffeele the Philosopher after his death: saying that amongst many other singular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could perfwade what he listed. Now there is a rule confessed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a citie: a part whereof is Oeconomia, commonly called house-rule, considering that a city is no other, then an assembly of many housholds and houses together; and then is the city commonly strong and of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wife and wealthy. Therefore Lycurgus that banished gold and filuer from Laced Emon, and covined them mony of iron, that would be marred with fire and vinegar when it was hote, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not only cut off all superfluous expences that commonly waite vpon riches, but did also prouide that his people should lacke nothing necessary to line withall, fearing more to see a begger and needy person dwelling in his city, and enion the priniledges of the same, then a proud man by reason of his riches. So me thinks, Cato was as good a father to his houshold, as he was a good gouernour to the commonwealth: for he did honestly increase his goods, and did teach other also to do the same, by sauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof in his booke he wrote fundry good rules and precepts. Aristides contrariwise, made instice odious and slanderous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans selfe that vsed instice. And yet Hesiodus the Poet, that commendeth instice so much, doth wishvs withall to be good husbands, reprouing floth and idlenesse, as the roote and original of all iniustice. And therefore me thinkes Homer spake wisely when he said:

In times past, neither did I labour, carke nor care For bufinesse, for family, for food, nor yet for fare: But rather did delight, with ships the seaes to saile. To draw abow, to fling a dart in wars, and to prenaile,

As giving vs to vnderstand, that instice and husbandry are two relatives, and necessarily linked one to the other: & that a man who hath no care of his owne things nor house, doth live vniustly, and taketh from other men. For inflice is not like oyle, which Phistions say is very wholsome for mans body, if it be applied outwardly and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke it neither oughtainst man to profit strangers, & in the end not to care for himself nor his. Therefore me thinkes this gouerning vertue of Arifides had a fault in this respect, if it be true that most Authors write of him: that he had no care nor forecast with him to leaue so much, asto marry

his daughters withall, nor wherewith to bury himselfe. Where those of the house of Cato, continued Prætors and Confuls of Rome, euen vnto the fourth descent. For his sons sonnes, and yet lower, his sonnes sons sons came to the greatest offices of dignitie in Rome. And Aristides, who was in his time the chiefest man of GRECE, left his posterity in so great pouerty, that some were whether was in his time the effects that for GREEF stern in potenty in to great potenty that form were some fled to become foothfayers (that interpret dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy thing. him. But to cotrary this, it might be faid pouerty of it felf, is neither ill nor dishonest; but where it groweth by idlenesse, carelesse life, vanity and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth vpon any man that is honest, & liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iust, valiant, wise, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great figne of a noble mind: for it is vnpoffible that man should do any great things, that had such a base mind as to thinke alwaies vpon trifles; and that he should releeue the poore greatly, that lacketh himselfe reliefe in many things. And fure, riches are not so necessary for an honest man that will deale truely in the commonwealth, and gouernement, as is sufficiency: which being a contentation in it selfe, and desirous of no fuperfluous thing, it never withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the common wealth, that enjoyeth the fame. For God is he alone, who fimply and abfolutely hath no need of any thing at all: wherefore the chiefest vertue that can be in man, that cometh nearest vnto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to haue need of least things. For like as a lufticbody, and well complexioned, hath no need of superfluous fare and curious apparell: euen fo a cleane life, and found house, is kept with a litle charge; and fo should the goods also be proportioned, according to vie and necessitie. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no defire to spend much, then he is a foole to travell to get more then he needeth; and if he do defire it, and dare not for niggardlinesse spend part of that he laboureth for, then he is miserable. Now would I aske Cate with a good will, if riches be made but to vsethem, why doe you boast then you have gotten much together, when a litle doth suffice you. And if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you find, to drinke of the same tappe workmen & labourers do, not to care for purple died gownes, nor for houses with plastered walls: it followeth then that neither Aristides, nor Epaminodas, nor Manius Curius, nor Caius Fabritius, have forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not vsenor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed rootes and parsenips to be one of the best dishes in the world, and that did seeth them himselfe in his chimney, whilest his wife did bake his bread, to talke so much of an Asse, and to take paines to write, by what art and industrie a man might quickly inrich himself. For it is true, that fufficiencie and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thing: but it is because it taketh from vs all defire of vnnecessary things, and maketh vs not to passe for them. And therefore we find that Arifides said, when rich Callias case was pleaded, that such as were poore against their wills, might well be ashamed of their pouerty; but such as were willingly poore had good cause and might justly rejoyce at it. For it were a mad part to thinke that Aristides pouerty proceeded of a base mind and flouthfulnes, since he might quickly haue made himfelfe rich without any dishonestie at all, by taking onely the spoile of some one of the barbarous people whom he had ouercome, or any one of their tents. But enough for this matter, Further- wiether more, touching the victories and battels Cato had won, they did in maner litle helpe to increase the Empire of Rom B: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no greater. But Aristides cases did victories are the greatest conquest and noblest acts that the GRECIANS euer did in any wars:as most benethe lourny of Marathon, the battel of Salamina, & the battel of Plat Es. And yet there country. is no reason to compare king Antiochus with king Xerxes, northe walles of the city of Spaine which Cate ouerthrew and razed, vnto so many thousands of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrown and put to the fword by the GRECIANS, as well by land as by sea. In all which feruices, Arifides was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valiantnesse in fighting: not withstanding he gaue other y glory of it, that defired it more then himselfe, as he did easily leave the gold & filuer vnto those that had more need of it then himself. Wherein he shewed himself of a nobler mind then all they did. Furthermore, for my part, I wil not reproue Catoes maner, to commend & extoll himselfso highly aboue all other, since he himself saith in an orationhe made that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himself but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect that defireth other should not praise him, then he that comonly doth vie to praise him-

Ambition 1 harefull

felfe. For not to be ambitious, is a great flew of humanitie, and necessary for him that will liue amongst men of gouernment; and euen so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuie vnto him that is infected withall. Of the which Arifides was cleare, and Cato farre gone in it. For Athing in the ristides did helpe Themistocles his chiefest enemie, in all his noblest acts, and did serue him (as a man would fay) like a private fouldier that guarded his person, when Themistocles was Generall, being the onely instrument and meane of his glory: which was indeed the onely cause that the city of ATHENS was faued, and restored again to her former good state. Cato contrariwise, croffing Scipio in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and iourney vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame Hannibal, who untill that time was ever invincible; and so in the end. continuing him still in icalousie with the state, and euer accusing of him, he neuer left him till he had driven him out of the citie, and caused his brother Lucius Scipio to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperancy & modefly which Cate did euer commend so highly, Aristides truly kept them most fincerely. But Catoes second red for his wife, who maried a maid (that was neither fit for his dignitie and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a letcherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he cannot be excused with honestic, that being a man past mariage, brought his sonne that was maried, and his faire daughter in law, a step-mother into his house, and but a Clerks daughter, whose father did write for mony, for any man that would hire him. Take it Cato maried her to satisfie his lust. or else for spite to be reuenged of his son, because his son could not abide his young filth he had before: either of these turneth stil to his shame, as well the effect as also the cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his sonne why he maried, was a lye. For if he had grounded his desire in-

toone after, that had bene of an honest house; and not to have lyen with a young harlatry filth. till his sonne had spied him; and then when he saw it was knowne, to go and mary her, and to make alliance with them, not because it was honourable for

deed, to have gotten other children, as he said, that might be as honest man as his eldest sonnes then furely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him another wife

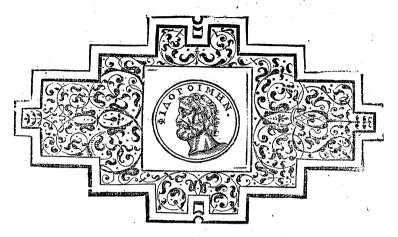
him to do it, but easiest tobe obtained.

The end of Marcus Catoes life the Cenfor.

THE



THE LIFE OF Philopamen.



N the citie of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called Caffander, one that was as nobly borne & of as great authoritie in gouernment there, as any man of his time what soeuer. Not with standing, Fortune frowned on him in the end, infomuch as he was driven out of his country, & went to lie in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto Crausis, Philopemens father, a rare man, and nobly given crause, in all things, and one that loued him also very well. Now so long as men fa-Crausis lived, Cassander was so well vsed at his hands, that he could lack ther. nothing: and when he was departed this world, Cassander, to requite cassander, the love Crausis bare him in his life time, tooke his sonne into his charge, being an orphane, and Phlese

taught him, as Homer said Achilles was brought vp by the old Phanix. So this child Philopamen messchooles master. grew to have noble conditions, & increased alwayes from good to better. Afterwards, when he

came to grow to mans state, Ecdemus and Demophanes, both MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke Ecdensus him into their gouernment. They were two Philosophers that had bene hearers of Arcefilaus in and remothe schoole of Academia, and afterwards employed all the Philosophie they had learned, upon Philosophie their gouerning of the common welth, and dealing in matters of state, as much or more, then so chilopaany other men of their time. For they delinered their city from the tyrannie of Aristodemus, who keptitin subjection, by corrupting those that killed him. And they did helpe Aratus also to drive the tyrant Nicocles, out of Sicyone. At y request of the Cyrenians, that were troubled with ciuil diffention & factions among them, they went vnto CYRENA, where they did reforme the state of the common wealth, and stablished good lawes for them. But for the selues, they reckoned the education and bringing vp of *Philopamen*, the chiefest act that ever they did is udging that they had procured an vniversall good vnto all Grece, to bring vpa man of so noble a nature, in

the rules & precepts of Philosophy. And to fay truly, GRECE did loue him passingly wel, as the philosophy. last valiant man she brought forth in her age, after so many great and famous ancient captaines: monthelast and did alwayes increase his power and authority, as his glory did also rise. Whereupon there was a Romaine, who to praise him the more, called him the last of the Grecians: meaning Green, that after him, GRECE neuer brought forth any worthy person, deseruing the name of a GRE-CIAN. And now concerning his person, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had: for his whole image is yet to be seene in the city of Dalphes, excelletly weldone, as if he were aline.

men taken wing man,

And for that they report of his hostesse in the citie of MEGARA, who tooke him for a seruing man: that was by reason of his courtesse, not standing vpon his reputation, and because he went plainly besides. For she understanding that the General of the Achaians came to Innethereal night, she bestirred her, and was very busic preparing for his supper, her husband peraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane feafon came Philopamen into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his back. The simple woma feeing him no better apparelled, took him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and so praied him to lend her his hand in the kitchin. He straight cast off his cloke, and began to fall to hew wood. So as Philopamen was busie about it, in cometh her husband, and finding him riuing of wood: Ha haha, faid he, my Lord Philopamen, why what meaneth this? Truly nothing elfe, faid he in his Don I can tongue, but that I am punished, because I am neither faire boy, nor goodly man. It is true that Titus Quintius Flaminius said one day vnto him, seeming to mocke him for his personage: O Philopamen, thou hast faire hands and good legs, but thou hast no belly for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Notwithstanding, I take it this iesting tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body, because he had both good horsemen and sootemen, but he was often without money to pay them. These icasts, schollers have taken vp in schooles; of Philipamen. But now to descend to his nature and conditions: it feemeth that the ambition & defire he had to win honour in his doings, was not without fome heate and wilfulnesse. For, because he would altogether follow Epaminonelas steps, he shewed his hardinesse to enterprise any thing, his wisedome to execute alt great matters, and his integrity also, in that no mony could corrupt him:but in civill matters and controuerfies, he could hardly other whiles keep himself within y bounds of modestie, patience, and currefie, but would often burft out into choler, and wilfulneffe. Wherefore it feemeth, that he was a better captaine for warres, then a wife gouernor for peace. And indeed, euen from his youth he euer loued foldiers & armes, and delighted maruellously in all martiall exercises: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horses gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And because he feemed to have a naturall gift in wreftling, certain of his friends, & fuch as were careful of him, did wish himto giue himself most vnto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made fuch profession, wold be no hinderance to their martial exercises. Answer was made him again. That the disposition of the person, & maner of life that wrestlers vsed, and such as followed like exercifes, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a souldier, and specially touching life and limme. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe themselues in good plight, by much fleeping, cating, and drinking, by labouring, and taking their case at certaine houres, by not misfing a iot of their exercises: and besides, were in hazard to lose the force and strength of their bodie, if they did surfeit neuer so litle, or passed their ordinarie courseand rule of diet: where fouldiers contrariwiseare vsedto all change and diuersitie of life; and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnesse and scarcitie, and to watch in the night without sleepe. Philopæmen hearing this did not onely forfake those exercises, and scorned them, but afterwards being generall of an armie, he fought by all infamous meanes he could to put downe all wrestling and fuch kind of exercise, which made mens bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become fouldiers to fight in defence of their countrey, that otherwife would have bene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his book and schoolemasters, and began to weare armour in inuations the Mantineans vied to make vpon the Laced Emonians, to get some spoile on a sodaine, or to destroy a part of their countrey: Philopamen then would ever be the foremost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leisure, he vsed much hunting intime of peace, all to acquaint his bodie with toile and trauell, or else he would be digging of his grounds. For he had a faire mannor, not passing twentie furlongs out of the citie, whither he would walke comonly after dinner or fupper; and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lie vpon some ill fauored mattreffe, as the meanest labourer he had, & in the morning by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine-men to labour in his vineyard, or els with his plough-men to follow the plough, and sometimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his friends and other officers of the same. What soener he

could spare & get in the wars, he spent it in buying of goodly horses, in making of faire armors, or paying his poorecountry mens ransome, that were taken prisoners in the warres: but for his goods and revenue, he fought only to increase them by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed

the inftest and best way of getting of goods. For he did not trisle therin, but imployed his whole

ployed.

care and fludie vpon it, as one that thought it fit for enery noble man & gentleman fo to trauel, philippesource and increase his owne, that he should have no occasion to couet or vsurp another mans. men study He took no pleasure to heare all kind of matters, nor to reade all sorts of books of Philosophy: sillage. but those onely that would teach him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to reade Hemers workes, fauing those places only that stirred vp mens hearts most vnto valiantnes. But of all other stories, he specially delighted to reade Enangelus bookes, which treated of the minde. discipline of warres, how to set battels, and declared the acts and gests of Alexander the Great; light to faying that men should ever bring words vnto deeds, vnlesse they would take them for vaine reads & itories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in his books of the scates of warre, and how battels should be ordered, he was not only contented to see them drawn and set out in charts and discipline maps, but would also put them in execution, in the places themselues as they were set out. And of werest therforewhen the army marched in order of battel in the field, he would confider & study with himselfe, the sodaine events and raproches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they coming downe to the valley, orgoing out of a plaine, were to passe a river or a ditch, or through some straight: also when he should spread out his armie, or elle gather it narrow: and this he did not only forecast by himselfe, but would also argue the same with the captaines that were about him. For Philopamen doubtleffe was one of the odde men of the world, that most esteemed the discipline of warre, and sometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the most large field & most fruitful ground, that valiantnes could be exercised in: so that he despised and contemuedal that were no foldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, Cleamenes King of LACED EMON, came one night vpon the sodaine, and gaue an affault to the citie of LEGALIPOLIS, so lustily that he draue backethe watch and got into the marketplace, and wanne it. Philopamen hearing of it, ran immediatly to the refcue. Neuertheleffe, though he fought very valiantly, and did like a noble fouldier, yet he could not repulse the enemics, nor driue them out of the city but by this meanes he got the citizens leisure, and some the hieratime to get them out of the town to faue themselves, staying those that followed them: & made from cleon Cleaments fill waite vpon him, fo that in the end he had much ado to faue himselfe, being the last mones King man and very fore hurt, and his horse also slaine vnder him. Shortly after, Cleomenes being aduertifed that the MEGALIPOLITANS were gotte into thecity of MESSINA, he fent vnto the tolet men parp them understand, that he was ready to deliver them their city, lands, & goods, againe. But Philo- forehart. pamen seeing his countrymen very glad of these newes, and that every man prepared to returne againe in hast, he staid them with these perswasions, shewing them that Cleomenes denice was not to deliver them their city, but rather to take them together with their city; foreseeing well inough that he could not continue long there, to keep naked walles and empty houses, and that himselse in the end should be compelled to go his way. This perswasion staid the MBGALIPO-LITANS, but withall it gaue Cleomenes occasion to burne and plucke downea great part of the city, and caried away a great fumme of money and a great spoile. Afterwards when king Anti-King Anti-King Antigonus was come to aide the ACHAIAN's against Cleomenes, and that Cleomenes kept on the top of gonus same the mountaines of Sellasia, and kept all the passages, and wayes vnto them out of all those Achians quarters: King Antigonus fet his army in battell hard by him, determining to fet vpon him, and against to drive him thence if he could possibly. Philopamen was at that time among it the horimen with King of his citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the fide of them, being a great number of footmen and Laceds. excellent good fouldiers, which did shut in the taile of all the army. So they were commanded to ftand stil, & to keep their place, vntil such time as they did shew them a red coate of armes on the top of a pike, from the other wing of the battell, where the King himselfe stood in person, Notwithstanding this straight commandement, the captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to fee if they could force the Laced Emonians that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAIANS contrariwise, kept their place and order, as they were commanded. Eudidas, Cleomenes brother, perceiuing how their enemies footmen were seuered from their horsmen, sodainly sent the lightest armed souldiers and lustiest fellowes he had in his bands, to philose. giue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behind, to proue if they could make them turne their faces mensfact in on them, because they had no horsemen for their guard. This was done, and these light armed men did maruellously trouble and disorder the LLLYRIANS. Philopamen perceiving that, and in considering the consid confidering how these light armed men would be easily broken and driven back, since occasion were. selfe enforced them to it: he went to tell the Kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes.

But when he faw he could not make them vnderstand it, and that they made no reckoning of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, because he had not yet attained any credit or estimation to be judged a man that could inuent or execute any stratageme of warre, he went thither himselfe, and tooke his citizens with him: and at his first coming, he so troubled these light armed men, that he made them flie, and flue a number of them. Moreouer, to encourage the better king Antigonus men, and to make them give a lustic charge vpon the enemies, whilest they were thus troubled and out of order, he left his horse and marched on foot vp hill and down hill, in rough and stonie wayes, full of springs and quauemires, being heavily armed at all peeces as a manat armes, and fighting in this fortvery painfully and vneafily, he had both his thighes paftthrough with a dart, having a leather thong on the middest of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the flesh, yet was it a strong blow; for it pierced both thighes through and through, that the yron was seene on the other fide. Then was he so cumbred with this blow as if he had bene shackled with irons on his fect, and knew not what to do: for the leather fastened in the middest of the dart, did grieue him maruellously, when they thought to have pulled the dart out of the place where it entred in, so as neuer a man about him durst set his hands to it. Philopamen on the other fide, seeing the fight terrible on either fide, and would soone be ended: it fpited him to the guts, he would so faine have bene among them. So at the length he made such firugling, putting backe one thigh, and fetting forward another, that he knapped the staffe of the dartasunder, and made them pull out the two truncheons, the one on this side, and the other on the other fide. Then when he saw he was at liberty again, he took his sword in his hand, and ran through the midst of them that fought, vnto the foremost rankes, to meete with the enemie: forhathe gaue his mena new courage, and did fet them on fire with enuy, to follow his valiantnesse. After the battel was wonne, Antigonus asked the MACEDONIAN captaines, to proue them: who moved the horsemen to devide themselves, and give the charge, before the signe that was commanded. They answered him, that they were forced to do it against their wils, because a young MEGALIPOLITAN gentleman gaue acharge with his company, before the figne was giuen. Then Antigonus laughing, told them the young gentleman played the part of a wife and valiant captaine. This exploit, together with Antigonus testimony, gaue great reputation vnto Philogemen, as we may easily imagine. So King Antigonus maruellously intreated him he would ferue with him, and offered him aband of men at armes, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But Philopamen refused his offer, and chiefly because he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commanded by any. Notwithstanding, because he could not be idle, he tooke sea, and went into CRETA, where he knew there was warres, only to continue himselfe in exercise therof. So when he had serued a long time with the CR BTANS, which were valiant soldicrs, and very expert in all policies and feates of war, and moreouer were men of a moderate & spare diet: he returned home again to AcHAIA, with so great credit and reputation of euery one that he was presently chosen General of all the horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found many horimen very ill horied, vpon litle iades, fuch as might be gotten cheapest, and that they vsed not to go themselues in person to the warrs, but did send other in their stead: and to be short, that they neither had hearts, nor experience of the wars, and all because the Generals and captaines of the people of the Achaian's that ferued before him, did take no heed to those matters, as fearing to offed any, because they had the greatest authority in their hands, to punish or reward whom they thought good. Philopamen fearing none of all these things, would leave no part of his charge and dutie vndone, but went himselse in person to all the cities, to perswade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horfed, and well armed, that they might win honour in the field, be able to defend themselues, & ouerthrow their enemics. And where perfwafion could do no good, there he would fet fines vpon their heads that fo refused, and did vse to muster them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turneying, and barriers, and one to fight with another, and at fuch times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of peopleto giue them the looking on: that in short space he made them very forward, proper, and ready horsemen, whose chiefest property is, to keepe their order and rankes in the battell. So as when necessitie serued for the whole company of horsemento turne together, halfeturne, or whole turne, or elseuery man by himself: they were so throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe set in battell ray, did seeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued so together, and withal fo eafily, and at all times, and so oft, as they should turne, on the one side, or on the other. Now in agreat battel the Achaians had with the Ærolians, & the Elians, by the river of Lariffus, Demophantus Generall of the horsemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to Philopas fight with Philopame, who also made towards him, & gaue him first such ablow with his speare, that he strake him starke dead. When Demophantus fell to the ground, his souldiers fled by & by yon it. This wan Philopemen great honour, who gaue no place to the yongest men in fighting roll of the most valiantly with his own hands:nor to the oldest men in wisdome, for the wife leading of his armie. Indeed the first man that made the people of Achaia growin power and greatnes, was Aratus: for before his time Achaia was of smal reckoning, because y cities of the same stood deuided betweene themselues, & Aratus was the first manthat made them ioyne together, and stablished among them an honest civil government. Wherby it happened, that as we see in brooks Aratural and rivers where any litle thing ftoppeth & falleth to the bottome, which the course of the water bringeth down the streame, there the rest that followeth doth vie to stay, and go no further: even fo in the cities of GRECE that were in hard state, & fore weakened, by faction one against another, the ACHAIANS were the first that staid themselves, and grew in amity one with the other, & afterwards drew on the rest of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederates. Some by helping & deliuering them from the oppression of tyrants, and winning other also by their peaceable gouernement and good concord: they had a meaning in this wife to bring all the country of Pelopones into one body & league. Neuerthelesse, while Aratus liued, they depended most vponthe strength and power of the Macedonians: first with Aratus sticking vnto king Piolomy, and then vnto Antigonus, and last to Philip, who ruled in maner all the compared. state of GRECE. But when Philopemen came to gouerne, and to be the chiefest man, the ACHAI-ANS being strong inough to refiss the strongest, would march then no more vnder any other bodies ensigne, nor would suffer any more strange gouernours or captaines ouer them. For Aratus Aratus Aratus (as it feemed) was somewhat too soft and cold for the wars; and therfore the most things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, & by the kings friendships with whom he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But Philopamen being a man of execution, hardy & valiant of person, & of very good fortune; in the first battel that euer he made, did maruellously increase the courage and hearts of the ACHAIANS: because vnder his charge they euer foiled their enemies, & alwayes had the vpper hand of them. The first thing Philopamen began withal at his Philopacoming, he changed the maner of fetting of their tables, & their fashion of arming the felues; for beforethey caried litle light targets, which because they were thin & narrow, did not couer half chainson. their bodies, & vsed speares far shorter then pikes, by reaso wherof they werevery light, & good der and diftoskirmishand fight afar offibut when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then had great were. vantage of them. As for the order of their battels, they knew not what it meant, nor to cast the sclues into a snaile or ring, but only vsed the square battell, nor yet gaue it any such front where the pikes of many rankes might push together, and where the fouldiers might stand so close, that their targets should touch one another, as they do in the squadron of the battell of the Ma-CEDONIANS: by reason whereof, they were soone broken and ouerthrowne. Philopamen reformed all this, perswading them to vse the pike and shield, in stead of the litle target, speare, or bore-staffe, and to put good morrians or burganets on their heads, corsclets on their bodies, and good taffes and greaues to couer their thighes & legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not giving a foote of ground, as light armed men runne to and fro in a skirmish. And thus having perswaded and taught the yong men to arme themselues throughly, first he made them the bolder and more couragious to fight, as if they had bene men that could not have bene ouercomenhen he turned all their vaine superfluous charge, into necessary and honest expences. But he could not possibly bring them altogether from their vaine and rich apparell they had of long time taken vp, the one to exceed another: nor from their sumptuous furniture of houses, as in beds, hangings, curious seruice at the table, and delicate kind of dishes. But to begin to withdraw this defire in them, which they had to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous & vnnecessaric things, and to like of things necessarie and profitable: he wished them to looke more nearesty menturned to their ordinarie charge about themselves, taking order as well for their apparell, as also for all curioftheir diet, and to spare in them, to come honourably armed to the field, for defence of their tie and daintie countrey. Thereupon, if you had looked into the gold-smithes shoppes, ye should have fare into feene nothing else in their hands, but breaking and battering of pots of gold and filuer, to be brane and cast and molten downe againe, and then gilding of armours and targets, and filtering of bits.

courageth

das tyrant

Battell

In the shew-places for the running of horses, there was managing and breaking of yong horses, and young men exercising armes. Womens hands also were full of morians and head peeces. whereto they tied goodly braue plumes of feathers of fundry colours, and were also full of imbrodered arming coates and caffocks, with curious and very rich workes. The fight of which brauery did heave vp their hearts; and made them gallant and lively: fo as enuy bred straight in them who should do best service, and no way spare for the warres. Indeed, sumptuousnesse and brauery in other fights, doth secretly carry mens minds away, & allure them to seeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanish persons: because this sweet tickling and inticing of the outward sence, that is delighted therewith, doth straight meltand soften the strength and courage of the mind. But againe, the sumptuous cost bestowed vpon warlike surniture, doth incourage and make great a noble heart. Euen as Homer saith it did Achilles, when his mother brought him new armour and weapons she had caused Vulcan to make for men: minas to ferue no. him, and layed them at his feete: who feeing them, could not tarrie, but was straight set on fire with defire to occupy them. So when Philopamen had brought the youth of Achara to this good paffe, to come thus brauely armed and furnished into the field, he began then to exercise them continually in armes: wherein they did not only show themselues obedient to him but did moreouer striue one to excell another, and to do better then their sellowes. For they liked maruellous well the ordering of the battel he had taught the, because that standing so close together as they did, they thought furely they could hardly be ouerthrown. Thus by continuance of time, being much vied to weare their armour, they found them a great deale casier and lighter then before, beside the pleasure they tooke to see their armour so braue, and so rich: insomuch as they longed for some occasion to trie them straight upon their enemies. Now the ACHAIANS at that time were at warres with Machanidas, the tyrant of LACED EMON, who fought by all deuice he could with a great army, to become chiefe Lord of al the Peloponnesians. When newes was brought that *Machanidas* was come into the countrey of the Mantineans, *Philo*pamen ftraight marched towards him with his army: fo they met both not farre from the citie of MANTINEA, where by and by they put themselues in order of battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of strangers to serue them, besides the whole force of their country; and when they came to ioyne battell, Machanidas with his strangers gaue such a lusty charge vpon certaine flingers and archers, being the forclorne hope whom Philopamen had put before the battell of the ACHAIANS to begin the skirmish, that he ouerthrew them, and made them flie withall. But where he should have gone on directly against the Achaians that were ranged in battell ray, to have proued if he could have broken them, he was very bufie and earnest fill to follow the chase of them that first fled, & so came hard by the Achaians that stood stil in their battell, and kept their rankes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many menthought the Achaians were but cast away. But Philopamen made as though it had bene nothing, and that he fet light by it; and fpying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the fpurre, whom they had ouerthrowne, and ftaying fo farre from the battell of their footmen, whom they had left naked, and the field open vpon them he did not make towards them to ftay them, nor did ftriue to ftop them that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered them to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his men march vpon the LACED EMONIANS, whose sides were naked, having no horsemen to gard them: and so did set vpon them on the one side, and ranne so hastily on them to win one of their flankes, that he made them flie, and slue withall a great number of them. For it is said, there were foure thousand LACED EMONIANS slaine in the field, because they had no man to leade them. And moreouer, they say they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the field, when they saw Machanidas chasing stilthose vpon the fpurre, whom he had ouerthrowne. After this Philopamen retired to meete Machanidas, who came backe from the chase with his strangers. But by chance there was a great broad dirch betweenethem, fo as both of them rode vpon the bankes fide of the fame, a great while together, one against another of them the one side seeking some convenient place to get over and slie, and the other fide feeking meanes to keepe them from starting away. So to fee the one before the other in this fort, it appeared as they had bene wilde beafts brought to an extremitie, to defend themselues by force, from so fierce a hunter as Philopamen was. But whilest they were striuing thus, the tyrants horse that was lustie and couragious, and felt the force of his masters spurres

pricking in his fides, that the bloud followed after, did venture to leape the ditch, coming to the hankes fide, frood ypon his hindmost legs, & advanced forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other fide. Then Simmias and Polyanus, who were about Philopamen when he fought, ran thither straight to keepe him in with their borestaues that he should not leape the ditch. But Philopamen who was there before them, perceiuing that the tyrants horse, by lifting vp his head to high, didcouer all his mafters body for fooke by and by his horse, & tooke his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyrant with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memory Philogawherof, the ACHAIAN's that did highly effecme this valiant act of his, and his wifedome also in Mathage leading of the battell, did fet up his image in braffe in the temple of Apollo in DELPHES, in dee. the forme he flue thetyrant. They fay that at the affembly of the common games called Nemea. (which they folemnize in honour of Hercules; not farre from the citie of AR GOS) and not long after he had won this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the second time of the tribe of the Acharans, & being at good leafure also by reason of y feast; he first shewed althe Gracians that were come thither to fee the games & pastimes, his army ranged in order of battell, and made them fee how eafily they removed their places cuery way, as necessity and occasion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their rankes, and that with a maruellous force and readinesse. When he had done this he went into the Theater to heare the Musitians play and fing to their inftruments, who should win the best game, being accompanied with lustie young gentlemen apparelled in purple cloakes, & in skarlet coates & cassocks they wore vpon their armor being all in the flower of their youth, and well given & disposed: who did greatly honor & renerence their Captaine, & befides that shewed themselues inwardly of noble hearts, being incouraged by many notable battels they had fought, in which they had ener attained \u00ed victory, & gorten the upper hand of their enemies. And by chance, as they were entred into the Theater, Pylades the Musician, singing certaine poems of Timotheus, called the Perfes, fell into these verses:

O Greekes, it is even he, which your prosperitie Hath given to you; and therewithall a noble libertie.

When he had sweetly fung out aloud these noble verses, passingly well made, the whole assembly of the GRECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to fee the games, cast all their cycs straight vpon Philopamen, and clapped their hands one to another for ioy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soone recouer their ancient reputation: and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy minds of their ancestours. And as young horses that do alwayes looke to be ridden by their ordinary riders, if any stranger get vp on their backes, do straight waxe strange to be handled, and make great ado: euen so when the Achaias came to any dangerous battell, their hearts were even done, if they had any other Generall or leader then Philopamen, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they faw him, ever the whole army rejoyced, and defired straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valiantnesse and good fortune: and truely not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stand before him: because they were afraid to heare his name onely, as it seemed by their doings. For Philip King of MACEDON (imagining that if he should find meanes to dispatch Philopamen out of the way, how societ it were, the A-CHAIAN'S would straight take part againe with him) sent men secretly into the city of Ar GOS, to kil him by treason; howbeit the practise was discouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the Grecians generally, and taken for a wicked and cowardly Prince. It fortuned one day when the Bosorians layed fiege to the city of Megara, and thought certainely to have won it at the first affault, there rose a rumor suddenly amongst them, that Philopamen came Theonele to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a falle report. Notwithstan-name of ding, the Bo E or I ANS were fo feared, that for feare they left their fealing ladders behind them, Philippe which they had fet against the walles, to have scaled the towne, and fled straight to faue themfelues. Another time, when Nabis the tyrant of LACED EMON, that succeeded Machanidas, had sians flie taken the city of Massina vpon a fudden: Philopamen being then a private man, and having no for foote. charge of souldiers, went vnto Lysippus Generall of the Achaians that yeare, to perswadehim ranos Lathathe would send present aide vnto the of Messina. Lysippus told him, it was too late now to cod more than the world send present aide vnto the of Messina. go thither, and that it was but a loft towne, not to be holpen: confidering the enemies were in it size of already. Philopamen perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither himselfe with the Moffine. force of Messina onely, not staying for the assembly of the Megalipolitans, that were

PHILOPOEMEN.

pæmc.a.

of Lacede.

Philitæ-

diu:rfc

mspuf war.

Philopæ . of the A. chaians a-

in counsel about it, to give them commission by voyces of the people to take him with him; but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthieft of all other to command them. Now when he came nere vnto MESSI-NA, Nabis hearing of his coming, durst not tarrie him, though he had his army within the city, but stole out at another gate, and marched away in all the hast he could, thinking himselfe a happy man if he could so scape his hands, and retire with safety, as indeed he did. And thus was Messina by his meanes deliuered fro captiuity. All that we haue written hitherto concerning red the car Philopamen, falleth outdoubtleffe to his great honour and glory; but afterwards he was greatly of Mellian dispraised for a journey he made into CRETA, at the request of the GORTYNIANS, who sentto pray him to be their captaine, being fore troubled with warres at that time. Because Philopamen went then to serue the Goatynians, when the tyrant Nabis had greatest wars with the MEGA-LIPOLITANS in their own coutry, they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the wars. rmenger or else that he fought honour out of season with forraine nations, when his poore citizens the isurnspinto MEGALIPOLITANS were in such distresse, that their countrey being lost and destroyed, they were driuento keepe them within their city, and to fow all their void grounds and streets in the same with corne, to sustaine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almost hard at their ownegates. And the rather, because himselfe making wars with the CRETANS, and seruing strangers beyond the sea in the meane time, gaue his enemies occasion to slander him that he fled, that he would not tarry to fight for defence of his own country. Againe, there were that faid, because the Achaians didchuse other for their Generall, that he being a privat man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had marnellously intreated him to take the charge; for he was a man that could not abide to line idselv. and that defired specially about all things to serve continually in the wars, and to put in practise his skill & discipline in the leading of an army. The words he spake one day of king Ptolomie do witnesse as much: for when there were some that praised king Ptolomie highly, saying that he trayned his army well, and that he still continued his person in exercise of armes: It is not commendable for a king (faid he) of his yeares, to delight intraining his men to exercise armes, but to do some act himselfe in person. Well, in the end, the MEGALIPOLITANS tooke his absence in such euill part, that they thought it a peece of treason, and would needs have banished him, & put him from the freedome of the city : had not the ACHAIANS fent their Generall Aristaneus vnto them who would not fuffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although otherwise there was euer contention betweene them about matters of the commonwealth. Afterwards Philopamen perceiuing his countrymen made no more account of him, to spite them withall, he made divers small villages and cities rebell against them, and taught them to say, and to giue it out, that they were not their subjects, neither paid them tribute fro the beginning; and he made them stand to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the citie of MEGALIPOthe Mogd. LIS, before the counfell of the ACHAIANS. These things hapned shortly after. But whilest he made wars in Crefa for the Gortynians, he shewed not himselfa Peroponnesian, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open wars: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vse their own policies, fine deuices, and ambushes against themselues. And made them know also, that all their crasts were but childish sports as it were, in respect of those that were deuised, & put in execution, by a wise experienced captain, and skilful to fight a battell. So Philopamen, hauing won great fame by his acts done in CRETA, returned again to PELOPONNEsvs, where he found, that Philip king of MACEDON had bin ouercome in battel, by T.Q. Flaminius: and that the ACHAIAN'S loyning with the ROMAINS, did make war against the tyrant Nabis, against whom he was made General immediatly vpon his return, and gaue him battel by sea. In the which it seemed he fel into like missortune, as Epaminondas did: the euent of this battell falling out much worse with him then was looked for, in respect of his former courage and valiantnes. But as for Epaminondas, fome fay he returned willingly out of Asia, & the Hes, without any exploit don, because he wold not have his courrime fleshed with spoile by sea, as searing lest of valiant foldiers by land, they wold by litle & litle (as Plato faid) become diffolute mariners by sea. But Philopamen cotrariwise, presuming on the skil he had to set the battell in good order by lad, wold needs take vpo him to do the fame by fea. But he was taught to his cost, to know what exercise & experiece meant, & how strong it makeththe that are practised in things. For he lost not only the battel by sea, being viskilful of that service; but he comitted besides a fouler error.

pied in 40. yeares together; & embarked his countrymen into the same, which were all likely to perish, because the ship had diverse leakes, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his enemies despise him vtterly, perswading theselues he was fled for altogether, & had gine thesearoome: whereupon they laid fiege to the citie of GYTHIVM. Philopamen being aduertifed there. Naturbiof, imbarked his men fuddenly, and fet vpon his enemies ere they wift it, or had any thought of it of 69. his coming : and found them stragling vp and downe, without watch or guard, by reason of thism. the victory they had lately won. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fire vpon his enemies campe, and burnt it every whit: and in this feare and hurly burly, flue agreat number of them. Shortly after this stealing vpon them, the tyrant Nabis also stole vpon him againe vnwares, as he was to go through a maruellous ill and dangerous way: which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the first, thinking it vnpossible for them that they could ever scape that danger, confidering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But Philopemen bethinking himselfe, and considering the nature and situation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainely then, that the chiefest point of a good fouldier and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, according to the time and situation of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battel a litle, and forced it according to the fituation of the place, where in he was compassed; and by doing this without trouble or businesse, he tooke away all feare of danger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in such fierce wise, that in a short time he put them all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not flie all in troupes together towards theci-Philopaty, but feathering wife, abroad in the fields in energy place, he caused the trumpet to found theretraite. Then he commanded the chase to be followed no further, for that all the country there- bistrant about was full of thicke woods and groues, very ill for horsemen; and also because there were of Lacedsmany brookes vallies and quauemires, which they flould paffe ouer he encamped himselfprefently, being yet broadday. And so, fearing lest his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after another, and by couples: he fent a great number of ACHAIANS, and laid them in ambush amongst the brookes and hils neare about it, which made great slaughter of Nabia fouldiers, because they came not altogether introopes, but scatteringly one after another as they fled, one here another there, and so fell into their enemics hands, as birds into the fowlers net. These acts made Philopamen singularly beloued of the GRECIANS, and they did him great honor in all their Theaters & comon affemblies. Whereat T. Q. Flaminius, of nature very ambi- Time Quin. tious & couctous of honor, did much repine, & was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Con-time enuiful of Rome shold have place & honor among the Achaians before a mean gentleman of Ar - pamen. CADIA. And he imagined he had deferued better of all GRECE, then Philopame had confidering how by the only proclamatio of an herald, he had restored GRECE again to her ancient liberty, which before his coming was fubicat to king Philip, & vnto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwards, T. Quinitus made peace with the tyrat Nabis, who was shortly after very traiter oully slain by the Wabis sain ETOLIANS. Wherupon the city of Sparta grew to a tumult, & Philopemen straight taking the by the Eoccasió, went thither with his army, & handled the matter so wisely, that partly for loue, & partly tollan. by force, he wan the city, & ioyned it vnto the tribe of the Achaians. So was he maruelloufly comended & esteemed of the Achaians for this notable victory, to have wontheir tribe and comunalty fo famous a city & so great estimation. For the city of Sparta was no smal increase

of their power, being joyned as a meber of Achaia. Moreouer he wan by this meanes the loue

& goodwil of althe honest men of LACEDEMON, for the hope they had to find him a protector

and defendor of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant Nabis house and goods were sold, as

forfeited to the flate; they refolued in their counfell to make him a prefent of the money there-

of, which amounted to the fum of fixescore talents, and sent ambassadours purposely vnto him,

to offer it him. Then Philopamen shewed himselfe plainely to be no counterfeit honest man, but

they made one Timolaus to take the matter upon him, who was his familiar friend, and also his

host. And yet the same Timolaus when he came vnto MEGALIFOLIS, and was lodged & enter-

tained in Philopames house, did so much reverence him for his wise talke and conversation, for

his moderate dier, & inst dealing with all ment hat he saw there was no likely possibility to cor-

a good man indeed. For first of all, there was not one of all the Laced Emonians that durst monster. prefume to offer him this mony, but every man was afraid to tell him of it;and every body that from comewas appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for themselves. Notwithstanding, in the end soussession

Philopa mens wife counfell to she Lacedemonians. Dould begifes.

> Diephanes Quintins Flaminius da inuade Locadamo-Thiloga-

alt.

rupt him with money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speake to him of the present he had brought him, but found some other occasion to excuse the cause of his coming vnto him. And being fent vnto him again the second time, he did euen as much as at the first time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the last to open the matter vnto him, and told him the goodwill the city of Sparta did beare him. Philopamen became a glad manto heare it; and when he had heard all he had to fay to him, he went himfelf vnto the city of Sparta. There he declared vnto the counfell, that it was not honest men and their good friends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with money, confidering they might command their vertue vpon any occasion, without cost vnto them; but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by seditious orations in councell did mutine, and put a whole city in vprore: to the end that having their mouths stopped with gifts, they should trouble them the lesse in the comonwealth. For faid he, it is more necessary to stop your enemies mouths, & to fow vp their lips from liberty of speaking, then it is to keepe your friends from it. So noble a man was Philopamen against all couctousnesse of mony. Shortly after, the LACEDEMONIANS beginning to stir again, Diophanes (who was then general of the Acharans) being aductifed of it, began to prepare to punish the. The Laced Monians on the other fide preparing for the wars, did fet all the country of Pe-LOPONNE SVS in armes. Hereupon Philopamen fought to pacific Diophanes anger, declaring vato him, that king Antiochus, and the Romaines, being at wars, together at that present time, and they both having puissant armies one against another in the middest of GRECE, it was meet for a good generall and wife gouernor, to have an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his country at that instant; but the rather to diffemble it, & not to feeme to heare any fault what foeuer they did. Diophanes would not be perswaded, but entred the territories of LACED EMON with a great army, & T. Quintius Flaminius with him : and they together marched directly towards the city of Sparta. Philopæmen was fo mad with their doings, that he took vpon him an enterprise not very lawfull, nor altogether iust:neuerthelesse his attempt proceeded of a noble mind & great courage. For he got into the city of Sparta, and being but a private person, kept out the general lof the Achaians, and the Conful of the ROMAINS for entring the city: and when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he deliucred it vp again as it was before, into the hands of the communalty of the Achaians. Neuertheles himfelte being afterwards general of the Achaians, did compel mess cruel- the Laced Emonians to receive those home again whom they had banished for certain faults, & did put 80 naturall borne citizens of Spart a vnto death, as Polybius Writeth: or 350, as Ariftocrates another historiographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and razed them to the ground, and took away the most part of their territories, and gaue them to the ME-GALIPOLITANS. All those whom the tyrants had made free denizens of SPARTA, he compelled them to depart the country of LACED EMON, and forced them to dwel in ACHAIA, three thoufand onely excepted, who would not obey his commandement: all those he sold for flaues, and with the money he made of them (to spite them the more) he built a goodly faire walke within the city of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACED EMONIANS all the mischiefe he could, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their most grieuous miserie, he dida most cruell and vniust act toward them. For he compelled them to leaue the discipline and manner of education of their children, which Lyeurgus had of old time inftituted; and made them to follow the maner the Achains vsed, in lieu of their old grounded countrey custome, because fair Lycure he faw they would neuer be humble minded, folong as they kept Lycurgus order and institution. Thus were they driven to put their heads in the coller, by the miserable mishap that befell them : and in all despite, to suffer Philopamen in this manner to cut as under (as it were) the sinewes of their comonwealth. But afterwards they made fute to the Romains, that they might be suffered to enioy their ancient discipline againe, which being granted them, they straight left the maner of the Achaians, and did fet vp againe as much as was possible (after so great miserie and corruption of their maners) their old ancient customes & orders of their country. Now about the time the wars began in GRECE betweene the ROMAINE's and king Antiochus, Philofamen was then a private man, and without any authority. He feeing that king Antiochus lay still in the city of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feast and loue, and had maried a young maid farre vnmeete for his yeares: & perceiuing that his Syrian fouldiers wandred vp & down the towns ingreat diforder, playing many lewdeparts without guide of Captaines, he was very fory he

was not at that time Generall of the Achaians, and told the Romaines, that he enuied their victoric, having warres with enemies that were so easily to be ouercome. For faid he) if Fortune fauoured me that I were Generall of the Achaians at this present, I would have killed memicounthem every man in the cellars and tippling houses. Now when the Romaine s had overcome fit against Antiochus, they began to haue furer footing in GRECE, and to compasse in the ACHAIANS On mainet. all fides, and specially, by reason the Heads and gouernours of the cities about them did yeeld to the Romaines, to win their fauour. And now their greatnesse grew in hast, by the fauour of the gods, so as they were become the monarch of the whole world, who brought them now to the end that Fortune had determined. Philopamen in the meane time did like a good pylot, refifting against the billowes and roughnesse of the waves. And though for the time he was forced to giue place, and to let things paffe, yet for all that he was against the Romains, and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by seeking ever to defend the liberty of those, who by their cloquence and well doing carried great authority among the Achaians, And when Mristantus Magalipolitan, (aman of great authoritie among the Achaians, and one that ener bare great denotion to the ROMAINES) faid in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they should denie the Romaines nothing, nor shew themselves vnthankfull to them: Philopamen hearing what he faid, held his peace a while and fuffered him to speake (though it bojled in his heart, he was so angry with him) and in the end, breaking all patience, and as one ouercome with choler, he said: Aristanetus, why haue you such haste to see the vnfortunate end of GRECE? Another time when Manius Confull of Rome (after he had conquered king Antiochus) did make request to the councell of the Achaians, that such as were banished from LACED AMON, might return home into their country againe, and that Titus Quintius Flaminius also did earnestly intrearthem: Philopæmen was against it, not for any harred he bare vnto the banished men, but because he would have done it by his owne meane, and the onely grace of the ACHAIANS, to the end they should not be beholding for so good a turne, neither vnto Titus, nor yet to the ROMAINES. Afterwards he himselfe, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did restore them wholy to their owne againe. Thus was Philopamen sometime a litle too bold and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomack: & specially when any man sought for to have things by authority. Lastly, being threescore & ten yeares of age, he was y eight time chosen General of the ACHAIANS, and hoped well, not only to passe the years of his charge in peace and quietnesse, mentions. but also all the rest of his life without any stir of new wars, he saw the affaires of GRECE take so she sight good fuccesse. For like as the force and strength of sicknesse declineth, as the natural strength of time Grant of the Gallack the fickly body impaireth: fo through all the cities & people of GRECE, the defire of quarrel & the Athab of wars furceased, as their power diminished. Neuertheles, in the end of his yeares gouernment, the gode division of the gode division the gods divine (who iustly punish all insolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as of they suffer a rider vnfortunately to take a fall of his horse, being come almost to the end of his cariere. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good company, where one was maruellously praised for a good captaine, said vnto them: Why masters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner aliue of his enemies. Shortly after came newes that Dinocrates MESSINIAN (a private enemie of Philopamens for certaine controversies past betweene them, and a man generally hated befides of all honourable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawne the city of Messina from the denotion of the Achai-ANS : and moreover, that he came with an army to take a town called Colonide. Philepemen was at that time in the city of AR GO's, sicke of an Ague, & yet hearing these newes, took his iorncy towards MEGALIPOLIS, making all the haste he could possible, for that he came about 4. Thiopahundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence towards MBSSINA, and taried not, but my against tooke with him a company of men at armes of the lustiest and wealthiest MB GALIPOLITANS: Dinocrates. who were all young noble men of the city, and willingly offered themselues to go with him for the goodwill they bare him, & for the defire they had to follow his valiantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of Massina, & marched fo long, that they came neare to the hill of Euander, where they met with *Dinecrates* and his company, and gaue so fierce an onset on the that they made them all turne taile:howbeit in the meane while; there came a relecte of 500 men wanter. to Dinocrates, which he had left to keepe the countrey of MBSSINA. The flying men that were scattered here and there, seeing this supply, gathered themselues againe together, and shewed vpon the hils. Philopamen fearing to be enuironed, & being defirous to bring his men fafe home

and taking the cup in his hand, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen that

body being brought follow, and thereupon the poison wrought his effect, and rid him straight

victory. For the foldiers were all crowned with garlands of laurel in token of victory, notwith-

standing, the teares ran downe their cheekes in token of sorow, and they led their enemies pri-

foners, shackled and chained. The funerall-pot in the which were Philopamens ashes, was so co-

ucred with garlands of flowers, no legayes, & laces, that it could feant be seene or discerned, and

was carried by one Polybius a young man, the fon of Lycortus, that was General at that time to the

ACHAIANS; about whom there marchedall the noblest & chiefest of the ACHAIANS, and after

them also followed all the fouldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they

were not so forowful in their countenance, as they are commonly which have great cause of so-

row:nor yet fo ioyful, as those that came conquerors fro so great a victory. Those of the cities,

towns, & villages in their way as they past, came and presented themselves vnto them, to touch

the funerall-pot of his ashes, even as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much

of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of

MEGALIPOLIS: at the gates whereof, were old men, women and children, which thrusting the-

felues amongst the souldiers, did renew there ares, sorrowes, & lamentations of all the miserable

and vnfortunate citie: who took it that they had lost with their citizens, the first & chiefest place

of honour among the ACHAIANS. So he was buried very honorably as appertained vnto him:

and the other priloners of Messina, were all stoned to death, about his sepulcher. Al the other cities of Achaia, besides many other honours they did vnto him, did set vp statues, as like to

him as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the ynfortunate time of GRECE, when the citie of

tweene duty and profite: and did thinke honestic and profit two distinct things, and so separated

one from the other, according to reason & instice. Moreouer they were perswaded, that like as

men receiue courtesie and goodnesse of any, so are they bound to requite them againe with

kindnesse and dutic. And as men vse to acknowledge the same ; euen so

ought men to honour and reuerence vertue.

And thus much for the life of

Philopæmen.

came with him, specially of Lycortas. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them Philosas

were faucd. Then he cast his hands a litle ouer his head, and looking merrily on him, he said: It is mensiast

againe, who most of loue had followed him: began to march away through narrow bushy places, himself being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, and skirmished with them, onely to drive them away from following of the rest of his company, and not a man that durst once set vpon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him. Howbeit Philopamen fundry times venturing farre from his company, to giue these young noble men leasure to saue themselues one after another tooke no heede to himselfe that he was alone enuironed on euerie fide with a great number of enemics. Notwithstanding, of all his enemies there was not a man that durst come to handstrokes with him, but still slinging and shooting at him a farre off, they draue him in the end amongst stony places between e hewne rocks, where he had much ado to guide his horse, although he had spurred him that he was alof a gore bloud. And as for his age, that did not let him but he might have faued himselfe; for he was strong and lustie by the continual exercise he tooke: but by cursed happe his body being weake with ficknesse, and wearie with the long iourney he had made that day, he found himselfe very hea-uie & ill disposed, that his horse stumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and brused all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer stirred nor spake: so that his enemies thinking he had bene dead, came to turne his bodieto strip him. But when they faw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once vpon him and tooke him, and bound both his hands behind him, and did all the villany and mischiefe they could vnto him, and fuch, as one would little haue thought Dinocrates would have vfed in that fort, or that he could have had such an ill thought towards him. So they that tarried behind in the city of Messina, were maruellous glad when they heard these newes, and ran all to the gates of the citie to fee him brought in. When they faw him thus shamefully bound and pinioned, against the dignitic of so many honours as he had received, and of so many triumphs & vi-Ctories as he had passed: the most part of them wept for pity, to consider the mishap and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so litle certainetie, as in manner it is nothing. Then beganne there fome courteous speech to run in the mouthes of the people by litle & litle that they should rememberthe great good he had done them in times past, and the liberty he had restored them vnto, when he expulled the tyrant Nabis out of MESSINA. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to please Dinocrates, said they should hang him on a gibbet, & put him to death as a dangerous enemy, and that would neuer forgiue man that had once offended him; and the rather, because he would be more terrible to Dinocrates then euer he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving such open shame by him. Neuerthelesse, in the end they carried h im into a certaine dungeon under the ground, called the Treasurie, (which had neither light nor aire at all into it, nor doore, nor halfe doore, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and so they did let him downe the same, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these young noble Achaian horsemen had sled vpon the spurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred themselues, and looked round about for Philopamen: and finding him not in fight, they supposed straight, he had bene slaine. Thereupon they staid a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he answered not, they began to fay among themselues, they were beasts and cowards to fly in that fort: and how they were dishonoured for euer so to have for saken their Captaine, to save themselves, who had not ipared his owne life to deliuer them from danger. Hereupon riding on their way, and enquiring still for him, they were in the end aduertised how he was taken. And then they went and carried those newes through all the towns and cities of ACHAIA, which were very forry for him, and tooke it as a figne of great ill fortune toward them. Wherupon they agreed to fend ambaffadors forthwith to the MESSINIANS, to demand him: and in the meane time enery man should prepare to arme themselues to go thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the ACHAIANS had thus sent, Dinocrates feared nothing so much, as that delay of time might sauce Philopamens life: wherefore to preuent it, as soone as night came, and that the people were at rest, he straight caused the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to Philapamen with a cup of poison to offer him, who was commanded also not togo from him, vntill he had drunke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found Philopamen laid on the ground upon a litle cloake, having no lift to fleepe, he was so gricuously troubled in his mind. Who when he faw light, and the man standing by him, holding a cup in his hand with this poison, he sate vpright vpon his couch, how beit with great paine, he was so weak:

PHILOPOEMEN.

wel feeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith speaking no mo words, nor making other ado, words. he drunke vp all the poison, and laid him down as before. So nature stroug not much withal, his out of his paine. The news of his death ran presently through all Achara, which generally fro Philopor high to low was lamented. Whe rupon althe Achaian's youth & counsellers of their cities & meni diath

towns, affembled themselues in the city of Megalipolis, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made Lycortas their General, under whose conduct they inuaded The Achair the Messinians, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and fword: fo as the Messinians were fo feared with this mercilesse furie, that they yeelded themselves and wholly con-lopament fented to receive the Achaians into their citie. But Dinecrates would not give them lefture to death, execute him by iustice, for he killed himselfe; and so did all the rest make themselues away, who gaue aduise that Philopamen should be put to death. But those that would have had Philopamen selfe. hanged on a gibbet, Lycortas caused them to betaken, which afterwards were put to death with

alkind of torments. That done, they burnt Philopames body, & did put his affies into a pot. Then Philopames they straight departed from Messina, not in disorder, one vponanothers necke as every man mensione listed but in such an order & ray, that in the middest of the funerals; they did make a triumph of ras.

CORINTH was burnt & destroyed by the Romain's, there was a malicious Romaine that did what he could to have the same pulled downeagaine, by burdening and accusing Philopamen (as humanitie if he had beneyer aliue) that he was alwayes enemie to the Romaines, and enuied much their of the Romaines. prosperitie and victories. But after Polybius had answered him, neither the Consult Mummius, keeping nor his counsellors, nor lieutenants, would suffer them to deface & take away the honors done their enein memory of fo famous and worthy a man, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto ment from ment from Titus Quintius Plaminius, and vnto Manius. So, these good men then made a difference be-defacing.

The end of Philopamens life.



Philopamens mif.

THE LIFE OF

Titus Quintius Flaminius.





T is easie to see Titus Quintius Flaminius forme and stature, by Philopamen statue of brasse, to whom we compare him; the which is now fet vp at Rome, neare to great Apollo that was brought from CAR-THAGE, and is placed right against the coming into the shew-place, vnder which there is an infcription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they fay of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleafure men againe. For if he did punish any man that had angred him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good alfo to many, and euer loued them

whom he had once pleafured, as if they had done him some pleasure: and was readie to do for them fill whom he found thankfull, because he would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honourable a thing as he could purchase to himselfe, because he greatly sought honour aboue all things, when any notable feruice was to be done, he would do it himselfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with the that needed his helpe, then with those that could help him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to excrcise his vertue with the other, he took them as his fellowes and followers of honor with him. He came to mans state, when the city of Rom had greatest warres and trouble: At that time all the youth of Rome, which were of age to carie weapon were sent to the war to learne to traile thepike, and how to become good captaines. Thus was heentred into martiall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against Hannibal of CARTHAGE, where he was made Colonell of a thousand footenen, under Marcellus the Confull; who being flaine by an ambufly Hannibal had laid for him between the cities of BANCIA and VENVSA, then they did chuse Titus Quintius Flaminius gouernour of the province and city of TARENTVM, which was now taken againe the fecond time. In this gouernment of his, he wanne the reputation as much of a good and fust man, as he did of an expert and skilfull captain. By reason whereof, when the Ro-MAINES were requested to fend men to inhabite the cities of NARNIA and Cossa, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefly gaue him heart and courage to afpire at the first to che Consulship, passing ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other yong men were wont to attaine the Confulfhip. Therefore when

fore one

the time came that the Confuls should be elected, he did present himselfe among other accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabite the two new townes, who did make earnest sure for him. But the two Tribunes Fulnius & Manlius, spake against him, and faid: it was out of all reason, that so yong a man should in such manner prease to have the office of the highest dignitic, against the vse and custome of Rome, before he had passed through the inferiour offices of the common wealth. Neuertheleffe, the Senate preferred it wholy to the voices of the people: who prefently pronounced him Confull openly, with Sextins Elius, al- T. Fla. though he was not yet thirtie yeares old. Afterwards, Alius and he deutiding the offices of the services A. ftateby lot, it fel vpon T. Quintius to make war with Philip king of MACE DON. In the which me list coffets, thinkes fortune greatly fauoured the ROMAINS affaires, that made such a man General of these T.Q. Flawars: for, to have appointed a Generall that by force and violence would have fought all things kelb warre at the Macedonian's hands, that were a people to be won rather by gentlenes & perswasions, with Philip then by force and compulsion: it was all against themselves. Philip to maintaine the brunt of a hardon. battell against the ROMAINEs, had power enough of his own in his Realme of MACEDON: but to make war any long time, to furnish himselfe with mony and victuals, to have a place & cities to retire vnto; and lastly, to have all other necessaries for his men and army, it stood him vponto get the force of GRECE. And had not the force of GRECE bene politically cut fro him, the wars against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreover, GRECE (which never before bare the Romaine's any great good will) would not have dealt then so inwardly in friendship with them, had not their General bene (as he was) a gentle person; lowly and tractable, that wan them Thus commore by his wisedome, then by his force, and could both eloquently vter his mindto them, and the force, and could both eloquently vter his mindto them, and the Green his force and could both eloquently vter his mindto them. courtcoully also heare them speake, that had to do with him, and chiefly ministred instice, and equitie to every man alike. For it is not to be thought that GRECE wold otherwise so some have withdrawne themselues from the rule of those, with whom they were acquainted, and gouerned and have put themselves vnder the rule of strangers, but that they saw great instice and lenitie in them. Howbeit that may more plainely appeare by declaring of his acts, Titus was informed, that the Generals before him fent to the warre in Macedon (as Sulpitius, and Publius Inlins) vsed to come thither about the latter end of the yeare, and made but cold wars, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against Philip, & all to take some straight, or to cut off victuals: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarrying at home, confumed the most of their Consulship at Rome, in matters of gouernment, and so enjoyed the honour of their office. Afterwards in the end of their yeare, they would let out to the wars, of intent to get another yeare ouer their heads in their office, that fpeding one yeare in their Cosulship at home, they might employ the other in the wars abroad. But Titus not minding to trisic out y half of his Consulship at Rome, & the other abroad in the wars: did willingly leaue al his honors & dignities, he might have enjoyed by his office at Rom B and befought the Senate that they wold appoint his brother Lucius Quintius lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he took with himself about three thousand old soldiers of those that had first overthrowne Asarubal in Spaine, and Hanibal afterwards in Afrike, under the conduct of Scipin, which yet were able to serue, and were very willing to go with him in his journey, to be the strength of his army. With this company he passed the seas without danger, & landed To sided in Epiros, where he found Publius Julius encamped with his army before King Philip, who of in Epiros. long time had lien in camp about the mouth of y river of Apfus, to keep their straight & passage Affast. which is the entry into Epirovs. So that Publius Iulius had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the natural force & hardnes of the place. Then Titus took the army of him, & sent him to Rome. Afterwards, himself went in person to view & cosider the nature of the costry, which was inthis fort. It is a long vally walled oneither fide with great high mountains, as those which The dewas nums fort. It is a long varity wanted offentier new wanged and managed the forest finished was a green for finished and so the vally of Tempe in The search; how beit it had no fuch goodly woods, nor green for first in the vally of Tempe in The search forests, nor faire medows, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had but it was a great the country of the first side and being a search of the first side and being a search of the deep marith or quauemire, through the middest wherof the river called Apsus did run being in greatnesse & swiftnesse of streame, very like to the river of P B N E V s. The river did occupy al the ground at the feete of the mountaines, fauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, & a narrow straight path by the waters side, very vnhandsome for an army to passe that way, though they found not a man to keep the passage. There were some in the army that counfelled Titus to fetch a great compatie about by the country of Dassaretide, and by the

city of Lyncvs, where the countrey is very plaine, and the way maruellous cafe. Howbeit he flood in great feare he should lacke victuals, if he staid far from the sea; and haply if he fell into any barren or leane countrey, (Philip refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should be constrained in the end to returne again towards the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherfore he determined to croffe the mountaines to fet vpon his enemies, & to proue if he could win the passage by force. Now Philip kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the Romaine's forced to get up the hilles, they were received with darts, flings and flot, that lighted amongst them here & there:infomuch as the skirmish was very hote for the time it lasted, and many were slain and hurt on either side. But this was not the end of the warre: for in the meane time there came certaine neat-heards of the countrey vnto Tius (who did vseto keep beasts on these mountaines) and told him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not; by the which they promifed to guide his army so, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bring them on the top of the mountaine. And because they might be affured that their words were true, they faid they were fent to him by Charopus, the sonne of Machatas. This Charopus was the chiefest man of the Epirors, who loued the Romains very wel, yet he fauoured them but vnderhand, for feare of Philip. Titus gaue credit vnto them, and fo fent one of his captaines with them, with fourethousand footmen, and three hundred horsinen. The heard-men that were their guides, went before stil, fast bound, and the Romains followed after. All the day time the army rested in thick woods, & marched all night by moon light, which was then by good hap at the ful, Titus having fent the femen away, rested all the rest of his camp: fauing that fome dayes he entertained them with fome light skirmishes to occupie the enemie withal. But the same day, when his men that setched a compasse about, should come vinto the top of the mountaine about the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, and deuided them into three troupes: with the one of them he himselfe went on that fide of the river where the way is straightest, making his bands to march directly against the fide of the hill. The Macedonians againe, they fhot luftily at them from the height of the hil, and in certaine places among fithe rockes they came to the fword. At the felfefame time, the two other troupes on either hand of him, did their endeuor likewise to get vp the hil, & as it were enuying one another, they climed vp with great courage against the sharp and steep hanging of the mountaine. When the Sun was vp, they might fee afarre off as it were, a certaine smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mists we see comonly rise from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could fee nothing, because it was behind them, & that the top of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The Romaines, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they law it increased stil more & more, and in such fort, that it darkned al the aire; then they did assure the sclues it was certainly the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they began tocric out, climing vp the hils with fuch a luftic courage, that they draue their enemies vp the hil stil, even vnto the very rough & hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did antiwer them with like loud cries from the top of the mountaine; wherewith the enemies were fo aftonied, that they fled prefently vponit. Notwithstanding, there was not flaine aboue two thousand of them, because the hardnes and straightnes of the place did so guard them, that they could not be chafed. But the Romaines spoiled their camp, took all that they found in their tents, tooke also their flaues, and wan the passage into the mountaines, by the which they entred the country of Epirvs and did paffe through it so quietly, and with so great abstinence, that though they were far from their ships and the sea, and lacked their ordinary portion of corne which they were wont to have monthly, & that victuals were very scant with the at that time, yet they neuer took any thing of § country, though they found great store & plenty of all riches in it. For *Titus* was aduertised, that *Philip* passing by Thessalr, & slying for feare, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountaines, & then to set fire on their houses,& to leave those goods they could not cary away, by reason of the weight & vnhadsom cariage thereof, to the spoile of his fouldiers: & so (as it seemed) he left the whole country to the conquest of the Romains. Whereupon Titus looking consideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to passe through the courty without doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their own. So they taried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly & wife forbearing of the country. For, fo foone as they were entred THESSALY,

Philip king don flieth. T. Q Fla.

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the cities willingly yeelded themselues vnto them; and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyond the courry of THERMOPYLEs, did maruellously defire to see Titus, asking no other thing, but to put themselves vnto his hands. The Achaian's also on the other side, did renounce the league & alliancethey had made with Philip and furthermore did determine in their counfell, to make war with him on the Romaines fide. And although the Erolians were at that time friends and confederates with the Romaines, and that they did shew themselves very louing to take their part in the wars: neverthelesse when they defired the Opvarians that they wold put their city into their hands, and were offered that it should be kept & defended from Philip they would not hearken thereto, but fent for Titus, and put themselves and their goods wholy into his protection. They say, that when king Pyrrus first saw the Romains army range in order of battell from the top of a hil, he faid: This order of the barbarous people fetting of their me in battell ray, was in of the not done in a barbarous maner. And those also that never had seene Titus before, & came for to Romaines speake with him: were compelled in a manner to fay as much. For where they had heard the Ma-CEDONIANS fay, that there came a captain of the barbarous people that destroyed al before him by force of armes, and fubdued whole countries by violence; they faid to the contrary, that they found him a man indeed young of yeares, how beit gentle, and courteous to looke on, and that fpake the Greek tongue excellently well, and was a louer only of true glory. By reason wherof they returned home maruellous glad, and filled all the cities & towns of GRECE with good wil towards him, & faid they had feene Titas the captaine, that would reftore them to their ancient liberty againe. Then it much more appeared, when Philip shewed himselfe willing to have peace and that Titus also did offer it him, and the friendship of the people of Rome, with these conditions that he wold leave y GRECTANS their whole liberties, & remove his garrifons out of their ciries and strong holds: which Philip refused to do. And thereupon all GRECE, and even those which favoured Philip, faid with one voicethat the Romaines were not come to make wars with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauour of the GRECIANS. Whereupon all GRECE came in, & offered themselves vnto Titus without compulsio. And as he passed through the country of Bobotta, without any flew at all of warres, the chiefest men of the citie of THEBES went to meet him: who though they took part with the king of MACEDON, because of a prinate man called Barchylelu, yet they would honour Titus, as those which were contented to keepe league and friendship with either side. Titus embraced them, and spake very courteously vnto them, going on his way stil faire and foftly, entertaining them sometime with one matter, and fometime with another, & kept the talke of purpose, to the end his souldiers being wearied, with iournying, might in the meane time take good breath and so marching on by litle and litle, he entredinto the city with them. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleased, but yet they durft not refuse him, though he had not at that time any number of souldiers about him. When he was within THEBES, he prayed audience, and began to perswade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already, that they would rather take part with the Ro-MAINEs, then with the king of MACEDON. And to further Titus purpose, king Attalus being by chance at that time in the affebly, did help to exhort § Thebans very earnestly, that they wold do as Titus perswaded them. But Attalus was more earnest then became a man of his yeares, for the defirehe had (as was imagined) to shew Titus his eloquence: who did so straine and moue himselfe withall, that he swouned sodainely in the midst of his oration, whereby the rewme fell down so fast vpon him, that it took away his senses, so as he fell in a trance before them all, and few daies after was connected again by fea into Asia, where he lived not long after. In the mean King Attatime, the Bo E o TIAN'S came into the ROMAINS, & took their part. And Philip having fent Am- The Boni. baffadorsto Rome, Titusalfo fent thither of his men to folicite for him, in two respects. The an year one if the wars continued against Philip, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, Remaines, if the Senate did grant him peace; that they would do him the honor, as to make and conclude it Quinting with Philip: For Titus of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare least they would fend a armin. fuccefforto continue those wars, who should take the glory from him, & make an end of them. But his frieds made fuch earnest sute for him, that neither king Philip attained that he praied meither was there fet any other General in Titus place, but he stil cotinued his charge in these wars. Wherefore, so some as he had received his commission and authority from the Senate, he went ftraight towards THESSALY, with great hope to ouercome Philip. For he had in his army aboue fixe and twenty thousand fighting men whereof the Ærolians made fixe thousand footemen,

which enery country and townes man had in his mouth, they alwayes put the Erolians be-

And by the Latine crewes likewife, whom Titus led from farre,

Vs to destroy, be (captainelike) did come with mighty bands:

And Philip stout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face,

fore the ROMAINES: as in this that followeth, which was currently fung in enery place:

Ob friend, which passeft by : here lye we wretched pheares,

Withouten honour of the grave, without lamenting teares.

We have bene overthrowne by th' Atolians men of warre:

We thirty thousand were, which ended have our dayes:

In cruell coasts of Theffaly, which caufed our decaies.

Euen out of Italy, to Macedonie land,

King Phi-Quentias met math their ermie

384 and three thousand horsemen. King Philips army on the other side was no lesse in number, and they began to march one towards the other, vntil at the length they both drew neare the city of Scorvs A, where they determined to trie the battell. So neither they nor their men were afraid to see themselves one so neare another: but rather to the contrary, the Romains on the one side tooke greater heart and courage vnto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselues what great honor they should winto ouercome the Macedonians, who were so highly esteemed for their valiantnesse, by reason of the famous acts that Alexander the great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other side also, taking the Romaines for other maner of soldiers then the Persians, beganne to have good hope if they might winne the field, to make King Philip more famous in the world, then cuer was Alexander his father. Titus then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to shew themselves valiant souldiers in this battell, as those which were to shew the proofe of their valiant nesse in the heart of GRECE, the goodlicst Theater of the world, and against their enemies of most noble same. Philip then by chance, or forced to it by the speed he made, because they were both ready to ioyne, did get vp vnwares vpon a charnell house, (where they had buried many bodies, being a little hill raised vp aboue the rest, and neare the trenches of his campe) and there began to encourage his souldiers, as all Generals do before they give battel. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they took it for an ill figne that he was gotten vp on the top of a graue to speak vnto the, he of a coceit at the matter, did of himself deferre to give battel that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by reason the South windes had blowne, the clouds were turned to a mist, and filled all the valley with a darke groffe thicke ayre, coming from the mountaines thereabouts, which couered the field betweene both campes with a mist all the morning: by reason whereof the skouts on both fides that were fent to discouer what the enemies did, in very short time met rogether, and one gaue charge vpon another, in a place they call the dogges heads, which are points of rockes placed vpon little hilles one before another, and very neare one vnto another, which had bene called so because, they have had some likenesse of it. In this skirmish there were many changes, as commonly falleth out when they fight in such ill fauored stony places: for Sometime the ROMAINES fled, and the MACEDONIANS chased them: another time the MACE-DONIANS that followed the chase, were glad to flie themselues, and the ROMAINES who fled before, now had them inchase. This change and alteration came by sending new supplies still from both camps, to relieue them that were distressed and driuen to slie. Now began the mist to breake vp, and the aircto cleare, so that both Generals might see about them what was done in either camp:by reason whereof both of them drew on their army to the field and battel. So Philip had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, from which they came to amaine to fet vpon the Romaines, and with fuch a fury, that the strongest & valiantest that could be, had never bin able to abide the front of their battel, so closely were they ioyned together, & their wall of pikes was fo strong. But on his left wing it was not so, because the ranks of his battell could not io yne so neare nor close target to target, the place being betwixt the hils and the rocks, where the battel was coming, so as they were copelled by reason of the straightnesse & vneuennesse of the ground, to leaue it open, and vnfurnished in many places. Titus finding that disaduantage, went from the left wing of his battell which he saw ouerlaid by the right wing of his enemies, and going fodainely towards the left wing of King Philips battell, he fet vpon the MACEDONIANS on that fide, where he faw they could not close their ranks in the front, nor joyne them together in the middest of the battel (which is the whole strength and order of the Macedonian fight) because the field was vp hill and downe hill and to fight hand to hand they were so pestered behind, that onethronged and ouerlaid another. For the battel of the Macedonians hath this propertie, that so long as the order is kept close and ioyned together, it seemeth as it were but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, and that they are fundred and not io yned together, it doth not only lose the force & power of the wholebody, but also of euery private souldier that fighteth partly by reafon of the diversity of the weapons wher with they fight, and partly for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing and ioyning together of their ranks & orders, which doth stay vp one another, more then doth ener y private fouldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was broken, and that they ran their way: one part of the Romains followed the chase, & the other ran to give a charge vpon the flanks of the right wing which fought yet,

and they made great flaughter of them. Wherupon they now which before had the vantage began to tagger and breake, and in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing down their Quintim weapons: infomuch as there were flaine of them eight thousand in the field, and fine thousand our reame taken prisoners in their chase. And had not the fault bin in the Ærolians, Philip had not faued Philips are himselfe by flying as he did. For whilest the Romains had their enemies in chase, the Atoli-Mutmie ANS tarried, and rifled all king Philips campe, so as they left the ROMAINE's nothing to spoile because the artheir returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell and hot words between them, and one with another. But afterwards it angred Titus worse, challenging the honour of this victory to Romaines. themselves, because they gave it out through GRECE, that they alone had overthrown king Philip in the battell. So that in the fongs and ballades the Poets made in praise of this victory,

Is fled, more (wift then Harts do run, which are pursude in chase. The Poer was Alexus that made these verses forto sing, who did them in disgrace of king Philip, fallely increasing the number of his men which died in the battell, onely to shame and spite him the more:howbeit he spited Titus thereby, more then Philip, because it was sung in enery place. For Philip laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a fong to counterfeithis, as followeth:

This gibbet on this hill, which paffers by may marke, Was fet to hang Alcaus up withouten leaves or barke.

But Titus tooke it grieuously, who chiefly desired to be honoured amongst the GRECIANS, alessis. by reason wheroffrom that time forwards he dealt in the rest of his matters alone, without making account of the Erolians: wher with they were maruellous angry, and specially when he private received an ambassador from Philip, and gave eare vnto a treatie of peace which he offered. For grudge bethen they were fo netled against him, that they gaue it out through all GRECE, that Titus had Quintum fold peace ynto Philip, when he might altogether have ended the war, and veterly have destroy- and the ed Philips whole power and Empire, who had first brought GRECE into bondage. These slan. Atolians. derous reports and false tales which the ÆTOLIANS spread thus abroad, did much trouble the ROMAINES friends and confederates: but Philips selfe pulled this suspition out of their heads, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit himself wholly to the discretion of Titus and the Romaines. Titus then granted him peace, and delinered to him his realme of Ma- To Quinting CEDON, and commanded him he should give over all that he held in GRECE; and besides, that gradient he should pay one thousand talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by sea, sauing onely passes ten ships: and for affurance of this peace, he tooke one of his sons for hostage, whom he sent to Rome. Wherein Titus certainly did very well, & wisely did foresee the time to come. For then Hannibal of CARTHAGE (the great enemy of the Romaines) was banished out of his countrey, Haunibal and came to king Antiochus, whom he put in the head, and earnestly moued, to follow his good was with fortune, and the increase of his Empire. Whom Hannibal so followed with these persuasions, by the line for the increase of his Empire. that king Antiochus at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notable acts, whereby in the wars before he had attained the furname of Great, he began now to aspire to the monarchie of the whole world, and sought how to find occasion to make wars with the Romaines. So that if Titus (forefeeing that a far off) had not wifely inclined to peace, but that the wars of Antiochus had fallen out together with the wars of king Philip, & that these two the mightiest Princes of the world had iouned together against the city of Rome: then it had bene in as great trouble and danger, as euer it was before in the time of their wars against Hannibal. Howbeit, Titus having happily thrust in this peace betweene both wars, he cut off the warre

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that was present, before the other that was coming: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kings his last, and from the other his first hope. In the meane time the ten commissioners that were sent by the Senate from Rome to Titus, to aide & affish him in the order of the affaires of GRECE, did counfell him to fet all the rest of GRECE at liberty, and onely to keepe in their hands with good garrison, the cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTH, and of DEMETRIADE, to make fure that by practife they should not enter into league and alliance with Antiochus. Then by Philip of the Arolians (that were the common flanderers of Titus proceedings) began openly to make these cities to rebell, and did summon Titus to loose the chaines of GRECE: for so did king Philip call the sethree cities. Then they asked the GRECIANS in mockery, whether they were willing now to have heavier fetters on their legs then before, being somewhat brighter and fairer then those they had bene shackled with: and also whether they were not greatly beholding to Titus for taking offthe fetters from the GRECIANS legs, and tying them about their necks. Titus being maruellously troubled and vexed with this, moued the ten Counsellors so earnestly, that he made them grant his request in the end, that those three cities also should be deliuered from garrison: because the Grecians theneeforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not throughly performed and accomplished in every respect on them all. Wherfore when the feast called Isthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinit multitude of people, come to fee the foort of the games played there; for GRECE having bene long timetroubled with wars, they seeing themselves now in sure peace, & in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but delighted onely to see games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by found of trumpet in the affembly, that euery man should keepe silence. That done, the herald went forward, & thrust into the middest of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloud: that the Senate of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius, Consul of the people of Rome, (now that they had ouerthrowne king Philip and the Macedonians in battell) did thenceforth discharge from all garrisons, and set at liberty from all taxes, subsidies, & impositions for euer, to line after their old ancient lawes, and in fulliberty: the Corinthians, the Lo-CRIANS, those of Phocide, those of the Iles of Évedea, the Achaians, the Phihiotes, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perro effiants. At the first time of the Proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the herald, and the most part of those that heard him, could not tell directly what he faid: for there ran vp and down the shew-place where the games were plaid, a confused bruite and tumult of people, that wondered, and asked what the matter meant, so as the herald was driven againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after silence made, the herald putting out his voice far louder then before, did proclaime it in such audible wife, that the whole affembly heard him: and then rose there such a loud shout and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the found of it was heard to the sea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were fet to fee the Sword-players play, rose vp al on their feet, letting the games alone, and went together with great ioy to falute, to embrace, and to thanke Titus the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of GRECE. Then was seene (which is much spoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crowes fell downe at that present time among the people, which by chance flew ouer the shew-place at that time that they made the same outshout. This came to passe, by reason the aire was broken and cut asunder with the vehemencie men poices and strength of the voyces, so as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe up the slying of the birds; which were driven of necessity to fall to the ground, as slying through a voide place where they lacked aire. Vnleffe we will rather fay, that it was the violence of the crie, which stroke the birds passing through the aire, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and so made them fal down dead to the earth. It may be also, that there was some hurling wind in y aire, as wedo fee fometime in the sea, when it riseth high, & many times turneth about the waves, by violece of the storme. So it is, that if Titus had not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to fee him, & that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended the had hardly escaped from being stifled amongst the the people came so thickeabout him fro every place. But after that they were weary of crying and finging about his paullion vntill night, in the end they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kin, friends or citizens, they did kiffe and embrace one another for ioy, and so supped and made merrie together. In their more reioycing yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table, but of the wars of GRECE, discoursing among the what fundry great wars they had made, what they had endured

heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet for all that, they could never fo iovfully, nor more affuredly obtaine it, then they did euen at that prefent, receiving the honorableft reward, and that which deferued greatest fame through the world that by the valiantnesse of strangers who fought for the same (without any spilt bloud of their owne in comparison, or that they lost the life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament they were so restored to their ancient freedome and liberty. It is a very rare thing amongst men, to find a man very valiant, and wife withall : but yet of all forts of valiant men, it is harder to find a just man. For Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, Alcibiades, and all other the famous captaines of former times, had very good skill to leade an army, and to win the battell, as well by fea as by land: but to turne their victories to any honourable benefite, or true honour among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you do except the battell against the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battel of SALAMINA, the journy of Play EBs, the battel of THERMOPYLES, the battel Cimon fought about Cyprvs, and vpon the river of Eurymedon: all the other wars and battels of GRECE that were made, fell out against themselves, and did ever bring them into bondage; and all the tokens of triumph which euer were fet vp for the same, was to their shame and losse. So that in the end, GRECE was veterly destroyed and ouerthrowne, and that chiefly through the wickednesse and selfe-will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying anothers doing. Where a strange nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to moue them to do it, (for that they had no great familiaritie with ancient GRECE, and through the counsell and good wisdome of the which, it should seeme very strange that GRECE could receive any benefite) have notwithstanding with dangerous battels and infinite troubles, delinered it from oppression and seruitude of violent Lords and tyrants. This and such like talke did at that time occupie the GRECIAN'S heads: and moreouer, the deedes following did answer and performe the words of the proclamation. For at one felfetime, Titus fent Lentulus into A- Quinting SIA, to fet the BARGILIANS at liberty, and Titilius into THRACIA, to remove the garrifons out the lot of the l of the Iles and cities which Philip had kept there; and Publius Iulius was fent also into As 1A, vnto liberty of king Antiochus, to speake unto him to set the GRECIANS at liberty which he kept in subjection. the Greek And as for Titus, he went himselfe vnto the citie of CHALCIDE, where he tooke sea, and and went into the province of Magnesia, out of the which he tookeall the garrifons of the ciries, and redeliuered the gouernment of the commonwealth vnto the citizens of the fame. After- The fad of wards when time came that the feast of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of AR GOS in the ho-Nema nour of Hercules, Titus was chosen judge and rector of the games that were plaid there; where, af-kpr at Arter he had fet all things in very good order, pertaining vnto the solemnitie of the feast, he caused againe folemne proclamation to be made openly, for the general liberty of all GRECE, Furthermore visiting the cities, he did stablish very good lawes, reformed instice, and did set the inhabitants & citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amitie and concord one with another; and did call home also all those that were outlawes and banished men, & pacified all old quarrels and diffentions among them. The which did no leffe please and content him, that by perswasions he could bring § GRECIANS to be reconciled one with the other, then if he had by force of armes ouercome the Macedonians. In somuch, as the recovery of the liberty which Titus had restored vnto the GRECIANS, seemed vnto them the least part of the goodnesse they had received at his hands. They fay that Lycurgus the orator feeing the collectors of taxes, cary Zenocrates the Philosopher one day to prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the stran-theorator, gers inhabiting within the citie of ATHENS were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, resent and moreouer prosecuted law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fine for the iniurie the Philethey had done vnto fo worthy a person: And they tell, that the same Philosopher afterwards sopher, and meeting Lycurgus children in the city, said vnto them: I do well requite your fathers good turne [aned him he did me: for I am the cause that he is praised and commended of enery man for the kindnesse out he shewed on my behalfe. So the good deedes of the ROMAINES, and of Titus Quintius Flaminius vnto the GRECIANS, did not only reape this benefite vnto them, in recompence that they were praised and honoured of all the world: but they were cause also of increasing their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the world afterwards had great affiance and trust in them, and that most justly. So that the people and cities did not onely receive the Captaines and Gouernours the Romaine's fent them: but they also went to Rome vnto them, and procuredthem to come, and did put themselues into their hands. And not only the cities and commu-

nalties, but kings & princes also which were oppressed by other more mighty then themselues) had no other refuge, but to put themselues vnder their protection: by reason whereof in a very short time (with the fauour and helpe of the gods, as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit themselues to their obedience, & vnder the protection of their Empire. Titus also did glory more that he had restored GRECE againe vnto liberty, then in any other service or exploit he had cuer done. For when he offered vp vnto the temple of Apollo in the city of DELPHES, the targets of filuer with his owne shield, he made these verses to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth:

O noble twins Tyndarides, Dan Ione his children deare, Throw out lowde (houts of ion and mirth reionce and make good cheere; O noble kings of Spartan soyle, which take delight to ride Your trampling steeds, with fomy bit, and trappings by their side: Reiogce you now, for Titus he, the valiant Romaine Knight, Thefe gifts fo great to you hath got, even by his force and might: That having taken cleane away from off the Greekish neckes, The heavy roke of fernitude, which held them thrall to checkes, Vnto their former liberty he hath restorde them free, Which altogether perisht was, as men might plainely see.

He gauea crowne of massie gold vnto Apollo, vpon the which he made this inscription to be

written:

Why Quin

A valiant Romaine Knight, euen Titus by his name, I captaineworthy by desert of high renowne and fame: To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine gold Hath ginen, thy godhead to adorne with iewels manifold: Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace) With fauour to requite this love to him and to his race: That his renowned fame and vertue may be spred,

And blazed through the world so wide, to show what life he led.

So hath the city of Corinth enjoyed this good hap, that the Greenans have bene twice proclaimed to be set at liberty: the first time by Titus Quintius Flaminius, and the second time by Meroin our time, and at the felfe same instant when they solemnely kept the feast called Ishmia. fet Grace at Howbeit the first proclamation of their liberty (as we haue told you before) was done by the voice of an herald: & the fecond time it was done by Nero himself, who proclaimed it in an oration he made unto the people in open affembly, in the market place of the city of Corinth. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, Titus began then a goodly and iust warre against Nabis the curfed and wicked tyrant of LACED & MON. Howbeit in the end he deceived the expectation of GRECE: for when he might have taken him, he would not do it, but made peace with him, for faking poore Sparta, vnworthily oppressed under the yoke of bondage: either because he was affraid that if the warre held on, there should come a successour vnto him from Rome; that should carry the glory away to end the same, or else he stood icalous and enuious of the ho-The bonour nour they did vnto Philopamen: who having shewed himselfe in every place as excellent a captaine as euer came in GRECE, and having done notable acts and famous service, both of great wisdome, and also of valiantnesse, and specially in the Acharans warre: he was as much honoured and reuerenced of the ACHAIANS in the Theater and common affemblies, cuenas Titus was. Whereat Titus was maruellously offended for he thought it vnreasonable that an Ar-CADIAN who had neuer bene Generall of an army, but in small litle wars against his neighbors, should be as much efteemed and honoured as a Confull of Rome, that was come to make wars for the recourry of the liberty of GRECE. But Titus alledged reasonable excuse for his doings, faying, that he faw very well he could not destroy this tyrant Nabu, without the great losse and misery of the other Spartans. Furthermore of all the honours the Acharans ever did him (which were very great) methinkes there was none that came neare any recompence of his honourable and well deferuing, but one only prefent they offered him, and which he aboue all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. During the second warres of Africke, which the Ro-MAINES had against Hannibal, many Romaines were taken prisoners in fundry battels they loft, and being fold here and there, remained flaues in many countries: and among ft other, there were dispersed in GRECE to the number of twelve hundred, which from time to time did move men with spite and compassion towards them that saw them in so miserable change and state Twelve of fortune. But then much more was their mifery to be pitied, when these captives found in the hundred ROMAINES army, some of them their sonnes, other their brethren, & the rest their fellowes and Romaines friends, free and conquerours, and themselues slaues and bondmen. It grieued Titus much to slaues. fee these poore men in such miserable captivitie, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the Achaians redeemed and bought them for fine hundred pence a man, and having gathered them together into a troupe, they presented all The Adhai. the Romain captines vnto Titus, even as he was ready to take ship to returne into Ital Y. which med the present made him returne home with greater joy and contentation, having received for his noble deeds so honourable a recompence, and worthy of himselfe, that was so louing a man to his that were citizens and country. And furely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautifie histriumph. Forthese poore redeemed captines did that, which the slaues are wont to Greece. do on that day when they be fet at liberty: to wit they shaue their heads, and do weare little Theserehats you them. The Romaines that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and so followed fluerman Titus chariot, on the day of his triumph and entry made into Rom n in the triumphing maner. It numified. was a goodly fight also, to see the spoiles of the enemies, which were caried in the snew of this T Quintin triumph: as ftore of helmets after the GRECIANS falhion, heapes of targets, shields, and pikes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull summe of gold and silver. For Itanus the Hiftoriographer writeth, that there was brought a maruellous great masse of treasure in niggots of gold, of three thousand seven hundred and thirteene pound weight; and of silver, of forty three thousand two hundred, threescore and ten pound weight; and of gold ready coyned in peeces called Philips, four eteene thousand, fine hundred & four teene, besides the thousand talents king Philip should pay for a ransome: the which summe, the Romaines afterwards forgaue him, chiefly at Titus fute and interceffion, who procured that grace for him, & caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of Romm, and his son Demetrius to be sent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hoftage of Rome. Shortly after king Antiochus went out of Manius As 1 A into GRECE with a great fleet of ships, & a very puissant army, to stir vp the cities to for- Acids fake their league & alliance with the Romains, and make a diffention among them. To further Contains this his defire and enterprise, the Arolians did aide and backe him, which of long time had Liusenans borne great and secret malice against the Romains, and defired much to have had warres with sent suro them. So they taught king Antiochus to fay, that the war which he tooke in hand, was to fet the Gruce. GRECIANS at liberty, wherof they had no neede, because they did already enjoy their liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he could. Wherfore the ROMAINE's fearing greatly the rifing of the people, and the rumour of the power of this great king, they fent thither Manius Acilius their Generall, and Titus, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS fakes. Which arrivall did more affure the that already bare goodwill to the ROMAINES, after they had once seene Manius and Titus: and the rest that began to flie out, and to shrinke from them, those Titus kept in obedience from starting, remembring them of the friendship and good will they had borne him, euen like a good skilfull Phisitian that could giue his patient Phisicke to preserue him from a contagious disease. Indeede there were fome(but few ofthem) that left him, which were won & corrupted before by the ATOLIANS: and though he had iust cause of offence towards them, yet he saued them after the battell. For king Antiochus being ouercome in the country of THERMOPYLES, fled his way, & in great half tooke the feato returne into As 1 A. And the Conful Manius following his victory, entred into Amiechus the country of the ATOLIANS, where he took certaine townes by force, and left the other for a caeribrown prey vnto king Philip. So Philip king of Mace Don on the one fide, spoiled and sacked the Do-LOPIANS, the Magnesians, the Athanians, & the Aperantines; and the Confull Mamius on the other fide, destroyed the city of HERACLEA, and laid siege to the city of NAVPAC- Confull. TVM, which the ATOLIAN'S kept. But Titustaking compassion of them to see the poore people of GRECE thus spoiled and turned out of all: went out of PELOPONNESVS (where he was then) vnto Manius Acilius campe, and there reproued him for suffering king Philip to vsurpe the benefit and reward of his honourable victory, still conquering many people, kings and countries,

whilest he continued siege before a city, and onely to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwards,

when they that were befieged faw Titus from their walls, they called him by his name, and held

Inconclusion, after Mithridates had delivered Syllathreescore and tengallies, and five hundred

Peace con

Dardane.

The floutses of Sylla. him[elfe to Syllaes an. Mibrida-

h ng of Bin

withall. And thereupon peace was concluded betweene them vnder conditions: that Mithrida. ewint Sylla should depart from Asia the lesse, and from Paphlagonia, that he should restore Bithy-NIA VNto Nicomedes, and CAPPADOCIA VNto Ariobar Zanes, that he should pay 2000 talents to the ROMAINES, and give them threescore and ten gallies, with all their furniture. And vpon behalfe vp. this, Sylla would also affure him the rest of his Realme: and would cause him to be proclaimeda friend of the Romaines. These articles being past by agreement betwixt them, sylla taking his iourney through THESSALY & MACEDON, into the country of HELLESPONT, carried Arche. laws with him, whom he honourably intreated. For Archelaus falling dangerously ficke of a difease in the city of Larissa, he stayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefest Captaines and companions. And this was the cause that made Archelaus to be blamed for the battell of CHOERONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought itour. nor Syllatruly wonne it, but by treason. And againe, Archelaus was the more suspected, because Sylla redeliuered Mithridates all his fernants and friends which he had prisoners, fauing the ty-Arthoner- rant Aristion that kept ATHENS, whom he poyloned, because he was Archelaus enemy: but spea. cially for the lands Sylla gaue vnto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gaue him ten thousand Iugera; ned by Silla (or acres of land) within the He of Eve of EA, and gaue him moreouer the title of a friend of the Romaines for euer. But sylla denyethall these things in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambassadors came from king Mithridates vnto Sylla, who told him that the king their mafter did ratific and accept all the articles of peace, fauing that he only prayed him he wouldnot take the country of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the gallies, he would not so muchas once say he would promise them. Sylla being offended herewith, angerly answered the againe Then Mithridates (as ye say) meaneth to keepe PAPHLAGONIA still, and refuseth to give the ships I demanded: where I looked that he would have humbly thanked me on his knees, if Heft him his right hand onely, with the which he put fo many Romaine citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me another tale, if I come once into Asia: but now at Per games, he speaketh his pleasure of this war which he hath not seene. The Ambassadours being afraid of his words, replied not againe. Whereupon Archelaus spake, and besought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hand. By intreatie, in the end he obtained of sylla to fend him vnto Mithridates: promifing that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles and conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himselfe with his owne hands. Vponthis promife Sylla fent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armic into the countrey of MEDICA: and after he had destroyed the most part thereof, returned backe againe into MACEDON, where Archelaus being returned from Mithridates, found him neare vnto the city of PHILIPPES, bringing him newes that all should be well: howbeit that his master Mithridates prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now the matter that made Mithridates so carnest to speake with sylla, was chiefly for Fimbria: who having flaine Flaccus the Confull, being of the contrary faction vnto Sylla, and certaine of Mithridates Lieutenants also, went himselfe against him to fight with him. Mithridates fearing his comming, chose rather to make himselfe Syllaes friend. So Mithridates and Sylla mettogether in the countrey of TROADE, in the city of DARDANE, Mithridates being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred fale of shippes with oares at sea, with twenty thousand footenen, sixe thousand horse, and a number of armed carts with fithes befides by land, sylla having onely but foure enfignes of footmen, and two hundred horsemen. Mithridates went to Sylla, and offering to take him by the hand: Sylla asked him first, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which Archelaus had agreed vnto. Mithridates made him no answer. Sylla following on his tale, said vnto him: It is for furers to speake first, that have request to make: and for conquerours, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare whatthey will fay. Then began Mithridates to excuse himselse, and to lay the occasion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinance of the gods that so had appointed it, and partly also vpon the Romaines themselves. Whereunto Sylla replyed, that he had heard of long time that Mithridates was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, feeing that helacked no comely words to cloke his foule and shamefull deedes: but withall he sharpely reproued him, and draue him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him againe, if he did confirme that which Archelaus had done. Mithridates made eriobarga answer, that he did. Then Sylla faluted, embraced, and kissed him: and calling for the kings Nines king of antiverstriat ne did. I nero special them together, and made Mithridates their friend againe.

bow-men, he returned by sea into his realme of Pontvs. But Sylla hearing that his fouldiers were angry with this peace made with Mithridates, because they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their most cruell and mortall enemie, (having in one selfeday canfed a hundred and fiftie thousand ROMAINE citizens to be slaine, that were dispersed abroad indiuers places of Asia) foto depart, and go his way fafe, with the riches and spoyles of the thousand country, which he had berefithem of, and yied at his pleasure, the space of forty yeares together answered them in excuse of himselfe, that he was notable to make warres with Mithridates, one day in and Fimbria both, if once they were in oyned together against him. And so Sylla departing thence went against Fimbria, who then was encamped neare to the city of THYATIRA, and lodged testemma himselfe as neare ynto him as he conveniently might. Now whilest he was compassing in his dement. lodging with a trench, Fimbriaes fouldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any camped at armour or weapon, to falute Sallaes fouldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make vp their Thyapra. trench: which Fimbria feeing, and perceiuing his fouldiers mindes fo changed, of an extreame feare which he had of Sylla, at whose hands he looked for no mercie, killed himselfe in his owne campe. Sylla hereupon condemned the whole countrey of As 14 the leffe, to pay the summe of twenty thousand talents amongst them, and presently also he vindid many poore housholders bardly inthrough his infolent fouldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garrifon there. For he ordained, that every housholder should give the souldier that lodged in his house, foure Te- of Asia. tradrachmaes a day, and should be bound to give him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him)their supper also: and that every Captaine should have fiftie Drachmaes a day, a night gowne for the house, and a garment to go abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had given this order, he departed from the city of EPHBSVS with all his fleete, and in three daies fayling arrived in the hauen of Piræa at Athens, where he was received into the fraternity of the Mysteries, and reserved for himselfe the Librarie of Appellicon Teian: in the which were the most part of Ariffotle and Theophrastus workes, not then thought meete to come in eue- Aristoile rie mans hands. And they say, that this Librarie being brought to Rome, Tirannion the Grammarian found the meanes to extract a great part of them and that Andronicus the RHODIAN ha- bookers uing reconcred the originals into his hands, published them, and wrote the summaries which we have arthis present. For the ancient Peripateticke Philosophers were of themselues very wife and learned men, but they had not all Ariftotles works, nor Theophrastus amongst them, and yet those few they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together; because that the goods of Nelew Scepsian (to whom Theophraftus left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and estimation of them. And furthermore, Sylla being at ATHENS, had fuch a paine and numneffe in his legges, and was fo heavie withall, that strabo calleth it a spice of the gout, that is to say, a feeling or entring therinto, which then began to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occasion he tooke the seas, and went vnto a place called ADIPSVM, where there are naturall hot baths; and there remained a while fola- at adaption cing himselfall the day long with musick, seeing of playes, and entertaining such kind of people. for the game in his legs. Vpon a day as he was walking by the fea fide, certain fifther me made him a prefent of fifth, which pleased him maruellous well: and demanding of them whence they were: they answered him againc, that they were of the city of ALES. What of ALES faid he is there any of them yet left aliue: speaking it, because that after the battell of ORCHOMENE, when he followed the chace of his enemies, he hadtaken and destroyed three cities of Bobotia all at one selfe time, to wir, ANTHE DON, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poore fisher men were so amazed with these words, that they stood still, and could not tell what to say . Sylla fell a laughing thereat, and bad them go their wayes a Gods name, and be not afraid, for they brought no small intercessiours with them, which were worth the reckening of. When Sylla had given them these words, the ALEIANS which were worth the reckening of. When Sylla had guien them these words, the ALBIANS went home with a mery heart, to gather themselves together againe in their city. Sylla so passing free signs free signs. through THESSALY & MACEDON, came to the sea side, intending to go from the city of DYR- out of a RACHIVM VNto BRUNDVSIVM With 120 fayle. Thecity of Apolionia is hard by Dyrra - medow by CHIVM, & thereabouts is a park confecrated vnto the Nymphs, where in a faire goodly greene Asatre medow in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is saken fleefaid, that there was a Satyre taken fleeping, euen in the very felfe same forme the painters and brought image-grauers haue fet him out. He was brought vnto Sylla, and being asked by all forts of inter-

Syllawent against fitteene Geforme hundred and fiftie en-

> Salla oner threw the Cenfull Norbanus co Marius the yenger, neare to teine Eplic. A Stane jor shewest Sallaes vi-Etory, che the Capitella

cut truly.

Aminde that blow Hinvers cut of Fideria.

Lucullus

Syllaes poli= Scipio.

preters whathe was, he made no answer that a man could vinderstand, but onely put foortha sharpe voice like the neying of a horse, or whinnying of a goate. Sylla wondering at it, abhorsed him, and made him to be carried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when Syllahad imbarked his men to paffe the sea, he was afraid that so soone as they had landed in ITALY, they would shrinke from him, and enery man go home to his own city. But they sware and promised first of themselves, that they would tarie & keepe together, and by their wils would do no hurt in ITALY. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stood in need of mony, they offered him of theirs, and euery man to lend him as his ability serued. But Sylla would none, yet thanked them for their good will: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valiant fouldiers, he went against fifteene Generals of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fiftie enfignes of footmen well armed, as he himselfewriteth in his commentaries. But the gods promised him good fortune in his wars, by many fundry apparent fignes. For in a facrifice he made by TARENTYM, after he was come on land, the liner of a certaine beaft facrififed, was altogether fashioned after the manner of a crowne or garland of lawrell, out of the which did hang two bands or rolles. And a litle before he went into Campania, neare vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuerthelesse was no matter of truth, but a vision only that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it felfe by little and little here and there in the aire, and in the end vanished quite away as clouds which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, Marius the younger, and Norbamus the Confull, who brought two great armies against him, were ouerthrowne by him, before he had fet his men in battell, or had appointed any man in his place where he should fight: and this proceeded only vpon the courage and life of his foulders, whose good wilkto serue against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Consult Norbanus after he had flaine fixe thousand of his men, to take the city of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exploit (as himfelfereported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he faith furthermore, that in the city of Sylvin, there was a flaue of one Pontius actizen, who being infpired with a propheticall ipirit, came to tel him from the goddesse Bellona, that he should grow in strength, and cary away the victory of these wars: howbeit that if he did not his him the sooner, the Capitoll at Rom flould be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his words, being the fixteenth day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Iuly. And furthermore also, Lucullus (one of Syllaes Captaines) being neare vnto the city of Fidentia with fixteene enfignes onely, against fiftie enfignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serue, because the most part of them were naked and vnarmed, was afraid to hazard the battell: and as he was euen bethinking himselfe what was best to determine thereof, there rose a litle wind out of a goodly meadow, that blew a wonderfull fort of flowers vpon the fouldiers on every part of them. These flowers staied of themselves as they fell, some vpontheir of a medion targets, and others vpon their morians, without falling to the ground: so that it seemed to their In fauldiers enemies a far off, as if they had bene garlands of flowers vpon their heads. This made Lucullus fouldiers more lufty a great dealethen they were before, & with this good will they determined to giue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew, flue eighteene thousand of them in the field, & took their camp. This Lucullus was brother vnto the other Lucullus, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings Mithridates & Tigranes. Neuertheleffe, Sylla perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant armies, thought good to vse policie with force: and therefore practifed with scipio one of the Confuls, to make peace with him. Scipio was willing to it and thereupon were oft meetings and affemblies of both fides. Now Sylla draue off the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasio of delay, to the end that his soldiers which werethroughly acquainted with craft & fubtilty as well as himselfe, might in the means time corrupt Scipioes fouldiers by repaire into his campe for they coming into Scipioes campe, being very conuerfant with them, ftraight corrupted fome of them with readic mony, other with promises, and other with faire flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practife had continued a while, Sylla coming neare vnto Scipioes campe with 20 ensignes onely: all his men saluted Scipioes soldiers, & they resaluting them again, yeelded them. felues vnto Sylla, so as Scipio was lest postalone in his tet, where he was take, but they afterwards by peine. let him go. So Sylla with his 20 enfignes, like to the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds

into their nets, hauing gotten forty enfignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that Carbo faid of Sylla, that he had to fight with a foxe. and a lion both: but that the foxe did him more hurt and mischiefe then the lion. After this, Ma. Soldaton. riss the younger having fourescore and flue ensignes in his campe neare vnto the city of Sto- shing the NIVM, presented battell vnto Sylla: who having very good desire to fight, and specially on that fore to life, Maries the day because the night before he had seene this vision in his dreame, that he thought he saw Mariss the father (who was deceaffed long before) warning his fonne that he should come to him. with 85-Sylla forthis respect desired maruellously to fight that day : and thereupon caused Dolabella to presenteth come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies stept betweene him syllaband and home, and stopped his passage to keepe him from ioyning with Sylla. Syllaes souldiers to the by the city contrary, fought to keepe the way open for him, with fo great labour and paine, that they were sillars vial weary and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruellous great shower of raine vpon fin this them as they were buffe opening the way, that troubled them more then the labour they had in hand. Wherupon the privat captaines of the bands went to make Sylla vnderstand it, and to pray him to deferre the battel vntil another day: shewing him how the fouldiers wearied with labor. lay down vpontheir targets on the ground to take their ease. Sylla perceiuing this, was cotented withall, though greatly indeed against his will. But when he had given the fignall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their campe, Marius the younger cometh on horsebacke marching brauely before all his company, hoping to have furprised his enemies in disorder, and by that meanes to have overthrowne them eafily. But far otherwife did fortune then performe the reuelation which Sylla had in his forefaid dreame; for his men falling in a rage withall, left their worke in the trench where they wrought, stucke their darts you the banke, ran your their enemies with their fwords drawne, and with a maruellous crie fet vpon them fo valiantly, that they were notable to refift their furie, but fodainly turned their backs and fled, where there was a great and notable flaughter made of them. Marius their Captaine fled to the city of PR ENE- Marius fled STE, where he found the gates shut: but they threw him downed rope from the wall, which he tyedabout his middle, and so was triced up by it. Yet some writers say, and Fenestella among other; that Marius neuer faw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and very fleepie, he lay vnder some tree in the shadow to rest a little, after he had given the signall and word of the battell, and flept fo foundly, that he could scant awake with the noise and flying of his men. Sylla himselfewriteth, that he lost at this battell but three and twenty men, slue twentie thoufand of his enemies, and tooke eight thousand prisoners. His Lieutenants also had the like good fuccesse in other places, Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, and Seruilius . which without any losse of their men, or but with a very small, ouerthrew many great mighty armies of their enemies. Infomuch as Carbo, the head and chiefe of all the contrary faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyond the feas into Africks. The last battell that Sylla had, was against Thelesinus Samnite, who comming like a fresh champion to set vpon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battels, had almost staine him even the Samat Rome gates. For Thelesinus having gathered together a great number of fouldiers, with metaput One Lamponius Lycanian, marched with all speede towards the city of PR ENESTE, to deliver great date. Marius the younger that was besieged there. But vnderstanding that Sylla on the one side ger. came in great haste also to meete him, and that Pomponius came behind him on the other side, and perceiuing moreouer that the way was so shut vp, that he could goe neither forward nor backward, being a valiant fouldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fields, most dangerously ventured to go straight to Rome. And so stole away by night with all his whole Power, and marching to Rom B ward, had almost taken it at his first comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept:but he stayed happily tenne furlongs from the gate Collina, bragging with himfelfe, and beleeuing that he should do wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came divers young Noblemen and Gentlemen Out of the city to skirmish with Thelesinus: who slue agreat number of them, and among others one Appius Claudius a young Gentleman of a noble house, and very honest. Whereupon (as you may easily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and specially the women, who fell a shreeking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, Balbus (whom Sylla had sent) came first with seuen hundred horse vponthe spurre, and staying but a little to coole and give them breath, bridled straight again, & went to set upon

In the end

Sylla a.

the enemies, thereby to stay them. Soone after him came Salla also, who commanded his men that came first, quickly to cate somewhat, and that done, purthem straight in battell ray: notwithstanding that Dolabella and Torquatus perswaded him to the contrarie, and befought him not to put his fouldiers wearied with their journey, to fo great and manifest a danger; and the rather, because they had not to fight with Carbo and Marius, but with the SAMNITES and LYCANS: who were both warlike nations and good fouldiers, & those besides that most deadly hated the ROMAINES. But for all that, Sylla sent them backe, and commanded his trumpets to sound the alarme, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where Crassus was, had the better much: but the left wing was very fore distressed, and stood in great perill. Sylla hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vpon a white courfer that was both fwift & very strong. The enemies knew him, & there were two that lifted up their armes to throw their darts at him, whom he faw not: but his page gaue his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very points of the darts came hard by the horse tayle & stucke fast in the ground. Some fay, that Sylla had a little golden image of Apollo, which he brought from the city of DELPHES, and intime of warres wore it alwaies in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kiffing it, faid : O Apollo Pythias, haft thou fo highly exalted Cornelius Sylla, fo fortunate hitherto through fo many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame ouerwhelme him wholly, even at the very gates of his own naturall city among his countreymen. And fo crying out to Apollo for helpe, thrust into the preaseamong his men, intreating some, threatning others, and laying upon the rest to stay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his armie was broken and overthrowne by his enemies: and himselfe amongst them that sled, was compelled to recouer his can p with speed, having lost many of his friends and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens flaine and troden under feete (both with horse and men) that came onely to fee the battell fought: fo that they within the city thought themselues verily vndone. Lucretius Offella furthermore (he that besieged Marin in the city of PRENESTE) had almost raised his fieged Marimin Pra- ficge, upon the words of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remoue with all speed possible, for Sylla was slaine, and Thelesinus had taken Rome. Now about midnight came certaine fouldiers from Crassus to Syllaes campe, and asked for meate for Crassus life nure fupper, and his mens, who having chased his flying enemies whom he had overthrowne vnto the city of Antenna (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. Syllavnder-5) Habefie- standing that, and being advertised that the most part of his enemies were overthrowne at this battell, went himselfe the next morning betimes vnto Antenna, where three thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receive them to mercy if they yeelded themselves vnto him, His answer was, that he would pardon their lives, so as they would do some mischiefto their fellowes before they came to him. These three thousand her cupon trusting to his promise, fell vp-Pranefte. 3000 (aut on their companions: and for the most part one of them killed another. Notwithstanding Sylshemfelues la having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of six thousand, within the shew-place wherethey vied yeelded to to runtheir horses, whilest he himselfe held a councell in the temple of the goddesse Bellona, and Salla rpon was making his oration there; he had appointed certaine to set vpon those 6000, and put them to promiseof the fword every man. Great & terrible were the cries of fuch a number of men flaine in fo small a roome as may eafily be coniectured: infomuch as the Senators fitting in councell heard them very cafily, and maruelled what the matter was. But Sylla continuing on his oration which he had begun with a fet steadie countenance, without changing of colour, willed them only to hearken what he faid, and not to trouble themselues with any thing done abroad, for they were but certaine offenders and leud perfons that were punished by his commandement. This was enough to shew the simplest Romaine in Rome, that they had but onely changed the tyrant, and not the tyrannic. Now for Marius, that had ever bene of a churlish and severe nature, even from his childhood, he neuer changed for any authority, but did rather harden his naturall stubburnnes.

Where Sylla contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and civill in al his prosperity, & gaue

great good hope, that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauour nobility well, and

yet loue notwithstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreouer a man in his youth gi-

uen to all pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, & weepe for tender harriin that he became

after so cruell and bloudy, the great alteration gaue manifest cause to condemne the increase of

SYLLA.

honor and authority, as the only meanes wherby mens manners continue not fuch as they were Honour at the first, but still do change and varie, making some sooles, others vaine and phantasticall, and changes or conditions. orhers extreame cruell and vnnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by changing sollathe his state and condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to flew it felfe, when the way of liberty was layed open: this matter is to be decided in some other Treatise. So it came to passe, that Sylla fell to shedding of bloud, and filled all morthers ROME with infinite and vnfpcakcable murthers: for divers were killed for private quarels, that committed had nothing to do with Sylla at any time, who suffered his friends and those about him to worke in Rome by their wicked wills: vntill at the length there was a young man called Caius Metellus, that was fo bold to aske Sylla in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should reve bold to aske sylla in open senate, when an these mileties mound end, and when they motion when all the miseries were finished the which they dayly faw. For, said he, we will not inseffect care. treate you to pardon life, where you have determined death; but only to put them out of doubt is Meselwhom you have determined to faue. Whereunto Sylla made answer, that he was not resoluted linguistill whom he would faue. Metellus replyed, Thentell vs (quoth he) who they are that shall die. Sylla size in the condition of the sylla size of the condition who have a sylla size of the condition o answered, he would. Howbeit some say, it was not Metellus, but Austidius one of his flatterers, open Senate that spake this last word vnto him. Wherfore Sylla immediatly, without making any of the magistrates priuie, caused fourescore mens names to be set vp vpon posts, whom he would put to death. Euery man being offended withall, the next day following he fet vp 220 mens names more: and likewise the third day as many more. Hercupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly, that he had appointed all them to die, that he could cal to remembrance; howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should die, by daies, as he did call them to mind. Whosoeuer faued an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindnesse, he himselfe was condemned to die: not excepting them that had received their brothers, their fonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of euery homicide & murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talents: though it were a flaue that had killed his mafter, or the fonne that had flaine the father. But the most wicked and vniust act of all was, that he deprined the sonnes, and sonnes sons ofthem whom he had killed, of all credit and good name; and befides that, had taken all their goods as confiscate. And this was not onely done in Rome, but also in all the cities of ITALIE throughout: and there was no temple of any god what foeuer, no altar in any bodies house, no libertie of hospitall, nor fathers house, that was not embrued with bloud and horrible murther. For the husbands were flaine in their wives armes, and the children on their mothers laps; and yet they which were flaine for private hatred and malice, were nothing in respect of those that there of our were murthered onely for their goods. And they that killed them, might well fay, His good- lawes genely greathouse made that man die, his goodly faire garden the other, and his hore bathes another. As amongst others, Quintus Aurelius, a man that neuer medled with any thing, and least Quintus looked that thefe euils should light vpon him, and that onely pitied those which he saw so mise- develue a rably murthered, went one day into the market place, and reading the bill fet vp of the outlawes that mednames, found his owne name amongst the rest, and cryed out aloud: Alasthe day that euer I led not, was borne, my house of Alba maketh me be put to death. He went not far from the market his bone. place, but met with one that killed him prefently. In the meanetime Marius the yonger feeing he Marius che could by no meanes escape if he were taken, slue himself. And Sylla coming to PR ENESTE, did himselfe as first execute them by one & by one, keeping a certaine forme of instice in putting them to death: but afterwards, as if he had no longer ley sure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a salla sue place together, to the number of twelue thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword men in euery man, saving his host onely; vnto whom he said, that he shewed him speciall fauour to save prenesses his life. But his hoft answered him stoutly againe, that he would not be beholding vnto him for being all his life, feeing he had flaine all the rest of his countreymen: and so thrusting in amongst the citizens, was willingly flaine with them. They thought the act of Lucius Catiline also very strange, together. who had flaine his owne brother before the civill war was ended: and then prayed Sylla to put tiline flae him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. Sylla performed his defire. his owne Catiline thereupon to shew his thankfulnesse for the pleasure Sylla had done him, went present- brother. ly and flue Marcus Marius, who was of the contrary faction, and brought him his head for a prefent before all the people, in the midst of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his hands all bloudied in the hallowed font of the temple of Apollo,

that was hard by. But besides so many murthers committed, yet were there other things also that

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The order of Syllaes

med Fau Faufta.

SzHa lea . Dictator.

Marcsu Le

grieued the people maruelloufly. For he proclaimed himself Dictator, which office had not him of fixfcore yeares before in vie, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, gining him free libertie afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confifcate their goods: to destroy cities, and to build up new as he lifted: to take away kingdomes, and to give them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly fold the goods confiscate, by the cryer, sitting fo proudly & stately in his chaire of state, that it grieued the people more to see those goods packs vp by them to whom he gaue and disposed them, then to see them taken from thosethat had forfeited them. For fometimes he would give a whole country, or the whole revenues of cer. taine cities, vnto women for their beauty, or vnto pleasant iesters, minstrels, or wicked slaves made free; and vnto some he would give other mens wives by force, and make them to be married against their wils. For he desiring (how seeuer it happened) to make alliance with Pompey the Great, commanded him to put away his wife he had maried: and taking Amylia (the daughter of Amilius Seaurus, and of Metella his wife) from the great Glabrio, caused him to mary her great with child as she was by Glabrio: but she died in childbed in Pompeys house. Lucretius Offellaslio that had brought Marins the younger to that distresse at the city of PRENESTE, suing to be Confull, sylla commanded him to ceasife his suite: but he notwithstanding that expresse commandement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that fauoured his cause: whither Sylla sent one of his Centurions that slue Offella before al the people; himself sitting in a chaire of estate in the temple of Castor & Pollux, & seeing fro about the muri ther done. The people that were about offella, laid hold of the murtherer straight, and brought him before Sylla: but Sylla bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him go, because he commanded them to do it. Furthermore, as touching his tri. umph, it was a sumptuous fight to behold, for the rarenesse of the riches, and princely spoyles which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the fight, to fee the banished Romaines, who were the chiefest nobleme of al the city of Rome, following his chariot triumphant wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, calling Sylla their father and fauiour: because that by his meanes they returned to their country, and recouered their goods, wives & children. In the end of histriumph, he made an oration, in open affembly of the people of Rome, in the which he did not only declare vnto the (according to the custome) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successes as of his valiant deeds besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great fauour fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, Felix, to say, happie or fortunate. And he himselfe when he wrote vnto the GRECIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them, furnamed himselfe Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloued and sauoured of Venus. His tokens of triumph which are yet in our countrey, have this superscription: Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus. And when his wife Metella had brought him two twinnes, 2 fon and a daughter: he named his fon Faustus, fignifying fortunate, and his daughter Fausta: because the Romaines call Faustum that which falleth outprosperously & happily. To be short, he trusted so much vnto his good fortune and doings, that not with standing he had killed & put fo many mento death, and had made fo great a change and innovation in the commonwealth, yet of himself he lest off his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Confuls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a private man among the citizens, offering himfelfe to every man that would aske him account of his doings past. It happened that a stout and rash enemy of his was chosen Confull against his will, called Marcus Lepidus, not for any denotion the people had to Lepidus, but onely to gratifie Pompey, who gaue countenance & fauour vnto him. Sylla feeing Pompey come merry homewards from the election, & ioyfull that he had obtained his friends fute from all other futers: took him aside, and told him: Indeed thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my friend, for thouhast done a goodly act, to choose Marcus Lepidus Consull, the veriest asse in all Rome, before Catulus the honestest man. But I tell thee onething, thou hadst not neede to sleepe: for thou hast strengthened an enemie, that will be thine owne destruction. And Sylla proved a true prophet: Speared feet the people of the Lepidus being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiance with Pompey. Now Sylla confecrating the diffmes of all his goods vnto Hercules, made exceeding fumptuous feaftes Sylla confectating the claimes of all his goods vnto Hercules, made exceeding sumptions feastes typearts old vnto the Romaines, the provision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that every day they e powerd, threw a great deale of meate into the river, and they dranke wine of forty yeares old and above.

During these feasts which continued many daies, his wife Metella sickened, and died, and in her ficknesse the Priests and Soothsayers willed Sylla he should not come neare her, nor suffer his houseto be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon Sylla was dinorced from her in her fickneffe, and caused her to be carried into another house, whilest she lined. And thus did Sylla curiously observe the superstition and ordinance of the Soothsayers: but vet he brake the law which he made himfelfe, touching the order of funerals, sparing no bisowns coffat Metellaes buriall. So did he also breake another order himselfe had made, touching lames he the reformation of bankets: comforting his forrow with ordinarie feafts, full of all vanitie and lasciuious field. Within a few moneths after, he had fencers games at the sharpe; and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnseuered, men and women sitting together, it fortuned that there was a faire Ladie, and of a noble house, that sate hard by Sylla, called Valeria: the was the daughter of Messala, and fifter of Hortensius the Orator, that had bene divorced not long before from her husband. This Ladie passing by Sylla behind him, did foftly put her hand on his shoulder, and tooke a haire from off his gowne, and so went on to her place, and fate her downe. Sylla maruelling at this familiarity, looking earnestly upon her: It is nothing my Lord (quoth she) but that I defire with others to be partaker a little of your happinesse. Her Valeriada words misliked not Sylla, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them; for he from to be fent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had lived. of Syllats But after many flie lookes betweene them, they turned their faces one to another vponeuery. happingfe. occasion, with prettie smiling countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise and sold maricontract mariagetogether, for the which Valeria was not to be blamed. For though she was as the fifter of wife, as honest, and as vertuous a Ladie as could be possible, yet the occasion that made sylla Hortersius marrie her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a yong boy: which commonly flew forth the filthieft passions of the minde, to be so carried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had this faire young Ladie in his house, he left not the company of women minstrels and tumblers. and to have pleasant iesters and musitions about him, with whom he would lye wallowing and drinking all the day long, upon little couches made for the nonce. For, his companions that were ingreatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: Roscius a maker of common playes, Sorax a prince of scoffers, and one Metrobius a finging man, whom he was in lone withall while he lived, and yet did not diffemble his love, though he was past age to be beloved. This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his dilease, the originall cause whereof had light foundation at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an impostume in his body, the which by processe of time came to corrupt his stesh in such fort, that it turned allto lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him conti- possume nually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that mul-turned to tiplied still vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate it felfe, but was prefently filled with fwarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the batheto wash and cleanse himselfe of them, but all would not serue: for the changing of his flesh into this putriture wan it straight againe, that there was no cleansing, nor shifting of him, that could keepe such a number of lice from him. Some say, that in old time (amongst the most ancient men, whereof there is any memorie) Acastus the sonne of Pe. Diversifalius, died of the lowfic euill: and long time afteralfo, the Poet Aleman, and Pherecides the mous men that died of divine: and so did Callishenes OLYNTHIAN in prison, and Mutius a wise lawyer. And if we lies shall make mention of those that are famous, although it be not in any good matter: we finde that a bondman called Eunus, he that was the first procurer of the warres of the bondmen in Sicilia, being taken and carried to Rome, died also of the same disease. Furthermore, Sylla did not onely foresee his death, but he wrote something of it also: for he made an end of writing thetwo and twentieth booke of his commentaries, two daies before he died. Inthat booke containe 22 he laith, that the wife men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had lived hoSplace for nonrably, he should end his daies in the slower of all his prosperity. And there he saith also, that was that his sonne (who departed a little before his mother Metella) appeared to him in his sleepe, dead appearapparelled in an ill fauoured gowne, and that comming vnto him, he prayed him he would inhidrent go with him vnto Metella his mother, thencefoorth to live in peace and rest with her. But for soil fanouall his disease, he would not give over to deale in matters of state. For tendaies before his red apparell

Granisa Brangles in Syllaes fight,by his mandemet.

Pafibami.

Syllaes Epi-

LANYM (in Italian called Pozzolo) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinances, whereby they should gouerne themselues. And the day before he died, hearing that Granius who was in debt to the commonwealth, deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he sent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there caused his men to compasse himabout, and commanded them to strangle him in his fight. The passion of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreme straining of himselfe, he brake the impostume in his bodie, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood: by reason whereof his strength sailing him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, and so died, leaving the two little children he hadby Metella, For Valeria, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called Posthumia, because the Romaines call those children that are borne after the deathof their fathers, Posthami. Now when Sylla was dead, many gathered about the Consull Lepidus, to let that his body should not be honourably buried, as they were accustomed to burie noblemen and men of quality. But Pompey, though he was angry with Sylla, because he had given him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other friends: yet he made some for lone, fome by intreatic, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corpesinto Rome, gaue both fafetic and honour vnto the performance of his funerals. And it is faydalfo, that the ROMAINE Ladies, amongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of persume and odoriferous matter towards the fame: that besides those which were brought in two hundred and ten great baskets, they made a greatimage to the likenesse of sylla himselfe, and another of a sergeant carrying the axes beforehim, all of excellent incense and cinamon. When the day of the funerals came, fearing left it would raine in the forenoone, all the element being fo cloudie, they deferred to carrie forth the body to be burnt, vntill past three of the clocke in the afternoone. And then rose there such a sudden boisterous wind, that it set all the stake of wood straight on fire, that the body was burnt at a trice; and the fire going out, sell a great shower of raine that held on till night: fo that it seemed, geed fortune following him even to his end, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His tombe is to be seene in the field of Mars: and

they fay that he himfelfe made his owne Epitaph that is written upon it, which was: That no mandid euer passe him, neither in doing good to his friends, nor in doing mischiefe to his enemics.

THE



TOMOSESSITY

THE COMPARISON OF

Sylla with Lysander.



OW that we have at large also set forth the life of the ROMAINE. let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both alike. that both of them grew to be great men, rifing of themselves through their owne vertue: but this onely is proper to Lylander, that all the offices and dignities which he attained vinto in the common-wealth, were layd vpon him through the peoples goodwils and confents: for he compelled them to nothing, neither viurped he any extraordinarie authority vpon them, contrarie to law; for as the common faying is:

Where partialitie, and discord once do raigne: There wicked men are most esteem'd, and rule with greatest gaines

As at that time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the state of government viterly subuerted and brought to nought: to day there role vp one tyrant, to morrow another. And therefore we may not wonder if Sylla viurped and ruledall, when fuch fellowes as Glaucias & Satur. mius, did both banish and drive out of Rome such men as Metellus was: and where also in open affembly they flue the Confuls fons in the market place, and where force of armes was bought and fold for gold and filuer, with the which the fouldiers were corrupted; and where they made new lawes with fire and fword, and forced men to obey the fame. Yet I speake not this in reproach of him that in fuch trouble some times found meanes to make himselfe the greatest man: butto shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity hegrew vnto in so vnfortunate a city, The chiefe although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from Spark (at what time it person is flourished most, and was the best gouerned commonweale) he in all great causes, and in the bounds. most honourable offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chiefes; eff. whereof it came to passe, that the one did often resigne up his authoritie to his citizens, which they had given him, who also restored it to him againe many and sundrie times; for the honour of his vertue did alwaics remaine, and made him infily accounted for the worthicftman: where the other being onely once chosen Generall of anarmie, remained ten yeares continually in warres and hostility, making himselfe by force, sometime Confull, sometime vice Confull, and sometime Dictator, but alwaies continued a tyrant. Indeed Lysander attempted to change and alter the state of government in his countrey, howbeit it was with great lenity, and more lawfully then Sylla did. For he fought it by reason, and good perswafion, not by the fword neither would hemake a change of the wholeat one felf time as Sylladid, but fought only to reforme the election of kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtleffe feemed very just : that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen king of that city, which was the chiefe ouer all GRECE, not for her nobility, but for her vertue onely.

Syllaes ty-

For like as a good hunter doth not feek for the whelp of a good dog, but for the good dog him felfe: nor a wise man of armes also, the cost that commeth of a good horse, but the good horse himselfe, Euen so, he that taketh vpon him to stablish a civill government, committeth a foule fault, if he looke of whom his Prince should be borne, and not what the Prince himselfeshould be confidering that the LACED EMONIANS themselues have deprined diverse of their kines from their crowne and realme, because they were not princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is alwaies ill of it selfe: but vertue is honoured for her selfe alone, and not because she is placed with nobility. Now for the wrongs and iniuries they both committed, the one did worke onely to pleasure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine that Ly fander did great wrongs to gratifie his familiars: and the most part of them whom he put to death, was to establish the tyrannicall power of certaine his friends. Where Sylla fought for spite to take away his army from Pompey and the Admiralty from Dolabella, which himselfe had given him, and caused Lucretius Offellato be flaine openly in his owne fight, because he sought to be Consul, for recompence of the good feruice he had done: for which cruelty of his, caufing his owne friends to be flaine in fuch fort. he made enery man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behaviours touching couctoufnesse and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good Prince, and the other that of atvrant. For we do not find that Lyfander, for all his great princely authority, did ever vseanv emperance infolency or lasciuious nesse in his deeds, but alwaies avoided as much as a man might, the revatelife. proachof this common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroad: he led fuch a true LA cons-AN life, straightly reformed in all points. Where Sylla could neuer moderate his vnlawfull lusts, neither for pourty when he was young, nor for age, when it came upon him. But whileft he gaue lawes to the ROMAINES touching matrimonial honestie and chastitie, himselfe in the meanetime did nothing but follow loue, and commit adulteries, as Salust writeth. By meanes whereof he so much impouerished Rome, and left it so voide of gold and silver, that for readie mony he fold absolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his daily studieto confiscate & take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthy houses in al the whole city of Rome. But all this spoyle & hauock was nothing in comparison of that which he daily cast away upon his iesters and flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we think he kept in his gifts and private bankets, when openly in the day time (all the people of Rome being present, to see him sell the goods which he had caused to be confiscate) he made one of his friends and familiars, to trusse vpa great deale of houshold stuffe, for a very little price: and when any other had out-bidden his price, and that the cryer had cried it out aloud: then was he angry, and faid: My friends, I have great wrong done me here, not to fuffer me fell the spoile I have gotten, at mine owne pleasure, & dispose it as I list my self. Where Lysander contrarily sent to the commonwealth of Sparta, with other money, the very prefents that were given to himselfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deed. For peraduenture he did more hurt to Sparta, bringing thither that gold and filuer, then Sylla did to Rome, in wasting and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I alledge this onely for proofe and declaration, that Lysander was nothing couetous. They both have done that vnto their city, which never any other but themselves did. For Sylla being ariotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithstanding to good order and government; and Lyfander contrarily filled his city with vice, yet not intected withall himselfe. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the law he commanded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worse then he was himselfe: for he taught the Spartans to desire thosethings, which he aboue all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and civil gouernement. Now for matters of warreand battels fought, there is no comparison to be made of Lysander to Sylla, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For Lysander wan onely but two battels by sea, besides the taking of the city of ATHENS: which (though I grant him being rightly confidered, was no great exploit of war, howbeit it was a noble act, confidered ring the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in Bo E OT IA, hard by the city of ALFARTE: aman might fay peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet methinkes also there was a fault in him, for that he staied not for king Paufanias aide (the which came from Plas TÆES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and because he went in a gaire, in fury, and in a vaine ambition to run his head against a wall: so that men of al forts making a desperate fally out of ALI. ARTE vpon him flue him there to no purpose, Farre valike to Cleombrotus that died at the battell

of Levetre s, refifting his enemies that diffressed his men: nor yet like Cyrus, nor Epaminondas, who to keep his men from flying, and to give them affured victory, received his deadly wound: for all these mendied like noble kings, and valiant captaines. Where Lysander rashly cast himself away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the ancient Spar-TANS did like wife men, to avoide the fight with wals. For the noblest and valiantest man that is. or noffible can be, may eafily be fo flaine, not onely by the first fouldier that commeth, but by curry filly woman or child. As they fay, that the worthic Achilles was killed by Paris within the . very gates of Troia. Now to the contrary againe, the victories that sylla wan in fet battels, and thethousands of enemies which he flue, are not easily to be numbered, besides also that he took the city of Rome twice: and the hauen of ATHENS, not by famine as Lylander did, but by force, affer he had by many great battels driven Archelaus out of firme land into the maine sea. It is to be confidered allo, against what captaines they made warres. For me thinks it was but a passime as a man might fay, for Lyfander to fight with Antiochus, a pilot of Alcibiades, or to surptife and deceiue Philocles, a common Oratorat ATHENS:

LYSANDER AND SYLLA.

Whose busie tongue, much worse then two edg'd sword did seeme: Which pratled ftill and honesty did neuer once esteeme.

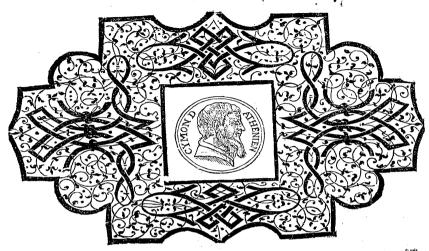
And whom Mithridates (in my opinion) would not vouchfafe to compare with his horse-keeper, nor Marius with one of his fergeants or mace-bearers. But to leave afide y particular names of all other Princes, Lords, Confuls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernours that made wars with Sylla: what Romaine Captaine was there more to be feared; then Marius? what king living wishmen wasthere of fuch power as king Mithridates? And of Generals and Lieutenants of armies in all of greatest ITALY, were there any euer more valiant, then Lamponius & Thelesinus: of the which Sylla draue power and the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and flue the two last? But the greatest matter them. of althat we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that Lylander did all his noble acts, with the aide of his whole countrey, where Syllato the contrary did his (being banished from his countrey) by his enemics. And at the selfe same time that they draue Syllaes wife out of Rome, that they ouerthrew his houses, and flue his friends also in Rome: he not with standing made warres in the meane time with infinite thousands of fighting men in Borotta, and ventured his perfon in manifold dangers, fo that in the end he conquered them all, to the honour and benefit of his country. Furthermore, Sylla would neuer floupeto king Mithridates, for any particular alliance he offered him, neither yeeld vnto him for any aide of men, or mony, to war against his enemies: but (athing most chiefly to be noted about the rest) he would not youch safe to speake to Mithridates, norto take him by the hand only, before he had spoken it with his own mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would forgo Asia, deliuer him his galleys, and give vp the realmes of BITHYNIA & CAPPADOCIA vnto their naturall kings. This methinks was the goodlieft act square that ener Sylla did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimitie, to have preferred the benefit of magnanimities. the comonwealth in that fort, before his private commodity. For therin he was like vnto a good greyhound, that first pincheth the Deare, and holdeth him fast till he have overthrowne him: and then afterwards followeth the pursuite of his own private quarrell. And lastly, methinks it is easily judged, what difference there was betweene their two natures, in that they did both towards the city of ATHENS. For Sylla having taken it, after the citizes had made fierce wars with him for the increase of king Mithridates greatnesse: yet he left it free vnto them, enjoying their ownelawes. Where Lyfander to the contrary, feeing fuch a mighty state and Empire as that ouerthrowne from the great rule it bare, had no pitie of it at all, but tooke away the liberty of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before, and established there ve- Plutarelis ry cruell and wicked tyrants. And therfore in mine opinion, we shall not much swarue from the of 83/14 60 troth, if we give this judgement: that Sylla did the greater acts, and Lylander committed the Lylanders. fewer faults. And that we give to the one the honour of a continent and mo-

dest man; and to the other, the commendation of a valiant and skilfull fouldier.

The end of Syllaes life.

cultome: Damon and his followers stole vpon them suddenly, flue them all, and fled againe vp-

THE LIFE OF Cimon.



pofferity.



Reripoltas the Soothfayer, he that brought King Opheltas out of These SALY into the country of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vnder his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time sourished in that country, the more part of the which were euer refident in the city of CHERONEA, because it was the first city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulsed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally giuen to the warres: who were fo forward and aduenturous in all dangers thereof (in the inuafions of the MEDES into GRECE, and in the

of Damon Peripeltas.

battels of the GAVLES) that they were flaine all of them, but onely Damon (a little childe left fatherlesse and motherlesse) surnamed Peripoltas that escaped; who for goodly personage and no-ble courage excelled all the susty youths of his time, though otherwise he were very rude, & of a seuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when Damon was growne of fullage, a Romaine Captaine of an enfigne of footemen (lying in garrison for the winter season in the citie of CHA-RONEA) fell in great loue with Damon: and because he could not reape the fruites of his dishonest loue by no intreaty nor gifts, there appeared vehement presumptions, that by force he wet about to abuse him, for that CHERONEA at that time (being my naturall citie where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. Damon mistrusting the Captaines villany, and detesting his abominable defire, watched him a shrewdrume, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compasse his enterprise) to be of counsell with him, and take his part against the Captaine. Now there were fixteene of them in confort together, that one night blacked their faces al with foote, and the next morning after they had drunke together, by the breake of day fet vpon this Romaine Captaine, that was making facrifice in the market place, and flue him with a good number of the market place. ber of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the city, which was straight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereupon they called a councell, and in the market place condemned Damon and his confederates to suffer paines of death; hoping thereby to hauecleared their innocency for the fact done vnto the Romaines. But the felf same night, as al the magistrates and officers of the city were at supper together in the towne-house, according to their non it. It chanced about that time, that Lucius Lucullus being fent on some journy, passed by the city of CHERONEA with his army, & because this murther was but newly done, he stayed there a few daies to examine the troth and originall thereof: and found that the commons of the city Lucius Luwere in no fault, but that they themselves also had received hurt: whereupon he tooke the souldiers of the Romaines that remained of the garrifon, and carried them away with him. In the truth of meane time, Damon destroyed all the country thereabout, and still houered neare to the city infomuch as the inhabitants of the same were driven in the end to send vnto him, and by gentle words & fauourable decrees handled him fo, that they inticed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus, to say, a master of exercifes of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oile in his stoue or hot-house, flarke naked as he was they flue him by treason. And because that there appeared spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard gronings and fighings as our fathers told vs. flaint by they caused the doore of the hot-house tobe walled vp-yet toral that, there are visions seene, & treasen, terrible voices & cries heard in that felfe place vnto this present time, as the neighbors dwelling by do testifie. Now they that were descended of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the country of Phocides, neare vnto the city of Stiris, who do only of all other both keepe the language & maners of the ATOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMENI, fignifying black, and beimeared with foote; because that Damon and his fellowes did black their faces with foote, when they were and flue the ROMAINE CADTAINE. But the ORCHOMENIAN'S being neare neighbours vnto the CHE- why local-RONEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hired an informer of Rome, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole city (as if it had bin one private person alone) for the murther of the Romaines, whom Damon and his companions had flaine. The inditement was drawne, and the case pleaded charonea before the governor of Macedon, for that the Romain Bs did fend no governors at that time the mustler into GRECE: & the counsellors that pleaded for the city of CHERONEA, relied vpon the testimony of Lucius Lucullus, referring themselves to his report, who knew the troth & how it was, Lucullus Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and Lucullus in his letter of answer advertised the ve- called for ry troth: fo was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stood in danger of vtter de
a witnesse.

a witnesse. ftruction. The inhabitants of the city of CHERONEA, for that they had escaped the danger by testimony of Lucius Lucullus, to honour him withall, they fet vp his image in stone in the market place, next vnto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be living at this present, though many yeares begone & paffed fince, do not with standing reckon our selves partakers of his forepassed tillor, is benefit. And because we are perswaded, that the image & portraiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens maners and conditions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that represented any men manmans person or shape only; we will comprehend his life & doings according to the troth, in this mersand volume of noble mens lives, where we do compare and fort them one with another. It shall be wifedome. fufficient for vs therefore, that we shew our selves thankfull for his benefit; and we think, that he himself would mislike, for reward of his true testimony, to be required with a fauorable lie rold in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a paffing faire face drawne, and lively counterfeited. A pretrie and that hath an excellent good grace with all, yet fome manner of blemish or imperfection in it, we will not allow the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curioufly to shew it, because the one would deforme the counterfeit, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euenfo, because it is a hard thing (or to fay better, peraduenture vnpossible) to describe a man, whose life should Home to dealtogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first studie to write his vertues at large, and thereby seeke perfectly to represent the troth, even as the life it selfe. But where by chance we find certaine faults and errours in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by necesfitie of the time or state of the commonwealth; they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednesse proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not neede too curiously to expresse in our historie, but rather to paffe them lightly ouer, of reuerent shame to the meere frailty of mans nature, which cannot bring forth aman of such vertue and perfection, but there is ever some imperfection in him. And therefore, confidering with my felfe vnto whom I might compare Lucullus, I thought it comme, & best to compare him with Cimon, because they have bene both valiant souldiers against their Lucultus in enemies, having both done notable exploits in warres against the barbarous people: and what things they were

moreouer, they have both bene courteous and mercifull vnto their citizens, and were both alike.

bis youth.

Elonice

the onely men that pacified the civill wars and diffention in their country, and both the one and the other of the wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer Grecian captaine before Cimon, nor ROMAINE captaine before Lucullus, that had made wars fo farreoff from their country, leaving apart the deeds of Bacchus and of Hercules, and the acts also of Perseus against the ÆTHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS: and the deeds of Iasonalso, if there remaine any monument extant fince that time, worthy of credit in these our daies. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together, that they neuer ended their warres: they onely ouerthrew their enemies, but neuer ouercame them altogether. Againe, we may note in them a great resemblance of nature, for their honesty, curtesie and humanity, which they shewed vnto strangers in their country: and for the magnificence and sumptuousnesse of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we do leaue out some other similarides between them: howbeit in the discourse of their lives they will easily appeare. Cimon was the sonne of Miltiades and of Hegefipyle, a Thracian woman borne, and the daughter of king Olorus, as we finde written in certaine poeticall verses which Melanthius and Archelaus have written of Cimon. The father of Thueydides the hittoriographer himfelf, who was of kinal fo vnto Cimen, was called in like maner Olorus, shewing by the agreeing of the name, that this king Olorus was one of his ancestours, and did also possesses of gold in the countrey of THRACIA. It is said moreouer, that he died in a certaine place called the ditchy forrest, where he was slaine; how beit that his asses and bones were caried into the countrey of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yetto this day, amongst the tombes of them of the house and family of Cimon, neare vnto the tombe of Cimons owne fifter called Elpinice. Notwithstanding, Thucydides was of the village of Altmys, and Milia. des of the village of LACIA. This Militades, Cimons father, being condemned by the state to Miltiades pay the summe of fiftietalents, was for non payment cast into prison, and there died: and lest Cimon and his fifter Elpinice aliue, both orphanes, and very yong. Now, Cimon in his first young yeares had a very ill name and report in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great Cimon dedrinker, following his grandfather Cimons fashions vp and downe, as he had also his name saning that his grandfather for his beastlinesse was surnamed Coalemos, as much to say, as foole. Stefimbrotus THASIAN, who was about Cimons time, writeth, that Cimon neuer learned musicke, nor a-Coalemos, ny other of the liberall sciences, accustomably taught to yong noble mens sons of GRECE, and that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper vnto children borne in the country of ATTICA: howbeit that he was of a noble minde, and plaine, without diffimulation, fo that he rather lived Peloponnesian like, then like an Athenian. For he was even fuch as the Poet Euripides described Hercules to be: A simple man he was, and could not well disguise:

As honesteke in things of weight, as wit could well denise. This served fitly to be applied vnto Stesimbrotus words written of him : but not withstanding, in his first young yeareshe was suspected of incontinencie with his sister, who indeed otherwise had no very good name. For the was very familiar with the painter Polygnotus, who painting the TROIAN Ladies prisoners upon the wals of the gallery called the Plesianaction, and now Paciti: (to fay, fet out and beautified with divers pictures) he drew (as they fay) Laodices face vpon Elpinices picture. This painter Polygnotus was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for monies fake, but gaue his labour franckly to the commonwealth, as all the historiographers that wrote in that time do witnesse: and as the Poet Melanthins also reciteth in these

At his owne proper charge, greate cost he hath bestowed, In decking up our temples here with gilded roofes embowed, For honour of the gods. And in our tongue likewife, He hath adorn'd the common place, with many a fine deuise : Painting and fetting forth in stately shew to fee, The images of demy-gods that here amongst vs be.

Elpinice be- Yet some say that Elpinice did not secretly company with her brother Cimen, but lay with him ing poore, openly as his lawfull maried wife, because she could not for her pouertie haue a husband of like nobility and parentage to her felfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called Callias, being one of the richest men in the city, did afterwards fall in fancie with her, and desired to marrie her, offering sober thate and calling, to pay her father Militades fine of fiftie talents, wherein he flood condemned a debter to the

flate, to that he might have her to his wife. Cimon was contented, and vpon that condition maried his fifter Elpinice vito Callias. This notwithstanding, it is certaine that Cimon was somewhat amorous and given to love women. For Melanthius the Poet in certaine of his Elegies, cimon ful. maketh mention for his pleasure of one Afteria borneat SALAMINA, and of another called Afne-uses the fra, as if Cimon had bene in love with them. But vindoubtedly, he loved his lawfull wife Isalice maruellous well, the daughter of Euryptolemus, Megacles fonne, and tooke her death very grienoufly, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were written vnto him, to comfort him in his forrow, Panatins the Philosopher is of opinion, that Archelaus the Philition wrote those clegies: and fure it is not valikely, confidering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, Cimons nature and conditions descrued great commendation. For his valiantnesse he gaue not The praise place vnto Militades, and for his wifedome and indgement, he was not inferiour vnto Themisto. of Cinous cles and it is out of all doubt that he was a juster and honester man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valiantnesse of a noble captaine: and he did much excell them both in properties of a good governour, and in the administration of the affaires of a city, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of warres. For when Themissocles at the comming in of the MBDBs counselled the people of Athens to go our of the city, to leave their lands and country, and to ship into galleyes, and fight with the barbarous people by fea in the straight of SALAMINA: as every man was wondering at his bold and venturous counsell, Cimon was the first manthat went with a life and iolity through the streete Ceramicus, vnto the castle, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carrying a bit of a bridle in his hand to confectate vnto the goddeffe Minerua, fignifying thereby, that the city had no need of horfemen at that time, but of mariners and seamen. And after he had given vp his offering, he tooke one of the targets that hung vpon the wall of the temple, and having made his prayer vnto Minerua, came downe to the haven, and was thefirst that made the most part of the citizens to take a good heart to them, and couragioufly to leave the land, and take the fea. Befides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, common feras Ion the Poet tellifieth, and had a faire curled haire and thicke, and fought so valiantly at the forage day of the battell, that he wan immediatly great reputation, with the love and good will of encrieman. So that many were still about him to encourage him to be lively and valiant, and to thinkethinceforth to do some acts worthy of the glory that his father had gotten at the battell of Marathon. And afterwards, so soone as he began to deale in matters of state, the people were marnellous glad of him, and were wearied with Themistocles: by meanes whereof Cimon was prefently aduanced and preferred to the chiefest offices of honour in the citie, being very well thought on of the common people, because of his soft and plaine nature. Moreover, Arifides also did greatly further his advancement, because he saw him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vie him as a counterpoise to controle Themsfeeles craft and Houtnesse. Wherfore after the MEDES were fled out of GRECE, Cimon being fent for by the ATHENIANS for their General by sea, when the city of ATHENS had then no maner of rule nor commandemer, cimon gebut followed king Paulanias and the LACED AMONIANS: he euer kept his countreymen and the ather citizen in maruellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to do good manily feruice, then any other nation in the whole army whatfoeuer. And when king Paufanias had feapractifed with the barbarous people to betray GRECE, had written alfoto the king of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time dealt very cruelly and straightly with the confederates of his King Paucountry, and committed many insolent parts by reason of the great authoritie he had, and strong his should his foolish pride whereof he was full: Cimon farre otherwise, gently entertained them invited to whom Paufanias injured, and was willing to hearethem. So that by this his courteous manner, and prides the LACED EMONIANS having no eye to his doings, he stole away the rule and commandement of all GRECE from them, and brought the ATHENIANS to be fole Lords of all, not by and all forceand crueltie, but by his sweete tongue, and gracious manner of vsing all men. For the sherrale most part of the confederates being no longer able to away with Paulanias pride and cruelty, came willingly and submitted themselves under the protection of Cimon and Aristides : who did not onely receive them, but wrote also to the councell of the Ephores at LACEDEMON, that they should call Pausanias home, for that he dishonoured Sparta, and putall Grece to much troubleand warres. And for proofe hereof, they fay that king Paufanius being on a time in the city of BYZANCE, sent for Cleonice, a yong maiden of a noble house, to take his pleasure of her.

Her parents durst not keepe her from him, by reason of his cruelty, but suffered him to carry her away. The yong gentlewoman prayed the groomes of Pausanias chamber to take away the lights, and thinking in the darke to come to Paulanias bed that was afleepe, groping for the bed as foftly as she could to make no noise, she vnfortunately hit against the lampe, and ouerthrewit. The falling of the lampe made such ancise, that it waked him on the sudden, who thought ftraight therewithall that fome of his enemies had bene come traiteroufly to kill him, wherupon hetooke his dagger lying vnder his beds head, and so stabbed it in the young virgine, that she died immediatly vponit. Howbeit she neuer let Paulanias take rest after that, because her spirit came every night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine have flept, and spake this angerly to him in verse, as followeth:

Keepe thou thy selfe vpright, and instice see thou feare, For we and shame be water him, that instice downe doth beare.

This vile fact of his did fo stirrevp al the confederates hearts against him, that they came to be. fiege him in BIZANTIVM vnderthe conduction of Cimon: from whom notwithstanding bee. fcaped, and secretly faued himselse. And because that this maidens spirit would neuer let him rest, but vexed him continually, he fled vnto thecity of Heraclea, where there was a temple that conjured dead spirits, & there was the spirit of Cleanice conjured to pray her to be cotented, So she appeared vnto him, & told him that he should be deliuered of all his troubles so soone as he came to Sparta: figuifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there, Diverse writers do thus report it, Cimon being accompanied with the confederates of the GRE-CIANS, which were come to him to take his part: was advertised that certaine greatme of Persin, and allied to the king himfelfe, who kept the city of Eione, vpon the river of Strymonin the countrey of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting there. abouts. Vpon which intelligence he took the sea with his armie, and went thither, whereat his first comming he vanquished and ouerthrew the barbarous people in battell: and having ouerthrowne them, draucall the rest into the city of EIONE. That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other fide of the river of Strymon, who did commonly victuall them of E10 x 2: and having driven them to for fake the countrey, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himself. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at Eion E so straightly from victu. Botes bur- als, that Butes the king of Persians Lieutenat, despaying of the state of the city, let fire on the fame, and burnt him felfe, his friends, and all the goods in it. By reason whereof, the spoiletaken Jeffe, site, or that city was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best things in it with them for feare of felies: howbeit he conquered the countrey thereabouts, and gaue it to the ATHENIANS to inhabit, being a very pleasant and fertile soile. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS suffered him to confecrate and fet vp openly three Hermes of stone (which are foure square pillars) vpon the tops of the which they fet vp heads of Mercurie: vpon the first of the three pillars, this inscription is ingrauen.

The people truly were, of courage flout and fierce, Who having fout the Medes fast up (as stories do rehearse) Within the walled towne, of Esone that tide, Which on the streame of Strymon stands, they made them there abids The force of famines pinch, and therewith made them feele The dint of warre so many a time, with trustie tooles of steele: Till in the end, despaire so pierced in their thought, As there they did destroy themselues, and so were brought to nought.

Vpon the second there is such another:

The citizens which dwell in Athens stately towne, Have here fet up these monuments, and pictures of renowne, To honor (o the facts, and celebrate the fame, Their valiant chieftains did atchieue, in many a martiall game: That such as after come when they thereby perceine, How men of scruice for their deeds, didrich rewards receive, Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble, In valiant acts and dreadfull deeds, which makes their foes to tremble.

And vponthe third another:

When Menestheus did leade forth of this citie here, An armie to the Troian warres, (by Homer doth appeare) He was about the rest, that out of Gracia went, Avaliant knight, a worthie wight, a captaine excellent, To take in hand the charge, an armse for to quide : And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide. That praise of prowelle then (o grave Athenians) Is now no newes to fill the eares of thefe our citizens, Since through the world so wide, the fame and worthie praise, For martiall feates, to you of yore hath judged bene alwaies.

Now though Cimons name be not comprised in these inscriptions, yet they thought that this was a fingular honor to him at that time: for neither Miltiades nor Themistocles had ever the like. For when *Militades* requested the people one day that they would licence him to weare agarland of oliue boughes upon his head; there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, Sochares that flanding vp in open affembly spake against him, & said a thing that maruellously pleased the Decision people, though indeed it was an vnthankfull recompence for the good feruice he had done to the gang Mile commonwealth. When you have Miltiades (faid he) overcome the barbarous people alone in sades rebattell, then asketo be honoured alone alfo. But how was it then, that Cimons feruice was fo ac- quef for coptable to the Athenians? It was in mine opinion, because they had with other captaines of Olive fought to defend themselves and their countrey onely; and that under the conduction of Gimon, benghes. they had affaulted and driven their enemies home to their owne doores, where they conquered the cities of Eione & of Amphipolis, which afterwards they did inhabit with their own citizens, and wan there also the Ile of Scyros, which Cimon took evpon this occasion. The Dolo-PIANS did inhabit it, who were idle people, and lived without labour or tillage, & had bene ro- segrei. uers on the fea of a wonderful long time, vfing piracy altogether to maintaine themselues with al: to that in the end they spared not so much as the merchants and passengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine Thessalians that went thither to traffick. And whethey had taken their goods fro the, yet would they cast the in prison besides. Howbeit the prisoners foud means to cleape, & after they had faued themselues, repaired to the parliament of the Americations, which is a generall councell of all the states & people of GRECE. The America on the council of the states & people of GRECE. The America on the council of the states & people of GRECE. The America on the council of the states & people of GRECE. vnderstanding the matter, condemned the city of the Scyrians to pay a great sum of money. of the drive The citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, and bad them that robbed phistyons. the merchants and had the goods in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, because there was no other likelihood, but that the theeuesthe felues should be drive to answer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters ynto Cimon, and willed them to come with his army, & they would deliuer their city into his hands: the which was performed. And thus Cimon having conquered the lland, draue out the Dolopians thence, and rid the sea Ægevm of all pirats thereby. That done, remebring that the ancient Thefeus, the fon of Ageus, flying from ATHEN'S came into that lland of Scyros, where king Lycomedes fuspecting his comming had traiterously slaine him: Cimon was maruellous carefull to feeke out his tombe, because the Athenians had an Oracle & prophecy, that commanded them to bring his ashes and bones backe againe to Athens, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the inhabitats of the lland would never afore cofesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much ado found the tomb, put his bones aboord the Admirall galley fumptuously decked Thetes and set forth, and so brought him againe into his countrey, soure hundred yeares after These brought death. For this, the people thanked him maruellously, and thereby he wan exceedingly the A. brought broug THENIANS good wils and in memorie of him they celebrated the judgement of the tragicall yeares after playes of the Poets. For when Sophoeles the Poet, being a yong man had played his first tragedy, biscarb by Aphepson the prescioning there was great strife and contention amongst the lookers on, Sophoeles would not draw them by lots that should be Iudges of this play, to give the victory vnto that & Asia. Poetthat had best descrued: but when Cimon and the other captaines were come into the Thea-lim content ter to see the same (after they had made their accustomed oblations vnto the god, in honour of victory. whom these playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an oath vnto ten (which were of every tribe of the people one) and the oath being given, he caused them to fit as ludges to give sentence, which of the Poets should carie away the prise. This made all the Poets

passing sweets.

498 strine and contend who best should do, for the honour of the Iudges: but Sephocles by their sentence bare away the victory. But Aschylus (as they fay) was so angry and griened with all, that he taried not long after in ATHENS, but went for spite into SILICIA, where he died, and was buried neare vnto the city of GELA. Ion writeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from CHIO VINTO ATHENS, Supped one night with Cimon at Laemedons house, and that after Supper when they had giuenthe gods thanks, Cimon was intreated by the company to fing. And hedid fing with fo good a grace, that every man praifed him that heard him, and faid he was more curteous then Themssteeles farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play upon the cithern, answered them, he was neuer taught to sing or play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich & mighty city. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to another, as it falleth out commonly in speech, they entred in talke of Cimons doings: and having rehearfed the chiefest of them, he himselfetold one, which was the notablest and wiscft part of all the rest that ever he played. For the ATHENIANS & their confederates together, having taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of SESTOS and of BIZANTIVM, the confederates to honour him withall, gaue him the preheminence to divide the spoyle amongst them. Whereupon he made the division, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by themselues, and layd the spoyles and their apparell by themselues, The confederates found this distribution very vnequall: but neuerthelesse Cimon gaue them the choise to chuse which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS should be conten-Harephytus ted with that which they left. So there was a Samian Captaine called Herophytus, that gaue the confederates counfell rather to take the spoyles of the Persians, then the Persians themgane ceun. felues, and so they did: for they tooke the spoyle of the prisoners goods and apparell, and left the men vnto the ATHENIANS. Wherupon Cimen was thought at that time of the common foldiers to be but an ill divider of spoile, because that the confederates carried away great store of chaines, carkanets, and bracelets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparell after the PERSIAN faflion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labour. But shortly after, the parents and friendes of these prisoners, came out of PHRYGIA and LYDIA, and redeemed every man of them at a great ransome: so that Cimonga. thered fuch a masse of ready money together by their ransome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his galleys with the same for the space of four emoneths after, and left a great summe of mony besides in the sparing treasure of ATHENS. Cimon by this meanes being now become rich, bestowed the goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous people, more honourably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens: for he brake vp all his hedges and inclosures and laid them plaine and open, that trauellers paffing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much fruite thereof as they would, without any manner of danger. And furthermore, he kept a continuall table in his house, not furnished with many dishes, but with meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore countrymen were daily refreshed, that would come vnto that ordinarie: so as they needed not otherwise care to labour for their liuing,

cimons sha" apparelled, and if he met by chance as he went vp and downe the city, any old citizen poorely

caried ener good flore of money about them; and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or elsewhere, knowing his pouerty, they secretly gaue him money in his hand, and faid neuer a word. Which the Poet felfe Crasinus feemeth to speake of, in a comedy of his intituled the Archiloches: I am Metrobius the secretarie, he Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be: At wealthie Cimons boord, where want was neuer found, Whose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound. There thought I for to passemine aged yeares away, With that right noble godly man, which was the Grecians stay.

but might be the readier, and haue the more leisure to serue the commonwealth. Yet Ariffoile

the Philosopher writeth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he keptthis

ordinarie table; but for his poore towns men only in the village of Lacia, where he was borne.

Furthermore, he had alwaies certain young men waiting on him of his houshold servants well

arrayed, he made one of these young men strip himselfe, and change apparell with the oldman,

& that was very well thought of, and they all honoured him for it. Moreouer these young men

Furthermore,

Furthermore, Gorgias Leontine faid, that Cimon got goods to vie them, and that he vied them to be How Cimon honoured by them. And Critics that was one of the thirty tyrants of ATHENS, he wisheth and defireth of the gods in his Elegies:

The goods of Scopas heires, the great magnificence, And noble heart of Cimon, he who spared none expence: The glorious victories and high triumphant showes, Of good Agefilaus king : good gods, oh grant me those.

The name of Lichas SPARTAN hath bene farmous among ft the GRECIANS and yet we know no The boffs. other cause why, saving that he vsed to feast strangers that came to LACED #MON on their festiuallday, to feethesports and exercises of the young men dancing naked in the citie. But the Sparan. magnificence of Cimon, did farre exceed the ancient liberality, courtesie, and hospitality of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the first menthat taught the GRECIANS throughout al GRECE, how they should fow corne, and gather it to maintaine themselves with al, & also shewed them the vie of wels, and how they should light and keepe fire. But Cimon making an hof- cinons pitall of his own house, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permitting strangers that trauelled by his grounds, to gather such fruits there as the time and season of the yeare yeelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goods to be common among fithem, brought as the Poets say they were in the old time of Saturnes reigne. And now, where some accused this the golden honest liberality of Cimon, objecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and world ato win their good wils by that meanes: the manner of life he led, accompanying his liberalitie. didutterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For Cimon euer tooke part with the Nobility, and lived after the LACEDEMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies against Themissocies, who without all compasse of reason increased the authority & power of the people; and for this cause he joyned with Aristides, and was against Ephiaties, who would for the peoples fake have put downe and abolished Areopagus Court. And whereall other gouernours in his time were extortioners and bribe-takers, (Arifides and Epialtes onely excepted)he to the contrary led an vncorrupt life in administration of iustice, and euer had cleane cimens in hands, what soeuer he spake or did for the state and commonwealth, and would therefore neuer take mony of any man living. And for proofe hereof, we find it writte, that a nobleman of Per-SIA called Refaces, being a traitor to his mafter the king of Persia fled on a time vnto Athens, Refaces atwhere being continually baited and wearied with the common accusations of these tale-bearers temptades and picke-thankes that accused him to the people, he repaired at the length vnto Cimen, and brought him home to his owne doore two bolles, the one full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of filuer, which be peeces of money fo called, because that the name of Darins was Darickes written upon them. Cimon feeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he salled. would rather chuse, to have him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous nobleman answered him, that he had rather have him his friend. Then faid Cimon to him againe, Away with thy gold A mblo and filuer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy friend, that gold and filuer shall euer be at my com- saing of mandement, to take and dispose it as I have need. About that time began the confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the wars against the barbarous people, desiring thenceforth to line quietly, and to have ley fure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke also, considering that they haddriven their enemies out of their countrey, and that now they did them no more hurt; by reason whereof they payed the mony they were sessed at, but they would furnish no moe men nor ships as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and profecuted law against them that failed Paiment, condemning them in great fines, and that fo cruelly, that they made the feigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIAN'S hatefull vnto their confederates. Howbeit Cimentooke acontrary courfeto them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take mony and void ships of them that would not, or could not ferue in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become flouthfull mongrels in their houses, by too much rest, and to transpose themselues from good foldiers which they had bene, to labourers, merchants, & farmers, altogether altered from The benefit armes and wars, through the beaftly flothfull defire they had to live pleafantly at home. And fruite: and cotrarily, causing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after another to serve in gallies, he so she discome acquainted them with continual pains in his voyages, that he made them in short space become modifie of lords & masters oner them that gaue them pay & entertainment, For they began by litle & litle dieness.

510

Cethegu a

Tucista Quinties, Orator at

Luculles make wars king Mi-ebridases. Fresiaa famous cursifan of Rouse.

Cethegus

The gowerzenien! of Cilleta and sie wars a vince to Latuksia.

to ITALIE: Lucullus made all the meanes he could to have it quickly fent him, fearing left he should returne into Italie vponany occasion, whilehe was Confull. For he thought that if he returned againe to Rome with fo great an armie, he would eafily do what he lift: and the rather, because that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at Rome, because he spake and did al that pleased the common people, being a vicious liver, and dissolutely giuen, for which cause Luculins hated him. But there was another common Oraton among the people, called Lucius Quintius, and he would have had all Syllaes doings revoked and broken: amatter to alter euen the whole state of the commonwealth, and to turmoile the citie of Rome againe with civill differtion, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintius Lucullus talked withall apart, to perswade him, and openly reproued him with such words, that he was diffwaded from his euill purpose, & by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wifely and cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the common-wealth) because it was the beginning of a discase, from whence infinite troubles were like to grow. While these things were thus in hand, newes came that Othanins the Gouernour of Citicia was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themselues to sue for this charge, and to count Cetheans, as the onely man who aboue all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for Lucullus, he made no great reckening of the gouernment of CILICIA in respect of the country, but because CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it: and perswading himselfe that if he could obtain the government thereof, they would give none other (but himfelfente authority to make wars with Mithridates: he determined to procure al the meanes he could, that none should have it but himselfe. And having proved fundry waies, was compelled in the end against his owne nature, to practise a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly deutse to obtaine his defire. There was a woman in Rome atthat time called Pracia, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasant grace in talke and discourse. howbeit otherwise vnchastafter curtisan maner. But because she employed the credit and fanor of them that frequented her company, to the benefit and feruice of the commonwealth, and of them that loued her: she wan the report (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louing woman, and ready to fauour and further any good enterprife, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after she had once wonne Cethegus, (who ruled all the common. wealth at his pleafure) and brought him to be fo farre in fancy with her, that he could not beout of her fight: then had she all the whole power and authority of Rome in her hands, for the people did nothing but Gethegus preferred it, and Gethegus did what euer Precia wold will him to do. Thus Lucullus fought to come in fauour with her, sending her many prefents, and vsing all other courtefies he could offer vnto her: befides that it feemed a great reward for fo proud and ambitious a woman as she, to be fued vnto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by this meanes cameto haue Cethegus at his commandement. For Cethegus did nothing but commend Lucallus in all affemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CILICIA: who after it was once grated him, had then no need of the help neither of Precia, nor yet of Cethegus. For the people wholy of themselues with one consent did grant him the charge to make war with Mithridates, because he knew better how to ouercome him then any other Captaine, and because that Pompey was in the warres with Sertorius in Spaine, and Metellus also growne too old, both which two were the only men that could deservedly have cotended for this office with him. Neuertheles, Marcus Cotta his fellow Confull, made such sute to the Senate, that they sent him also with an army by sca, to keepe the coasts of Proportide, & to defend the country of Bithynia, Thus Lucullus having this commission, went into As IA with one legion onely, the which heleauied anew at Rom E: and when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through couetousnesse and delicacy of the country. For amongst others, were the bands which they called § Fimbrian bands, radistate men ginen ouer to selfe-will, and very ill to be ruled by martiall discipline, because they hadliued a long time at their owne liberty, without all obedience to any man. They were those selfe fouldiers that together with Fimbria, fluetheir general Flaccus, Conful of the ROMAINE people, and that afterwards betrayed Fimbria himselfe, and forsooke him, leaving him vnto Sylla, being mutiners, traitours, and wicked people, howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trained, and painefull fouldiers. Notwithstanding, Lucullus in short time bridled their boldnesse meetly well and reformed the others also, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value

of a good Captaine and Generall meant, that knew how to command; but were yied to flattering leaders, that commanded the fouldiers no more then they themselues liked of. Now concerning the state of the enemics, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very braue and bold (as these flourishing Sophisters commonly are) vndertaking warre against the Romaines, with a vaine vnprostrable armie, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the maintage. eye: after he was once foyled and ouercome, with no leffe shame then losse, when he came tearing and the state of the stat to make his fecond warre, he cut off all superfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a connenient furniture to scrue for warres at all assayes. For he put by the confused multitude of sundry nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous people in fo many fundry tongues, and clearely banish also the rich grauen armours with goldimiths worke, and set with precious stones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wan them, then gaue strength or courage to those that ware them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe swords to be made after the ROMAINE fashion, and great heavy shields, & brought to the field a maruellous number of horse, more ready for service, then richin furniture. Then he joyned sixescore thousand sootemen together, appointed and fet in order like vnto the battell of the Romain is with fixteene thousand horse of feruice, befides those that drew his armed carts with fithes about, which were in all to the number of an hundred. And befides all this land preparation, he brought also a great number of ships and galleys together, which were not decked with goodly golden paulions, as at the first, neither with stones nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and Gentlewomen: but furnished full of armour, artiletie, and slings, and with money also to paythe fouldiers. With all this army and preparation, he went first to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him very gladly, and not those onely, but all the other cities of Asia wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miferies and diseases, by the cruchic of the Romaine farmers and vourcers, who raising taxes and imposts vpon them, made micros by them abide vntollerable things. It is true that Lucullus draue them away afterwards, like the the Romane Harpye, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mouthes: how beit at that time he did "Feres." no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he vsed vnto them, and qualified a little the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to renolt. Now Lucullus being busic about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other Contains Confull (and his companion) supposing that the absence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offeredhim to do notable service, prepared to fight with Mithridates. And although he had newes stilled brought him from fundry places, that Lucullus was with his armie in Phrygia, and comming tenthal. towards him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honour of triumph assured alreadic in his hands, and because Lucullus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwards to gine battel. But Mithridates ouercame him both by sea and land so that Cotta by sea lost threescore of his ships with all the men in them, foure thousand footmen by land, and was after with shame shut vp and besieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopelessetoescape, but by Lucullus onely aide and meanes. Howbeit there were in Lucullus campe, that were very earnest with him to leaue Cotta, and to goe further, assuring him that he should finde the Realme of Mithridates both without men of warre, or any defence at all: fo that he might casily be Lord of the whole. And these were the words of the souldiers that spited Cotta, because his foolish rashnesse and fond imagination had not onely brought those men to the shambles to be slaine and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them also, that they could not ouercome him, and end this warre without blowes, for that they were driven to goto his helpe. Howbeit Lucullus making an oration vnto them, answered, that he had rather The godding of fauethe life of one Romaine citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And Liveline when Archelaus (who had bene Mithridates Lieutenant in Boeotia in the first warres against for the fac-Sylla, and now in the second warre tooke part with the Romaines) assured him that so some wing of a as they will be in the Romaines. as they faw him in the Realme of Pontvs, they would all rife against Mithridates, and yeeld themselves vnto him: Lucullus answered him thus, that he would not shew himselfe more fearefull then the good hunters, which neuer suffer the beast to recouer his denne. And when he had so said, he marched with his armie towards Mithridates, having in all his campe thirty thousand footmen, and two thousand fine hundred horse. When he came so neare vnto his enemies, that he might easily at eye discerne all their host, he wondered at the great multitude of fouldiers that were in their campe, and was in mind to giue battell, supposing

Lucullus politicke confidera scipher the

yetthat the better way was to prolong time, and draw these warres out in length. But one Ma. rius a Romaine captaine, whom Sertorius had fent out of Spaine vnto Mithridates with a certaine number of fouldiers, came forwards, and prouoked him to battell. Lucullus for his part did put his men also in readinesse to fight: but euen as both battels were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the sudden, without any shew of change of weather discerned before, and they plainely faw a great flake of fire fall betweene both armies, in forme and shape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten filuer. This celestiall figne put both the armies in fuch a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a stroake: and this wonderfull fight fortuned (as they fay) in a place of Phrygia, called Otryes. Now Lucullus afterwards confidering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor prouision so great in the world, that could suffice to victuall so many thousands of people as Mithridates had in his campe any long time together, having his enemies campe so lying before them: willed that one of the priloners should be brought into his tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabbin, then what corne he had left in their cabbin. And when the prisoner had answered to all his demands, he returned him to prison, and sent for another: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their corne, and other proportion of victuals they had, with the number of menthe same should maintaine; he found that all would be spent in three or source daies at the vttermost. Whereupon he relied on his sirst determinatio, to delay time without hazard of battel. So he caused a maruellous deale of wheat to be brought into his campe out of euery quarter, that the same being throughly victualled, he might easily tarry the occasion which his enemies necessity should offer him. Mithridates in the meane time, fought which way he might take the city of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowne before with Cotta at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had lost three thoufand men, and ten of their ships. And because that Lucullus should not vnderstand of his enterprife, Mithridates stole away by night after supper, taking the opportunity of a dark rainie night, and marched thitherwards with such speed, that he was before the city of Cyzzevs by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddesse Adrastria standeth, which is the goddesse of fatall destinies. Lucullus receiving intelligence of Mithridates departure from his campe, followed him straight wayes step by step, and being glad that he was not met with all of his enemies in disorder, lodged his army in a village call Thracia, in a place of great aduantage for him, and commodiously seated also vpon the high wayes, and throughfare of the neighbours thereabours, by the which they must come of necessitie to victuall Mithridates campe. Wherefore Lucullus wifely foreseeing what would follow, wouldnot keepe his purpose secret from his souldiers, but after he had wel trenched & fortified his camp, called them to counsell, and there making an oration vnto them, told them openly by manifelt demonstration of assured hope, that ere many dayes passed, he would give victorie into their hands, and that without losse of one drop of bloud. In the meane season, Mithridates environned the Grecians round about by land, having devided his armie into ten campes, and stop-ped vp the mouth of the arme of the sea, which devided the city from sirme land, with his ships from one fide to another. Now the CYZICENIANS were valiant men, and determined to abide all extremitie for the Romaines sakes: but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of Lucullus, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe stood in such a place, wherethey might easily discerne it from the city. But Mithre-The Brata- dates fouldiers deceived them; for shewing them the ROMAINES campe that lay above hard by them, they said vnto them: do ye see yonder campe there: They are the MEDES, and the AR-MENIANS, Whom Tigranes hath fent to the aide of Mithridates. These words put the Cyzi-CENIANS in a maruellous feare, seeing such a multitude of enemies dispersed round about them: that when Lucullus should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of Lucullus approach, by one called Demonax; whom Archelan fent vnto them, but they would not beleeue him at the first, taking it for a tale, onely to make them to be of good courage, and valiantly abide the furie of the fiege: vntill such time as a link boy of theirs, escaped from the enemies that before had taken him prisoner, was come against vnto them. Of whom they inquired where Lucullus was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they iested to aske that question of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the ROMAINES campe with his finger: then they beleeved it indeed, and were

couragious againe. There is a lake neare vnto the citie of Cyzrovs called Dascylitide, and it is nauigable with conucnient bigge boates. Lucullus tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a carr, and fo caried it to the fea, and there put as many fouldiers in her as she could welcarry, who by night entred into the citie, the skoute of the enemies neuer descrying them. This small suppliedid maruellously comfort the befreged Crzicenians; and it seemeth that the gods, delighting to see their noble courage, would further increase and assure the same, by many manifell tokens which they fent from heaven, and specially by one, which was this. The day of the feaft of Proferpina was at hand, and the citizens had never a blacke cow to offer in solemne sacrifice, as their ancient ceremonies required: fo they made one of paste, and brought it hard vnto the altar. Now, the cow that was vowed to this facrifice, & which they reared up of purpole A wanderto frue for that day, was feeding among ft the heard of the city in the fields on the other fide of full token thearme of the sea. But that day she kept alone from all the rest of the heard, and swam ouer the arme of the fea, and came into the city; where the went of her felfevnto the place of the facrifice. to offer her Furthermore, the goddeffe Proferpina her felf appeared vnto Ariftagorax in his dreame, Secretary file to the of the state and commonwealth of the Cyzic Enians, and said vnto him: I am come hither to be serito bring the flute of Lye is against the trumpet of Pont, and therefore tell the citizens from field. me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the Secretarie had told driftage. them this vision, the Cyzicenians maruelled much at the goddesses words, and could not imagine what they meant. How beit at the breake of day there arofe a great whittling wind, that made the fea billowes rife very high; and the kings engines of batterie which were brought to the walles of the city to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one Niconides a THESSALIAN enginer had made and deuised) began to make such a noise, and to breake in peeces by the roughnesse of the winde, that a man might easily judge what would follow upon it. Then all at one instant, the Southwind was become so vehement bigge, that in a moment it burst all these engines as funder, & specially a tower of wood of the height of an hundred cubits, which the wind shooke so vehicmently, that it ouerthrew it to the ground. And it is sayd fur. thermore, that in the city of ILIVM the goddeffe Minerua appeared vnto diuerse in their sleepe, all in a fweat, and shewing part of her yeile torne, as if she had bene newly returned from giving aide unto the Cyzicenians: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of Ilium haue a pillar yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetual memorie. Now was Mithridates maruellous forrie for the breaking and losse of his engines, by meanes whereof, the Cyzicenians had escaped the danger of assault, and of the siege in like manner, vntill he truly vaderstood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreme dearth to be such, Extreme as the fouldiers were compelled to eate mans flesh, which (his Captaines abusing him) had for famine in a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth indeed, he left off his vaine ambition oblinately to continue fiege: knowing well that Lucullus made not wars Provided with threats, and brauery, but (as the common prouer be faith) leapt on his bellie with both his bis belly feete, that is to fay, he did what he could possible to cut off all the victuals from him. And there with bath forcone day when Lucullus was gone to affault a caftle that troubled him, very neare vnto his bis feete. campe, Mithridates because he would not lose that oportunity, sent the most part of his horsemen to get victuals in BITHYNIA, with all the carts, and beafts of carriage, and his most vnprofitable footmen. Lucullus hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night vnto his campe, and the next morning betimes being in the winter feafon, followed them by the tracke with ten enfignes of footemenonely, and all his horsemen. But the snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharpe, and the weather so rough, that many of his souldiers not being able to abide it, died by the way. For all that, he marched on still, till he ouertooke his enemies about the river of Rindacus, where he gaue them such an ouerthrow, that the very women came out of the Rindacus ft. city of Apollonia, and wentto steale the victuals they had loden, and to strip the dead, which were a maruellous great number as a man may judge in such a case: and neuerthelesse there were taken fixe thousand horse of service, an infinite number of heasts for carriage, and Lucullus fifteenethousand men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his campe, and passed hard Mintides by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the Historiographer Saluft, who writing of suborte. this matter faith, that here was the first time that euer the Romains faw any camels. Methinks men. it strange how he should thinke so, that they who long before had ouercome Antiochus the Great under Scipio, and the others that a little before had fought against Archelaus, neare unto

Mithridazes fled by fea. Granicus fl Luculius dates foot-Granicus.

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the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHERONEA, should not have seene camels. But to returne a gaine to our matter. Mithridates being feared with this ouerthrow, refolued with himselfeimmediatly to flie, with all the speed he could possibly make: and to entertaine and stay Lucullus for atime behind him, he determined to fend Aristonicus his Admirall with his armie by sea, into the fea of GRECE. But as Aristonicus was readie to hoise faile, his owne men betrayed him, and deliuered him into the hands of Lucullus, with ten thousand crownes which he caried with him to corrupt (if he could) part of the ROMAINS army. Mithridates hearing of this, fled by fea, leaving the rest of his army by land in the hands of his captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. Lucullus followed vnto the river of Granicus, where he let vponthem, & after he had flaine twenty thousand of them, tooke an infinite number prisoners. And they say there died in entribyone that wars, what fouldiers, what flaues, what lackeis, & other stragglers that followed the camp, about the number of three hundred thousand people. This done, Lucullus returned to the city of Cyzicvs, where after he had spent some daies, enjoying the glory due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to visit the coast of Helles PONT, to get ships together, and to prepare an army by sea. And passing by Troade, they prepared his lodging within the temple of Venus: where, as he flept in the night, it feemed to him he faw the goddeffe appeare before him, which faid these verses vnto him:

O lyon fierce and flout why fleepest thou so sound? Since at thy hand so faire a prey, is readie to be found. Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his friends to him, told them the vision he had in his dreame: and about that very time also there came some vnto him from the city of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene galleys of king Mithridates, having five oares to every banke, that were feene in the haven of the ACHAIANS, and that failed towards the Ile of Lemnos. Whereupon Lucullus tooke ship straight, went and tooke them energy one: for at his first comming he slue the captaine called 1 stdorus, and went afterwards to the other mariners that lay at anker on the coast side, who seeing him come, drew towards land with their ships, in purpose to runne them all ashore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of Lucullus fouldiers, because they could not compasse them in behinde, and for that also the place where they had laied their ships was such as there was no way to force them before, their galleys floting in the fea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. Lycullus with much ado all this notwithstanding, found meanes in the end to put ashore certaine of the best souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily land. These fouldiers went straight and set vpon the enemies behind, slue some of them even at their first comming, and compelled the reft to cut a funder the cables that fast ned the galleys to the banks. But when they thought to flie from land, the galleys brused and broke one another: and that worst of all was, ranne vpon the points and spurres of Lucullus galleys: and so many of them as ftood aboue hatches were flaine, the resttaken prisoners: amongst whom, Marius the Romaine captaine was brought vnto Lucullus, whom Sertorius had fent out of SPAINE vnto Mithridates. He had but one eye, and Lucullus had commanded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye, because Marius should not die so happie a death, as to be flaine, but that he should die some shamefull death, and be condemned by order of law. That done, Lucullus went in person with all the speed he could possible to follow Mithridates, hoping to find him yet vpon the coast of BITHYNIA, where Voconius should have stayed him: for he had sent this Vocanius before with a great number of his ships vnto the city of NICOMEDIA, to stop him from slying. But hetaried so long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA facrificing to the gods of the same, and to be received into the fraternitie of their religion, that he could never after come neare Mithridates to stop him from flying: having alreadie made faile with all the whole fleete, and hafting with all possible speed to recouer the Realme of Pontes, before Lucullus could return from whence he went. But in failing thitherwards, he met with fuch a terrible ftorme, that carried part of his ships so away, that they ranne straggling to seeke their fortune, and part of them splitted and drowned outright: so that all the coastes and rivers thereabouts, for many daies after, were full of dead bodies and shipwrackes cast ashore by waves of ses in great the sea. Now for Mithridates owne person, he was in a ship of great burthen, the which for her danger ap. greatnesse could not faile neare the shore, nor recouer land, she was also very euill to be guided b) timpeft, by the pilots in so boisterous a storme: the marriners besides were put out of all their skill and

knowledge: and the ship her selfe moreouer tooke in such store of water, and was so heavily charged withall, that they durft no more put her out to the fea. By reason whereof Mithridates was compelled to go aboord a little pinnace of pirats, and to put himselfe and his life into their hands, by whose helpe in the end (beyond all expectation, but not without great danger) he got to land, and recourred the city of HERACLEA in the Realme of PONTYS. Now here is to benoted, that the great brauerie Lucullus shewed vnto the Senate of Rome, fell out according to his imagination by the fauour of the gods. For when the Schare had appointed for ending of these warres, to prepare a great name of ships, and therewithall had given order also for three thousand talents: Lucullus stayed them by letters, that they should not do it, writing branely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be strong inough to drive Mitbridates from the fea, with the onely ships he would borrow of their friends and confederates. And indeed, through the special fauour of the gods, he brought it Lucultur fotopasse: for they say, that this terrible storme that destroyed the armie of Mithridates was raifed vp by Diana, being offended with the men of the Realme of Pontys, because they had ble. dellroyed her temple in the city of PRIAPOS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diverse that counselled Lucallus to deferre the rest of this warre vntill another season; but notwithstanding all their perswasions, he went through the countrey of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to innade the Realme of Mithridates. In the which voyage, at the first beginning he lacked vichials, so that there were thirty thousand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried e- Lucullus uery one of them a bushell of wheate on their shoulders: howbeit entring farther into the countrey, and conquering the whole, there was such exceeding plenty of all things, that an oxe was An oxe fold in his campe but for a Drachma, and a flaue at four erimes as much. And of all other spoyle bought for there was fuch great flore, that either they made no reckoning of it, or else they made hauock of it, because there was no man to sell it vnto, every man having so much of his owne. For they ran ouerall the countrey vnto the city of THEMISYRA, and to the valleys that lay vpontheriuer of Thermodon, and stayed no where longer then they were a spoyling. Therupon the souldiers beganto murmure at Lucullus, because he affured all the cities vpon composition, & neuer took any of Lucullus of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich themselues by spoyle: and yet said they, fuldiers. he would make vs now go farther, & leave Amrs vs a great rich city which we might eafily take by force, if it were but a little straightly besieged; and leade vs into the deserts of the TIBARE-MIANS and the CHALD ÆIANS to fight against Mithridates. Lucullus passed ouer all these complaints, and made no reckoning of them, because he would neuer haue thought that they would haue fallen into fuch mutinie and furie, as afterward they did: and contrarily excufed himfelfe the more carefully to them that blamed and reproued him, for his long tarying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckoning, & fuffering Mithridates in the meane time to gather Lucultus anew force & army together at his pleasure. For, said he, that is the marke I shoot at, & that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I do, wishing nothing more, then that he might once again his souldiers make himselfe strong, and bring a second armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftsoones to fight with vs, and runne away no more. Do you not lee, faid he, that at his backe helath an infinite number of defert countries, where it is vnpassable euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him also the mount Caucasus, and many other vnpassible places, which are fulficient not onely to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings besides that would flie battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a little way from the countrey of the CABIRENIANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where Tigranes the king of kings inhabiteth, whose power is so great, that he driveth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and carieth wholetownes and cities of GRECE vnto the Realme of MEDIA, and hath all Syria and Pa-1 ÆSTINE in his hands, and hath flaine and rooted out the kings and fuccetfours of the great Seleucus, and hath carried away their wives and daughters prisoners by force. This great and mighty king is allied vnto Mithridates, for he married Mithridates daughter; and it is not like- king of dr. ly that when Mithridates shall come and intreate him to helpe him in his distresse, that Tigra-menia, mas nes will refusehim, but rather we must thinke certainely that he will make warres vpon vs in ried Mihis defence. And thus, in making haste to drive out Mithridates, we shall bring our selves into daughter, great danger, to prouoke a new enemie, euen Tigranes against vs, who of long time hathlurked " for a just occasion to make warres with vs. and he can haue no honester cause to take armes, then " to defend and keepe aking his neighbour, and so neare a kinsman, from veterdestruction, and «

LVCVLLVS.

Mirbrida-Lycus fl.

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The confia-Mithrida

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onethat is compelled to feeke vnto him for fuccour. What need we then to prouble him to 22) procure it, & teach Mithridates (which he purpofeth not) to whom he should repaire for aide, to make warres against our selues: and pricke him forward, or to say better, put him with our owne hands into the way to go seeke aide of Tigranes, which of himselfe he will neuer do (thinking it a dishonor vnto him) vnlesse we drive him to it for very necessity? Is it not better for vs togine him leifure and time, to gather a fecond force againe of himfelfe, and his owne people, that we might rather fight with the Colchians, TIBARENIANS, CAPPADOCIANS, & with fuch other people whom we have so many times overcome: then with the MEDE's and ARMENIANS With this determinatio Lucullus taried a great while before the city of Amisvs, continuing this fiege of purpose, without distressing them at all. Afterwards when winter was past, he left Murena there to continue the fiege, and himselfe with the rest of his army went to meete Mishridates: who had planted his campe neare vnto the city of CARIRA, determining to tarrie the Ro-MAINES comming, having gathered together againe a new army of forty thousand footemen and foure thousand horsemen, in the which he put his most considence and trust, so that he past fed ouer the river of Lycus, and went and presented battell to the Romaine s in the plaine field. There the horsemen skirmished, and the ROMAINS had the worse: for there was one Pomponius a ROMAINE taken, of great estimation, who was brought vnto king Mithridates hurt as he was Mithridates asked him, if in fauing his life, and healing his wounds, he would become his feruant & friend. Straight replied Pomponius, With all my heart, quoth he, so that thou make peace with the ROMAINES: if not, I will cuer be thine enemie. The king esteemed his courage much, and would do him no hurt. And as for Lucullus he was afraid to come into the plaine, because hise. nemy was the stronger of horsemen; & he doubted also on the other side to take his way by the mountaine, because it was very high, vneasie to clime, and full of woods and forrests. But as he ftood thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRECIANS by chance that were fled, and hidden in a caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called Artemidorus, who promifed Lucullus if he would beleeue and follow him, he would bring him into a fure strong place to lodge his campe, where was a castle about the city of CABIRA. Lucallus beleeved the old mans words, wherefore so soone as night came, he raised great fires in the campe, and went his way: and after they had passed certaine straight and dangerous waies of the mountaines, he came in the morning vnto the place where Artemidorus had promised to bring him. Now the enemies were marvellously amazed when day light came, to fee him there over them, in a place where if he list to fight, he might come vpon them with advantage: and if he liked not to stirre, it was vnpossible to compell him. For he stood indifferent then to hazard battell, or not. But in the meane season, they fay certaine of the kings campe by chance were a hunting the Hart. The Romaines perceining that, fell vpon them to cut them off by the way: and they began by this meane one to charge another in such sort (relief growing still on either side) as Mithridates men grew the stroger. But the Romaines feeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, werein fuch a rage, that they all ran in a choler to Lucullus to pray him he would leade them to battell, and give them a fignall to fight. Lucullus, because he would shew them by experience how much the presence and eye of a good wise captaine in time of need was worth; commanded them they should not once stirre, and he himselfe in person went downe into the valley, where he commanded the first of his men he met withall slying, to stay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they prefently did, and all the other in like case: and thus gathering them together againe, did easily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chase, and draue them backe, fighting with them euen hard to their owne fort. Afterwards vpon this returne againe to his campe, he set his souldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to shame them withall, which the ROMAINES are wont to vie in fuch a case; and that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelue foote long, being in their shirts, all vntrussed, and their other companions present seeing them do it. Now there was in king Mithridates campe, one Olthacus, prince of the DARDARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vponthe marifles of The Darda - Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his person, valiant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudgement to do any great enterprise, as any that was in all the armie, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainement in company, knowing how to fashion himselfe with all men. This prince, being alwaies at strife withother Lords of the countrey, and contending who should have the first place of honor and favour about the king : went vnto Mithridates, and

promifed him that he would do him notable service, and that was, that he would kill Lucullus. The king was very gladof this promife, and praised him maruellously in secret howbeit openly of purpose he did him many injuries; because he might haue some colour to counterfeit anger and displeasure, and to give way for him to go yeeld himselfe vnto Lucullus, as he did. Lucullus was maruellous glad of him, because he was one of the chiefest men of name in all his campe: Lucullus and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediately: in the which he behaued himfelfe fo well, that Lucullus greatly effeemed his wisdome; and commended his diligence, in such fort, conspiracio. that he did him this honour, to call him sometimes vnto the Councell, and make him sit at his boord. One day when this DARDARIAN prince Olthacus thought to haue found fit occasion Othacus to execute his enterprise, hee commaunded his foremen to be readily with his horse out of the prince of the Dardatrenches of the campe: and at noone daies when the fouldiers tooke rest, and slept here and rians. there in the campe, he went vnto Lucullus tent, thinking to have found no body there to keepe him from comming in confidering the familiarity Lucullus shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and fure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if fleepe that casteth away so many other Captaines, had not then preserved and faued Lucullus that flept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called Menedemus, who by good fortune kept the doore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because Lucullus being wearied by firste. with trauell and lack of sleepe, was but then newly layed downe to rest. Olthacus, what soeuer the other faid to him, would not be fo answered, but told him, he would come in whether he would or not, for he must needs speake with him in a matter of great importance. Menedemus answered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessarie, then the preservation of his masters life and health, who had need to take rest: and with these words hethrust him backe with both his hands. Olthacus was afraid then, and withdrew himselfe secretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horse backe, and rode straight to Mit bridates campe without his purpose he came for, which was to kill Lucullus. And thus it plainely appeareth, that occasion, and opportunity of time euen in great matters delivereth meanes to save or destroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines given vnto the sicke and diseased perfons. Shortly after, Lucullus fent one of his Captaines, called Sornatius, to get victuals, with ten ensignes of footmen. Whereof Mithridates being aduertised, sent presently at his taile one of his Captaines also, called Menander, vnto whom Sornatius gaue battell, and flue him, with great flaughter of his men befide. And afterward Lucullus sent another of his Lieutenants, called Adrianus, with a great company of fouldiers, to get victuals into his campe more then he shouldneed. Mithridates did not let slip this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines allo, called Menemachus and Myron, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horfemen. Lucultus all which were flaine, two onely excepted, that brought newes backe to Mithridates campe: pellor, of the which he fought to falue as well as he could, faying that the loffe was much leffe then it was Mibrida. thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and raffinesse of his Lieutenants. But tes captains Adrianus at his returne passed by Mithridates campe with great pompe and maiestie, carrying ahuge number of carts loaden with corne and spoyles he had wonne: which draue Mithrida. to selfe into so great a despaire, and all his people into such a scare and trouble, that he presently determined to remouethence. Whereupon, the Nobility and fuch as had place of credite a- Milbridabout him, began to fend before, and fecretly to conuey their stuffe out of the campe, but veterly men and prohibiting others to do the same. The rest of the souldiers seeing the soutnesse of the Kings familian, minions, began to fet upon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once cause of to iffue out of the campe. This mutiniegrew to fuch a fury, that they ouerthrew their carriages and fumpter moyles, and flue them presently. Amongst others there was slaine Dorylaus, of bin whole one of the chiefest Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple army. gowne, for the which they killed him: and Hermans the Priest of the sacrifices was troden vnder foote, and smothered at the campe gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in fo great dilorder. The King himselfe amongst others fled; but having neuer 2 one of his guard about him, nor any of the squires of his stableto bring him a horse, Ptolomie, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his owne horse, and gaue him the King, but even in manner too late. For the ROMAINES that followed him counters fires were then euen hard at his taile: and it was not for lacke of speed they missed the taking of him, throw of for they were very neare him; but the couetoufnesse of the souldiers was the losse of the prey foodiers.

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they had fo long fought for, with fo great paine and hazard of battels, and deprived Lucullus of the honour and reward of all his victories. For they were so neare vnto him, that if they had but followed Mithridates neuer so little further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horse that caried him away. But one of the moyles that caried his gold and filuer (whether by chance, or of pretended policie of Mithridates, as a matter purposely abandoned to them that pursued him) was found in the middest of the high way betwixt him that fled, and the Romaines that followed, who stayed there to rob the gold and filuer, fighting about it, that Mithridates by that meanes wan ground so farre before them, as they could neuer after come neare him againe. And this losse was not all which the conetosnesse of the souldiers made Lucullus to lose. For one of the chiefest Secretaries of the King being taken, called Callistratus, whom Lucallus commanded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had flue hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedinesse of them, slue him by the way; and yet notwithstanding Lucullus suffered them to spoyle and destroy the whole campe of theirenemies. After Mithridates flight, Lucullus tooke the city of CARTEA, and many other castels and ftrong places, where he found great treasure, and the prisons full of poore prisoners of the G_{RB} -CIANS, and many Princes a kinne vnto the king himselfe, which were thought to be deadlong before; and then feeing themselues delinered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefite of Lucullus, thought with themselues they were not onely taken out of prison, but reniued & turned againe vnto a second life. There was also taken one of king Mithridates fisters called Nissa, whose taking fell out profitable for her; because all Mitbridates other wives and sisters whom they placed farthest off, as out of all danger (& sent into a country of greatest safety, neare vnto the city of Pharnacia) died pitifully, and were miserably slaine. For Mithridates sentone of the groomes of his privile chamber vnto them, called Bacchides, to bring them word that they must al die. Amongst many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kings sisters, called Roxane and Statira, which were forty yeares old apecce, and yet had neuer bene married; and two of his wines also whom he had maried, both of the country of Ionia, the one called Berenice, borne in the Ile of CHIO, and the other Monime, in the city of MILETVM. Monime, she was very famous amongst the GRECIANS: for notwithstanding king Mithridates importunate dealing, being far in loue with her, in so much as he sent her fifteene thousand crownes at one time, yet she would neuer giue care vnto his suite, vntill such time as the mariage was agreed vpon betweene them,& that he had fent her his Diademe or royall band, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poorelady after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a wofull life, bewailing continually her accurfed beauty, that in flead of a husband, had procured her a mafter. & in flead of the matrimonial company which a noble woman should enjoy, had gotten her a gard & garrison of barbarous men, that kept her as a prisoner, farre from the sweete country of Greenin change whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, having vnfortunately left them within her owne country she happily enjoyed before. Now whenthis Bacchides was come vnto them, and had commanded them from the king to chuse what manner The courage of death they would, and which every one of them thought most easie, and least painefull: Me of Monimos nime pluckt off the royall band from her head, and tying it on a knot about her necke, hung her felfe, but the band not being firong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon she cryed out 0 cursed and wicked tiffue, wilt thou not yet serue me to end my forrowfull dayes. And speaking these words, cast it on the ground, and spit vpon it, & held out her throate to Bacchides to becut asunder. The other, Berenice, she took a cup full of poyso, her mother being present, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which she did, and they dranke it off betweene them. The force of the poyfon was strong enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not so quickly to destroy the daughter, because shee had not taken that proportion which would have seruedher turne, but drew out the paines of her death in length, vntill such time as Bacchides hasting to difpatch her, she in the end did strangleher selfe. As for the Kings two sisters, Roxane and Statina, which were virgins yet vnmaried, they say, that one of them also dranke poyson, curfing and derer juje. The current teffing the cruelty of her brother: howbeit Statira gaue neuer an ill word, nor was faint harted of Stairs, or forrowfull to die, but cotrarily did commend & thank her brother highly, that feeing himfelf in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cause them die, before they should fall as slaues into the hands of their enemies, and before they could come to dishonour them, or do them villanie. These pitifull misfortunes went to Lucullus heart, who was courteous and gentle

of nature: neuerthelesse he went on farther, still following Mithridates at the heeles: vnto the citic of TALAVRA. And there understanding that he was fled foure dayes before unto Tigranes in Armenia, returned backe againe, having first subdued the Chaldeans, and the Tiba-RENIANS, taken Armenia the leffe, and brought the cities, caftles and strong places vnto his obedience. That done, he fent Appius Clodius vnto king Tigranes to fummon him to deliuer Appius Clodius Mithridates vnto him: and himfelfe tooke his journey towards the city of Amisvs, which motives was yet belieged. The cause why this siege continued so long, was the sufficiency & great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called Callimachus, who ynderstood so well how Lucultus. all forts of engines of batterie were to be vsed, and was so subtill besides in all inventions that goderner of might serve to defenda place besieged, as he troubled the Romaines much in this attempt; 600/100. but afterwards he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labour, but also outreached by Lucullus for all his fineneffe. For where before he had alwaies vied to found the retreate at a certaine houre, and to call his men backe from the affault to reft them: one day he brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden, and comming to affault the wall, at the first charge wanne a brake that order on the fudden was a brake that order on the fudden was a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order of the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that order or the first charge wanne a brake that or the first charge wanne a brake that or the first charge wanne a brake that or the first c peece of it, before those within could come in time to refist them. Callimachus seeing that, and fm. knowing it was now vnpossible to keepethe city any longer, forsooke it. But before his departing he fet the city on fire, either for malice to the ROMAINES, because he would not they calling. should enrich themselues with the facke of so great a city; or else for a policie of warre to haue this setteth the more leisure to sauchimselse, and sie. For no man gaue eye to them that sted by sea, be- amisur, caule the flame was fogreat, that it dispersed it selfe even to the very wals, and the Romains fouldiers, they onely prepared to spoyle. Lucullus seeing the fire without, had compassion of Lucullus thecity within, and would gladly have holpen it, and for the purpose prayed the souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, every one gaping after the spoile, words to making great noyfe with clashing of harnesse, and being very loude besides otherwise, till at wish. the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to saue the housesfrom fire, but it fell out cleane controrie. For the fouldiers themselues in seeking all about with torches and linkes lighted, to fee if any thing were hidden, they fet a number of houfeson fire. So as Lucullus comming into the city the next morning, and feeing the great defolationthe fire had made, fella weeping, faying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought sylla happie, howbeir hencuer wondred more at his good fortune, then ing. thatday he did. For, sylla faid he, defired to faue the city of ATHENS, the gods granted him that fauour that he might do it; but I that would faine follow him therein, and faue this city, fortune thwarting my defire, bath brought me to the reputation of Mummius, that caused Corinth to be burnt. Neuertheleffe he did his best indeuour at that time to helpe the poore city againe. For touching the fire, cuen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a shower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and Lucullus selfe before he left the city made agreatnumber of the houses which were spoyled by fire, to be built vp againe, and court cously received all the inhabitants that were fled, befides them he placed other GRECIANS there alfo, that were willing to dwell amongst them, and increased the bounds and confines of the city which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlongs in the countrey. This city was acolonic of the Athenians, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire flourished, and that they ruled the seas: by reason whereof, many slying the tyrannie of Aristion, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the same. This good hap fell vpon them, that for faking their owne goods, they went to possessife and enjoy the goods of other men: but the very citizens of Athens it selfe that had escaped from this great defolation, Lucultus clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas apeece, Tyrannien and sent them againe into their countrey. Tyrannion the Grammarian was taken at that time, the gramwhom Murana begged of Lucullus: and Lucullus having granted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt very discourteously, and did much abuse Lucullus liberality and gift vnto him. For in bestowing this prisoner upon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane Murana should take him for a bondman, whereby he should need afterwards to make him free. For feeming to make him free, and restore him to liberty, was no more then to take that freedome and libertie from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in that onely, Murana laid himselfe open to the world, that he had not all the parts a worthy Captaine should have in him. When Lucullus departed from Am 1 sv s, he went to visite

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And yet the worst of all was, the paine they put them to before they were fo condemned for they imprisoned them, fet them on the racke, tormented them ypon a little brasen horse, set them in the stockes, made them stand naked in the greatest heate of sommer, and on the ice in the deepest of winter, so as that bondage seemed vnto them a reliefe of their miseries, and a rest of their torments. Lucullus found the cities of Asia full of fuch oppressions, but in a short time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he tooke order, they should account for the vsurie that was payed monethly, the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no more. Secondly, he cut off all viuries that ter the rate passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor and vourer should enjoy the fourth part of the profits and reuenues of his debter. And hethat ioyned vsurie with the principall, that is to say, tooke vsurie vpon vsury, should lose the whole. So that by this order, all debts were payed in leffe then foure yeares, and the owners lands and reuenues fet cleare of all maner payments. This furcharge of viuries, came of the twenty thou. fand talents, wherein Sylla had condemned the country of Asia: the which fummethey had payed twife before vnto the farmers and collectors of the Romains, who had raifed it, still heaping vsurie vpoh vsurie to the summe of fixscore thousand talants. Wherefore these collectors and farmers ratine to Rome, and cryed out vpon Lucullus, faying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be: & by meanes of mony, they procured certaine of the comon counsellors to speake against him: which they might easily do, because they had divers of their names in their books that dealt in the affaires of the comonwealth of Rome. But Lucullus was not only beloued of those countries whom he did good vnto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the countries happie that might have such a governour. Now for Appius Clodius, whom Lucullus had sent before from TALAVRA unto king Tigranes in ARMENIA, & whose fister atthat time was Lucullus wife: he first tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high courty, making him fetch a great compasse about, by many dates iourneys spent in vaine: vntill such time as one of his infranchized bondmen that was bornein Syria, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong wayes they had led him, within few dayes past ouer the river of Euphrates, and arrived in the city of Antioch, furnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commandement to abide Tigranes returne, who was then in the country of PHOENICIA, where he subdued certaine cities, and had some other yet to conquer. Appius in the meane time wan secretly divers of the princes & noble men, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, & against their wils, amongst whom was Zarbienus, king of the prouince of Gordi ENA: and promised the aide of Lucullus also to many of the cities that sent vnto him (which had not long before bene fubdued and brought into bondage) to whom neuertheleffe he gaue in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once stirre, nor alter any thing. For the rule of these ARMENIANS WAS intollerable to the GRECIANS, and specially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reason of his great prosperity, was growne to such pride and presumption, that what soeuer men did commonly esteeme best, and make most reckoning of, he would not onely haue it, and wheit as his owne, but also tookeit that all was made for himselse whatsoeuer; and this great ourweening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and fauour towards him. For at the beginning he had but veric little, and yet with this little (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downethe power of the Persians as much as any man that ever was before him. He replenished the countrey of MESOPOTAMIA with GRECIAN inhabitants, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPADOGIA, compelling

them to inhabite there. He made the ARRABIAN's change their maner of living, who are otherwife called the Schniths, as much to fay, as tent dwellers, because they are vagrant people that dwell inno other houses but tents, which they euer vie to carrie with them, and brought them our of their naturall countrey, and made them follow him, vfing them for his commoditie in trade of merchandize. There were ever many kings in his court that waited on him: but amonest others, he had foure kings that waited continually on his person as his footemen: for when he rode abroade any whither, they ranne by his stirrop in their shirts. And when he was fet in his chaire of stare to give audience, they stood ontheir feete about his chaire holding their hands together, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could doe vnto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they resigned all The bold. their liberty, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and master, more ready to suffer, then pine clediany thing to do. Notwithstanding, Appins Clodius being nothing abashed nor feared with all ... Luculus this tragicall pompe, when audience was given him, told king Tigranes boldly to his face, down onto that he was come to carry king Mithridates away with him, who was due to the triumph of Ly. Tigranes. cullus; and therefore did fummon him to deliuer that king into his hands, or else that he proclaimed warres vpon himselfe. They that were present at this summons, knew well inough that Tigranes (although he fet a good countenance on the matter openly with a faint counterfeir laughing) yet hearing these words so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quicke, and hit at the heart. For Tigranes having reigned (or to fav better, tyrannically gouerned) fine and twentie yeares space, had neuer heard any bold or franke speech but that. Notwithstanding, he answered Appins, that he would not deliver Milhridates, and if the Romaines made warres with him, that he would defend himselfe. And being greatly offended that Lucullus in his letters gave him not the title, King of kings, but onely king simply: in the letters he wrote backe to Lucullus againe, he did not so much as youch safe to call him Captaine onely. But when Appius tooke his leave, he fent him goodly rich presents, which he refused. Whereupon the king sent others againe vnto him, of the which Appins ab. tooke a cup onely, because the king should not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: from ta and so sending all the rest againe vnto him, madegreat haste to returne to his Captaine Lucul, king of gifts lus. Now Tigranes before that time would not once fee king Mithridates his fo neare kinfeman, who by fortune of warres had lost so puissant and great a kingdome, but proudly kept him vnder, in fennie, marish and vnwholesome grounds, without any honour given vnto him, as if he had bene a very prisoner indeed: how beit then he sent for him honourably, and received him with great courtefic. When they were neare together in the kings pallace, they talked fe- Tigranet cretly one with another, and excusing themselues, clearing all suspitions conceived betweene and Mithem, to the great hurt of their feruants and friends, whom they burthened with all the occasion meeting. of vnkindnesse betweene them: amongst which number Metrodorus the Schrsian was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in speech, and one whom Mithridates so much loued and Matroda. esteemed, that they called him the kings father. Mithridates at the beginning of his wars had sent him Ambassadour vnto Tigranes, to pray aide of him against the Romaines. At which time Tigranes said vnto him; but what sayest thouto it Metrodorus; what advice wilt thou give me? Metrodorus either because he had regard vnto Tigranes profite, or else because he was loth Mithridates should escape, answered him againe: As Ambassadour, ô King, I would wish you should do it: but as a Counsellour, that you should not doe it. Tigranes now reported this speech vnto Mishridates, not thinking he would have hurt Metrodorus for it, though indeed he presently put him to death vpon it. Whe hat Tigranes was heartily sorie, and repented him greatly to hauctold him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, hauing but onely reviued Mithridates evill will before conceined against him: for he had bornehim displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that Metrodorus should be put to death: but in recompence thereof Tigranes buried his body honourably, sparing no cost at all vnto the dead bothers, then died dy of him, whom living he had betrayed. There died in King Tigranes Court also an Orator in King called Amphicrates, if he descrue that mention should be made of him, for the city of ATHENS court. fake wherin he was borne; for it is faid, that when he was banished out of his country, he fled into the city of Selevila, which standeth vpon the river of Tigris. When the inhabitants of the ding you fame praied him to teach them the Art of Eloquence in their country, he wold not youch fafe it, Tigris f.

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Arlatter but answered them proudly: that a platter was too little to hold a Dolphine in, meaning that too little to hold a Dol. their city was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto Cleopatra, Mithridates daughter, and king Tigranes wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS company any more, which grieued him fo much that he famished himselfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very honourably buried by the Queene Cleopatra, neare vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that countrey. Now when Lucallus had quieted all things in Asia, and had established good lawes among them, he was not carelesse also of games and pleasant pastimes, but while he was at leisure in the city of Ephesvs, he made many games, feasts, wrestlings, and sence-playes at the sharpe for ioy of his victory, delighting all the cities of Asia with them; the which in recompence thereof did institute a solemne feast also in the honour of him, which they called Lu. cullea, and did celebrate it with great ioy, shewing a true and no fained friendship and good will towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honour they could deuise to give him. But after that Appins Clodius was returned from his Ambassade, and had told Lucullus that he must make warres with Tigranes: Lucullus went back againe vnto the realme of Pontvs, where he tooke his army which he had left in garrifon and brought it before the city of Sinope to lay frege vnto it, or rather to befrege certaine Cili-CIAN'S that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of Mithridates. But when they faw Lucullus come against them, they slue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the city, fled their way by night, Lucullus being aduertifed of it, entred the city, put eight thousand of the City. CIANS to the fword which he found there, and restored the naturall citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserve the city, was this vision he had. He thought in his nights dreamethat one came to him, and faid; goe a litle farther Lucullus, for Antolyeus commeth, who is defirous to speake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision meant. It was the felf sameday on the which he tooke the citie of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that escaped by flying, he found an imagelying on the ground vpon the fea fide, which the CILICIANS would haue carried away; but they were taken and followed fo neare, that they had no leifure to ship it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the good liest and notablest workes of Sthenis the image grauer. And some say it was the image of Antolycus, who sounded the city of SINOPE. For Autolycus was one of the princes that went out of THESSALIE with Hercules to go against the AMAZONES, and he was the sonne of Deimachus. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the ship in the which Autolycus was imbarked, with Demoleon and Phlogius, made shipwracke vpon arocke of the coast of CHERRONESVS, where she was cast away: howbeitthat he and his men scaping with all their furniture, came to the city of SINOPE, which he took from certaine Syrians, who came (as they fay) of one Syrus the fonne of Apollo, and of the nymph Sinope Asopus daughter. Lucullus vnderstanding this matter, called a faving of Sylla to minde. which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may give more credite vnto, then that which is fignified to vs by dreames. In the meane scason he was aduertised that Tigranes and Mithridates were ready to come downe into Lycaonia and Ci-LICIA, because they might first enter As IA. Lucullus maruelled much at Tigranes counsell, that fithence he was minded to war with the Romaine s, he did not vse Mithridates aid in his wars at fuch time, as when he was in his best strength & force: and that he did not then io yne his power with Mithridates, rather then fuffer him to be destroyed and overthrowne, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding himselfe with those that could not helpe themselues. While these things passed in this fort, Machares king Mithridates sonne, that kept the realme of Bosphory s, fent a crowne of gold vnto Lucullus, of the weight of athousand crownes, praying him that he would name him a friend and confederate of the Romaines. Whercupon Lucullus thought he was then at the very last end of his first warre, and leaving Sornatius with fixe thousand mento keepe the realme of Pontys, he departed with twelve thousand footmen, and lesse then three thousand horsemen, to goe to the second warre. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a part of him, to goe with so small a company to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put himselfe vnto the hazard of so many thousands of horsemen, in a maruellous large countrey, and of a wonderful length, enuironed round about with deepe rivers and mountaines, covered with snow all

T.uculliu taketh Si-

Lucullus

A flatue Sthenis. Autolycus foundersf the city of

The Sprias why fo cal.

of Lucultu Lucullus gainst Tigranes with

LVCVLLVS. the yeare through: so that his fouldiers, which otherwise were no speciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did stubburnely disobey him. And on the other fide, the common counsellors at Rome cryed out on him continually, and openly protested before all the people, that out of one warre he sowed another, which the commonwealth had nothing to do withall; and that he looked after none other thing but still to raise new prosperity. occassions of warres, to the end he might alwaies haue armies at his commandement, and neuer leaue the wars, because he would make himselfe great with the cost and perill of the commonwealth. These crying counsellers in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home Lucullus againe, and to substitute Pompey in his place. But Lucullus for all that, marched on with his army with all the possible speed he could, so that he came in few daies vnto the river of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough, by reason of the winter season: which trou. bled him maruellously at that present, doubting left it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boats, and making of posts and plancks to build a bridge to passe ouer his armic. But 17 high and towards night the water beganto fall a little, and in the night fell fo much, that the next morning the river was come to her ordinarie streame; and moreover the country men themselves discerand fudning certaine little Ilands that appeared vnto them in the middest of the water course, and the riuer very calme as a marish round about them, did honor Lucullus as a god, because it was a thing establish they had never seene chance before, as though a his comming the singre had siddenly wealth. they had neuer feene chance before: as though at his comming the river had suddenly yeelded testion her vnto him, and was become gentle to giue him safe and easie passage. And because he would not great spellosethat oportunity, he passed ouer his army immediatly: and was no sooner on the other side, but he met with a happie token of good lucke, which was this. On the other fide of the river, therewas a certaine number of kine confecrated to Diana Persica, whom the barbarous people Diana Persi inhabiting beyond the river of Euphrates, do reverence and honour about all the other gods: fea. and these kine they employ to none other vse, but onely to sacrifice them vnto this goddesse. Kine confe-They wander all about the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling crated to the country where they will be a constant. otherwise, having onely the marke of the goddesse, which is, a lampe printed vpon their bodies, sea. and they are not casse to be taken when one would hauethem, but with great ado. One of these consecrated kine, after that Lucullus army was passed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her selfe v- Asrange pona rocke which they suppose is hallowed or dedicated vnto this goddesse, bowing down her thing of a contrast head, and firetching out her neck, like those that are tyed short, as if she had come even of purposeto present her selfe to Lucullus, to be facrificed as she was. And besides her, he facrificed a fir her selfe bull also vnto the river of Euphrates, intoken of thanks for his safe passage over. Lucullus the first to be fairst. day did nothing but incampe himselfe only, on the other side of the river; but the next morning fieed. Ethe other daies following, he went farther into the country by the river of Sophene, hurting The country none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly received his armie. For when his men of Sephone. would have had him to have taken a castle by force, wherethey said was great store of gold and filier, he shewed them mount Taurus afarre off, and told them, it is that which he must rather go to take: as for the things which be in this castle, they be kept for them that vanquish. And going on still with great iourneys, passed ouer the river of Tigris, and so entred the realme of $A_{\rm R}$ - Tigris s. MENIA with a maine army. Now for Tigranes, the first manthat ventured to bring him newes of Tigranes
Treatles coming had no in first the arms the boat for his laboration of the street first the Lucullus coming, had no toy of it: for he cut off his head for his labor. And therfore from thence-mifferger forth there durft no man fay any thing vnto him, vntill fuch time as he was at the last enuironed that round with fire, weh Luculius army had raifed about him, before he could heare any thing therof. For he was sporting & gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that Lucullus of Lucullus indeed were a noble captaine, if he durst but tarry Tigranes coming downe in the city of EP HE- approach, svs onely, and how he would ftraight flie out of As 1A, so soone as he might but hearetell of his coming against him, with so triumphing an army, of so many thousand men. And thus may we fee, that like as al bodies and braines, are not alike strong nor able to carrie much wine: so in like case, all wits be not resolute & constant, neuer to do amisse, nor to swarue from reasons bounds in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithrobarzanes, one of Tigranes familiars, was the next man that enterprised to tell him the truth: whose boldnesse had little better reward for his newes then the first that was beheaded. For Tigranes sent him immediatly with three thousand horse, fendeth and a good number of footmen, commanding him that he should bring Lucullus aliue vnto him, Miltroand that furthermore, he should march vpon the bellies of his men. Now was Lucullus already barzans camped with part of his armie, and the other part comming after, when his skoutes brought gainst

Lucullus Sextilius against Mi

Contilisus. flue Mithrebarza. nes, and euers brew bis force. The city of Tigrano.

(wadeth

him newes of the barbarous Captaines approach: which at the first put him in seare, that if the enemie should come and affaile them thus scattered in companies, and not ranged in battel and readie to fight, he might ouerthrow them while they were in diforder. And therefore he remained within his campeto fortifie the same, and sent Sextilius one of his Lieutenants, with athoufand fixe hundred horse, and as many footmen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commanding him to approach as neare to his enemie as he could without fighting, onely to flav him there, vntill such time as he heard newes that al his armie was come together into his camp, Sextilius went to doc his commandement, but he was compelled to fight, (though against his will) Mithrobarzanes came so brauely and lustily to assaile him. So was the battell striken be. tweene them, in the which Mithrobarzanes was flaine valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying faued themselues. After this ouerthrow Tigranes for sooke his great royall city of Tigranocerra that he built himselfe, and went to mount Taurus, where he assembled a great number of men out of all parts. But Lucullus would giue him no leisure to prepare himselfe, but sent Murena on the one side to cut them off by the way, and to ouerthrow those that were affembled about him: and on the other side Sextilius to by Vigranss flop agreat company of the Arabians that were coming to Tigranes, whom Sextilius fetypon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in manner enery man. And Murana following king Tigranes at the heeles, spied an occasion to give the charge as he passed along a narrow valley, in the bottome whereof the way was very ill, and specially for an army of such a length: and taking the opportunity, set vpon the rereward, which Tigranes perceiuing, sed straight vpon it, making all his cariage to be throwne downe in the way before the enemies to flay them. There were a great number of the Armenians flaine in this ouerthrow, and motaken. Those things having this successe, Lucullus went to the city of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he befieged round. In that city were a maruellous number of GRECIANS that had bin brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people also whom they had vied in the like forcible manner, as they had done the Adiabenians, the Assyrians, the Gor-DIÆNIANS, and the Cappadocians, whose townes and cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reason whereof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of gold and filuer, of mettals, statues, tables and pictures, because euery man(as well priuate, as Princes and Lords) studied to please the king, to enrich and beautisse this city, with all kinds of furniture and ornaments fit for the same. And hereupon Lucullus straighted the siegess much as he could, perswading himselfethat Tigranes would neuer suffer that it should be taken, but(though he had otherwise determined)yet for very anger would present him battell, therby to enforce him to raise his siege. And surely he gessed right, had it not bene that Mithridates had diffwaded him by expresse letters and messengers that he should inno case hazard battell, and perswaded him rather to cut off the victuals on alsides from the Romains with his horsemen. The felfe same counsell and aduice did Taxiles (the Captaine whom Mithridates sent) give him in his campe, and prayed him very earnefly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the Romaines . Tigranes patiently hearkened to their reasons at the first; but when the Ar-MENIANS Werecome, and all the force of the countrey beside, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the kings of the MEDEs and of the ADIABENIANS were come also with all their power, and that on the other side there came a maruellous great host of the ARABIANS that dwell upon the sea of Babylon, and a multitude of the Albanians from the Caspian sea, and of the IDERIANS their neighbours, befides agreat company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the river of Araxes, some coming freely to do him pleasure, other for their pensions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table, nor incouncell, but of affured hope of victory, and of great brags and barbarous threatnings, fo that Taxi les was in great danger of himselse, because he was against the determination taken in councel for giving of the battell. Now was it thought that Mithridates didenuie the glorie of king Tigranes, and therefore did thus diffwade him from battell. For which respect Tigranes would not fomuch as tarrie for him, and because also Mithridates should have no part of the honour of his victory but went into the field with all his great army, vanting amongst his familiars as they report, that nothing grieued him but one, that he should fight with Lucallus alone, and not with all other Romaine Captaines. Now this brauerie was not so fond, nor so farre out of square, but that there was great likelihood of it when he saw so many fundry nations about him, so

many kings that followed him, fo many battels of armed footemen, and fo many thousands of horsemen. For he had in his armie of bow-men and slings onely, twenty thousand: fiue and fif- Tigranes tv thousand horsemen, whereof senenteene thousand men of armes, armed from top to toe, as whole are Lucallus himselfe wrote vnto the Senate; and an hundred & fifty thousand armed footmen, deuidedby enfignes and squadrons: of pyoners, carpenters, masons, and such other kind of handi-threscere crafts men, to plaine waies, to make bridges to passe ouer rivers, to stop streames, to cut wood and to make fuch kind of workes; of this fort of people, the number of flue and thirty thousand, who followed in battel ray in the rereward of the army, making their campe feeme far greater, and by so much the more stronger. When Tigranes shewed on the top of mount Taurus, and that they might plainely see his whole army from the city, and that himselfealso might easily discerne Lucullus armie that besieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the city were so glad of this fight, that they made wonderfull shouts of ioy, and great clapping ofhands, threatning the ROMAINEs from their wals, and shewing them the army of the Ar-MENIANS. Lucullus in the meane time fate in councell to confider what was to be done: wherein some were of opinion that he should raise his siege, and go with his whole army vindenided Lucalland against Tigranes. But others liked not that he should leave so great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he should raise his siege.. Lucullus made them answer, that neither of them graves. both did counsell him well, but both together did counsell right. Whereupon he deuided his army, and left Murana at the fiege of TIGRANOCERTA with fixe thousand men: and he with foureand twenty cohorts (in the which were not about ten thousand armed footmen) and all his horsemen, with a thousand bowmen and slings, or thereabouts, went towards Tigranes, and camped in a goodly broad field by the rivers side. The ROMAINES seemed but a handfull to Tigranes campe, so that for a while Tigranes parasites made but a May-game of them to sport withall. For fome laughed them to scorne, other drew lots, and played away their part of the spoyles, as if they had already wonne the field: and enery-one of the kings and Captaines came and offered themselues to Tigranes, and besought him every man for himselse, that he would giue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would please him to sit by in some place to feethe foort. Tigranes then, because he would shew that he could be as pleasant as the rest, fpake a thing knowne to enery man: If they come as Ambaffadors (quoth he) they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but few. And thus they played vponthe Romaines, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, Lucullus brought all his men armed into the field, and put them in order of battel. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on the other fide of the river toward the East, and by chance the streame of the river turned fodainly towards the West, where there was abetter foord to passe ouer. Wherefore Lucullus marching with his army by the rivers fide, following the streame to meete with some foord, casting to get ouer, Tigranes thought he had marched away, & called for Taxile, and faid vnto him, laughing: Doest thou see Taxiles those goodly Romaine legions, whom thou praisest to be men fo inuincible, how they flie away now? Taxiles answered the king again: I would your good fortune (O king) might worke some miracle this day; for doubtleffe it were a strange thing that the ROMAINES should flie. They are not wont to weare their braue coates and furniture vpontheir armour, when they meane onely but to march in the fields: neither do they carrie their shields and targets vncased, nor their burganets bare on their heads, as they doe at this present, having throwne away their leather cases and coverings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright & glistring in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they march towards vs. Taxiles had no sooner spokenthese words, but Lucullus in the view of his enemies, made his enfigne-bearer turne sodainely that caried the first Eagle, and the bands tooke their places to passe the river in order of battel. Then Tigranes, secretly come to himselse, as out of drunkennesse, cryed out aloud twife or thrise, come they then to vs. But then was there no small stirre and tumult; to put such a world of people in battell. The king Tigranes himselfevodertook to leade the middle battel, gaue the left wing voto the king of the ADIAB E-NIANS, and the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the most part of the compleate armed men, who made the first front of all the battell. But as Lucullus was ready to passe \$ **. riucr, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wish him to take heede that he fought not that day, because it was one of those which the ROMAINES thought vnfortunate, or resource. and call them Atri, as to fay, blacke: for vpon one of those dayes, one Cepio was ouerthrown in a maio dates,

AGESILAVS.

Punish. ment at

> Eraminondas innadeth Laconia with three score and ten thou fand men.

butrather more, ought noblemens words to be weyed, and their countenances marked, as well in aduersitie as in prosperitie. At that time by chance there was a common feast day in the chie of Sparta, which was full of strangers that came to see the daunces and sports of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arrived that brought the newes of the battell loft at LEVCTRES. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor straight ran all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had loft the figniorie and commaundement ouer all GRECE. flacen would not fuffer them for all this to breake off their daunce in the Theater, nor the citie in any thing to change the forme of their feast; but fent vnto the parents (to every mans house) to let them vnderstand the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they themselues remaining still in the Theater to see the daunces and sports continued, to judge who earied the best games away. The next morning when every man knew the number of them that were flaine, and of those also that were escaped, the parents and friends of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking chearefully of the matter, and one of them embraced another. On theother fide, the parents of them that escaped, kept their houses with their wives, as solkethat mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses for any matter of necessitie, ye should see him looke so heavily and fad, that he durst not talke with you, liftup his head, nor looke ye in the face. Befides all this, euen among ft the women there was greater difference: for the mothers of them that were to returne from the battell, were fad and forrowfull, and spake not a word : contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went friendly to visite one another, to rejoyce together. Now when the people faw that their confederates began to forsake them, and did daily looke that Epaminondas glorying in his victorie, would inuade Peroponnesses, then they began to be pricked in conscience about the Oracles of the gods, thinking that this misfortune came to their city for that they had thrust out of the kingdomea man perfect of limmes, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the godsto beware of that about all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valiantnesse, and his authoritie was such thereby, that they did not onely vsehim in warre as their king and soueraigne Captaine, but in civill causes also, wherein there rose any question, they euer vsed his counsell and aduice: as they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at Sparta Trefantas (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses, and of greatest power within the citie) left they should moue some stir or commotion among them. (For by law, they can beare no office in the common wealth: it is shame and reproch to give them any wives, and alfoto marry any of theirs: who socuer meeteth them, may lawfully strike them, and they must abide it, and not give them a word againe: they are compelled to weare poore tottered cloth gownes, patched with cloth of divers colours; and worst of all, to shaue one side of their beards, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the danger great to deale with them, to execute the law according to the infamie they deserved, specially then standing in need of agreat num ber of men of warre, they referred themselues altogether vnto Agesilaus, to take such order in it as he thought good: but Agestlans then, without changing or altering any thing of the law, faid in open affembly at LACED AMON, that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policie he kept the law inuiolate, and faued also the honor of those poore men and withall to put these youths againe in heart, being amazed with this feare, he led the armic into the countrey of ARCADIA, and would gineno battell, but only tooke a small citie of the MANTINEANS, and for aged the country. This agains did a litle reviue the city of Sparta with fome hope, to make that it should not vtterly despaire But shortly after, Epaminondas invaded the country of LACONIA with fourty thousand foomen welarmed, besides an infinite number of other light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoile: so that in all, there were about threescore and ten thousand fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was welneare fixehundred yeares fith the Don't ANS possessed LACED &MON, and in all that time till then they neuer faw enemies in their comtry that durft inuade them: but then they facked and burnt all that came in their way, even will the river of Eurotas, and hard adjoyning vnto Sparta, & no man durst come out to result them, For Agefilaus (as Theopompus writeth) would not fuffer the LACED EMONIANS to gocourte fight against such a tempest and surie of warre, but having fortified the middest of the citie, and guarded enery end of the streetes with souldiers, he patiently bare all the bragges and threats ofthe THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bade him come into the field to defend his countrey, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, having himselfe procuredthis warre. If this went to Agefilans heart, no leffe grieuous were those troubles to him that rose within the city: as the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which were mad to feethat they did before their eyes: and of filly women also, which no ground nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe as straught of their wits, to hearethe noise the enemies made, and to fee the fire which they raifed all the fields ouer. Much more forowfull alfo did this make him, when as he bethought himselfe, that entring into his kingdome at such time as the citie of Sparta was in greatest prosperitie that euerit was, he now saw his honour eclipsed, and the glory of his kingdome ouerthrowne: and the rather, for that himselfe had often vaunted, that LACONIAN women had never feen the smoake of any enemies camp. And as they say of Antalcides one day, that he answered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valiantnesse certains of one anothers nation, alleadging for himselfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driven the La-witty an CEDEMONIANS from the river of Cephifus: It is true, faid the LACONIAN; but we did never fiver. driveyou from the river of Eurotas. The like answer made a meane man of Sparta, to one of the Argives that cast him in the teeth, There are divers of your LACONIANS buried in the country of Argolide: So are there none of yours, faid he, buried in LACONIA. It is reporred, that Antalcidas being one of the Ephors at that time, did fecretly fend his children into the le of CITHERA, fearing lest the city of SPARTA should be taken, I gestlaus perceiuing that the enemies forced to passe ouer the river to enter the citie, he stood to defend the middle part of the citic being the highest place of the same, and there had his menset in order of battell. Now at thattime, by chance the river of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinarie, by reason of the fnow waters that fell abundantly, which troubled more the Thebans with the coldnesse, then roughnesse of the same in passing it ouer. Some shewing Agestaus how Epaimnondas marched formoit before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer off him, faying neurraword but this onely: Oh, what a noble fellow is that ? Epaminondas having done all that he could possible to give the LACED EMONIANS battell, even within the citie selfe of Sparta. that he might there have fet up some tokens of triumph, he could never entice Agesilaus to come out of his fort: wherefore he was driven in the end to depart thence, and fo went to deftroy all therest of the country. There fell out a conspiracie of two hundred men in Sparta, who of mon under long time had had an ill meaning with them, and took that quarter of the citie where the temple described. of Diana flood, called Isforium, aplace of strong situation, and ill to distresse. Hereupon the the temper LACED EMONIANS in fury would straight haue set vpon them. But Agestlans fearing great mu- of Diana. tinicand stirre vpon it, commanded that no man should stirre; and himselfe vnarmed, in a poore of the degowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye have not obeyed prehend the my commandement, this is not the place I appointed you to affemble in, neither all of you trainers. inone place, for I willed you to disperse your selves, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the citie. The traitors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied: and fo leaving that firength, went into those parts of the citic that he had shewed them. Agefilaus then bringing others thither, possessed the fort of Issorium, and tooke fifteene of those conspirators, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out another conspiracie farre greater then the first, of the Spar-TANS themselves, which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sudden stirre andgarboile; and to punish them in so great atrouble, it was hard: on the other side to neglect it, the conspiracie was ouer-dangerous. Agestlans having consulted with the Ephori, did put them all to death, without any judgement of law: where never Spartan before them fuffered death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas diuerse of their neighbours, and of the I-LOTES themselves (whom they had billed in their bands of souldiers) stole away and ranne to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they ture of the should enery day go to their couches where they lay, and that they should take away their ar- Thebanous mourthat were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the number of them that were of Latvoid. fled in this fort. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, fome fay that they went out of LA-CONTA by reason of the winter that came on, whereupon the ARCADIANS discharged their bands, and enery one departed his way in diforder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three moneths together, during which time they destroyed the most part of the

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Countrey. Theopompus writeth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the THEBAN'S hauing determined to depart, there came one Phrixus a SPARTAN vnto them, fent from Agefilaus, who brought them tentalents that they should depart out of their countrey. Thus had they money giuen them to defray their charges homewards, to do that, which they themselues had long before determined to have done. And yet do I wonder, how it is possible that all other history riographers knew nothing of this, and that Theopompus onely could tell of it. All do acknow. ledge truly, that Ageflaus onely was the caufe that the city of Sparta was faued : who leauing his ambition and felfe will, being passions borne with him, did wisely foresee their safety. Neuerthelesse, after this great ouerthrow, he could neuer raise Sparta againe to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole bodie, which having acquainted it selfe continually with a moderate diet, with the least diforder doth surfeit presently, and so putteth all in danger: enense Licurgus having framed a perfect state of government in the common wealth of Sparra, to make her citizens line in peace and amitie together; when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good law-maker thought vnmeete to continue happielife. they were straight ouerthrowne, and all went to wracke. By this time Agefilaus was growne old, and could no more go to the warres for very age; but his forme Archidamus, with the aide The leave-left bartell Which Dianysius the tyrant of Syrac vs a fent vnto them, wanne a battell against the Arcaof Archida DIANS, Colled the Tearlesse battell; for there died not one of his men, and they slue agreat number of their enemies. This victorie plaintly shewed the great weaknesse and decay of the city of Sparta. For in former times it was fo common a thing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did facrifice nothing elle to the gods in token of thankes, within the citic, but a poore cocke : and they that had fought the battell, made no boast of it, neither did they that heard the newes greatly rejoyee atit. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of Mantinea, which Thucydides describeth, the Ephorionely sent the messenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meare, and no other thing. Butthen when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they understood Archidamus camehome victorious, neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father himfelfe went first of allto meete him, with theteares in his eyes for ioy, and after him all the other magistrates and officers of the citie; and a swarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the rivers fide, holding vp their hands to heaven, and thanking the gods, as if their citie had redeemed and recouered her shame and lost honour, and began now to rise againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, fome fay that the husbands durft not boldly looke their wives in the faces they were so ashamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the citic of MESSINAheing by Epaminondas reedified and replenished with people, he called home againe out of all parts, the natural inhabitants of the fame. The Spartans durft not fight with him (nor to himder his purpose) though it spited them to the hearts, and were angry with Agesilaus, forthatin his reigne they had loft al that territory, which was as great as all LACONTA felfe, and for goodnesseand fertilitie to be compared with the best parts of all GRECE, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why Agesilan would not agree to the peace which the THEBANS fent to offer him; and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the enemies kept in deeds. Therfore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not onely without recouring the thing he looked for, but had in manneralfolds the city of Sparta by a warlike stratageme, in the which he was decided. For the Mantine-ANS being newly revolted againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and having sent for the LA-CEDEMONIANS, Epaminondas receiving intelligence that Agefilaus was departed from Sparta with all his power to aide the MANTINEANS, marched away secretly by night from TEGEA, without the privite of the Mantineans, and went straight to Sparta the which he hadalmost surprised on the sudden, going another way then Agestiaus came (being in maner without men to defend it.) Howbeita THESPIAN called Euthynus, as Callifthenes faith, (or as Xenophon writeth, a CRETAN) brought Agesilam newes of it; who dispatched a horseman straight to aducrtife them of the citie of SPARTA, and marching forward himselfe to returne, stayed not long after before he arrived. He was no sooner come, but incontinently also came the THEBANS, who passing ouer the river of Euroras, gaucassault to the citie. Then Agesilam perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of fecuritie as before, but rather of desperation and courage, heevaliantly defended it, more then an olde mans yeares could beare.

Thus, through courage and desperate mind, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did cuervieit, he put by the danger and faued the city of Sparta from Epaminondas hands, ferting vp markes of triumph for repulfing of the enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to fee the LACED EMONIANS how honourably they rewarded their nurse and coun-The fortitrey for their good education, but Archidamus chiefly of all other, fought wonderfully that tade of the day running into enery part of the city, with a few about him, to repulle the enemies wherefocuer the danger was greatest. It is faid also, that at that time there was one Hadas the sonne of Phabidas, that did maruellous strange things to behold, both in the face of his enemics, as alfoin the fight of his friends. He was of goodly personage, and at that time in the prime of his The radiate. wouth: and being starke naked, and vnarmed, his bodie nointed with oyle, having in one hand negle of aborestaffe, and in the other a fword, in this manner he went out of his house, and ranne a- Isalus a monest them that fought, killing and ouerthrowing his enemies that withstood him, and was spartan. not once hurt, either for that the gods prescrued him for his manhoods sake, or else because menthought him more then a man. The Ephore immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honour and Isadas rereward of his valiantnesses but with all they set a fine on his head to pay a thousand filter Drach-warded and maes for his rash attempt, to hazard himselfe in battell, vnarmed for defence. Shortly after they fought another great battell before the citie of MANTINEA. There Epaminondas having overthrownethe first rankes of the LACED EMONIANS, and couragiously distressing the rest, valiantly following the chase, there was one Anticrates a LACONIAN, who receiting him (as The death Diofeorides writeth) flue him with his borespeare. The LACED EMONIANS to this day notwith- uf Epamiflanding, do call the offpring of this Anticrates, Machariones, as much to fay, as fivord-men, as nondes. though he had flaine him with a fword. The LACED AMONIANS did effectmethis Anticrates fo much, for that deadly stroke he gaue (because they were afraid of Epaminondas while he lived) fo called. that they gaue him that flue him, great honours and dignities, and discharged all his ofspring and kindred from paiment offubfidy and common contributions, which priviledge one Callicrates, akinsman of this Anticrates enjoyed even in our time. After this battell and death of Epaminonda, the GRECIANS having taken peace generally among st them, Agesilaus would needs exclude the Messenians from being fworne to this peace, faying: that they need not sweare, because they had no city. Now, for a fmuch as all the GRECIAN's else did receive them as amongst the number, and tooke their oath vnto this peace, the LACED & MONIAN'S brake off from this generall peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the MESSENIANS country. and all through the allurement of Agesslaus, who for this cause was thought of the GRECIANS a cruelland unfatiable man for warres, to deale so craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, he brought himselfe in discredite with all men, being compelled to make his city bare of great of money, borrowing of them still, and raising fundry contributions amongst them: whereas in- warres. deed it had been his best way to have ended all these miseries, having so happy an occasion offered at that time, and not to have lost so great an Empire of so many townes and cities both by fea and land, and all to plague his countrey, to winne the land and riches of the MESSENIANS. But yet was this most shame vnto him of all other, when he gaue himself vnto one Taches, a Captaine of the ÆGYPTIANS, euery man thinking it a shameful part of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of al the GRECIANS, & the which had filled the world with report of his fame and glory) should for money let out his person to hire, and the glorie of his name, vnto a barbarous person, a traytour and rebell to his king and master, to become a mercenary Captaine and fouldier to do him feruice. And moreouer, he being now fourescore yeares of age and vpwards, his bodie all mangled with wounds, though he had vndertaken this honorable charge for the recouerie of the libertie of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition deserved some blame: for noble acts have their time, yea rather the good and ill do nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But Agesilaus had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in seruice, specially for benefit of the commonwealth, but perswaded himfelfethatit was a dishonour to him to line idlie in a city and do nothing, till death should come andmake his summons thereupon therefore he leavied men of warre through all GRECE with the money Tachos sent vnto him, and with them tooke sea, having thirtie SPARTAN & Counfellors and affistants to him, as he had in his first iourney. Now Agessiaus being argined in A-GYPT, all the chiefe Captaines and gouernours of king Tachos came to the fea flore, and honourably received him: and not they onely, but infinit numbers of AGYPTIAN s of all forts Hhh 2

and suspect him more, and thereupon retired into a great citie; well walled about, and of great

firength. Agefilans being offended that he mistrusted him thus, tooke it inwardly; but being a-

hamed to turne againe voto the third, and also to depart without any exploit done, he followed

him, and enclosed himselfe within those walles. The enemies pursuing him hard, came ynto the city, and began to intrench it round, to keepe him in. Then the Acrerian Nectances fearing a long fiege, determined to give them battell. Thereto the hired Grecians, gave confent, as defi-

ring no better match, & the rather also for that there was but small store of corne within the ci-

ty. But Agefilaus perswading the contrary, would in no wife consent to it; whereupon the Egyp-

TIANS thought worse of him then before and plainly called him traitor to their king. Howbeit

he did patiently beare all these accusations, expecting time to performe an exploit he intended,

which was this. The enemies had cast a deepe trench without to compasse them in. When

this trench drew neare to end, and that both ends lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night

came on, he commanded the Grecians to arme and to put themselves in readingsee; then he

came unto the Egyptian, and faid unto him: Lo here is an excellent occasion prefented to faue

thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I faw it brought to the perfection Hooked for,

fearing left otherwise we should have lost it. Now fith the enemies themselves have with their

turnethis way & that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a straight sluce, wal-

led about on either fide, with great broade ditches full of running water: fo that when they were

quen in the midst of it, he sudainely stopped their passage with the front of his battell, which he

cast to the breadth of the fluce, and thus made his number of fighting men equal with the mul-

titude of his enemies, which could neuer compaffe him in behind, nor flanke him on the fides.

They having in this fort made some small refistance, in the end turned their backes and sled, and

left agreat number flaine in the field: the refidue after that last ouerthrow for sooke their Cap-

the Egypti

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(that were maruellous desirous of him, for the great same that went abroad of Agestlans) came thither from all parts to fee what manner of man he was. But when they faw no stately trainesbout him, but an old gray beard layed on the graffe by the sea side, a litle man that looked simply of the matter, & but meanely apparelled in an ill fauored threed-bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merry tale, that a mountaine should bring foorth, and was delinered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they saw men bring him presents to wel. come him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geefe, and fuch groffe things: and refused all confections, perfumes, and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to giue them to the ILOTES his flaues. Theophraftus writeth, that he delighted maruelloufly in the rush Papyrus, and liked the garlands they made of them, for their fitnesse & the handsomenesse, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Hauing spoken at that time with Tachus, who was affembling his army to go on his iourney, he was not made Captaine generall, as he locked he should have beene, but was appointed onely Colonell of all the strangers. Chabrias Generall of all the army by fea, and the chiefe of all the reft was Tachos himfelfe inperfon. This at the first grieved Agesilans to the heart, being driven whether he wold or not, to beare with the vanity and pride of this EGYPTIAN. So he failed with them into PHENICE, againft the PHENICIANS, imbasing himselfe against his noble disposition and mind, and gauchimplace vntill he saw time of reuenge. It chanced that one Nietanebos a nephew of this Tachos, having the leading of part of this army, rebelled against him, and being chose king by the Egyptians, he fent vnto Ag. filage, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also vnto Chabrias, & prayed him to loyue with him, promiting great rewards vnto them both. Tachus underfranding that, befought them both that they would not for fake him. Chabrias for his partallo did likewise intreate Agesilaus, & perswaded him what he could, to continue friendship with Tachos. Agefilans answered him: For thee, Chabrias, thou came ft of thine owne good will, and therefor emayest do what thou thinkest good, but so is it not with me; for I am sent hither a Captaine by my countrey, to scrue the AGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honestie for metomake warre with them, whom I am sent to serue and aide : were it not that they themselves which fent me, do now commaund me the contrarie. This answer being made, he fent certaincoshis men to Sparta to accuse Tachos, and to commend Nectanebos. Both they also for their pans fent to intreate the councell of LACEDEMON: the one as being alwaies their friend and confederate, and the other promifing to be their faithfull friend thenceforth. The Lacen Euc-KIANS, having heard the requests of both, answered them openly, that Agesilans should consider the standard the requests of both, answered them openly, that Agesilans should consider the standard the requests of both, answered them openly, that Agesilans should consider the standard the requests of both. der of this matter; and wrote feeretly to him, that he should doe what he thought best for the common wealth of Sparta. So Agefilaus taking with him the mercenarie fouldiers which he had brought out of GRECE, went vnto Nectanchos, cloaking his departure, that it was for the benefite of his countrey, to bewray a wicked thing: but indeed taking away the vizard tobenefite his country, they might by a better name rightly have termed it treason, Howbeit y Lace-DAMONIANS placing the chiefest point of honor, to confist in the benefite of their country, did acknowledge nothing to be inflice, but that which they thought might ferue for the advancement of the glory of Sparta. Tachos feeing himselse forsaken thus by his mercenarie strange gers, fled. But now on the other fide, there arose another king in the citic of MENDES against this Nectanches who having leavied to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, came to fight with Nectanebos. But he thinking to encourage Agefilaus, told him, that indeedthey were a great number of men of all forts together, and specially men of handie craft, and there fore that they were not to be feared, because they knew not what warre meant. But Agestism answered him againe: It is not their number that I feare, but their rudenesse and vnskilfulnesse, which is hardest of alto deceive. For warlike stratagems do most prevaile against menthathave greatest feare and experience: and therefore they foresee one thing rather then another. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither feare danger, nor have forecast, and thereforedo giue him no more advantage that seeketh to deceive them, then the wrastler by slight is able to overthrow him whom he cannot stirre nor remove. Afterwards the Mendestanking him felfe sent vinto Agestlaus, to winne him if he could. Nestanchos then began to be afraid. For when Agefilans counfelled him to try it by battell as foone as he could, and not to prolong this warre against ignorant men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouer-multirde might intrench him round about, and preuent him in diuers things: then he beganto feare

owie hands given vs the way to faue our felues by this trenchtliev have cast the which as much as is finished therof doth hinder their great multitude to helpe the selues, & that which is yet left volumed doth give vs oportunitie to fight with them of even hand; determine to flew thy va- The Gretalour, and following vs, fauethy felfe and thy people. For the enemies which we shall assaile be- gemofage. forevs, shall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trench which defendeth flans vsoncuery fide, can no way hurt vs. Nectanebos hearing his words, wondered at his great wifedome, and fo thrufting in among the Grecians, did affaile the enemies: the which were foone ouerthrowne and put to flight, as many as durft refift and make head against them. Age stlans hauing won Nettanebos againe to trust him, he once againe deceined his enemies with the like subtiltic wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knew not how to avoide. For one while he made as though he fled, and inticed them to follow him: fodainely againe he would

tains, and fled straggling here and there. Thus the affaires of this Egyptian king after that time had good fucceffe, and he was quietly stablished in his kingdome, making much of Agesilaus: and doing him all honor possible, prayed him to tarrie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needs haften home to his countrey, which was in warre with others, knowing that his city of Spanta was without money, because they were driven to give pay to strangers. Thereupon The librar Nitlanebos in the end tooke his leave of him very honourably, presenting him a gift (besides all o Netlanebos Netlanebos therhonours he didhim of two hundred and thirty filuer talents in ready money, to defray the charges of the war in his country. Howbeit the sea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by ngestaute the way, having notwith standing recovered land with his ships in a desert place of the coast of the dear he way, having notwith standing recovered land with his ships in a desert place of the coast of the gestiaute. LYBIA, which was called the hauen of Menelaus, after he was fourescore & foure yeares old of the which he had reigned one and forty yeares king of Sparta, and 30 yeares therofand more Thereigne he was alwaies taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in maner Chieftaine generals of all lans. GRECE, VIIIl the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACED EMONIANS having a custome to

bury the dead bodies of their citizes that died out of their country, in the same place where they defined departed, (the bodies of their kings excepted) the Spartans which were at that time about ed with Aggillaus, annointed his body with wax efor lacke of honey, and caried him home to Sparta in waxefor this maner. His sonne Archidamus succeeded him in the kingdome, whose issue successively reig-large of home. ned continually after him, whto the time of Agis (who was the fifth king in fuccession after Age-

filaus) whom indeed Leonidas putto death, because he sought to restore the LACED EMONIAN'S ancient discipline and forme of life.

The end of the life of Agesilaus.



loue fic bareto Pompey . Geminius thereupon brake the matter to Pompey himfelte. Pompey defirous to pleasure him, granted the request: howbeit Geminius after that, would not come neare

Flora, nor speake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But Flora tooke this not curtifan-like, for the was ficke a long time for very griefe of mind and the thought the tooke vpon it.

which was very singularly faire, lest he should be thought in lone with her. Now though herein hesemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worst, yet could he not thus scape the detrathing tongues of his ill-willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his wines, he would let passe and winke at many things that were against the profit of the common-wealth. Toproue his fober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common meats, a word (they fay) he spake when he was very sicke, and could tast no meate, is specially noted. For to

wpallthe yeare through. Why, what then, saidhe: if Lucullus riot were not, should not Pompey line Therewithall, letting his Physitians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was euery where common. But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the field with his father that was in armes against Cinna, there lay with him in his tenta companion of his, called Lucius Terentius; who being bribed with money, had promifed Cinnatokill him, and other confederators also had promised to set their Captaines tent on fire.

bedwhere he was wont to lie, and gaue many a thrust into the matresse. After he had done that, all the campe was straight in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the sol-

diers in all hast would needs have gone and yeelded to their enemic, beginning already to ouer-

throw their tents, and to trusse away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult,

durst not come out of his tent: not with standing Pompey his sonne ranne amongst the mutinous

fouldiers, and humbly befought them with teares in his eyes, nor to do their Captaine this

villanie; and in fine threw himfelfe flatling to the ground ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bid-

ding them march ouer him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The souldiers being ashamed of

theirfolly, returned agains to their lodging, and changing mind, reconciled themselves with

their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that stra-

bs, Pompeys father, was departed out of the world, Pompey being his heire, was accused for the fa-

ther, to robbe the common treasure. Howbeit he contessed and anowed, that it was Alexan-

Lost them fince, when Cinna returned vnto Rome with his fouldiers, who breaking into his

house by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before

definiting fentence, in which time Pompey shewed himselfe of good spirit and vnderstanding,

more then was looked for in one of his yeares; infomuch he wanne such fame and fauour by it,

that Amifins being Prætor at that time, and Judge of his matter, fell into such a liking with

him, that fecretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by friends

broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, and the parties were secretly assured. This was not so

closely conneyed, but the people perceived it, by the care and paines Antifins tooke to favor his

mater.Infomuch, when the Judges gaue judgement, & cleared him, all the people together, as if

THE LIFE OF Pompey.





He ROMAINE's feeme to have loved Pompey from his childhood, with the selfe affection that Prometheus in the tragedy of Aschylus appeareth to have borne vnto Hercules, after that he was delivered by him: when

> So great a hate I bare not to the father, But that I love the sonne of him much rather.

For the Romaines neuer shewed more bitter hate against any other Captaine, then they did vnto Strabo Pompeys father. Truly fo long as he liued, they feared his greatnesse obtained by armes, for indeed he was a

wheron his body lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villanie. Contratiwife, neuer any other Romains (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest good wils so some, nor that in prosperitie and aduersitie continued longer constant, then vnto Pompey. One onely cause procured the fathers hate, and that was, an unfatiable and greedy defire of money. But Pompeyhis , fon, was for many occasions beloued : as for temperance of life, aptnesses armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnesse of word, and courtesse in conversation so that there was never manthatrequested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gaue without disdaine, and took with great honor. Furthermore, being but a child, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good wils before he spake: for his countenance was fweet, mixed with granitic, and being come to mans state, there appeared in his gesture and behauior a graue and princely maiesty. His haire also stood a litle vpright, & the cast and foft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine resemblance (as they said) of the statues & images of king Alexander. And because euery man gaue him that name, he did not refuseit himselfe: infomuch as there were some which sporting wise did openly call him Alexander. Wherupon Lucius Philippus a Confull, was not ashamed to say openly in an oration he made in Pompeys fauor, that it was no maruell if he being Philip did loue Alexander. It is reported also, that when Florathe curtifan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which she had with Pompel being a young man; telling that after she had lien with him, she could not possibly rise from him, but she must needs giue him some sweet quip or pleasant taunt. She would tell also how one of Pompeys familiars and companions called Geminius, fell in loue with her, and was a maruellous

noble Captaine: but being stricken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare

All this notwithstanding, it is said that this Ftora had then such fame for her passing grace and beautie, that Cecilius Metellus fetting forth and beautifying the temple of Castor and Pollux, with Florathe goodly tables and pictures, among the rest, he caused her picture to be lively drawne for her excurtian,
mallen beauty. Furthermore Passagainst his parties dealt very hardly and vincourse out. cellent beauty. Furthermore, Pompey against his nature, dealt very hardly and vincourteously faire, with the wife of Demetrius; his franchiled bondman (who while he lived was in great credite with him, and dying, left her worth foure thousand talents) fearing to be taken with her beautie

bring his stomacke to him againe, his Physicion willed him to eate a thrush. So seeking all about The temps, togethim one, there was no Thrush to be bought for money, for they were out of season. Notwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at Lucullus house, for he kept them in dies.

This configuracie was reucaled vnto Pompey as he fate at supper, which nothing amated him at all, but hedrank freely, and was merier with Terentius then of custome. So when it was bed time, he of Lucina of Lucina foleout of his ownetent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his fafety. Terentius thinking Televine the houre come to attempt his enterprife, role with his fword in his hands, and went to Pompeys againgthed where he was wont to lie and gave many a thrust into the marrielle. A free he had done to

drone of his fathers infranchised bondmen that had stolen the most part of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithstanding, he was accused himselfe, for taking away the toyles and rebbing the arming cords of hunters nets, and bookes that were taken at Ascvivm. He confessed the haling of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had

The father of Pempey based in Rome. Strabo, the Pompey.

The loue

The fauor of

curtifan

pompey.

634 they had been agreed, cryed out with one voice, Talassio, Talassio, being the viualland common The cause of crie they yield of old time at mariages in Rome. This custome by report of ancient folke came vp in this maner. At what time the chiefest Peeres and Lords of Rome did rauish the Sabines daughters, which came to Rome to see common sports played, there chanced a sew rascals (as hog-heards or neat-heards) to carrie away a goodly faire woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cryed out in the streets as they went, Talaflio, as if they would have said, she is for Talasius. This Talasius was a young gentleman well knowne, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named onely, did clappe their hands for ioy, and cryedout

The death

with them, Talassio, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that ener fince they have cryed this word Talassio vnto them that are newly maried, because the mariage of that faire yong maide proved fortunate, and happy vnto Talassius. And this methinkes foundeth nearest to the troth of that they report of this wedding cricos Talassio. Shortly after this indgement given Pomper maried Antistia. After that, going vnto Cinnaes campe, they wrongfully accused him of somewhat, whereupon he being afraid, secret. ly stole away. Now when they could not find him in Cianaes campe, there ranne straight ammour abroade, that Cinna had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced Cinna, did fet vpon him for this occasion. But he thinking to faue himselfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a private Captaine that followed him with his fword drawne in his hand. Ginns fecing him, felldowne on his knees before him, and tooke his feale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tush, said the Captaine, I come not to scale any conenant, but to chastise a villaine and cruelltyrant: and therewithall thrush his fword through him, and flue him prefently. Cinna being flaine in this fort, Carbo fucceeded him, and tooke the government in hand, being a more cruell tyrant then the first. Shortly after came in Sylla, being wished for, and defired of the most part of the Romaines, for the grieuous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought themselues happie to change Gouernour: for their city was brought into fuch miferie, as hoping no more to fee Rome recourt her last libertie, they defired yet a more tolerable bondage. Now Pompeyat that time was inaplace of ITALY called PICENYM (now the marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inheritance, but much more great loue and good will of the citie for his fathers fake. He feeing that the noblest men of Rom E forlooke their houses and goods, to flie from al parts vnto Syllaes campe, ss vnto a place of fafety, would not go to him as a fugitine and castaway to saue himselfe, without bringing him fome power to increase his armic, but would honourably go thither with an army, as he that meant first to do himselfe pleasure. So he selt the goodwill of the Picentines, who willingly took his part, and reiccted them that were fent by Carbo. Among them there was one Vindius, that stepping forth, said: that Pompey which came from the schoole the last day, must now in hastebe a Captaine. Butthey were so offended with his speech, that they straight disparched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time Pompey being but three and twentie yeares old, tarying to receive no authoritie from any man, tooke it vpon him of himfelfe; and caufing atti-Dunall to befer vp in the middeft of the market place of Avx1 MVM, a great populous citie, he chiefraine commaunded the two brethren called the Ventidians (being the chiefest men of the citic, ar 23 years and they that for Carboes fake withstood his doings) without delay forthwith to anoidethecity:and fo began to leavie men, and to appoint Captaines, Sergeants of bands, Centeniers, and fuch other officers as appertaine to martiall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the fame marches, and did the like. They that tooke part with Carbo, fled every man, and all the reli willingly yeelded vnto him:wherby in short space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, carts, and all manner of beafts for eariage. In this fort he tookehis iourney towards Sylla, not in haste, as a man afraid to be met with by the way, but by small iour neys staying still where he might hurt his enemie, causing the cities euery where as he camero reuolt from Carbo. Neuerthelesse, three Captaines of the contrarie part, Carinna, Celius, and Brutus, all three did set vpon Pompey together, not all in a front, nor of one side, but in three feueral places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to have made him surearthesist withrie of onset. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting forth his force together in one place, he first she Maries marched against Brutus, having placed his horiemen (among the which he was himselfe in perfon) before the battell of his footmen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, coming to give charge vpon him, he ran one of the chiefest among them through with his lance and flue him. The other GAVLES feeing him flaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footmen: fo that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among themselues, and some sted one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the rownes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare, came all into Pompey, and yeelded themselues. Afterwards Scipio the Consull coming against Pompey to fight with him, when hoth battels were in maner ready to joyne, before they came to throwing of their darts, Scipioes fouldiers faluted Pompeys men, and went on their fide: fo was Scipio driven to flie. And in fine. Carbo himselfe having sent after him divers troopes of horsemenby the river of Arsis, Pompey mode towards them, and did fo fiercely affaile them, that he draue them into fuch places as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon they seeing no way to scape, yeelded themselues horse and armours, all to his mercie. Sylla all this while heard no newes of these overthrowes: wherefore, as soone he understood of it, fearing lest Pompey should miscarrie, being enuironned with so many Captaines of his enemies, he made haste to march towards him pomper forto aide him. Pompey vnderstanding of his approach, commanded his Captaines to arme with their men, and to put them in battell ray that their Generall might fee them brauely appointed 57lds. whenhe should present them vnto him: for he looked that Sylla would do him great honour, and indeed he did him more honour then Pompey looked for. For when Sylla faw him afarre off comming towards him, and his army marshalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly menthat fobrauely advanced themselves, being couragious for the victoric they had obtain ned of their enemies, he lighted on foot. When Pompey also came to do his dutie to him, and Pompey called him Imperator, (as much as Emperour, or foueraigne Prince) Sylta refaluted him with called Imthe felfe name, beyond all mens expectation prefent, litle thinking that he would have given fo 5112. honourable a name vnto fo young a man as Pompey, who had not yet been Senator : confidering that he himself did contend for that title and dignitie, with the faction of Marius and Scipio. Furthermore, the entertainment that Sylla gaue him every way, was answerable to his first kindnes offered him. For when Pompey came before him he would rife and put off his cap to him, which The house hedidnot vnto any other noble men about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried no- Sylladid. thing the more in himselfe. Wherfore when Sylla would straight haue sent him into Gavlabe. cause Metellus that was there, was thought to have done no exploit worthy of so great an armie as he had with him: Pompey answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than himselfe : yet if Metellus of himself were contented, and would intreate him, that he would willingly go and helpe him to end this war. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entring GAVLE, did wente to aid. of himselfe wonderful exploits, and did so reviue Metellus old courage and valiantnesse to fight, Metellus in which now began to faint, like boyling copper that being powred vpon the cold and hard copper, doth melt and diffolue it, as fast or faster then fire it selfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath been counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, hauing euer borne, the prize away where he had wrestled, they never record among them his childish victories and wrestlings, as things of no account: even so I am afraid to speake of the wonderfull deeds that Pompey did in his childhood, because they are obscured in respect of the infinite great warres and battels which he had rompej. wonneafterwards. For I am affraide that whileft I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe ouer his chiefest acts and most notable enter-Prifes, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when Sylla had oouercomeall ITALY, and was proclaimed Dictator, he did reward all his Lieutenants and Cap- pompey put taines that had taken his part, and did advance them to honourable place and dignity in the com- and his monwealth, frankly granting them all that they requested him. But for Pompey, reuerencing him liagand for his valiant neffe, and thinking that he would be a great flay to him in al his wars, he fought by maried fome meanes to allie him to him, Metella his wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded Amilia, Pompey to put away his first wife Antistia, and to mary Amyliathe daughter of Metella, & of her ter of sizefirst husband, the which also was another mans wife, and with child by her husband. These tellasal. mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for Syllaes time, rather then agreeable to Pompeys na- laes wife.

The death of ture and condition: to fee Amylia, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husband, to Antifina; mary her great with child; and shamefully to forsake Antistia, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husband that did puther away. For Antistius was murthered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take part with Sylla for his sonne in law Pompeys sakes

and her mother voluntarily put her felf to death, feeing her daughter received fuch open wrong,

By these apparant causes, those vn fortunate mariages fell out into a miserable tragedie, by means

of the death of Emylia, who shortly after miserably died with child in Pompeys house. Then came newes to Sylla, that Perpenna was gotten into Sicile and that he had made all that Iland at his denotion, as a safe place to receive all Syllaes enemies: that Carbo also kept the sea thereapossiber fort bouts with a certaine number of flips: that Domitius also was gone into Africk B: and disert from Sylla Other noblemen that were banished, that had scaped his proscriptions and outlawries, were all in those parts. Against them was Pompey sent with a greatarmy. Howbeit he no sooner arrived in Sicile, but Perpenna left him the whole Hand, and went his way. There he fauourably dealt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miferie, and fetthem again ar libertie, the MAMERTINES onely excepted, which dwelt in the citie of MESSINA. They defixing his tribunall and jurifdiction, alledged the ancient order and priviledge of the Romains fet downe in times past amongst them. But Pompey answered them in choler: What do ye prattleto vs of your law, that have our fwords by our fides? It feemeth alfo that Pompey dealt too cruelly with Carbo in his miferic. For fith he must needs die, as there was no remedie but he should, then it had been better they had killed him when he was taken: for then they would have imputed it to his malice that fo had commanded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him, that had been thrife Confull at Rome, to be openly examined and he fitting in his chaire of flate or tribunall, condemned him to die in prefence of them all: to the great offence and misliking of cuery one that was present. So Pampey bade them takehim away and carie him to execution. When Carbo came to the scaffold where he should be executed, and feeing the fword drawne that should cut off his head, he prayed the executioners to The death of give him a little respite & place to vntrusse a point, for he had a paine in his belly . Cours Oppinsal-To (one of Iulius C. Gars friends) writeth, that he dealt very cruelly in like maner with Quintus V4lerius. For Pompey, faid he knowing that he was excellently welllearned as any man could be & few like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him afide, and walked a few turns about then when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commanded his guard to cary him away, and to dispatch him. Howbeit we may not give too light credit to all that Oppius writeth, speaking of Iulius Cafars friends or foes, For Pompey indeed was copelled to make away the greatest personages of Syllaes enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken; but for the rest, althose that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was cotented to winke at it, and would not understand it:and moreover did helpe some besides to save themselues. Now Pompey was determined to hauctaken sharpe reuenge of the citic of the Hi-MERIANS, which had froutly taken the enemies part. But Sthenis one of the Gouernours of the city crauing audience of Pompey, told him he should do them wrong and iniustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durst take vpon him to father the offence of them all, Sthenis answered straight, that it was himselfe, that had perswaded his friends, & compelled his enemies to do that which they did. Pompey being pleased to heare the franke speech and boldnesse of this man, first forgate him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other HIMERIANS. Pompey understanding that his foldiers did kill divers men in the high waies, he sealed up altheir

fwords, and whose seale soeuer was broken, he was well fauouredly punished. Pompey being bu-

fie about these matters in Sicile, received letters and commission from Sylla and the Senate, to

depart thence immediatly into Africk f. to make war vpon Domitius with all his power, who

had leavied already more men of war, then Marius had, not long before, when he came out of

Africk Einto Italy: and had there ouerthrowne all the Romaines doings, being become of

a fugitive outlaw, a cruell tyrant. Pompey thereupon having speedily put himselfe in readinesse to take the feas, left Memmius his fifters husband governor of Sicil E and so himself imbarked, &

thousand soldiers from the enemies, and yeelded themselves, besides seve whole legions that he

brought with him. They say moreouer, that at his arrivall, he had a present chance happened

vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his fouldiers stumbled on atreafure by chance, and got thereby a great maffe of money. The refidue of the army hearing that

thought fore that the field where this treasure was found, was full of gold and filter, which the CARTHAGINIAN'S had hiddenthere long before in time of their calamitie. Pompey hereuron, for many dayes after, could have no rule of his fouldiers; neither could he choose but hugh to fee fo many thousand men digging the ground, and turning up the field: untill in pomitive the end they wearied themselves, and came and prayed him then to leade them where he camped by thought good, for they had payed well for their folly. Domitius came to Pompey, with his armieset in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quagmire before him, that ranne with a army. fwift running streame, very ill to get ouer; besides that, from the very breake of day it had powreddowne and rained fo fast, and was so great a wind withall, that Domitius thinking all that day they should not fight, commanded his people to trusse away, and remoue. Pompey on the other fide, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, fodainly made his men to march, and passed over the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order, were maruelloufly amazed, and in that hurly burly would have made refiftance. But they were neithe rall together, nor yet evenly fet in battell ray, and had befides the wind beating the raine full intheir faces. So did the storme much hurt vnto the Romaines also, for they could not one fecanother: infomuch as Pompey himfelfe was in great danger of being killed by one of his ownefouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and was fomewhat pempeys long before he answered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowne his enemies with great flaugh victories ter, (for they fay, that of twenty thousand of them, there were but three thousand sauced) Pomper fouldiers faluted him by the name of Imperator : but he answered them, that he would not eccept the honor of that name, so long as he saw his enemies campe yet standing : and therefore, if it were fothey thought him worthy of that name, that first they should overthrow the trench and fort of their enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The fouldiers when they heard him fay fo, went prefently to affault it. There Pompey fought bare headed, to avoide the likedanger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the camp by force, and in it flue Domitius. After that ouerthrow, the cities in that countrey came and yeelded themselues, some wil- Larbes. lingly, and others taken by force: as also they tooke king Iarbas that had fought for Domitius, and his realme was gine to Hiempfal. But Pompey being defirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his army, went many daies journey into the maine land, and still conquered all wherehe came, making the power of the Romaines dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that countrey, the which made but small account of them at that time. He sayd moreover, that the wild beafts of Africke also should feele the force and good successe of the Romains and thereupon he bestowed a few dayes in hunting of Lyons and Elephants. For it is reported, that infortie dayes space at the vitermost, he had ouercome his enemies, subdued Africke, and hadestablished the affaires of the kings and kingdomes of that countrey, being then but foure conquests as andtwenty yeares old. So when he returned vnto the citie of Vrica, letters were brought 24 years from Sylla, willing him to discharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion onely, The lowe of tarying the coming of another Captaine that should be sent o succeed him in the gouernment the souldsof that country. This commandement gricued him not a little, though he made no shew of it retund the base has been dead from the following former. atall : but his fouldiers shewed plainly that they were offended, For when Pompey prayed them to depart, they began to give out broad speeches against sylla, and told directly that they were not determined (what socuer became of them) to for sake him, and they would not that he should trust vnto a tyrant. Pompey seeing that he could not perswade them by any reason to be quiet, rose out of his chaire and retired into his tent weeping. But the souldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chaire of state, where he spent a great part of the day, they intreating him to remaine there and command them, and he defiring them to obey Sylla, and leave their mutinies. But in fine, seeing them importunate to presse him to it, he sware he would kill himselfe, rather then they should compell him, yet they scant lest him thus. Hercupon it was reported vnto Sylla, that Pompey was rebelled against him. Sylla when he heard that, sayd to his friends: Well, then I fee it ismy destinie in mine old dayes to fight with children. He meant so, because of Marius the yonger, who had done him much mischiefe, and had besides put him in great danger. But afterwards vnderstanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in Rome led Magnet were determined to go and meete Pompey, and to receive him with all the honor they could; because he would go beyond them all in shew of good will, he went out of his houseto meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to say

hoissed faile with fixescore gallies, and eight hundred other ships or bottomes, to transport their to Afriche victuals, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage what society. After he was anded with all his fleet, part at VTICA, and part at CARTHAGE, there straight came to him seven

Sylla fallë

Lepidus

great and commanded all them that were present to give him that name also. This not with slanding fome fay, that it was in Africk E this name was first ginen him by a common cry of all his wholearmy, and that afterwards it was confirmed by Sylla. Indeed it is true, that Pompey himself being fent Proconful into Spain E, long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his letters and commissions with the name of Pompey the great: for this name then was so comonly knowne and accepted, as no man did enuicit. And therefore rightly is the wisedome of the ancient lo. MAINES to be both commended and had in admiration, which did not onely reward fernice in for rewards the field with fuch honourable names and titles, but civill fernice and good government also peace at home. For there were two, who the people of Rome called Maximi, to fay, very great of the which Valerius was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwist the people and Senate: the other was Fabius Rullus, for that he put from the Senate certain bondmen infinnchifed, who through their riches and fauour had obtained that place. After that, Fungery required the honor of triumph, but sylla denied it, alleadging that none could enter in triuph into Rome but Confuls or Prators. For fith Scipio the first, who in Spain thad ouercomethe Cartha-GINIANS, neuer desired this honour of triumph, being neither Consull nor Prætor, muchlesse should he stand vpon demaund of triumph into Rome, when that through his yong yeares he was not yet a Senator and befides, it would purchase him enuic of his honor and greames. These reasons did Sylla alleadge against Pompey and told him plainly that if he were bent to stadinit, he wold refist him. All this blanked not Pompey, who told him frankly againe, how men didhonor the rifing, nor the fetting of the Sunmeaning therby, how his owne honor increased, & Syllats diminished. Sylla heard him not very perfectly what he said; but perceiting by their countenaces that flood by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he faid, When it was told him, he maruelled at the boldnesse of so youg a man, and then cried out twise together, Let him then the umph a gods name. Many being offended therwith, Pompey (as it is reported) to angerthemore, would needs be brought in in triumphant chariot drawne with foure Elephants: for he hadtaken many of them from those Kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the gareof the citie being too narrow, he was driven to leave the Elephants, and was contented to be drawn in with horses. Now his foldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised the, going about to trouble and hinder his triumph; he said, he passed not for it, and thathe would rather let alone all his preparation of triumph, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Wheruposthere was a famous man at that time called servilius who at the first was one of the chiefest against Pompeys triumph, who said openly, Now I know that Pompey indeed is great, and deserueth triumphibeing cuident enough, that if he would, he might then have cafily beenemade Senator: he fued not for that, but as they fay, fought honor by a stranger meane lesse honourable. For if he had been made Senator so yong, it had not been so great a matter; but to have such honor before he was Senator, that was maruelloufly to be noted. But this wan him the more sauor and goodwill still amongst the common people for they were glad when after his triumphthey faw him in company amongst the Romaine knights. On the other fide, it spited syllato sechim come fo fast forward, and to rife to fo great credite: notwithstanding being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keepe it to himfelfe vntill that Pompey by force, and against Syllarswil, had brought Lepidus to be Confull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furthered his defire. Therupon sylla feeing Pompey returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honour him, he fayd vnto him: O yong man, I fee thouat glad of this victorie, and so hast thou cause; for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such fauour of the people, as for thy sake to have made Lepides Consull (the vile st person of all men) sed Confulla before Catulus the honestest man of the citie: but I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleepe not, and looke well to thy businesse, for thou hast advanced a dangerous enemie to thy felic Now the chiefest thing wherein Sylla discouered most his ill will vnto Pompey, was in his last wil and testament: for he gaue Legacies vnto enery one of his friends, and some of them hemade tutors and ouerfeers of his fonne, but he made no mention of Pompey at all. This notwithflat ding Pompey tooke it well enough. And where Lepidus and some other would have kept Syllus bodie from buriall in the field of Mars, and that his funerall should not be openly solemnized, he contrary wise brought him very honourably and safely to the ground. Shortly after syllass death, his words of prophecievnto Pompey concerning Lepidus, proved true. For Lepidus Ville ping the authority which sylla had before, not colourably, but openly entred fraight marmes,

POMPETVS.

firring up againe those of Marius faction, whom Syllacould not be auenged of, and which lay furking a long time, fpying for occasion to rise againe. True it is, that his colleague and fellow Confull Catulus (whom the best and soundest part of the people followed) was thought a marnellous honest man, both iust and modest: howbeit, a better gouernor in peace, then a good man ofwarre, infomuch as time required Pompeys skill and experience. So Pompey stood not doubtfull which way he would dispose himselfe, but tooke part straight with the Nobilitie and honeselt men, and was prefently chosen Captaine of their army against Lepidus, who had alreadie wonne the greatest part of ITALY, and with an army vnder the conduct of Brutus, kept GAVLB onthis side the mountaines called GALLIA CISALPINA. And for the rest. Pomper, cassily overcameit: howbeithe lay along time before Mo Do NA, befieging of Brutus. In the meane feafon Levidus came to Rom E, and being hard at the walles demaunding the fecond Confulship, made them afraid in the citie with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all forts. Howbeitthis feare was cooled straight, by a letter which Pompey lent to Rome, aduertifing how he had ended this warre without any bloud shed: for Brutus either betraying his army. or being betrayed of it, yeelding himselfe vnto Pompey, who gave him a certaine number of horsmenthat conducted him vnto a litle towne vpon the river of Po; where the next day after, Gemining being fent by Pompey, flue him. But hereof Pompey was greatly blamed, for that he had writtenletters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how Brutus had put himselfe into his hands: and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting him to by Pompey. death. Thus Brutus was father of that Brutus, which afterwards by the helpe of Cassius flue inlins Cefur: howbeit he shewed not himselfe so like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did as we have declared more at large in his life; Furthermore Lepidus being driven to forfake Italy, fled into SAR DINIA, where he died (as it is reported) of a ficknes that he had, not for any forrow or griefe of his owne affaires, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his The death of heart, knowing thereby that his wife had plaied the harlot. There remained at that time Sertorius Lipidus. in Spaine, who was another maner of warrier then Lepidus, and that kept the Romaines in great awe: for that all the fugitiues of the late civill wars were fled to him, as from the last disease of the warres. He had alreadie ouerthrowne many inferiour Captaines, and was now wreftling with Metellus Pius, that in his youth had bene a noble fouldier, but now being old, made warres butflowly, and would not couragiously take present occasions offered him, which Sertorius by The vallhis simblenesse and dexterity took out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when seriorius is hethought least of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of soldiers, and would still ay ambushes in enery corner, and round about him: where the good old man Metellus had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heavie armed. Hercupon Pompey keeping his army alway together, practifed at Rome that he might be fent into Spaine to aide Metellus, But not with standing that Catulus commanded him to disperse his army, Pompey still kept them together by colour ofnew deuices, and was continually about Rome in armes, until that by Lucius Philippus means hehad obtained the gouernment of that country. They fay, that one of the Senators maruelling to heare Philip propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: How now Philip, doest thou then thinke it meete to fend Pompey Proconfull (to fay, for a Conful) into Spain E: No truly, faid Philip, not Proconfull onely, but pro Confulibus, (to fay, for both Confuls) meaning that both the Pompeys Confuls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when Pompey was arrived in Spaine, men iourneyinte began straight to be cariedaway (as the maner is commonly where no gouernours be) with the hope of athing that they had not before. Thereupon Sertorius gaue out proud and bitter words torius. against Pompey, faying in mockery, he would have no other weapon but rods to whip this yong boy, if he were not afraid of this old woman, meaning Metellus the old man. But not with standingthese gallant brags, he stood better vpon his guard, and went stronger to fight then he did before, being afraid of Pompey. For Metellus was very diffolute of life (which no man would have Metellus indged in him) and was given over too much to riot and pleasure: howbeit they saw in him a simentor riot maruellous fodaine change, both of his honour and glorie which he vsed before, as also the cutting off of his superfluous expence. That thing, besides that he did honour Pompey greatly by it, wan himalfo much more the goodwil of the people, whe they faw that he drew himself downe to a straighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne disposition he was a graue man and temperatly giue for his defires. In this war fortune changed diverfly, as it is commonly feene in wars but nothing grieued Pompey more then Sertorius winning of the citie of LAVRON.

when he faw him readily turne the horseat the end of his career, in a brauery for that he had done, all the lookers on gaue a flout for ioy. The father on the other fide(as they fay)fellawee. ping for ioy. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he said vnto him kissing his head. O some thou must needs have a realine that is meet for thee for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, confidering that of nature he was not to be won by extreamitie, and that by gentle meanes and perswafion he could make him doe what he would, he euer sought rather to perfwade then command him in any thing he had to doe. Now Philip putting no great affiance in his schoolemasters of musicke and humanitie, for the instruction and education of his sonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning then their capacities would reach vnto: and that as Sophocles faith,

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was Alex anders felioolema Arillo-

He needed many reines, and many bits at once: He sent for Ariffolle (the greatest Philosopher in his time and best learned) to teach his son win-

practifed temeast iewels in

Alexanders firft foldter.

The city of

to whom he gane honorable stipend. For Philip having wonne & taken before, the city of \$TA-GIRA, where Ariffule was borne, for his fake he built it again, and replenished it with inhabitants which fied away, or otherwise werein bondage. He appointed the for a schoolehouse and dwelstebure in ling place, the pleafat house that is by the citie of MIEZA. In that place are yet seene seats of stone which Ariflotle canfed to be made & close walks to walk in the shadow. It is thought also, that Alexander did not only learne of Ariffette morall Philosophy and humanity, but also he heard of him other more feerer hard, and grave doctrine, which Artholes feholers do properly cal Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things speculative, which requireth the masters teaching to underfland them, or elfe are kept fro comon knowledge: which feiences, they did not comonly teach, Alexander being passed into As 1 A and hearing that Aristotle had put out certaine books of that matter, for the honors fake of Philosophy:he wrote a letter vnto him, somewhat too plaine, and of this effect. Alexander vnto Ariffetle greeting, Thou hast not done wel to put forth the Acroamaticall feiences. For wherein shall we excell other, if those things which thou hast secretly taught vs, be made common to all? I do thee to understand, that I had rather excell others in excellencie of knowledge then in greatnes of power. Farwell. Whereunto Ariffotle to pacificthis his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that these bookes were published, and not publifled. For to fay truly, in al his treatifes which he called wird to guoted there is no plain infruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himfelf, nor yet to be taught by any other then Aristorole himself, or his scholers. So that it is written as a memorial for the that have bin entred & brought vp in the Peripateticke feet & doctrine. It feemeth also, that it was Aristotle about all other, that made Alexander take delight to study Physicke. For Alexander did not only like the knowledge of speculation, but wold exercise practise also, and helpe his friends when they were ficke: & made besides certaine remedies, & rules to line by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his ownenature he was much given to his booke & defired to reade much. Helearnedal-Somethinke fo the Iliades of Homer of Aristotoles correctio, which they cal the ze vog Onzos the corrected, as harelate flood using passed under the rule: & said it enery night under his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as Oneficrates writeth) the inftitution of martiall discipline, And when he was in the high countries of As 12, where he could not readily come by other books, he wrote vnto Harpalus to fendthe was found to him. Harpalus fent him the histories of Philifus, with divers tragedies of Eurypides, Sophocles, and Afchylus: & certaine hymnes of Telestus & Philoxenus. Alexander did reverence Aristotle at the first, as his father, & so he tearmed him; because from his natural father he had life, but fro him, the knowledge to liue. But afterwards he suspected him somewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he fo friendly to him as he had been: whereby men perceived that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to do. This not with standing, he left not that zeale and defire he had to the studie of Philosophie, which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he shewed diverse testimonies thereof. As the honour he did vnto Anaxarchus the Philosopher. The fiftie talents which he fent vnto Xonocrates, Damdamis, and Calanus: of whom he made great account. When king Philip made warre with the BIZANTINES, Alexander being but fixteene yeares old, was left his Lieutenant in Macedon, with the custodic and charge of his great feale: at what time he also subdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled against him; and having won their city by assault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it, of fundry nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to fay, the citie of Alexander. He was with his fatheratthe battell of CHERONEA against the GRECIANS, where it was

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. reported, that it washe that gaue charge first of all vpon the holy band of the Thebanes. Fur-

thermore, there was an old oke feene in my time, which the countrimen commonly call Alexan-

ders okc, because his tent or paullion was fastned to it; and not farre from thence is the charnell house, where those MACEDONIANS were buried that were flaine at the battel. For these causes, his father Philip loued him very dearely, and was glad to heare the Macedonians call Alexander king, and himself their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fel out in his court afterwards by reason of Philips new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and strife among st the women: for the mischiefe of dissention & icalousie of women, doth separate the harts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpenesse of Olympias, who being a icalous woman, Thequarels fretting, and of a reuenging mind, did incense Alexander against his father. But the chiefe cause that prouoked Alexander, was Attalus, at the mariage of Cleopatra, whom Philip maried a maiden, piesand falling in fancy with her when himselfe was past mariage. This was the matter: Attalus being vn-Alexander, cle ynto this Cleopatra, fell drunke at the mariage, and haning in his cups, he perfwaded the Ma-CEDONIANS that were at the feast, to pray to the gods, that they might have a lawfull heire of Philip and Cleopatra, to fucceed him in the kingdome of MACEDON. Alexander being in a rage therewith, threw a cup at his head, and faid vnto him: Why, traitor, what am I: dost thou take me for abaltard? Philip seeing that, rose from the boord, and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and wine, he fell downe on the ground. Then Alexander mocking him, Lo, faid he to the MACEDONIANS, here is the manthat prepared to go out of Evrop Einto Asia, and stepping onely from one bed to another, ye see him laid along on the ground. After this great infolencie, he tooke his mother Olympias away with him, mocketh and carying her into his country of EpiRvs, he left her there, and himself afterwards went into Philip ILLYRIA. In the meane time, Demaratus Corinthian, a friend of king Philips, and very familiar with him, came to fee him. Philip when he had courteoully welcomed him, asked him how the GRECIANS did agreetogether. Truly, Oking, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the GRECIANS, when your owne court is fo full of quarell and contention. These words nipped Philip in such sort, and caused him to know his fault, that through Demaratus meanes, whom he sent to perswade Alexander to returne, Alexander was made to come back againe. Now when Pexodorus, a Prince of CARIA (defiring for neceffities fake, to enter in league and friendship with Philip) offered his eldest daughter in mariage vnto Arideus king Philips fon, and had fent Aristocritus ambassador into MACEDON for that purpose the friends of Alexander and his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports & suspitions, how Philip by this great mariage would aduance Aridaus, to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire gotten of a in the kingdome. Alexander being netled therewith, fent one Theffalus a player of tragedies into Cariato Pexederus, to perswade him to leane Arideus, that was abastard and a foole, and rather to make alliance with Alexander. This offer pleased Pexodorus far better, to have Alexander his son in law, then Aridaus. Philip understanding this, went himselfe into Alexanders chamber, taking Philotas with him (the son of Parmenio) one of his familiars, and bitterly tooke vp Alexander, telling him that he had a base mind, & was voworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would cast himselfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a slaue and subject of a barbarous king. Thereupon he wrote letters vnto Corinth, that they should fend Thessalus bound vnto him. And furthermore, he banished out of MACEDON, Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius and Ptolomie, his fonnes companions: whom Alexander afterwards called home againe, and placed the in great authoritie about him. Shortly after, Paufanias sustaining villanie by the coun-

where she said in anger, that she would be reuenged: Both of the bridegroome, and the bride,

And of the father in law. Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent search to be made, and all them to be seuerely punished that were of the conspiracie: and was angry also that his mother olympias had cruelly Mmm 3

ger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not cleare from suspition of this murther. For some say

that Pausanias after this villany was done him, complained vnto Alexander, and told him how

he had been abused: who recited these verses of Euripides to him, inthe tragedie of Medea,

feland commandement of Attalus and Cleopatra, crauing inflice of Philip, & finding no amends, the converted all his anger against him, and for spite flue him himself. Of this murther, most men for the flue him himself. accused Queene olympias, who (as it is reported) alluring this yong man, having inst cause of an-

ouercame

The begin- flaine Cleopatra. So he came to be king of MACEDON attwenty yeares of age; and found his realmegreatly enuied and hated of dangerous enemies, and euery way full of danger. For the barbarous nations that were neare neighbours vnto MACEDON, could not abide the bondage of ftrangers, but defired to have their naturall kings. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacifie GRECE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but having a little altered y governments, had through his infolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long been acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexanders councell of MACEDON, being afraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexander should vtterly forsake the affaires of GRECE, and not to follow them with extremity, but that he shold seeke to win the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, & wifely to remedy these new stirs, Bur he far otherwise determined to stablish his safety by courage and magnanimity: perswading himselfe, that if they saw him stoope and yeeld at the beginning, how litle so ener it were, energy one would be vpon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them fodainely with his army, by the river of Danvar, where in a great battell he overthrew Syrmus, king of the TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, having intelligence that § THE EANS were revolted, and that the ATHENIANS also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his army towards the straight of Thermopiles, faving that he wold make Demosthenesthe Orator fee (who in his orations, whilest he was in ILLY REAL and in the country of the Triballians, called him child) that he was growne a stripling paf. fing through THESSALIE, and should find him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his army vnto the gates of THEFFS, he was willing to give them of the city occasion to repent them : and therefore onely demanded Phanix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion, Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and fafety vnto all them that would yeeld vnto him. The THEBANS on the other fide, demanded of him Philotas and Antipater, two of his chiefeft feruants, & made the crier proclaime in the city, that all fuch as would defend the liberty of GRECE should joyne with them. Then did Alexander leave the MACEDONIANS at liberty to make war with all cruelty. The THEBANS also fought with greater courage and defire then they were able, confidering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other fide also, when the garriion of the Macedonians which were within the castle of Cadm Aca, made a fallic vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironed of all fides, Thebeswon were flaine in maner cuery one of them, their city taken, destroyed, and razed cuento the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of GRECE afraid by example of this great calamity & miferic of the THEBANS, to the end none of the should dare from thencefoorth once to rise against him. He would cloke this cruelty of his vnder the complaints of his confederates, the Phocians & Plateians: who complaining to him of the iniuries the The-EAN'S had offered, could not deny them inflice. Notwithstanding, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all fuch as were friends vnto any of the Lords of MAGEDON, all the friends and kinfmen of the poet Pindarus, & all those that had disswaded them which were the rebels, he sold all the rest of the citie of THERES for slaves; which amounted to the number of thirty thousand persons besides that were slaine at the battel, which were sixe thousand moe. Now amongst the other miseries & calamities of the poore city of THEBES, there were certain THRACIANIOL diers, who having spoiled and defaced the house of Timoclea, a vertuous lady, & of noble parentage, they decided her goods among them : and their Captaine having rauished her by force, afked her, whether she had any where hidden any gold or silver. The lady told him she had. Then leading him into her garden, she brought him vnto a wel; where she faid she had cast al her iewels and precious things, when she heard the city was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN stooped to looke into the wel: the standing behind him, thrust him in, & then threw stones enough on him, and so killed him. The fouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and so caried her vnto Alexander. When Alexander faw her countenance, & marked her gate, he supposed her at the first to be some great lady she followed the souldiers with such a maiestie and boldnesse. Alexander then asking her what she was : she answered, that she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought a battell with king Philip before the citie of CHERON EA, where being general he was flaine, valiantly fighting for the defence of the liberty of GRECE. Alexander wondering at her nobleanfwer and couragious deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely

let her go whither she wold. He made league also with the Athenians, though they were very

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fory for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemne feasts of their mysteries being come they left it off, mourning for the THEBANS : courteoufly entertaining all those, that flying from THEBES came to the for fuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of Lyons: or because that after so great an example of cruelty, he would shew a fingular clemency againe: he did not onely pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed,

but did also counsell them to looke wisely to their doings, for their citie one day should command all GRECE, if he chanced to dye. Men report, that certainely he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt fo cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke vpon it was cause that he afterwards shewed himselfe more mercifull vnto diuerse others. Afterwards also he did blame the fury of Bacchue, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill Clitus at the table being drunke, and the Mace Donians also to refuse him to go any further to conquer the Indians, which

was an imperfection of his enterprise, and a minishing also of his honour. Besides, there was neuer THEBAN afterwards, that had escaped the fury of his victory, and did make any perition to him, but he had his suite. Thus was the estate of THEBES as you have heard. Then the GRE-

CIANS having affembled a generall councell of all the states of GREECE within the straights of PELOPONNESUS, there it was determined that they would make warre with the PERSIANS. Alexander

Whereupon they chose Alexander Generall of all GREECE. Then diverse men coming to these Generals of all GREECE. where the same of election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Coninth) wold likewise come as the

rest had done: but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbes of Corinth, at a place called Cranium, he went himselfe vnto him, and found him laid allalong in the Sunne. When Diogenes faw fo many coming towards him, he fatevp a little, alexanders

and looked full vpon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake vnto him, and asked him, if he talks with lacked any thing. Yea faidhe; that I do: that thou ftand out of my Sunne a litle. Alexander Digenti. was fo well pleased with this answer, and maruelled so much at that great boldnesse of this man, to see how small account he made of him that when he went his way from him, Alexanders fa-

miliars laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them: Masters say what you list, truly if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. Alexander being defirous to heare what the Oracle of Apollo Delphian would say vnto him touching the successe of his journey into Asia, he went vnto the citic of Delphes. It chanced so that he came thither in the daies which they call

vnfortunate, on which daies no man vsed to aske Apollo any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first vnto the Nunne which pronounced the Oracles to pray her to come vnto him. But she refused to come, alleadging the custome which forbad her to go. Thereupon, Alexander, went thither himselse in person, and brought her out by forceinto the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs haue his will, told him: My fonne, for that I fee thou art

innincible. Alexander hearing that, fayd, he defired no other Oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was euen ready to goe on with his voyage, he had diverfe fignes and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an image of the Poet Orpheus made of cyprus, in the city of LEBETHRES, in those daies did sweate maruellously. Many men fearing that pearing vn-

figne, Aristanderthe soothsayer bad Alexander be of good cheare, and hope well; for he should to Alexander obtaine noble victories that should never be forgotten, the which should make the poets and bis iourney mustians sweate to write and fing them. Then, for his army which he led with him, they that do into Asia. fet downe the least number, fay, that they were thirty thousand footmen, and five thousand

horsmen:& they that say more; do write; four eand thirty thousand footmen, and four ethousand horsemen. Aristobulus writeth, that Alexander Had no more butthreescore and rentalents to asia. pay his fouldiers with: and Duris writeth, that he had no more prouifion of victuals, then for thirty daies only. And Onesicritus sayeth moreouer, that hedid owe two hundred ralents. Now,

notwithstanding that he began this warre with so small ability to maintaine it, he would neuer takeship before he vnderstood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with line of Ahim, and before he had given vnto fome, lands, and vnto others, a towne, and to others againe, the custome of some hauen, Thus by his bounty, hauing in maner spent almost the reuenues of

the crowne of Macedon, Perdiccas asked him: My Lord, what will you keepe for your selfer. Hope, sayd he. Then, quoth Perdiceas againe, we will also have some part, fince we go with you: and fo refuled the reuenew which the king had given him for his pension. Many others did also

the like. But fuch as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him anything, he Mmm 4

gaue them very frankly, and in such liberalitie spent all the reuenew he had. With this defire and determination, he went on to the straight of HELLESPONT, and going to the citie of ILLYM he didfacrifice vnto Diana, and made funerall effusions vnto the demy gods (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whose bodies were buried there) and specially voto Achilles, whose grave he anointed with oile, and ranne naked round about it with his familiars. according to the ancient custome of funerals. Then he covered it with no legaies and flowers. faying, that Achilles was happy, who while he lived had a faithfull friend, and after his death an excellent herauld to fing his praise. When he had done, and went vp and downe the citie to free all the monuments and notable things there, one asked him, if he would fee Paris harpe, He answered againe, he would very faine see Achilles harpe, who played and sung vpon it all the facmous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meane time, Durius king of P B R S IA hauing leavied a great army, fent his Captaines and Lieutenants to tary Alexander at the river of GRANICVS. There was Alexander to fight of necessity, being the onely barre to stop his entry into Asia. Moreover, the Captaines of the councell about him, were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the banke on the other fide, which was very high and steepe and could not be won without fighting. And some fayd also that he should have special care of the ancient regard of the moneth; because the kings of MACEDON did neuer vie to put the army into the field in the moneth of Dason, which is June. For that, sayd Alexander, we will remedy foone: let them call it the fecond moneth, Artemifium, which is May. Furthermore Parmenia was of opinion, that he shold not meddle the first day, because it was very late. Alexander made answeragaine, that Hellespont wold blush for shame, if he were now afraid to passe oner the riuer, fince he had already come ouer an arme of the sea. Thereupon he himselfe first entredthe riuer with thirteene guidons of horfemen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of arrowes which the enemies flot at him, as he was coming up the other banke, which was very high and freepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which staid to receive him in battell ray, thrusting his men downe into the river, which was very deepe, and ranne fo fwift, that it almost caried them downe the streame; infomuch that men thought him more rash then wife, to leade his men with such danger. This notwithstanding he was so wilfully bent that he would needs ouer, and in the end with great ado recoursed the other fide, specially because the earth slidde away, by reason of the mudde. So when he was oner he was driuen to fight pell mell man to man, because his enemies did set vpon the first that were pasfed ouer, before they could put themselves into battell ray, with great cries, keeping their horses very close together, and fought first with their darts, and afterwards came to the sword when their darts were broken. Then many of them let vpon him alone, for he was cafilie to be knowne about the rest by his shield, and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung from the one fide to the other, a maruellous faire white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon Roesaces and Spithridates, both two chiese Captaines of the Persians, setting upon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding ftraight to Roefaces, who was excellently armed, he gaue him fuch a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and ftraight drew out his fword. But fo foone as they two had closed together, Spithridates comming at the one fide of him, raised himselfe you his stirrops, and gave Alexander with all his might fuch a blow on his head with a battellaxe, that he cut the creast off his clium faned helmet, and one of the fides of his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battellaxe Alexander. touched the very haire of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to strike Alexander againe, great Clitus preventing him, thrust him through with a partisan; and at the very fame instant, Roefaces fell dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gave him with his fword. Now whileft the horfemen fought with fuch furie, the fquadron of the battell of the Macedonians footmen had passed the river, and both the battels began to march slexanders one against the other. The Persians stucke not manfully to it any long time, but straight villorie of turned their backes and fled, fauing the GRECIANS which tooke pay of king Darius: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of Alexander. But Alexander fetting vpon them, more of will then discretion, had his horse killed under him, being thrust through the slanke with a fword. This was not Bucephall, but another horse he had. All his menthat were slaine or hurt at this battell, were hurt amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported

that there were flaine at this first battell, twenty thousand footmen of these barbarous people,

and two thousand fine hundred horsemen. Of Alexanders side, Aristobalus writeth; that there were flaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footmen. Alexander to honour their valiantnesse, caused every one of their images to be made in brasse by Lysppus. And because he would make the GRECIANS partakers of this victoric, he sent vnto the ATHE All and three hundred of their targets, which he had won at the battell; and generally vponall the otherspoiles he put this honorable inscription: Alexander the some of Philip, es the Grecians, excepting the Lacedemonians, have wonne this spoile upon the barbarous Asians. As for plate of gold or filuer, also purple silkes, or other such precious things which he got among y Persians, he sent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This first victoric of Alexander, brought such a sudden change amongst the barbarous people in Alexanders behalfe, that the city selfe of SARDIS, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the left through all the low countries and coasts vponthe fea, yeelded straight vnto him; and the restalfo, saving HALICARNASSVS and MILETYM, which did still refiss him: howbeit at length, he tooke them by force. When he hadso conquered all there about, he stood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a maruellous defire, horly to follow Darius wherefocuer he were, and to venture all at a battell. Another time againe, he thought it better first to occupie himselfe in conquering these low countries, and to make himselfe strong with the money and riches he should find among them, that he might afterwards be the betterable to follow him. In the country of Lydia nearevnto the city Xanthym, they fay, there is a fpring that brake of it felf, & ouerflowing the banks about it, cast out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certaine caracters in old letters, which faid that the kingdome of the Persians should be destroyed by the GRECIANS. This did further so encourage Alexander, that he made hast to cleare all the sea coast, even as far as CILICIA & PHOENICIA. But the wonderful good fuccesse he had, running along all the coast of PAMPHILIA, gaue diverse historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the world, thatthe fury of the fea, which vnto all other was extreme rough, and many times would fwell owertherops of the high rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him, And it appeareth that Menander himselse in a comedy of his, doth witnesse this wonderfull happinesse of Alexander, when merily he fayth:

> o ereat Alexander, how great is thy state? For thou with thy selfe mayest thus instly debate: If any man living I lift for to call, He cometh, and humbly before me doth fall. And if through the surges my tourney do by, The waves give me way, and the fea becomes dry.

Yet Alexander himselfe simply writeth in his epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called the ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke ship in the citie of Phasell-DES. There he remained many daies: and when he faw the image of Theodectes PHASELITAN, flanding in the market place, he went in adaunce thither one cuening after supper, and cast The minds flowers and garlands vpon his image, honoring the memory of the dead, though it feemed but in 77 of Thornton fport, for that he was his companion when he liued, by meanes of Aristotle and his philosophy.

After that he ouercame also the Pisidians, who thought to have resisted him; and conquered alexander, all Phrygia besides. There in the city of Gondivs, which is said to be the anciet seat of king Midas, he saw the charret that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the barke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous people, that they beleeued it as a prophecy: Gordin in that who foeuer could vidoe the band of that barke, was certainly ordained to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that Alexander proming to vide the band, and finding world. no ends to vndoe it by, they were so many fold wreathed one within the other, he drew out his sword, and cut the knot in the middest: so that then many ends appeared. But Aristobalus writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret, and so seuered them a sunder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS and CAPPADOCIANS; and understood of the death of Memnon; that was Darius Generall of his army by sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination, to leade

hisarmy into the high countries of As IA. Then did king Darius himselfe come against Alex-

Darius ardreame.

ander, having leavied a great power at SvsA, of fixe hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his wi fards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. Darins dreamed that he faw all the army of the MACEDONIANS On afire, and Alexander serving of him in the selfe same attire that he himselfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predecctfor: and that when he came into the temple

derful tru ft

of Belus, he suddenly vanished from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did signifie vnto him, that the MACEDONIANS should have noble successe in their doings, and that Alexander should conquer all Asia, even as king Darius had done, when he was but Asgandes vnto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in Cilicia. supposing it had been for that he was affraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sicknessehe had, the which some say he got by extreme paines and travell, & others also, because he washed Schnesse in himself in the river Cydnus, which was cold as Ice. Howsoever it came, there was none of theo. ther physitians that durst vindertake to cure him, thinking his disease vincurable, and no medicins to prevaile that they could give him, and fearing also that the MACEDONIANS would lay itto their charge, if Alexander miscaried. But Philip ACARNANIAN, considering his master was very ill, and bearing himselfe of his love and good will towards him, thought he should not do that became him, if he did not proue (feeing him in extremity & danger of life) the vtmost remedies of phisicke, what danger socuer he put himselfe into; and therefore tooke vpon him to minister vnto Alexander, and perswaded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and goto the warres. In the meane time, Parmenio wrot him a letter from the campe, aductifing him, that he should beware of Philip his physitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promises of great riches that he would give him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his master Alexander when he had read this letter, laid it vnder his beds head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted therewith. When the houre came that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other of the kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he should drinke. Alexander then gaue him the letter, and withall, chearfully tookethe cup of him, shewing no manner of feare or mistrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the fight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one vpon another, howbeit not both with like chearefull countenance. For Alexander looked merily vpon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his physitian Philip, and how much he loued him: and the physitian also beheld Alexander like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so falfly accused; and straight lift up his hands to heaven, calling the godsto witnesse, that he was innocent; and then came to Alexanders bed fide, and prayed him to be of good cheare, and boldly to do as he would aduise him. The medicine beginning to worke overcame the difeafe, and draue for the time, all his naturall strength and powers to the lowest parts of his bodie : in so much as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weakenesse, and almost fwounding, that his pulse did scant beate, and his sences were wel-neare taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few daies recouered him againe. Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he shewed himselfe openly vnto the Mac BDONIANS for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health vntill they had seene him. In king Darius campe, there was one Amyntas a MACEDONIAN, and banish out of his countrey, who knew Alexanders disposition very well. He finding that Darius meant to meete with Alexander within the straights and vallies of the mountaines, befought him to tary rather where he was, being a plaine open countrey round about him; confidering that he had a great hoast of mento fight with a few enemics, and that it was most for his advantage to meete with him in the open field. Darius answered himagaine, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. Amytetas replyed: For that Oking, I pray you feare not: for I warrant you vpon my life he wilcome to you, yea and is now onwards on his way coming towards you. All these perswasions of A myntas could not turne Darius from making his camp to march towards Cilicia. At the felfe fame time alfo, Alexander went towards Syria to meet with him. But it chanced one night that

the one of them miffed the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe; Alexander being glad of this hap, and making haft to meet with his enemie within the straights. Darius also seeking to winne Alexanders lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army

out of the flraights, began then to find the fault and error committed: for that he had shut himfelfe vp in the straights (holden in on the one side with the mountaine, and on the other with the sea, and the river of Pindarus that ranne betweene both) and that he was driven to disperse his army into diuerse companies, in a stony and ill fauored country, ill for horsemen to trauel, being on the contrary fide a great advantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footmen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gaue Alexander the field as he would wish it to fight for his advantage, fo could he tell excellently well how to fet his men in battell ray to winne the victorie. For albeit that Alexander had the leffe number by many then his enemie, yet he had such policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be enuironed. For he did put out the right wing of his battell a great deale further then he did his left wing, and fighting himfelfin the left wing in the formost rankes, he made al the barbarous people flie that stood before Daviss and him howbeit, he was hurton his thigh with a blow of a fword. Chares writeth, that Darius discander felfedid hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding Alexander selfe writing of this battell vnto Antipater, fayth, that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a fword, howbeit it put him to no danger: but he writeth not that Darius did hurt him. Thus having wona famous victory, and slaine aboue a hundred and tenthousand of his enemies, he could not yettake Darius, because he fled, hauing still foure or fine furlongs vantage before him: howbeit he tooke his charret of battell wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he returned from the chase, and found the MACEDONIAN'S sacking and spoiling all the rest of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches, (although they had left the most part of their cariage behind them in the citie of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battel) but yet referred for himfelfeall king Darius tent, which was full of great number of officers, of rich moueables, and of gold and filuer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting off his armour, he entred into the bathand fayd: Come on, let vs go and and wash offthe sweate of the battel in Darius owne bath. Nay, replyed one of his familiars againe, in Alexanders bath; for the goods of the vanquished are rightly the vanquishers. When he came into the bath, and saw the basons and eures, the boxes, and violles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chambers perfumedpassing sweetly, that it was like a paradise: then going out of his bath, and coming into histent, feeing it fo stately and large, his bed, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous fort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familiars and fayd: This was a king indeed, was he not thinke ye . As he was ready to go to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongst other Ladiestaken prisoners, king Darius mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmaried who having seene his charrer and bow, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselues, thinking Darius had been slaine, Alexander pawsed a good while and gaue no answer, pitying more their missortune, then reioycingathis ownegood hap. Then he presently sent one Leonatus voto them, to let them vnderfland, that Darius was aline, and that they should not neede to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not fight with Darius, but for his kingdome onely: and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of Darius before, when he had his whole kingdome in his hands. Asthese words pleased the captine Ladies, so the deeds that followed, made them finde his clemency to be no lesse. For first, he suffered them to bury as many of the Persian Lords as they mency to be no lette. For first, ne surrered them to bury as many of the FRSIAN Lotts as they would, cuen of them that had been flaine in the battell, and to take as much filkes of the spoiles, the captive Ladies. iewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with: and also did lessen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their officers and servants, nor of any iot of their estate which they had before, but did alow them also greater pensions then they had before. Butaboue all, the princeliest grace, and most noble fauour that Alexander shewed vnto these The chasting captine Princesses, which had alwaies lined in honourable fame and chastitie, was this: That of Alexador they neuer heardword, or so much as any suspirion that should make them afraid to be dishonoured or defloured but were privately amongst themselves, vnuisited or repaired vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had been in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had been kept in some close monastery : although Darius wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as Darius also was a goodly Prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander thinking it more princely for a king, as I suppose, to conquer himselfe, then to ouercome his enemies, didneither touch them, nor any other maide or wife, before he maried them, Barfine onely excepted, who being left Memnons widow (Generall of king

to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which

would neuer praise him in his presence, having the flatterers, nor yet durst say lesse of the praises

which they gaue him. For of the first they were assamed, and by the second they fell in danger.

After supper, he would wash himselfe againe, and sleepe vntill noone the next day following; and oftentimes all day long. For him felfe, he was nothing curious of daintie dishes: for when

any did send him rare fruites, or fish, from the countries neare the sea side, he would send them

abroad vnto his friends, & seldome keepe any thing for himself. His table not with standing was alwaies very honourably ferued, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquests, rill

ircame to the summe of ten thousand drachmaes a day. But there he stayed, and would not ex-

ceede that fumme: and moreover, commanded all menthat would feast him, that they should

not spend about that summe. After this battel of Is svs, he sent vnto the city of DAMAS, to take

all the gold and filuer, the carriage, & all the women and children of the Persians which were

by deniding Satyros into two, and then it is sat Tupes which fignifieth, the city of TYRE shall be

thine. And they doyet shew vnto this day, the fountaine where Alexander thought he saw the

his tutor Lysimachus behind him, (who was fo wearie that he could go no further) but be-

cause it was darke night, and for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came be-

hind to encourage his tutor, and in manner to carie him. By this meanes vnawares, he was

farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreouer, it was

verie cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiuing divers fires which the enemies

that they ranne their way as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and set vpon him,

heffue them every man, and so lay there that night, himselfe and his men without danger.

Thus Chares reporteth this matter. Now for the fiege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexan-

der caused the most part of his armieto take rest, being ouerharried and wearied with so many

battels as they had fought: and sent a few of his men onely to give assault vnto the citie, to

keepe the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the Soothsayer Ari-

flander facrificing vnto the gods, having confidered of the fignes of the intrailes of the beafts,

(peech of

Alexander

Darius by sea) was taken by the citie of DAMAS. She being excellently well learned in the Greeketongue, and of good entertainement (being the daughter of Artabazus, who cameofa kings daughter) Alexander was bold with her by Parmenioes procurement (as Aristobulus wil teth) who intifed him to imbrace the company of fo excellent a woman, and passing faire her fides. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian Ladies befide which were prisoners, what goodly faire women they were, he spake it pleasantly, that the Ladies of Persia made mene eyes foreto behold them. Notwith fanding, preferring the beautie of his continency before their sweete faire faces, he passed by without any sparke of affection towards them, more then if they had been images of from without life. To confirme this; Philoxenus whom he had left his Lieutenant in the low countries upon the sea coast, wrote unto him on a time, that one Theological rus a merchant of TARENTYM, had to fell two goodly yong boyes, maruellous faire: and therefore that he fent vnto him to know his pleasure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O my friends, what villany hath ever Philoxenus feene in me, that he should denife (having nothing to do there) to purchase me such infamy? whereupon he wrote vnto him from the campe, with reprochfull words, that he should send that vile TARBNTINE merchant Theodorus and his merchandise to the Denill. He sharply punished also one Agnon, that wrote vnto him he would buy a young boy called Crobylus (who for beautie bare the onely name in CORINTH) and bring him to him. Another time also, when he heard that Damon and Timotheus MACEDONIANS, vider Parmenioes charge, had deflowed two of the fouldiers wives that were strangers, and waged of him, he wrote vnto Parmenia to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter: and if he found them guiltie of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as bruit beasts borneto destroy mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of himselfe: For my selfe, said he, I have neither seene, nor defired to see Daries wife: neither have I suffered any speech of her beautie beforeme. Moreouer he said, that hedid vnderstand that he was mortall by these two things: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weaknesse of our nature proceedeth siee pe, and sensually. He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he showed by many proofes: but chiefly in that he fayd vnto the princesse Ada. whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For when (fortheloue she bare him) she daily fent him fundry delicate dishes of meate, tarts, and marchpaines, and befides the meate it felic, the paftlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: How Leoni. he answered that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better cookes then those, appointed him by his gouernour Leonydas, to wit: for his dinner, to rife before day, and to march by night; and for his supper, to eate litle at dinner. And my gouernour, sayd he, would oftentimes open the chefts where my bedding and apparrell lay to feeif my mother had purany fine knackes or conceipts among them. Furthermore, he was leffe given to wine, then men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber then he was, because he sate long at the boord, rather to talke then drinke. For ever when he dranke, he would propound fometedious matter, and yet but when he was at leifure. For having matters to do, there was neither feaft, banker, play marriage, nor any pastime that could stay him; as they had done other Captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the shortnesse of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deeds he did, in that litle time he liued. When he had ley sure, after he was vp in the morning, first of all he would do secrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, passing away all the rest of the day, in hunting, writing something, taking vp some quarrell betweene fouldiers, or else in studying. If he went any journey of no hastie businesse, he would exercise himselfe by the way as he went, shooting in his bow, or learning to get vp or out of his charret suddenly as it ranne. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt the foxe, or catch birds, as appeareth in his booke of remembrances of every day. Then when he cameto his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and annoint himfelfe: and would aske his Alexander pantelers and caruers, if his supper were ready. He would euer suppe late, and was very curious to fee, that euerie man at his boord were alike ferued; and would fit long at the table, because he euer loued to talke, as we have told you before, Otherwise he was as noblea prince and gracious to waite vpon, and as pleafant, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace

nor comelinesse to adorne a prince, sauing that he would be some thing ouer busie in glo-

rying of his owne deeds, much like vnto a bragging fouldier: neither was he contented him-

Alexander had there also another dreame: for he dreamed he saw a Satyre a farre off sporting Alexanders with him, and when he thought to haue come neare to haue taken him, he still escaped from feed with him, and when he thought to naue come neare to naue this, and intreated him, he fell into dreame a. him, with lat the length, after he had runne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into gaine at his hands. The Soothfayers being asked what this dreame should fignifie, answered probably, Tyre.

Satyre. Continuing this flege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell upon Alexanders the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being cast away onely because he ionney a memountaine Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being care away onery because he sainst the heard his tutor Lysimachus that followed him, fay boastingly, that he was not inferiour, nor gainst the care his tutor Lysimachus that followed him, fay boastingly, that he was not inferiour, nor gainst the care him to be a support of the care him to older then the Phoenix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horses, and went vp on foote: and Alexander was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leaue mons.

had made, some in one place, and some in another, trusting to his valiantnesse, having alwayes prouided remedie in extremitie, when the MACEDONIAN'S were diffressed, himselfe euer put- The conting too his owne hand, he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him; and killing two rage and of the barbarous people that lay by the fire fide, he snatched away a fire-brand, and ranne agility of dlexander. with it to his owne men, who made a great fire, At this the barbarous people were so affraid,

selfe to please his owne humour that way, but would also suffer his familiars to sooth himeuen

leftthere, where the men of armes of the Thessalians sped them full well: for therefore did he fend them thither, because he saw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battell: and so were the rest of his army also well stored with money. There the MACEDONIANS hauing tasted first of the gold, silver, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by sent do follow the tracke of beafts, euen fo were they greedie to follow after the goods of the Persians. First Alexander thought it best to winne all the sea coast. Thither came the Kings of CYPRVs and PHOENICIA, and deliuered up to him the whole Iland and all PHOENICIA, fauing onely the citie of TYRE. That citie he besieged scuen monethes together by land, with great bulwarkes & Alexander divers engines of batterie, and by fea, with two hundred gallies. During this fiege, Alexander leftogeth dreamed one night, that Hercules held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the citie, and the collection of the citie, and the collection of the cities called him by his name: and there were divers Trrians also that dreamed in like fort, that A- discanders pollotoldthem that he would go vnto Alexander, because he was not pleased with their doings dreame at in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image (which was of a wonderfull bignesse) with great their of chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base, as if he had bene a traitor that would have yeelded himselfe vnto their enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much as fauouring Alexander.

fo plentifull of all things, that he should maintaine all forts of people. Then he commanded

ported, that on a time there arose such a tempest in that desert, that blew vp whole hils of sand,

hada defire vnto. For, fortune fauouring him in all his attempts, made him constant and re-

folure in his determinations: and his noble courage befides, made him inuincible in all things he

tooke in hand, infomuch as he did not onely compell his enemies, but he had power also of time

and place. In that voyage, in ftead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helpes, the

which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For

in a certaine for they have beleeved the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the won-

derfull water and great showers that fell from the element did keepe him from feare of the first

danger, and did quench their thirst, and moistened the drinesse of the sand, in such fort that there

came a sweete fresh ayre from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides

to shew them the way, and that they wandred vp and downethey could not tell where, there

through this wildernesse, he came vnto the temple he sought for: where the prophet or chiefe

priest lalured him from the god Hammon, as from his father. Then Alexander asked him, if any

of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The priest answered him, & bad him

take heede he didnot blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then Alexander againe re-

hearling that he had spoken, asked him, if the murtherers that had conspired the death of Philip

his father were all punished. After that, be asked him touching his kingdome, if he would grant

him to be King over all the world. The god answered him by the mouth of his prophet, he

should; and that the death of Philip was fully reuenged. Then did Alexander offer great presents

vnto the god, and gaue money largely to the priests and ministers of the temple. This is that the

most part of writers do declare, touching Alexanders demand, and the oracles given him. Yet

did Alexander himselfe write vnto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which

he would onely impart vnto her, at his returne into Macedon. Others fay also, that the pro-

phet meaning to falute him in the Greeke tongue, to welcome him the better, would have faid

vnto him, O Paidion, as much as deare sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, because

the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an, s, for an, n, in the latter end, faying, o Pai-

dios, to wit, O fonne of Iupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon

there ranne a rumour straight among his men, that Iupiter had called him his son. It is said also,

did affure them that were present, that the city should be taken by the latter end of the moneth.

Euery body laughed to heare him: for that day was the very last day of the moneth. Alexander

feeing him amated; as one that could not tel what to fay to it feeking ener to bring those tokens

to effect, which the Soothfayers did prognosticate, commanded them that they should not

reckon that day the thirtieth day but the feuen and twentieth and immediatly vpon it made the

trumpet found the allarme, & gaue a hotter affault to the wal, then he had thought to have done

the chiefe city of Syria, there fell a clod of earth vpon his shouldier, out of the which there

flew a bird into the aire. The bird lighting vpon one of the engines of his batteric was caught

of. When his Gouernour Leonidas faw him, he faid thus vnto him: When thou hast conque-

red the countrey where these sweetethings grow, then be liberall of thy persume: but now,

spare that litle thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to mind at that time his admonition,

wrote vnto him in this fort: We do fend thee plentie of frankensence and myrrhe, because thou

shouldest no more be a niggard vnto the gods. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer also,

which was thought to be the preciousest thing and the richest that was gotten of all the spoyles

and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of Darius. When he faw it, he asked his familiars that were

about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some faid one thing,

fome faid another thing: but he faid, he would put the Iliads of Homer into it, as the worthieft

thing. This is confirmed by the best Historiographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS

report vpon Heraclides words, be true, then it appeareth that he did profite himselse much by

Homer in this iourney. For it is reported that when he had conquered ÆGYPT, he determined to

build a great citie, and to replenish it with a great number of GRECIANS, and to call itafter his

name. But as he was about to inclose a certaine ground, which he had chosen by the aduice of

his enginers and worke-mafters, the night before he had a maruellous dreame, that he fawan

old man standing before him, full of white haires, with an honourable presence, and coming

Within the foming fea there lies a certaine Iland, right

before. They fought valiantly on both fides, infomuch as they that were left in the campe. The civil of could not keepe in but must needes runne to the affault to helpe their companions. The Tyri-Tyre bester AN's seeing the affault so hote on every side, their hearts began to faile them, and by this meanes was the city taken the selfesame day. Another timealso, when Alexander was before GAZA,

sooke the

with the nets made of finewes which covered over the ropes of the engines, Aristander did prognofficate, that it fignified he should be hurt in his shoulder, not with standing, that he should vet take the towne. And indeed it came fo to passe. When he sent great presents of spoyles which he wanne at the facke of this citie, vnto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers others of his friends: among other things, he fent vnto Leonidus his Gouernour, fiue hundred talents weight of frankensence, and a hundred talents weight of myrrher remembring the hope he put him into when he was a child. For, as Alexander was vpon a day facrificing vntothe gods, he tooke both his hands full of frankensence to east into the fire, to make a perfume there-

The buildreame in

towards him faidthese verses:

Against the shore of Agypt, which of ancient Pharos hight. As soone as he arose y next morning, he went to see this Ile of PHAROs, the which at that time was a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Nilus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme land, being forced by mans hand. This he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broad inough, that separateth a great lake on the one side, & the sea on the other, the which doth ioyne hard to a great hauen. Then he faid that Homer was wonderful in all his things, but that among it others, he was an excellent Architector: and commanded that straight they should cast the platforme of the citie, according to the fituation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to mark withal, wherfore they were driue to take meale, & with that did mark out vpon the earth being blacke the compaffe of the town that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall parts, either of them refembled the skirts and fashion of the MACE. DONIAN cloake. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there arose vpon the sodaine out of the river or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowle of all forts, that they covered the element as it had bene a cloud, and lighting within this circuit, did eat vpall the meale, and left not a crumme. Alexander liked nor these signes. Notwithstanding, his Soothsayer bad him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should build a citic there,

them, varo whom he had given the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their worke, and he himselse in the meane time, tooke his sourney to go visite the temple of Inpiter Hammon. The iourney was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two iourney was dangers about all the rest most speciall; the first was lacke of water, because they had to trauell to the oramany dayes iourney through a great descrithe second was, the danger of the rising of the South wind by the way, to blow the fand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is re-

which flue fifeie thousand men of Cambyses armie. Euery man in Alexanders traine did know Cambyses these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to disswade Alexander from any thing which he army sains

camecrowes vntothem that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they faw them followthem, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Challisthenes, writeth a greater ded staxe.

wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them der min againe into the right way which had lost their way. Thus Alexander in the end, having passed iourney.

that he heard Pfammon the Philosopher in Agrer, and that he liked his words very well, when The faying he faid that God was King of all mortall men. For (quothhe) he that commandeth all things, of planmon must needs be God. But Alexander selfe spake better, and like a Philosopher, when he said: the Philosopher that God generally was father to al mortal men, but that particularly he did elect the best fort for providence himselfe. To conclude, he shewed himselfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made of God.

as though he certainly beleeved that he had bin begotten of some god; but vnto the GRECIANS Alexander he spakemore modestly, of divine generation. For in a letter he wrote vnto the ATHENIANS aferibeth touching the city of SAMOs, he faid: I gaue you not that noble free city, but it was given you at God-head

No fuch as from th' immortall gods doth flow. And one day also in a maruellous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rhetoritian being present, said vnto him: O thou sonne of Iupiter, wilt thou do as much: No, said

that time by him, whom they called my Lord and father: meaning Philip. Afterwards also being

striken with an arrow, &feeling great paine of it: My friends, said he, This bloud which is spilt,

is mans bloud, and not as Homer faid,

died in

he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my friends, as thou wouldst have metdisdaining the service of fish to my boord, because thou seeft not princes heads served in And y report goeth alfo, that Alexander vpon a time, fending a litle fifth vnto Hephaftion, Anaxarchus thould favas it were in mockeric, that they which about others seeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either small pleasure in the world, or else as sittle as others haue. By these proofes & reasons alleaged, we may thinke that Alexander had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of himselfe, to think that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to keep other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceived of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA Alexander into AGYPT, he made many facrifices, fealts, and processions in honour of the gods, sundrie male feafs dances, tragedies, and fuch like pastimes, goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which striued cuery one to exceed the other. For the kings of the Cyprians were the fetters of them forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lot a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defray the charges of these pastimes. These kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially Nicocreon, king of Sa-LAMINA, in CYPRY s: and Paficrates, Lord of the city of Sol Bs. For it febout to their lot to firnishtwo of the excellentest players; Pasicrates furnished Athenodorus, and Ricocreon Thessalus, whom Alexander loued fingularly well, though he made no shew of it, vntill that Athenodorus was declared victour, by the Judges deputed to give sentence. For when he went from the playes, he told them he did like the Judges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would have bene contented to have given the one halfe of his Realme, not to have seene Thessalus overcome. theredorus being condemned vponatime by the ATHENIANS, because he was not in ATHENS at the feast of Bacchus, when the Comedies & Tragedies were plaied, and a fine set on his head for his absence:he befought Alexander to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would release his penaltie. Alexander would not so do, but sent thither his money, whereof he was condemned, and payed it for him of his owne purse. Also when Lycon Scarphian, an excellent sageplayer had pleased Alexander well, and did foist in a verse in his comedie, containing a petition of ten talents: Alexander laughing at it, gaue it him. Darius at that time wrote vnto Alexander, and vnto certaine of his friends allo, to pray him to take ten thousand talents for the ransome of all those prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the countries, lands and figniories on this side the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in mariage, that from thenceforth he might be his kinseman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his councell. Among them Parmenin faid vnto him: If I were Alexander, quoth he, furely I would accept his offer. So would I indeed quoth Alexander again, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote againe vnto Darius, that if he would fubmir himself, he would vie him curteously if not, that then he wold presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards, when king Darius wife was dead with child: for without diffimulation it grieued him much, that he had loft fo noblean occasion to shew his curtesie and clemencie. This notwithstanding, he gaue her body honourable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongst the Eunuches of the Queenes chamber, there was one Tireus taken prisoner, among the women:who stealing out of Alexanders camp, taking his horse-backe, rode vnto Darius to bring travell of him newes of the death of his wife. Then Darius beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: O gods, what wretched hap haue the PERSIANS! that haue not only had the wife and fifter of their king taken prisoners even in his life time, but now that she is dead intravel of child, the hath bene depriued of princely burial. Then spake the cunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious king, and for all due honor that might be wished her, PERSTA hath no causeto complaine of her hard fortune. For neither did Queene Statira your wife whilst she lined prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or iot of their honor they were wont to have before, fauing onely to fee the light of your honour, the which, god oromafdes grant to restore buriall. again(ifit be his will)vnto your Maiestie:neither was there any honor wanting at her death(to fet forth her stately funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies. For Alexander is as merciful in victory as he is valiant in battell. Darius hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in mind for very griefe, tooke the Eunuchaside into the se-Darissialle Cretest place of his tent, and faid vnto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the P_{ERSTAN} , with trees become a Macedonian, but doest in thy heart acknowledge Darius for thy sourcingne Lord and master: I pray thee, and do also coniure thee, by the reuerence thou bearest vnto this bright light of the Sunne, and to the right hand of the King, that thou do tell me truly.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Arethefe the least euils which I lament in Statira, her imprisonment and death. And did she not inher lifemakevs more nuiferable by her dishonor, then if we had dishonorably fallen into the hands of acruell enemy. For, what honest communication, I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a prifoner hauing done her fo much honour as he had done Darius going on with these speeches, Tireus the cunuch fell downe on his knees, and befought himnor to fay fo, neither to blemish the vertue of Alexander in that fort, nor yet fo to dishonour his fifter and wife deceaffed, & thereby alfoto depriue himfelf of the greatest comfort he could wish to haue in his calamitie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemy that had greater vertues then a man could possibly haue; but rather that he should wonder at Alexanders vertue, who had shewed himself chaster to the Ladies, then valiant against the Persians, And therewithall, the cunuch confirmed the great honestie, chastitie and noble mind of Alexander, by many great and The comdeepe oathes. Then Darius coming out among his friends againe, holding vp his hands vnto of diesands the heavens, made this prayer vnto the gods: O heavenly gods, creators of men, and protectors desidafia of Kings and Realmes. first, I beseech you grant me, that restoring the Persians againeto their in. former good estate, I may leaue the Realme vnto my successors, with that glorie & fame I receiuedit of my predecessors: that obtaining victorie, Imay vse Alexander with that great honor and courtefie, which he hath in my mifery shewed vnto those I loued best in the world. Or otherwise if the time appointed be come, that the kingdome of Persia must needes have end, either thorough divine revenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: then good gods yet grant; that none but Alexander after me, may sit in Cyrus throne. Divers writers do agree, that these things came euen thus to passe. Now Alexander having conquered all As 1 A on this side of the river ? Euphrates, he went to meet with Darins, that came downe with ten hundred thousand fighting prayer ramen. It was told him by fome of his friends to make him laugh, that the flaues of his armie had deuided themselues in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall of either part, naming the one Daring aracuacentremerues intwo parts, and hat arthe first, they began to skirmish only with clods of miest the alexander, and the other Darius; and that arthe first, they began to skirmish only with clods of hundred earth, and afterwards with fifts; but at the last, they grew so hor, that they came to plaine stones shouland and flaues, for that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needes have the two fighing and flaues, for that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needes have the two fighing and flaues, for that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needes have the two fighing and flaues, for that they could not be parted. Alexander felfdid arme him that was cal
Alexander, they are the transfer of the tr led Alexander and Philotas the other which was called Darius. All the armie thereupon was ga- at the viner thered together to fee this combat betweene them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke Emphrases. to come. The fight was sharpe betweene them, but in the end, he that was called Alexander ouercame the other: and Alexander to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priviledge to goafter the Per sian manner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes. The great battell that Alexander fought with Darius, was not (as many writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gausameles, which fignifieth in the Persian tongue, the house of the Cammell. For some one of the ancient kings of PERSIA that had escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying vpon a dromedarie cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villagesto keepe the cammel there. There fel out at that time an eclipse of the Moone, in the moneth called Bodromion(now August) about the time that the feasts of the mysteries were celebrated at A-THENS. The eleuenth night after that, both the armies being in fight each of other, Darius kept his men in battell ray, and went himselfe by torch-light viewing his bands & companies. Alexander on the other fide whilest his MACBDONIAN fouldiers slept, was before his tent with Ariflander the Soothsayer, and made certaine secret ceremonies and sacrifices vnto Apollo. The ancient captaines of the Macedonians, specially Parmenio, seeing all the valley betwixt the river of Niphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the found thereof: they were amazed, and confulted, that in one day it was in maner unpossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto Alexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsell him to give battell by night, because the darkenesse thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the fight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable answer: I will not stealevictoric, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that The maghe was so pleasant, being neare so great danger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a present manimite noble courage, and a deepe confideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby of Alexanto give Darius no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart againe, and to prove

for a fine, and to give his sonne in hostage: and they onely lest him for pities sake, the kingdome of Macedon, with all the appertenances. And there he daily putting to death the chiefest of his Nobilitie, and nearest of bloud vnto him, he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate against him. Furthermore amongst such a heape of euils, having but one onely ioy, to have a vertuous sonne, he put him to death, for spite and malice that he saw the Romaines honour him, and left his other sonne Perfeus successor of his realme; who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten sonne, but taken for his sonne, and borne of a tailors wife called Gnathenium: It is that Perseus, whom Paulus Amylius ouercame, and led in triumph in Rom n; and at him the race of the kings descended from Antigonus, failed; where the iffue and offpring of Aratuscontinueth yet untill our time, in the cities of Sicyone, and Pallena.

THE LIFE OF



Iphisvates of man a mircenary Bould be.

AEmylius faying if fouldiers.

Phicrates the ATHENIAN captaine faid, that a mercenary foldier should be couctous, a louer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the valianter, and readier to put himself into any danger. But most men thinke, that souldiers should be as one entire strong body, that stirreth not of it self without y moning of the Generall. And to approve this opinion, it is said that Paulus Amylius arriving in MACEDON, and finding the fouldiers full of words and curiofity (euery man medling with the affaires of the Generall) he made open proclamation, No man so hardie to meddle with his office & af-

faires; but every man only to keep his fword sharp, & to be quick of hand against the enemy; and for the rest, to refer al to him, who wold take sufficient order for things of his charge & gouernment. Therfore Plato faith, that it litle quaileth to haue a good and wife Captaine, if the fouldiers also be not wise and obedient; thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to hauemen of a noble mind and good education, as otherwise it is meete for a Captaine to know how todirect and command well; confidering it is that which with lenitie and mildnesse doth mitigate all fury & choler. He hath diuers other examples & sufficient proofes to proue his words true; and namely, the great miseries & calamities which came to the Romain's after y death of Nero, do plainly shew, that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, the a great army living licentiously & disorderly. For Demades after the death of Alexader the great, compared Alexandersarmy vnto Cyclops Polyphemus after his eye was put out:confidering how blindly & loofly they were gouerned. How beit the Empire of Rome being deuided into fundrie factions at one felftime and rifing against it felf in many places, it fel into the like mistortunes & calamities fained by the Poets of the TITANS: not fo much through the ambitious nesses of the Emperors, as The Empire by meanes of the conetoufnetie and infolency of the foldiers, who drane the Emperors out of whereas their Imperial seates one after another, as one naile driueth out another. And Dionysius also the likened. want of Sicile, was wont to call Phareus (who had bin tyrant of Thessalia onely ten moneths space) a tyrant in a play, deriding his so sudden change of state. But the Imperial house of the Cafars at Rome, receiued foure Emperors, in lesse then ten moneths space, the soldiers now putting in one, and then taking out another, as if they had bene in a play on a scaffold. So that the ROMAINES being thus grieuoully oppressed, had yet this comfort that they needed not to seeke tobercuenged of them that did oppressethem. For they saw one of them murther another, and him first and most justly of all other murthered, that had first of all corrupted the soldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the change of the Emperors; and fo deprauing a worthy deed of iselfe, which was their for saking of Nerorand mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, being Captaine of the Emperors guard, which are called the Prato- sabine, and rian foldiers, together with Tigellinus, when he faw Nero in despaire of himselfe and of his e- Tigellinus, fate, and that he was ready to flie into AGYPT: he perswaded the guard they should call Galba Nero. Emperor, as if Nero had not bene at Rome, but fled and gone; and promifed enery one feuen thousand fine hundred Drachmaes apeece; and to the rest of the souldiers that were dispersed vpand downe in garrison vpon the provinces, twelue hundred and fiftie Druchmaes a man. For the leavying of which fumme, they could not possibly do it, but they must needs comit tenthoufand times more extortion on enery body, then Nero had done. This large promife made them presently put Nero to death, and shortly after him, Galba himselfealso. For the soldiers for soke Nero, for the hope they had to receive this promifed gift: and shortly after they slue the second, which was Galba, because they received not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should still feed them with like gifts, before they could obtaine gifts deterwards alto, in tecking who should still reed them with like girts, perfore they could obtain their wished hope, one of the destroyed another by treason and rebellion. But now to set down Empire of all things particularly which hapned at that time, it were to write one whole entire historie; and Reme. therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe ouer with silence the notablest deeds, and lamentable calamities, which happened at that time vnto the Cafars. Itis manifestly known to all men, that Sulpitius Galba of a private man, was the richest & weal-

thiest that came to be in the number of the Casurs: who, though he came of a very noble house, and wolffderining himselfe from the race & family of the Sernij; yet he was honored the more, because he peop Gal-, was akin vnto Quintus Catulus, who for vertue & estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise he willingly refigned his authority and power vnto others. So Galba thereby was somewhat akin vnto Livia the wife of Angustus Casar, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperors pallace, whe he went to take possession of his Consulship. Moreouer itis reported, that whe he had charge of the army in GERMANY, he did valiatly behaue himself. And in the government of LIBIA also, where he was Vice-confull, he did as honorably behave himselfe, as any man whatsoeuer. Howbeit his meane and simple ordinary of diet, voide of all Galbaei excesse, was reputed misery and niggardlinesse in him, when he was proclaimed Emperor: betause the practise of sober and temperate diet which he would have brought in vie, was then so raw athing that it was taken for a new & strange deuice. He was sent gouernor also into Spaine by Nero, before he had learned to be afraid of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, besides that he was of a courteous & gentle nature, his age moreouer increased the opinion they had of Galbaer him, that he was timerous and feareful. For when the wretched officers of Nero did cruelly vexe contests. and torment the provinces, and that it lay not in Galba any way to helpe them: yet was it some cofortto them, which were judged & fold as flaues by the officers, to fee that Galba did lamet the miseries & calamities they endured, as if they had bindone vnto himself. So whe any sladerous

times were made against Nero, which were long vp & downe in euery place, he would neither

forbid the, nor yet was offended as Neroes officers were. Therefore he was maruelloufly belo-

led in the countrey, of them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eight

yeare of his gouernment as Procoful among ft the, at which time Iunius Vindex being Proprietor Iunius Vindex being Proprietor of GAVLE, rebelled against Nero, who as it is reported, had written vnto Galba, before he entred des rebelled against Nero, who as it is reported, had written vnto Galba, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But Galba did neither beleeue him, nor also accuse & bewray him, led ag

Inthisplace the Greeke

Sulpitius luted by the fouldiers, as Em

Galla iudged an enemy by the Senate goods fold by she crier.

€lodius Macer, governor of africke.

> Colonia a reade Clu-

as diverfe others which were governors of armies and provinces did: who fent Vindex letters vnto Nero which he himselfe had written vnto them, and so did as much as in them lay to him. der the enterprise, who afterwards being of the cospiracy did confesse they were traitors to the felues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit when Vindex afterwards had proclaimed ope war against Nero, he wrote againe vnto Galba, and praied him to take the Imperiall crowne vpon him, and to become the head of a strong and mightie bodie (which were the GAVLES) that lacked no. thing but a head & gouernor, being a hundred thousand fighting me ready armed, & mightalso leavie a great number more of them. Then Galba consulted therupon with his friends, & among them some were of opinion that he should stay a while, to see what change and alteration would grow at Rome vpon this stirre. Howbeit Titus Iunius, Captaine of the Prætorian band, said vn to him: O Galba, what meaneth this fo doubtfull a deliberation? Be not we wife men, to call in question whether we shal allow of Vindex friendship; or accuse him; yea, & with armes persecute him, that defired rather to have thee Emperor, then Nero tyrant over the state of Rome? Afterwards Galba by bils fet vp eucry where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchize fuch as would make fuite for it. This rumor flying straight abroad, he gathered a great number of soldiers toge. ther, that were very willing to rebel: and he was no fooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of stare, but all the souldiers did salute him by the name of Emperor. Howbeit he was not cotent with this name at the first, but accusing Nero, & lamenting the death of the noblest men whom he had cruelly put to death, he promifed that he would employ his best wit and discretion to the feruice and benefit of his countrey, neither naming himfelfe Cafar, nor Emperor, but only Lieutenant to the Senate, & state of Rome. Now, that Vindex did wifely to cal Galba to be Emperor. Nero himself in his doings doth witnesse it: who having alwayes made a countenance as though he passed not for Vindex, & that he weighed not the rebellion of the GAVLES: when it was told him that Galba was called Emperour, being then at supper, for spite he ouerthrew thetable. Moreover, though § Senate had indged Galbs an enemy, yet Nero to be pleafant with his friends. made as though he was nothing afraid of it, & faid, This news made al for him, because he flood in need of mony, & alfo that it was a happy occasion offered him to helpe him withall. For faid he, we shall soone have all the GAVLES goods, as the spoile of a just warre, after we have once againe ouercome & conquered them: and moreouer, Galbaes goods also would quickly be inhis hands, that he might fel them, confidering that he was become his open enemy. So he presently commanded Galbaes goods should be openly fold, to them that would give most. Galba understanding that, did also by found of trumper sell all Nerves goods he had in all the province of Spain fr. and did also find more men readier to buy, the there were goods to sel. Daily men rose against Nero in eucry country, who tooke Galbaes part, Clodius Macer only excepted in Africk, and Verginius Rufus in GAVLE, both of them having charge of legios appointed for the fafekeeping of German y; and both of them did follow feuerall directions by themselves, varying in mind & intent. For Clodius Macer having robbed much, & put divers men also to death through his crueltie and couetousnesses, shewed plainly, that he swam betweene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, not yet keepe it. Verginius also on the other side, being generall oner great & mightie legions, who had fundry times called him Emperor, and did in maner force him to take vpon him the name & Empire: he notwithstanding did euer answerthem, that he neither minded to take v Empire vpon him, nor yet to fuffer any other to do it, then fuch as the Senate should chuse & cal vnto the same. This at the first somewhat amazed Galba. But whe both the armies of Vindex & Verginius, in spite of their Captaines (who could not stay nor keep them backe, no more then coach-men can keepe backe the horse with their bridles) were joyned in a great battell together, where were flain 20000 GAVLES in the field & Vindex also flue himself Thortly after it was given out, that the conquerors after to great a victory obtained, would copel Verginius to take vpon him to be Emperor, or else that they would take Nerges part again. Then Galbabeing not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto Verginius, & perfwaded him to ioyne with himto hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMAINS, and therupon fled straight into a city of SPAINE called Colonia, rather repenting him of that he had done, & wishing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherein he was brought vp, the otherwise occupying himselfabout any necesfary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterprise. Now it was about the beginning of fommer, & one day towards euening, there came to Galba one of his flaues enfráchised, a Sici-LIAN born, that was come from Rom B in feuen daies: who vnderstanding that Galba was alone,

went prefently to his chamber dore, and opened it, and coming in against the wils of the grooms of the chamber, that stood at the dore, he told him, that Nero being yet aliue, but seene no more, first the people of Rom B, and then the Senate had proclaimed him Emperor, & that immediatly after, newes came that Nero was dead: the which he hardly beleeuing notwithstanding, went thither himself, saw his body laid out vpon y ground, and then made towards him with all speed to bring him thefe newes. The newes maruelloufly reviued Galba, & a multitude of menthronged straight about the dore, which began to be couragious, seeing him lively again, although the speed of the messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two daies after, Titus also arrived, with certaine others of the camp, who told Galba particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalf. So this Titus was called to great honor: and the flaue enfranchifed had priviledge given him to weare rings of gold, & he was called Martianus Vicellus, who afterwards of all the enfranchifed bondmen, became the chiefest man about his master Galba. In the meane time, Nymphidius SA-BINE began at Rom E, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the absolute gouern- w Sabine ment of the Empire, perswading himselfe that Galba was so old, that he could hardly be brought taken poor in a litter vnto Rome, being at the least 73 yeares old: besides also, that the army of § Pr Aro-RIANS which were in Rome, did beare him good wil of long time, & then acknowledged none other Lord but him only, for the large promise he had made the, for the which he received the thanks, and Galba remained the debter. So he prefently comanded Tigellings, his companion and Captaine with him of the army of the PRETORIANS, to leave off his sword and disposing himselfeto banqueting and feasting he sent for all those that hadbin Consuls, Prætors or Procosuls of provinces, & made them all to be invited in the name of Galba. So, there were certain foldiers gaue out this rumor in the campe, that they should do well to fend Ambassadors vnto Galba. to pray him that Nymphidius might be their only Captaine stil, without any copanion joyned with him. Furthermore, the honor & good wil the Senate bare him, calling Nymphidius their benefactor, & going daily to vifit him in his house, procuring him to be the author of al their decrees to Nymbipassed in Senate, & that he should authorise the this made him high minded, and the bolder by much; in fo much that fhortly after, they that came to honor him in this fort, did not only hate & made him milike his doings, but moreouer he made the afraid of him. Furthermore, whethe Confuls had grow too bild and ingiuen to common pursiuants any commissions vnder seale, or letters patents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to eary them to the Emperor (by vertue of which letters patents, when the officers of the citie do fee the feale, they straight provide the pursuants of coaches and fresh horses to further their speed and hastie iourney:) Nymphidius was very angrie with the, because they did not also come to him for his letters, sealed by him & his soldiers, to send likewise to the Emperor. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the commons also, he suffered them to put any of Neroes friends to death they could Neroes meete withall. Among other, they flue a fencer called Spicillus, whom they put vnder No- friends roes statues, which they dragged up and downe the citie. Another also called Aponius, one of Ne. Jaine at roesaccusers, they threw him to the ground, & draue carts over him loden with stones. And di-Nymph dius uerseothers also, whom they slue in that maner, of the which some had done no maner of of-commandefence. Hereupon one Maurifeus, one of the noblest men of the citie, and so esteemed, said openly in the Senate: I feare me we shall wish for Nero againe, before it belong. So Nymphidius being come in maner to the fulnesse of his hope, he was very glad to heare that some repined at The baren, him, because he was the sonne of Caius Casar, that was the next Emperor after Tiberius. For this tage of Caius Casar, when he was a yong man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had bin a faine yong "Mymphidius" mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been not been a faine young man, had kept Nymphidius mother, which had been not be woman, and the daughter of one Calliftus, one of Cafars enfranchised bondmen, whom he had gotten of a laundreffe he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this Nymphidius was borne before Cains Cafar could know his mother: and men thought that he was begotten of a fencer called Martianus, with whom his mother Nymphidia fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in Rome: and indeed Nymphidius was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he cofessed that he was the son of this Nymphidia, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of Nero vnto himself, & thought himself not sufficiently recopenced with the honors they gaue him, neither also with the goods he enjoyed, neither for that he lay with Sporus who Nero loued fo dearly, whom he fent for to Neroes funerals whilest his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him Poppeus. Furthermore, all this did not content

him, but yet fecretly he aspired to be Emperor, partly practifing the matter in Rome it selfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were feeretly his friends: and partly allo through one Gellianes, whom he fent into Spaine, to fee how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of Nero, all things prospered with Galba, saving Verginius Rusus only, who stood doubtful yer, & made him forely mistrust him for that he was afraid (besides that he was Generall over a great and puiffant army, having also newly overthrown Vindex, & secretly ruling the best pare of the Empire of Rome, which was all GAVLE, and then in tumult & vprore, ready to rebell, left he would hearken vnto them that perfwaded him to take the Empire to himfelf. For Problems there was no Captaine of Rome atthat time to famous, and of to great estimation as Verginius: and that describedly, for that he had done great service to the Empire of Rome in time of extreunivie, having delivered Rome at one felfe time from a cruell tyrannie, and also from the danger of the warres of the GAVLES. This notwith flanding Verginius perfifting fill in his first determinetion, referred the election of the Emperous vnto the Senate although, that after the death of New was openly knowne, the common fort of foldiers were carneftly in hand with him, and char a Tribune of the foldiers (otherwise called a Colonell of athousand men) went into his tent with a fword drawnein his hand, and bad Verginius either determine to be Emperor, or else to look to have the fwordthrust into him. Yet after that Fabius Valens, Captaine of a legion, was Tworne vnto Galba, & that he had received letters from Rome, advertifing him of the ordinance and decree of the Senate; in the end, with much ado, he perswaded the souldiers to proclaime Galba Emperor, who fent Flaceus Ordeonius to fucceed him, vnto whom he willingly gaue place. So, when verginius had delinered up his army unto him, he went to meet with Galba, on whom he waited, coming on still towards Rome. And Galba all that time neither shewed him cuill countenance, nor yet greatly effected of him, Galba himfelfe being cause of the one who seared then, and his friends of the other, but fpecially Titus Iunius: who for the malice he bare vnto Verginius thinking to hinder his rifing, did vnwittingly indeed further his good hap, and delinered him occasion to draw him out of the civill warres and mischiefs (the which lighted afterwards vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadors were sent fro the Senate, & met with Galba at NARBONA, a city of GAVLE: where after they had presented their humble duty, they perswaded him to make all the hast he could possible to shew himselfe to the people of Rome, who were maruellously desirous to see him. Galba received them very graciously and courteously, and made them great cheare, howbeit very modestly. For notwithstanding that Nymphidius had sent him diuerse officers, and flore of Nerves moueables: yet he would never be ferued with any of them, at any feafts or banquets he made, nor with other then his owne stuffe; wherein he shewed his noble mind, and how he could mafter all vanity. But Titus Iunius shortly aftertold Galba, that this noble mind,& civill moderation, without pride or pompe, was too lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine respect of honesty that knew not it selfe, and became not his greatnesse and maieftie. So, he perswaded him to vie Neroes money and stuffe, and to be sumptuous & Princely in his feasts, without niggardlinesse. To conclude, the old man Galba began plainly to shew, that he would be ruled by Titus Innius: who aboue all other was extreme couctous, and besides too much given to women. For when he was a yong man, the first time he went to the warres vuder Caluisus Sabine, he brought his Captaines wife (which liked good fellowship) disguised likea fouldier into the campe, into his Generals tent (which the Romains called Principia) and there was somewhat bold with her. Wherfore Cains Casar committed him to prison, but he escaped at his death. Another time, whe he supped with Clodins Cafar, he stole a silver pot. Clodins hearing of it, bade him againe to supper the next night: but he commanded his menthey should giue him drinke in a earthen cruse. Thus this thest (through Casars pleasantnesse) seemed rather a matter of sport, then of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreme couetousnesse of money (at what time he ruled Galba, and bare all the sway about him) gaue vnto some iust cause, and vnto others apparent colour of tragicall mischieses, and grieuous calamities. For Nymphidius, 10 foone as Gellianus was returned out of SPAINE, whom he had fent thither to fee what Galba did, informing him that Cornelius Lacon was Captaine of the guard and house of the Emperor; and that Titus Iunius did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffered to come neare Galba, nor to speake with him apart, because those which were about Galba did mistrust him, and cuer had an eye to him to see what he did; he was maruellously perplexed

perplexed withall. Thereupon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and pettie Captaines of the campe of the Prætorian armic, and perswaded them that Galba touching his owne person, was a good old and discreet man, howbeit that he did not follow his own eaduice and counsel. but was ruled altogether by Iunius & Lacon, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good (beforethey came to be of greater power, and to have fuch great authoritie in managing the affaires of the Empire, as Tigellinus had before) to fend Ambassadors to the Emperor, in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome to Rome, and to all men else besides. The Captaines vtterly misliked this device. For they thought it too strange, and beyond all reason, to seeme to teach an old Emperour, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: and to appoint him what fernants and friends he should keepe, & whom he should trust or mistrust. Nymphydius perceiuing this. tooke another course, and wrote letters vnto Galbato terrific him; one time sending him word that he was maruellous euill beloued of many in Rome, and that they were readie to rebell against him: another time also that the legions of GERMANIB were revolted, and that he vnderflood the like from the legions of Ivris and Syria and another time also that Clodius Macer in Africk E stayed all the ships fraughted with corne that were bound for Rome. But in the end finding that Galba made no account of him, and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings, hedetermined first of al to set vpon him. Howbeit Clodius Celsus, born in the city of Antioch, awise man, and his faithful friend, disswaded him maruellously notto do it; declaring vnto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in Rom E that would call Nymphidius, C. efar. Howbeit in contrary manner, divers others mocked Galba, and specially one Mithridates of the Realme of Pont, that faid he was abald writhen man. For the Romain's (faid he) have him indeed now in some estimation: but when they have once seene him, they wil think it a perpetual! flame and reproch to our time, that he was called Cafar. So they thought it good to bring Nymphidius about midnight into the camp, & there openly to proclaime him Emperor. How beit the chiefe Tribune of the fouldiers called Antonius Honoratus, gathered his fouldiers together in the Honoratus, night, and before them all did first openly reproue himselfe, and then them, for that they had so often turned and changed in fo short time, without any wit or discretion, having no indgement the joulus, who to chuse the best way, but to be pricked forward & caried headlong in that fort by some wicked spirit, which brought the out of one treason into another. And yet (faid he) our first change had fome countenance of reason, to wit, the horrible vices and faults of Nero: but now whereincan we accuse Galba, to have any countenance to falsisse our faith vnto him? hath he slaine his mothere hath he put her to death? hath he shamefully played the tumbler or common player young scaffold in y Theater. And yet for all these vile parts, we neuer durst once begin to for sake nero, but gaue credit to Nymphidius words, who told vs that Nero had first forsaken vs, and that he was fled into AGYPT. What shall we do? shall we kill Galba after Nero: what shall we kil him that is a kin vnto Liuia, to make the fonne of Nymphidia Emperor, as we haue already flaine the fonne of Agrippina? or shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entred into this enterprise, and thereby to renenge the death of Nero, and to shew our selues faithfull fouldiers ynto Galba: All the souldiers yeelded straight to the Colonels words, and therewith went to their other companions to periwade them to keepe their faith and promife they anowed vnto the Emperor: fo that they made many of them reuolt againe from Nymphidius. Thereupon the noile and cries being great, Nymphidius sapposing (as some thought) that the souldiers did call for him, or else hoping betimes to quench this tumult, to flay fuch as were yet wauering : he went thither himselfe with great store us apprete of torch light, and carried an oration in his hand, the which Ciconius Varro had made for him, and 10 be Em the which he had learned without book to speake vnto the foldiers. But when he found the gates of the campe shut, and saw divers men armed vpon the wals, he began to be afraid: and coming nearer, asked them what they meant by it, and by whose commandement they had armed themfelues as they did. Answer was made him by them all, that they acknowledged no other Empe-Tor but Galba: the which he seemed to like of, and also commanded them that followed him to do the like, & therewithall drew nearer. Whereupon certain of the fouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and fuffered him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit as foone as he was come in first there was a dart throwne at him, the which one Septimius that went before him received upon his shield and then others also came with their swords drawn in their Nymphidihands to fet vpon him, and followed him as he fled into a fouldiers cabine, where they flue him.

GALBA

Then they layed his bodie in an open place, & railed it about, that every man that would, might the next day fee it. So Nymphidius being flain in this fort, Galba vnderstanding of his death, commanded that all Nymphidius friends and confederators that had not bin flain at that time, should

Tatitus cal-

with mor

for his fake be put to death, as indeed they were. Amongst the they slue Ciconius that had made the oration for Nymphidius, and Muhridates also of Pont. Howbeit, though indeed they had deferued it, yet menthought it a very cruell part to command these mento be put to death in that fort, which were men of such qualitie and calling as they were, without due forme and order of law. For enery man flood in good hope vpon the coming in of this new Emperour, to have feene another manner of gouernment then they had yet feene: howbeit they were deceived of their hope at the first chop. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commanded them to kill Petronius Tertullianus, that had bene Confull, because he was Neroes faithfull friend. But now for the death of Clodius Macer, whom Trebonianus flue in AFRICKE by his commandement, and for Fonteius that was also flaine in GERMANIE by Valens, he had some reason to scare them because they were in armes, & commanded great armies. But for Tertullianus, that was an old man, naked and vnarmed, truly he should have put him to his triall by law, if he would have ministred inflice, the which he promifed to keepe at his first coming to the Imperiall crowne. Hereinthey greatly reproued Galos. Now when he drew neare to Rome within flue & twenty furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of mariners & sea-faring men, that kept the high way on euery fide, wandering vp & down in euery place. These were the men whom Nero had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the oare and made them fouldiers. So they were come thither to be futers to him, that he would allow them still to be fouldiers; and they prefied to arrogantly vpon him, that they would not fuffer those which came to the new Emperor, to see him nor speake with him, but they sel to tumult & vprore, crying out to have ensignes for their legion, & to be appointed a place to lie in, in garrison. Galba referred them ouer to another sime, & bade them they should then let him understand their demand. They told him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thercupon fell to plaine mutinie, & followed him with great cries: infomuch that some of them stucke not to draw out their swords. Then Galba commanded the hortemen he had about him, to fet vpon them. So there was not a man of them that refisted, but some of them were ouerthrown, and troden vnder their horse feete, and others also flaine as they fled. This was a very cuill figne and prefage for him, to enter into Roma with fuch bloudshed, vpon so many poore dead mens bodies as lay slaine on the ground. Howbeit, where fome before did despile & mocke him for an old feeble man, euery man then was afraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, because he would shew a great change and alteration from the vnreasonable vaine gifts & expences of Nero, it seemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one Canus an excellent plaier on y recorder, had plaied all supper time, because it was maruellous sweet musick to heare, he praised and commended it maruellously, and commanded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he took a few crowns, and put them into his hand, fayingsthat it was not mony of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, hegaue straight commandement that they should require and call backe againe the gifts Nero had given and bestowed vpon common players, minstrels, wrestlers, and people of such kind of facultie and profession, and to leave them onely the tenth part. But he got litle by this device. For the most part of those that had gifts given them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that lived without any rule or order, & spent at night that which they got in the day and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them restore it againe. But this was an endlesse worke: for things had bene so conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinit number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonor returned to Galba himself, though the malice and hatred lighted on Titus Iunius: who only made the Emperour straight-laced to all others, whilest he himselfe tooke vnreasonably of all men, making port-fale of euery thing that came to hand. For Hesiodus the Poet saith: As well when the veffell is full that is spill,

Hefiodu:

As when it is emptie, thir ft craneth drinke ftill. But Iunius perceiuing Galba to be old and feeble, would wisely take his fortune and time while time serued, supposing it almost to be at an end so soone as he began to enter into it. So in the meanetime he did much dishonour the poore old man, ouer-greatly abusing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering those,

the which the Prince him self had a good defire to deale verightly in, as to punish the officers of Galbakit-Nero. For he put some of them to death, among the which Elius was one, and certaine other, as leth Neroet Polyclitus, Petinus, and Patrobius: whereat the people maruellously reioyced, and cried out, as officers. they went ro execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleffed procession. and required Tigellinns of the gods and men, that had bene chiefe mafter and guide of all Neroes ryrannie. How beit the trim man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed Innius before: for afterwards he put poore Tertullianus to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated Nero, being ashe was, and had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of the wicked parts he played when he was aliue. Whereas he that made Nero worthy of death, and that afterwards had also betrayed him, was let alone, and nothing faid vnto him; being a manifest proofe to all others, that they should not doubt to hope to obtaine any thing at Titus Iunius hands, so they fed him witheifts. For the commo people of Rome neuer defired any thing fo much, as to fee Tigellinus to be caried to execution: and they never left crying out to demand him in all affemblies of the Theater or shew place, vntill such time as the Emperor Galba did forbid them by proclamation. the which declared that Tigellinus would not live long, because he was ficke of a consumption of the lungs, which by litle and litle did weare him to nothing; and Galba prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloudy. The people were much offended with this, but yet they seemed to laugh at it: & Tigellinus did facrifice to the gods for his health & safety, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where Iunius rising from supper, being set by the Emperor, went vnto Tigellinus to be merry with him, and tooke his daughter being a widow with him, vnto whom Tigellinus dranke, and offered her a gift of fine & twentie Myriades of filuer: and commanded one of his chiefest concubines to take from her necke a carcanet she wore, being worth ffreene Myriades, and to give it the other. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done vprightly and with inftice, were reproued and taken in enill part: as the thing that was granted to the GAVLES, because they did rebell with Vindex. For men thought that they were not discharged of the subsidies and taxes they were wont to pay, northat they were made free of Rome, fo much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by Iunius meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperour Galba. Howbeit the foldiers still lived in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promifed them, yet they should enjoy is much as Nero hadgiven them. But Galba vnderstanding that they complained of him, spake aword meet for so noble & worthy a Prince as he was: that he vsed to chuse soldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the foldiers, it bred a maruellous mortall hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not only to take the gift away from the which they hopredently to have received, but that it was also a president to teach the Emperors that shold Galba of come after him, what they should do. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian guard at fended the Rome appeared not yet, but was fecretly kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maiesty & foildien. person of Galba, who kept them that were desirous to rebell, because they saw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did fomewhat smother & keepe in the shew of their wickedintent. But they which had before served vnder Verginius, and were at that time vnder Flac-CUSIN GERMANIE, thinking themselues worthy of great reward for the battell they had won against Vindex, and having nothing given them in recompence, they would not be pleased with any thing their Captaine said vnto them, neither did they make any account of Flaceus, because he could not ftirre himfelfe, he was so plagued with the gout, and besides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine sports were made, at the bringing in of the Tumble 4which, the Colonels & Captaines (according to the maner of the Romaines) made praiers vntothe gods for ŷ health & prosperity of the Emperor Galba: there were diners of the that made

mong the
fooldiers
and legions anoisearthe first, and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their praiers, in the end the of the Ro. foldiers answered: If they be worthy. The legions in like maner under Tigellinus charge, did oftentimes vie fuch insolent parts: whereof Galbaes officers did advertise him by letters. Wherfore Galba being afraid, & mistrusting that they did not only despise him for his age, but also because behad no childre, he determined to adopt some yong gentlema for his son, of the noblest house ofycity of Rome, & to proclaime him his successor in the Empire. At that time there was one Marcus Otho, of a noble house, but euer giuento sensualitie and pleasure from his cradle, as much as any Romaine could be. And as Homer oftetimes doth call Parie y husbad of the faire Helen, VVVV 2

naming him by the name of his wife, because he had no other commendable vertue in him: euch Poppea, O- To Otho came to be knowne in Rome, by marying Poppea, whom Nero loued when the was Crifpinus his wife: howbeit, bearing some respect to his wife, and being affraid also of his mother, he had inticed Otho to be his band vnto her. Nero loued Otho dearely, and much delighted in his companie, because he was so good a fellow and free of his flesh; and was very glad sometime to heare how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as Nero on a time was annointing himself with precious oyles & perfumes, he cast a litle vpon Otho as he went by: who the next day made him a feast in his house, where sodainly were thrust into the hal, divers vessels of gold and filuer ful of this perfumed oyle, that ran out of the like conduit water, & did wet all the hall. So Otho having first possessed Poppea, and abused her vnder hope of Neroes love, he perfwaded her to be divorced from her husbad. The which she did, & he received her home to his owne house, as his lawfull wife; not being so wel pleased to have part, as he was sory & angry alfo to let another enioy her. Now Poppea her self (as it is reported) did not mislike this his iclonfie, for sometimes she would shut her doore against Nero, though Otho were not within either because she would keepe Nero in breath, and in loue-liking still, or else as some thought, because she would not have Casar to her husband; and likewise that she would not refuse him forher friend, because he was wantonly ginen. But so it is, otho was in danger of his life by marying of Poppaa: and fo was it alfo a strange thing, that Nero having put his wife & fifter to death, onely to marry Poppea, he did yet pardon Othe, & faued his life. Howbeit it was for Senecaes fake that was his friend, through whose perswasion he was sent to y farthest part in Spaine along the Ocean fea, to be gouernor of Lysitania. And there he gouerned so wifely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troublesome vnto the country:knowing that this honorable charge was give him only to mitigateand hide his banishment. Áfterwards when Galba had rebelled, he was the first of all the Gouernors of the prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both gold and silver, vnto the mint-master, he gave it him to put into bullion, and so to be converted into currat coine. Moreouer, he gane of his officers vnto Galba, those which he thought the meetest men to serue a Prince: and otherwise when he was tried, he shewed himselfe as faithfull and skilful in matters of state, as any one that followed the Emperors traine. Infomuch as althe way he went many dayes journey in coach with Galba himfelf, & did maruelloufly curry fauor with Titus Iunius, bestowing great gifts vpon him, & also enterraining him with pleasant speeches:but specially, because he willingly gaue him the vpper hand, wherby he was affured to be the second person in credit about Galba. So in all that he did, he far excelled Junius, for that he granted mens fuits frankly & freely without one penie taking, and was besides easie to be spoken with ofenery manthat had any suite to him:but specially of the soldiers, whom he did greatly help and surther, & caused divers also to be called to honorable office, he himself partly moving y Emperor for them, without any labour or fuite made vnto him, and partly also obtaining them at Iunius hands, and of the two infranchised bondmen of Galba, Icellus, and Asiaticus. For these threemen did beare al the sway & creditabout the Emperor in the court. Moreouer, alwaies when he inuited the Emperor to his house, he bribed the Prætorian guard that waited vpon him, and gauceuery soldier a crown. Now this in fight, seemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: though indeed it was a fine device to overthrow him, to bribe the foldiers in that fort as he did. So Galba confulring whom he should make his successor, T. Iunius preferred Othovnto him the which he did not fimply of himfelf, nor without reward, but only with promife that 0 the should mary his daughter, if Galba did adopt him his fonne, and proclaime him successor in the Empire. Howbeit, Galba did alway specially regard the comonwealth before his private liking, & sought to adopt such a one, as should not so much please himselfe, as otherwise should be profitable and meet for the Empire. But furely in my opinion Galba would not make Otho heire of his goods, confidering what an vnreasonable spender he was, and how sumptuous in all his things, and besides, far gone in debt: for he ought aboue fine thousand Myriades. So when he had heard Innius counsel about this adoption, he gently without other answer, did put ouer his determination vntil another time, and made Otho only Conful at that time, and T. Iunius Conful with him: whereby it was straight supposed, that arthe beginning of the new yeare, he would proclaime himhis fucceffor in the Empire. Which was the thing the fouldiers most defired of all other. But now, delaying still his determination, the legions of the Romaines in Germany, did rife and rebel against him all at an instant. For he was generally hated of all his souldiers, because he paidthem

GALBA!

Proprator

Othges pra.

The legions nie do rebel

northegift he had promifed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alledged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonorably rejected Verginius Rusus; and that the GAVLES which had fought against them, were rewarded with great and rich priviledges, and they that rooke not part with Vindex, had bene grieuously punished and put to death. Moreover, that Galhadid onely honour Findex death after he was dead, as acknowledging his good will vnto him, offering publike oblations and funerall facrifices for him, as if by him only he had bene proclaimed Emperour. Now fuch speeches and rumors ran through the camp among st them, when the first day of the year ecame, which the Romains call the Calends of Ianuary; on which day whe Flaceus had called the fouldiers together, to sweare them to the Emperour according to the cufrom they plucked downe Galbaes images, and sware onely in the name of the people and Se- The soulds. nate of Rome. The Captaines seeing what course they tooke, were as much afraid of the danger diers do retobe without a head, as they stood doubtful of the mischief of their rebellion. So there stept vp one amongst them and said: My fellowes in armes, what do we meane: we neither chuse any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this present: wherby we shew plainly, that we do not onely refuse Galba, but also all other to be our head and Emperor that may command vs. Now for Flaccus Ordeonius, that is but Galbaes shadow and image, I would wish we houldlet him alone there as he is. And for Vitellius, Governor of the lower Germany, he is not far from vs, but one daies iourney only, whose father was Censor at Rome, & thrice also Confull, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of Clodius Cafar in the government of the Empire: whose pouerty if any man mislike in him, is a manifest proofe of his goodnes and magnanimitie. Him therefore let vs chuse, and let the world know that we can tell how to chuse an Emperour, better then the Spaniards or Lysitanians. Some of the fouldiers that stood by, confirmed these words, but others misliked of them: insomuch that among the rest there was an enfigne-bearer that stole secretly out of the campeto carie Vitellius newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These newes running straight through his campe, Fabius Valens Colonell of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horsemen, and was the first manthat named Vitellins Emperor, who before seemed to refuse that name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of so great an Empire vpon him; but after dinner, being full of wine and meate, he came out among them, and accepted the vicilia name of Germanicus which they gauchim, and refused the name of Cesar. But therewithall incontinently after, Flaceus fouldiers leaving their goodly popular oath which they had fworne in Germanics thename of the people and Senate, they all then took their othes faithfully to do what it should but use of please the Emperour Vitellius to command them. Thus Vitellius was chosen Emperour in Gen-Vitellius MANIE. So Galba hearing of this new change, thought it not good to deferre time longer for named Emthe adoption he had intended: wherefore certainely voderstanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with Dolabella, and the most part of them with otho, neither liking the one nor the other, fodainly without any word spoken to any man, he fent for Pife (that was the yonger fonne of Crassius and Pife, whom Nere had put to death) a yong man faire conditioned, and shewed by his grave and modest countenance he had by vertue, that he was indued with many noble vertues. Galba came downe presently from Galbaadob. his pallace, and went straight to the campe to proclaime Pifo Cafar, and his successor in the Em- ted Pifohis pire. Howbeit at his fetting out of his pallace, there appeared many great fignes in the firmament which followed him. And moreouer, when he was also come into his campe, and that he began to fay without book part of his oration, and partly also to reade it, it lightned al the while hespake, and there fell such a great shower of raine upon it, and a maruellous thicke mist in the campe, and ouer all the citic, that men might eafily fee the gods did not like this adoption, and that it wold not profper. The fouldiers themfelues shewed their discontentment by their heavy lookes, and the rather, because at that time there was no speech of reward or liberalitie. And furthermore, they that were present also maruelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of Pife) that Pife nothing reloyced at this great fauour, although he lacked not wit and understanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found cally by others lookes, many fignes and proofes that he was maruelloufly offended in his mind, tolee that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of, and thought most worthie of all other, and being come also so neare vnto it, now to see himselfe thus whipped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that Galba had no good opinion of

VVVV 3

Prolemies prediction Empire.

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Otho recei. ued of the fouldiers.

him, & that he maliced him in his heart, fo that after that time he still stood in seare of his life. For he being afraid of Pifo, hating also Galba, and being grieuously offended with T. Iunius, he went his way full of divers thoughts in his mind. But the Soothfayers, Astronomers, and Chaldeans. which heeuer kept about him, did perswade him not to be discouraged for this, nor to cast all hope afide : and specially one Ptolomy, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before foretold and affured him, that Nero should not put him to death, but contrarily, that Were should die first, & he himself survive him, & should become Emperor of Rome. Whereby Ptolomy having proved his first prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, and feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained vnto him, did prickhim forward the more, fighing to see him so enill dealt with by Galba, and divers of them chiefly, which bare great authoritie and credit about Tigellinus & Nymphidius; who being then cast off, and discountenanced, came all vnto him, and stirred him vp the more. As amongst others, Veturius and Bar-Tefferarine, bins chiefly, of the which the one had bene Optio, & the other Tefferarins; (for fo the Romaines call those that be their messengers, spials, and officers to the captaines) who with an infranchised bondman of his called Onomastus, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted some soldiers with readie monie, and other some with faire words, being of themselves evill inclined, and expected but occasion to otter their malice. For other wise had the foldiers bin all of one mind, it had not binan enterprise to haue bin brought to passe in foure dayes space (being no more betwist the adoption and murther) to make a whole camp rebel in that fort. For they were flain y fificenth day of Ianuary, on which day Galba did facrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his friends. But at that time the Soothfayer called Ombricius, whe he had the intrails of the beafts faof Ombries crificed in his hands, and had looked vpon them, he spake not doubtfully but plainly, that he saw fignes of great tumult and rebellion, & that the Emperor was in present danger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the gods had put Galba into Othors hands for he flood at that time behind Galba, and both heard and faw all that the Sooth fayers did. So he seeming to be grieued withall in his mind, and his colour changing off for the feare he was in, his infranchifed bondman Onomastus came and told him, that the majons and chiefe carpenters were come to speake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch-word agreed vpon betweene them, at which time Otho shold then go vnto the soldiers. Then Otho faid, that he went to looke to an old house he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would shew it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call Tiberius house, into the market place, where the golde pillar standeth, where also the greatest high waies of all ITALY do meete together. There certaine met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all about three and twentie persons. Thereupon, though Otho was not viconstant, as it appeared (notwithstanding he was so fine and effeminate a man) but rather resolute and four in instant danger : yet feare so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterprise. Howbeit the soldiers would not suffer him, but compassing his litter round about with their armes, and their fwords drawne in their hands, they commanded the litter mentogo forward. So Othoas he went hastening on his drivers, he often muttered to himselfe, Iam but dead. Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwise troubled, to see such a small number of men about him, that they durst venter vpon so hard an enterprise. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by foure in a company: all which came and ioy. ned with him, and cryed Cafar, Cafar, hauing their fwords drawne in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to guard the field of Mars, knew nothing of this conspiracie, but being amazed and atraid with their fodaine coming, he suffered them to come in. So when otho was comein, he foud no man that refifted him. For they that knew nothing of the practife, being compatfed in with those that were made priny to it, & had knowne it of long time, being found stragling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the rest for scare at the first, & afterwards for good will. This was brought ftraight to Galba to the pallace, the Soothfayer being yet bufic about this facrifice:infomuch that they which before gaue no credite to those divinations, began then to maruell much at this heavenly figne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Thereupon Innius and Lacon, and certaine other of Galbaes infranchised bondmen, stood to guard Galbaes person with their swords drawne in their hands. Pifo also went out to speake vnto the soldiers that guarded the Emperors person.

Morcouer, because the ILLYRIAN legio lay out of the camp in a place called Vipsanus, they dispatched away Marius Celsus with al speed, a very honest man to get that place. Galba in the mean time flood in doubt whether he should come out of the pallace or not for Iunius would not let him go, but Celfus and Lacon perswaded him to go out infomuch as they fell at great words with Junius that went about to diffwade him from it. In this stirre there ranne a rumor that Othowas flaine in the field. Immediatly after came Iulius Atticius, one of the noblest men of all the Emperours guard, and shewed his sword drawne, crying that he had flaine Cafars enemie; and thrust through the prease, and got to Galba, and shewed him his sword bloudied. Galba looking him in the face asked him who comanded him to do it. The foldier answered him the faith and oath he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that stood by cried out, it was nobly done of him. and clapped their hands for ioy. Then Galba taking his litter, went out of his pallace to do facrificeto Iuviter, and also to shew himself openly. Howbeit he was no sooner come into the market place, but he heard contrary newes, that Otho was Lord and mafter of the whole camp & army. Then as it happeneth in so great a prease of people, some cried out to him to returne back again, ramult for others would have him to go forward: others bad him be afraid of nothing, & others willed him Galba. to looke to himself. So his litter being thus turmoiled to and fro, as tost vpon the sea, sometime borne back, otherwhile caried forward, first of all they saw certain horsmen, and then sootmen alfoarmed coming from Paules pallace, al of them together crying out with loud voice. Hence, hence, primate man. Then all the people fet vpon a running, not flying difperfedly, but in heapes, vpon porches and stals in the market place, as it had bin to have seene some fight or sport. Then one called Attilius Sarcello, ouerthrew one of the images of Galba, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others round about threw darts on enery fide of him against his litter. But doth call when they faw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his litter with their fwords him Pirgi. drawne in their hands, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, fauing one man onely, whom the Sunne saw that day, amongst so many thousands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called * Sempronius. He having received privately no manner of pleasure at Galbaes hand, but onely to discharge his oath and dutie, stepped before the litter, and Tasius lifting up a vine branch he had in his hand (with the which the ROMAINE Captaines do vieto him Denbeate their foldiers that have offended) he fell out with them that did fet vpon him, and prayed (11.2) them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he faw they Therate. would not leave, but that they fell to it in good earnest, he then drew his sword, and bare off the blowes as well as he could vntill they hought him, that he fel to the ground. Then Galbaes litter Surpromiss being overthrowne right in the place called Curtius lake, Galba lay on the ground armed in his indistinguishers curaces. The traiterous fouldiers flew vpon him, and gaue him many a wound: and Galba holding out his necke vnto them, bade them strike hardily, if it were to do their countrey good, So perons Gali he had many wounds on his armes and his thighs; as it is reported; howbeit the foldier that flue the death him was called Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Others do report that it was one Terentius, of semproother also say Areadius; and some other do call him Fabius Fabulus; who having stricken off his head, wrapped it in the lap of his gowne, because he could not otherwise take hold of it, for that of Galbai he was all bald. How beit his fellowes & conforts would not fuffer him to hide it, but rather that and his his notable fact he had done should be seene. Therefore he set it vpon the point of his lance, and lo shaking the face of this poore old man, (a wife and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bishop, and Confull) he ranne vp and downe (like mad women possessed with the spirit and furie of Bacchus at the feasts of Bacchus) bowing down his launce being all of a goare bloud. When his head was brought to othe, it is faid he cried out aloud: Tush, my fellowes, this is nothing, vnlesse you bring me also Pisos head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * Marcus, who flue him hard by the temple of * other to Vefta. So did they also kill Titus Junius: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracy sade Muragainst Galba, and cried out to them that flue him, that Otho did not know that they did kill him. The more This notwithstanding, the soldiers strake off his head and Lacons also, and brought them both the of Pie. to Otho to receive the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet Archilochus saith: Of seuen peraduenture saine dead on the ground,

A thousand will say, that they all caue the wound.

So there was diuerse men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had bloudied all their hands and swords, and so shewed them bloudied to have reward also: but Vitellus not-VVVV 4

into the field also, one Marius Celsus, whom divers men accused to have perswaded the souldi-

ers to aide Galba, and the common people cried out, and bade he should be put to death. Howbeit Otho would not suffer them to kill him : and yet being afraid to contrary the souldiers minds, he told them they should not kill him so rashly, because he was first to learne some things more of him. So he commanded them to bind him, and deliuered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Afterwards the Senate was presently assembled: who, as if men had bene sodainly changed from them they were, or as if there had bene new gods, they all sware by the name of other (the which oath he himselse had before sworne vnto Galba, and did not keepe it) and called him besides, Angustus & Casar; the bodies of them that were slaine lying yet headlesse on the ground

in the market place, all in their Confuls robes. And as for their heads, the fouldiers after they

could tell no more what to do with them, they fold the head of Titus Iunius vnto his daughter. for the summe of two thousand fine hundred Drachmaes. And for Pifees head, his wifethrough

intreatic begged it of one Veranius. On the other fide, for Galbaes head, they gaue it vnto Patro-

bius and Vitellius feruants: who, after they had vied it as vilely as they should deuise, they threwir at length in a place where their bodies are cast, who the Casars put to death, the which they call Sestertium. Now for his bodie Heluidius Priseus, through Othoes sufferance, caried it away, and Argins, one of his infranchised bondmen, buried it by night. Thus haue you heard the historie of Galba, a manthat in nobilitie and wealth, was inferior to few Romaines, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, & had alway lived in honorable fame and estimation, in the reigne of fiue Emperours. So that he ouercame Nero by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him, and not through his owne force and power. For of them that stroug to make themselues Emperours at that time, some found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth the selues, as thinking themselues worthy of it. Howbeit Galba was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vfing his name against Vindex boldnes: whereby he procured,

that his rifing (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civil warre,

after that his faction came to have a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperor.

And therefore he did not so much desire to be Emperor for himselfe, as to do good to his coun-

trey and common-wealth. But yet he erred, in feeking to command the fouldiers, whom Tigel-

linus and Nymphidius had spoiled by their flatteries: euen as in old time Scipie, Fabricius, and Ca-

millus did command the fouldiers of the Empire of Rome at that time. So he being now avery

old man, shewed himselfea good Emperour and after the old fort, in his behauiour towards the

fouldiers only; but in all other things else, being caried away with the couetousnesses of Ti-

tus Iunius and Laco, and of other his infranchised bondmen, he left none

desirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were

The Senate (ware by

Otho.

eitizens.

beads fold at Rome.

THE LIFE OF Otho.

HE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the other me-Capitoll, and facrificed, and there fent for Marius Celfus to come vnto deration at him, whom he courteously saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the the begincause of his imprisonment, then to remember his deliuerie. Marius reigns. Celfus made him a wife and noble answer againe, and said, that the matter for the which they would have accused him vnto him, did witnesse his behauiour, shewing himselfe faithfull vnto Galba, who never did him any pleasure. These words of them both did maruellously please

the people: and so did they like the souldiers also wonderfully well. Moreouer, after he had very fauourably & gracioully taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Conful, he employed partly about Verginius Rusus, and did also establish them Consuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by Nero, or otherwise by Galba: and he also honoured the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation, with certaine priesthoods. Besides all this, herestored vnto all those Senators that were banished by Nero and called home againe, all their goods yet vnfold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrates and Noblemen of the citie that quaked before for feare, supposing that he was not aman, but rather a diuell or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour, they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling & gracious reigne they were so lately entred into. Moreouer, nothing pleased all the Romaine's together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men for much, as that he did vnto Tigellinus: for it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the punishment every man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the Noblemen thought his vnreasonable insolencie and lust of the flesh (following naughtie-packs and common ftrumpets, burning still in filthie concupiscence) an extreme punishment, comparable to many deaths; and being also no better then a dead man in a manner, fill following pleafure and sensualitie as long as he could : this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they should see such a wicked creature as he live, that had put so manie noblemen to death. So otho fent for him, who lived very pleasantly at his houses in the countrey, by the citie of SINVESSA, and had ships ever readie vpon the seacoast, to flic if necefficie draue him to it. Thereupon he first sought to bribe him with money which was sent with commission to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him escape; but when he saw he

forie for his death. The end of Galbaes life.

THE



Tumultagainst the Preterian

The death

Othnes libe-

could not frame him to his mind, yet he refrained not to give him gifts, and praied him to give him leaueto shaue his beard. The other granted him. Then Tigellinus tooke a razor, and did cut his ownethroate. So Otho having pleased the people thus well, he sought not otherwise to be reuenged of his prinate iniuries. Moreouer, to currie fauour with the common people, he refufed not to be called Nero, in any open affemblies at the Theaters. Also when certaine private men had set vp Neroes images in open fight, otho was not offended withall: but moreouer, Clodius Rufus writeth, that the letters patents & commissions were sent into Spaine by posts, subfcribing the goodly name of Nero, with the name of otho. Howbeit; when it came to his eares that the noblemen of Rome misliked of it, he left it off, and would write it no more in his letters. So Otho having begun in this fort to establish his Empire, the soldiers maruellously troubled him. For they continually perswaded him to take heed to himself, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neare vnto him: which they did, either for that indeed they bearing him good will, were afraid fome treacherie or treafon should be secretly practifed against him; or els it was some seined deuice to set all together by the cares, and to bring it to civill war. For when Otho himselfe had sent Crispinus with his seuenteenth legion to bring him certaine prisoners, and that Crispinus was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commission, having loden carts with armour and weapon for the fouldiers: the desperatest and bouldest men among them, began to crie out, and faid, that Crispinus meant no good in his heart, and that the Senate went about to make some change and stirre, and that his armour and weapons were not for Cafar, but against him. These words moued many mens consciences, and made them to rebell: so that some laid hold vpon the carts to stay them, others slue two Centurions out of hand, and Crifpinus himselfalso that would have staied them. Thereupon all of them together, one enconraging another, went directly to Rome, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, vnderstanding that there were foure score Senators at supper with the Emperour, they ranne straight to the pallace, crying out, that it was a good occasion offered them to kil all Casars enemies at a clap. Hercupon all Rome was straight in armes, looking immediatly after to be facked and spoiled of all that cuer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, otho himselfe also being in great feare and distresse. For men might easily see he was afraid, because of his guests he had bidden, not for himselfe, seeing them all amazed with the matter, for feare not speaking a word vnto him, but staring on him still, and specially thosethat came and brought their wives with them to supper. So othe fodainly fent the Captaines vnto the fouldiers, and commanded them to speake with them, and to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the boord, and conueyed his guests out of his pallace by secret posternes. So they saued themselues, passing through the souldiers, a little before they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of Cefars enemies. So the Emperour rifing from his bed, he pacified them with gentle words, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberally bestowed vpon enery fouldier a thousand two hundred and fiftie Drachmaes; and then he went into the market place, and there gaue great commendation vnto the common people for their readie good wils they shewed vnto him: howbeit, he said there were some among them, that vnder colour and pretext of honestie, did commit many leud parts, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be cuill spoken of, and their constancie and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offenders might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him aloud he should do it. So otho thereupon caused two of them onely to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatly offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loued and trusted him, maruelled much to fee this change. Other were of opinion, that it flood him vpon fo to do, to winne the fouldiers hearts, because of the warreat hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all parts, that Vitellius hadtaken vpon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and posts came to him one in anothers necke, to tel him that numbers of people came in daily to submit theselues vnto Vitellius. Others told him also, how the legions remaining in PANNONIA, DALMATIA, and Mysia, had chosen othe. Immediatly after, friendly letters were brought him also from Mutianus and Vespasianus, the one of them being in Syria, and the other in Iv D. E.A., with great and mightie armies. Whereupon osbogiuing credite vnto them, wrote vnto Vitellius, and bad him beware how he medled with any deeper enterprise then became a prinate souldier; and

that he would give him gold and filuer enough, and a great citie, where he might live quietly, and take his pleafure. Vitellius gently answered him at the first, and sported with him but afterwards the falling out one with another, spitefull letters were fent betwixt either parties, one of them reproching another not fafly, but fondly, & foolishly detecting each others vices. For indeed it was hard to judge, which of them two was most licentiously given, most effeminate, least skilfull, poorer, or most indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderful signes that had bene feene: how beit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to inflifie them. But in the Capitol there was the image of Victory fet vp in a triumphing chariot, the which every body and Viellifaw did let flacke the reines of the bridles of the horfes which she had in her hands, as though she could not flay them any more. The flatue of Cains Cafar also within y Iland, which flandeth in wonders themiddest of the river of Tyber at Rome, without any earthquake or storme of wind, turned Jeene at ofit felf frő the West to the East: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that Vespasubegan to take upon him to be Emperour. Many also tooke the ouerslowing of the river of Tyber for an ill figne. For indeed it was at that time of the yeare when rivers do fwell most, yet Thewm? was inneuer fo great before, neither had it ever done fo much hurt as it did at that time. For it had derfulouerouerflowne her bankes, and drowned the most part of the city, and specially the corne-market: the river of informuch that they fuffered famine many daies after in Rome. In all this stirre newes came that Tyber. Cuinna and Valens (two of Vitellius captains) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes; and moreover in Rom E. Dolabella a noble man, was suspected by the Prætorian souldiers, that he practised sometreason. Now other, either because he was afraid of him, or of some other, he sent him to thecity AQVINVM, promifing him he should have no other hurt. Then choosing the choisest Gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke Lucius, the brother of Vitellimand did not deprive him of any lote of his honor and dignitic. Moreover, he was very care fullto fee his wife and mother fafe, that they should not be afraid of themselves. Besides all this, heappointed Flauius Sabinus, Vefpasians brother, gouernor of Rome in his absence; and did it for Nerves fake, who had before given him the fame honor and authority, the which Galba had taken from him: or els to make Vespasian see, that he loued & trusted him. So he taried behind at BR B s-SELLE, a city standing upon the river of Po:and sent his army before under the conduct of Marius Cellus, of Swetonius Paulinus, and of Gallus and Spurina, all noble and great personages: howbeitthey could not have their wils to rule the armic as they would because of the insolency and flubburnnesse of the fouldiers, who would have no other Captaines but the Emperour onely, The field laying, that he and none other should command them. Indeed, the enemies souldiers also were wardings not much wifer, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were braue and lustie vpon the selffame occasion; how beit they had this advantage over the other, that they could tel how to fight, fould ter and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardneffe, and neuer frunke from it: whereas the Prætorian fouldiers that came from Rome, were fine meale-mouthed men, because they had benelong from the warres, and had liued at ease in Rome, and taken their pleasure in banqueting and playes: and therfore in a brauerie and iolitie, they would needs hauemen thinke, that they disdained to do what their Captaines commanded them, as men that were too good to do ir, & not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that, when Spuring would have compelled them, he was in danger of death, & escaped very narrowly that they flue him not. For they stucke not to reuile him, and give him as foule words as they could, calling him traitor, & curfing him, faying that he marred all Cafars affaires. Yea, and there were fome of them, that having their full cups, went in the night to his tent, to aske him leave to depart, faying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flour they had given them by their enemies about that time, hard by the citie of Place ENTIA, did Flacenting fland Spurina and his affaires to great purpose. For Vitellius souldiers coming hard to the wals the services of the citie, did mocke Othors men that were at the cranewes of the fame, and called them fine training dancers and goodly stage-players, that had seene nothing but playes and feasts: and that for feates of armes, and battels, they knew not what it meant: and that the greatest act they ever did, was that they strake off the head of a poore naked old man, meaning by Galba: and that to come to fight a battell in the field before men, their heartes were in their heeles. These vile words galled them to the heart, and made them so mad withall, that they came of themselucs to pray Spurina to command them what he thought good, promifing that from thenceforth they would neuer refuse any paines or danger he would put them to. Thereupon there was

dispraise of Vseellins Captaines.

Paulinus.

Ochoes cap-

a hote affault given to the citic of PLACENTIA, with great store of fundrie engines. Howbeir Spurinaes men had the better, and having with great flaughter repulsed the affailants, they faued The prife of one of the goodlieft, the greatest, and most flourishing cities of all ITALIE. So Othors Can-The prije of cape taines were farre more familiar, curteous, and civil to deale with cities and private men, then Vitellius souldiers were. For, of Vitellius Captaines, Cecinna was neither for person nor manners accompaniable for the people, but strange, monstrous, and troublesome, to see him only a mightie made man, wearing gally gascoignes, and coates with sleeues, after the fashio of the GAVLES.& fpake in this attire vnto the enligne-bearers and Captaines of the Romaines. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted on horsebacke, gallantly apparelled, & accompa nied with a troupe of the choisest men of armes of al the companies. The other, Fabius Valens, he was so couetous, that no spoile of enemies, no polling of subjects, nor bribes taken of their frieds and confederates, could quench or fatisfie his vnfatiable couetoufneffe: whereby it feemeth that was the let, that coming on fo flowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame Cecima for it, that made too much haft, for the defire he had to have the only honour of thevi-Ctory to himselse: and this was the cause, that besides his other light faults, he also made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and season, and when it came to the point indeed, yet he fought it not out valiantly, so that he had almost cast all away: For when he had the repulse fro Placen-TIA, he went vnto CREMONA another great citie. And Annius Gallus going to aide Spurina, who was befieged in the citie of PLACENTIA, when he heard by the way that the PLACENTINES had the better, and that the CREMONEN'S ES were in great danger and diffresse, he marched thither with his armie, and went and camped hard by the enemics. After that also, theother Captaines of either side came to aide their men. Howbeit Cecinna hauing laied a great number of his best fouldiers well armed in ambush, in certaine thicke groues and woods, he commanded his horsemento march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retire litle and litte, making as though they fled, vntill they had drawne them within his am bush. So there were certainetraitors that bewrayed the ambush vnto Marius Celsus, who came against them with his choice men of armes, and did not follow them ouer rashly, but compassed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, & in the meane time sent to his campe with all possible speed to his footmen to make hast thitherward; and it seemeth, that if they had come in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched upon the bellies of all Cicinnaes armie, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should have done. But Paulinus being come too late to aide them, for that he came fo flowly, he was burdened that he did not the dutie of a Captaine that bare the name and countenance he caried. Furthermore, the common soldiers accused him of treason vnto Otho, and stirred vp their Emperour against him, & spake very big words of themselues, saying, that they had ouercome for their owne parts, had not the cowardlinesse of their owne Captaines bene, who put them by the victorie. So othodid not trust him so much, that he would not make him beleeue but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother Titianus to the camp, and Proclus with him, Captain of the Prætorian guard, who indeed commanded all but in fight, Titianus had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenant. Marins Celsus and Paulinus followed after, bearing the name of Counfellers and friends onely:howbeit otherwise they medled with nothing, neither had any authoritie giuen them. On the other fide, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially whom Valens led. For when newes was brought of the coffict that was between them in this ambush, they were angrie with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were flaine: infomuch that he had much ado to pacific and quiet the, they were for eadie to have flowne vpon him. So Valens at length removed his campe, and went and loyned with Cecinna. Howbeit Otho being come to his camp at the towne of Ba-BRIACYM, which is a litle towne hard by CREMONA, he consulted with his Captaines whether he should give battell or not. So Proclus and Titianus: gave him counsell to fight, considering that the fouldiers were very willing to it, by reason of the late victorie they had wonne, and wished him not to deferre it: for thereby he should but discourage his armie, which was now willing to fight, and also give their enemies leysure to stay for their Chiefetaine Vitellius, who came himselfe out of GAVLE. But Paulinus in contrarie manner alledged, that the encenies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas otho looked for another armie out

OTHO.

Esbriacum a towne by Cremona. (ultation of giuing bat .

of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an army as his enemies had already, fothat he could rary his time, and not ferue his enemies turne and also, that if the fouldiers being now but a few in numher were willing to fight, they should then be much more encouraged, when they should have greater company, and should also fight with better safety. Furthermore he perswaded the, that to delay time was for their auaile, confidering that they had plenty & ftore of all maner of prouisson where the enemics on the other side, being also in their enemies countrey, their victuals would quickly faile them. Marius Celfus liked very well of these perswasions; and so did Annius Gallus, who was not present at this councell (but gone from the camp, to be cured of a fal he had from his horse) but he was written to by Otho to have his opinion also. So Annius Gallus returned answer, that he thought it not best to make haste, but to stay for the army that came out of Mysta, confidering they were onwards on their way. Howbeit Otho would not hearken to this counfell, but followed their minds that concluded of battell: for the which were alledged di-uerse occasions. Butthe chiefest and likeliest cause was that the souldiers which are called the Prætorian guard (being the daily guard about the Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to professe to be a souldier, and to live like a souldier, they lamented their continu- FAB 1941 ing in Rome, where they lived at case and pleasure, feasting and banqueting, never feeling the terfouldidiffeommodities and bitter paines of war; and did therfore so earnestly cry out to fight, that there was no staying of them, as if they should at their first cry & setting forward, haue ouerthrowne same tipe at their enemies. Moreouer, it feemed also that othe himself could no more away with the feare & ling the doubt of the vncertaine fucceffe to come, neither could any longer abide the grieuous thoughts paints and of the danger of his eftate, he was fo effeminate, and vnacquainted with forow and paines. This frant of a was the cause that caried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and fo to put al at aduenture. The matter is thus reported by Secundus the Orator, & Othoes Secundus Secretary. Others also do report, that both armies had diverse determinations and minds: as to the Orator. ione all together in one campe, and iontly to chuse among them, if they could agree, the worthick man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a the Enga. place together, and there to suffer the Senators to chuse such a one Emperour, as they liked best tour. of. And fure it is very likely it was so, confidering that neither of the both which were then called Emperors, was thought meet for the place they had and therefore that these counsels & considerations might easily fall into the Romain B fouldiers heads (who were wise men and expert fouldiers,) that indeed it was a thing for them iustly to missible, to bring themselves into the like miscrable time and calamitie, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to fuffer: first for Sylla and Marius sakes, and afterwards for Casar and Pompey; and now to bestow the Visellius a Empire of Rome either vpon Vitellius, to make him the abler to follow his drunkennes & glut- drunkend tonic:or else vpon othe, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moued Celfus to delay time, hoping to end the wars without trouble & danger: and that caused Otho Otho Otho tomake the more haft, being afraid of the same. How beit othe returning backe again into BRES-SELLES, he committed another fault, not only because he tooke his mens goodwils from them "" to fight, the which his presence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but be- The towns causealso he cariedaway with him for the guard of his person, the valiantest souldiers and most resolute me of al his host. About that time there chanced a skirmish to fal out by the river of Po, the river of because Cecinna built a bridge ouer it, & Othoes men did what they could to hinder them. How. Po. beit when they faw they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and dry wood. all rubbed oner with brimftone and pitch, and fetting them on fire, they fent them downe the freame. When the barges were in the middest of the streame, there suddenly grose a winde out of the river, which blew upon this wood-stacke they had prepared to cast among the enemics workes of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediatly after fell all on a slame; which did fo trouble the men in the barges, that they were driven to leape into the river to fave themfelues: and fo they loft their barges, and became themfelues alfo prifoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the Germains vnder Vitellius, fighting with Othors fencers, which of them should win a litle Iland in the middest of the river, they had the Vpper hand, and flue many of the fencers. Thereupon Othoes fouldiers which were in BEBRIA. cym, being in a rage withall, and would needs fight, Proclus brought them into the field, and went and camped about fiftie furlongs out of the city, fo fondly, and to fo litle purpole, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the countrey thereabout full of brookes and rivers, yet they

Battel be-

Orbanians

mourer. Helper.

notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the same day, and were driven to march above an hundred furlongs. Now Paulinus perfwaded them to go faire and foftly, and not to make more hast then needed; and would not so foone as they should come (being wearied with their iourney and trauell) set vpon their enemies that were wel armed, & besides had leisure & time inough to settheir men in battell ray, whilest they were coming fo long a journey with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of diuerse opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from Otho, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which Otho commanded them to make all the haft they could, and to lose no time, but to march with all speed towards the enemie. So when the letters were read, the Captaines presently marched forward with their army. Cecinna vnderstanding of their coming, was astonicd at the first; and suddenly for sooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he found the most part of his souldiers ready armed, and Valens had given them their fignall and word of battell. And in the meane time, whilest the legions were taking their places to set themselues in battell ray, they sent out before, the choisest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cause) that Vitellius Captaines would turne on Othoes side in battell, insomuch that when these men of armes came neare to meet with the voward of Othoes army, Othoes men did speake very gently to them, and called them companions. Vitellius men on the other fide tooke this falutation in cuill part, and answered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight: Insomuch that those which had spoken to them, were quite discouraged; and the residue also began to fuspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to joyne battel. Furthermore, on the enemies fide alfo, all was out of order for the beaft's of cariage ran in attongft them that fought, and fo did put them maruellously out of order. Besides that also, the disaduantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to difperse one from another, because of fundry ditches & trenches that were betweene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diverse companies together. So there were but two legions only, the one of Vitellius, called the Deuourer: & the other of Otho, called the Helper: which getting out of these holes & dirches apart by themselues, in a good plaine euen ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battell. othree soldiers were men of goodly personages, strong & valiant of their hands, how beit they had troixt the neuer served in the warres, nor had ever foughten battel but that. And Vitellius men on the other and Vitelfide, were old beaten foldiers, & had ferued all their youth, & knew what wars & battels meant. So when they came to ioyne, Othoes men gaue fucha lufty charge vpon the first onset, that they led by prety ouerthrew, & flue all the first ranke, and also wan the ensigne of the Eagle. Vitellius men were so names, De. ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke heart againe vnto them, and ran in so desperately vpon their enemies, that at the first they slue the Colonell of all their legion, & wan diuerse ensignes. And furthermore, against others fencers (which were accounted the valiantest antnesse of men, and readiest of hand) Varus Alphenus brought his men of armes called the BATTAVII, the Batta. uÿ in wars. which are Germaines in the lower part of Germanie, dwelling in an Iland compassed about Note the with the river of Rhene. There were few of his fencers that stucke by it, but the most of them ran trim feruice of fen away towards the river, where they found certaine enfignes of their enemies fet in battell ray, cers, and who put them all to the sword, and not a man of them scaped with life. But about all other, none mhat foul proued more beafts & cowards, then the Prætorian guard. For they would not tary till the encdiersthey mics came to give them charge, but cowardly turned their backes, and fled through their owne The Otho men that were not ouerthrowne; and so did both disorder them, and also make them afraid. This nians ouer_ notwithstanding, there were a great number of others men who having overthrown the voward tell by the of those that made head against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were con-Vitellians. querours, and so valiantly returned backe into their campe. But of their Captaines, neither Pro-The coclus nor Paulinus durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being afraid of the fury of waraline ffe of the freshthe foldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbewater foul. it Annius Gallus received them into the city of Berlacym, that came together after this over-Marius Cel. throw, and told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had fus Oration had the better of their enemies. But Marius Celfus gathering the noble men & gentlementogeto Othoes ther that had charge in the army, he fel to coultation what they should do in so great a calamity, fouldiers perswading and extreme flaughter of the ROMAINE citizens. For if othe himselfe were an honest man, he should no more attempt Fortune confidering that Cato and Scipio were both greatly blamed for that they were the cause of casting away of many men in AFRICKE to no purpose (though they fought for the liberty of the Romaines) and only of felf-will, for that they would not yeeld to Telius Cefar after he had won the battel of PHARSALIA. For though Fortune in all other things hane power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, the cannot preuent them to determine the best for their safety. These perswassons straight caried away y Captains, who went presently to feele the minds of the private soldiers, whom they found all of them desirous of peace. So Titianus perswaded them to fend Ambassadours vnto the enemies to treate of peace; and Celsus and Gallus tooke vpon them the charge to go thither, to breake the matter vnto Ceinna and Valens. But by the way they met with certaine Centurions, who told them how all greld them. the army of the enemies were coming onwards on their way, to come directly to the city of B a-BRIACVM, and that their Chieftaines had fent before to offer treatic of peace. Celsus & his companion Gallus being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would return e with them vnto Cecinna. But when they were come neare vnto him, Celfus was in great danger of his life: beconferhe men of armes which he had ouerthrowne certaine dayes before in an ambufh, coming before, when they fpied him, they flew vpon him with great shouts. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his company, stepped before him, and closed him in and so did the other Captaines hat cried vnto them they should do him no hurt. Cecima vnderstanding what the matter was, rode thither, and pacified the tumult of these men of armes; and then saluting Gelsus very courreoully, he went with him towards Bebriacym. But now Titianus in the meane time, repenting himfelf that he had fent Ambaffadors vnto the enemies, he placed the desperatest souldiers hehad vpon the wals of the citie, and incouraged the rest also to do the like, and to stand to the defence. But Cecinna came to the wall, and being on horse-backe, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more refistance, but those that were vpon the wals, saluted the fouldiers; and they that were within the city opened the gates, and thrust in among & Vitellius men, who receiredthem, and didno man any hurt, but courteoufly imbraced them, and faluted each other. Then they all sware and tooke their oaths to be true to Vitellius, and so yeelded themselves vnto him. So do the most part of those that were at this battell, report the successe thereof: granting notwithstanding, that they knew not every thing that was done, because of the great disorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was striken, with file but Metrius Florus that had bene Confull, he shewed me an old man that when the field was fought tell know inthat place, was yong & against his will was at the same battel on Othoes part. Who told vs, that after the battel was fought, he came into the field to furuey the number of those that were dead: are done at and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of those that came to view them. the battell, And faid moreouer, that he made inquirie of the matter, but he neither could imagine it himfelse, nor be satisfied by others. Now indeed it is likely, that in civill wars betweene countrimen of one selfe city, where one of the two armies is overthrown, that there shold be greater slaughteramong them, then against the other enemies, because they take no prisoners of either side: forthose they should take, would serue them to no good purpose. But after they were slaine, one to be layed on heapes fo by another, that is a hard thing to indge. But now to the matter. The news of this ouerthrow came first but obscurely vpon othe, a common thing in a matter of fo great importance: but afterwards, when some that were hurt came and brought him certaine newes of it, it was no maruell then to fee others friends & familiars to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheare, and not to be discouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the private fouldiers shewed vnto him at that time, did passe and ex- The great ceedall speech and expectation. For they for sooke him not, neither went they to submit them. schlies to their enemies the conquerors, neither tooke they any regard of themselves, to see their the found Emperor in that despaires but all of them iountly together went vnto his lodging, and called him the Empe. their Emperor. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men represented in a triumph lying on the ground, & kissed his hands, with the teares running down their cheekes, and befought him notto for sake and leaue them to their enemies, but to command their persons whilest they had one drop of bloud left in their bodies to do him seruice. All of them together The won. made this petition to him. But amongst others, there was a poore foldier drawing out his sword, derfull faid vnto him: Know, ô Cafar, that all my companions are determined to die in this fort for thec, and vitto nim: Know, o Cofar, that all my companions are determined to die in this fort for thee, of a sould. & so slue himself. But all these lamentable things did neuer meh Othoes heart, who looking with er of othors,

The noble courage of Otho before his death. and his Othe foldiers.

The Embe-

tor Othecs

words to

a flour countenance round about him, and casting his eyes every where, spake vnto them in this maner. I think this a more happy day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you first chose me Emperor: to see you loue me so well, and do me such honor, with so great shew of loyalty. But yet I beseech you notto deny me of a greater fauour, which is: To die valiantly and honorably, for the safety of so many honest men as you be, and so good citizens of Rome. It by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperial crowne, I must now needs shew my selfe an Emperour, not sparing to spend my life for your and my countries safety. Iameertaine that the victorie is not altogether mine enemies. For newes are come vnto me, that our armies of Mysia and Pannonia are in their way coming to vs, and that they are not farre off from the Adriaticke sea. Asia, Syria, and Ægyer, & the legions that made warre with Ivry are all ours. The Senate taketh our part, and our enemies wives and children be in our hands. But this warre is not against Hannibal, nor Pyrrus, nor against the CIMBRES, to fight who should be owners of ITALIE: but it is against the ROMAINES themselves. For in this civill war, both the conquerour and vanquished do offend their countrey: for where the conquerours haue benefit, the countrey and commonwealth alwaies receiueth losse. Assure your selucs I had rather die then reigne Emperor: considering also that my life with victorie cannot so much benefite the Romain es, as the facrifice of the fame may do my countrey good, for the peace and quietnesse of my countrimen, keeping ITALIE thereby from seeing such another battellas this hath benc. So when he had made this oration vnto them, and put those by, that would have perfwaded him the contrary: he commanded all the Senatours and his friends that were prefent, to avoid. Then he wrote letters to them that were absent, and also vnto the cities wherethrough they passed, to vie them very courteously, and to see them safely conveyed. Then came his nephew Cocceius to him, who was yet but a young boy, and he did comfort him, and bad him not be afraid of Vitellius, for he had fafely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as carefull of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his sonne though he was defirous to doit, vntill fuch time as he faw the end of this warre: to the end that if he ouercame, he should quietly reigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouercome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cause of his death. But this one thing onely I command and charge thee, my fonne, euen as the last commandement that I can give thee that thou do not forget altogether, neither ouer-much remember, that thine Vncle hath bin Emperor. When he had told him this tale, he heard a noise at his doore: they were the fouldiers that threamed the Senators which came from him and would kill them, if they did not remaine with him, but would for fake their Emperor. Vpouthis occasion he came out once againe among them, being afraid leaft the fouldiers would do the Senators fome hurt, and made the foldiers give backe, not by intreating of them, nor speaking courteously to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage:infomuch that they all shrunke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was athirst, and dranke a little water: and having two swords, he was proving a great while which had the best edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his feruants, & liberally to give out his mony among them, to some more, to some lesse, not prodigally throwing it away without discretion, as being another mans mony: but discreetly gaue to enery man according to his desert. Then, after he had dispatched them away, he laid him downe to fleepe all the rest of the night, and the groomes of his chamber heard him fnort, he flept fo foundly. In the morning he called one of his enfranchifed bondmen, whom he had commanded to helpe to faue the Schators, and fent him to fee if they were all fafe, and gone. So when he understood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: Come on, said he then vnto him, looke to thy felfe I reade thee, and take heed the souldiers see thee not, if thou wilt scape with life, for sure they will kill thee, thinking thou hast holpen me to kill my self. So, assoone as his enfranchised bondman was gone out of his chamber, he took his fword with both his hands, and setting the point of it to his breast, he fell down vponit, seeming to feele no other paine, fauing that he fetched a figh: whereby they that were without knew that he had done himselse hurt. Thereupon his friends made straight an out-cry, & all the campe and city was incontinently full of teares and lamentation. The fouldiers suddenly ranne with a great noise to his gates, where they bitterly bewailed, and lamented his death, falling out with themsclues that they were such villaines so slenderly to have guarded their Emperour, that they kept him nor from killing himselfe for their sakes. So there was not a man of them that left his body,

Otho in his lew Cato Vtican.

himse fe.

though the enemies were hard at hand: but having honorably buried him, and prepared a great The fune. flacke of wood, they coueyed him armed to the fire of his funerals, every man thinking himself the she Empe. happie, that could first set his shoulders to the coffin to helpe to cary him. Others coming to it, ror. kneeled downe on their knees, and kiffed his wound. Others tooke and kiffed his hands. Others that could not come neare him honored him, and did reuerence him a farre off; and some there were also that after the stacke of wood was set on fire, slue themselves hard by the fire: who had never received benefit by him that was dead (at the least to any mans knowledge,) neither hadthey any occasion to be affraid of him that was conquerour. And truly me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was fo ambitioufly giuen to reigne, as they vehemently defired to be commanded by Otho, and to obey him: confidering that their defire left them not even after his death. but was so lively rooted in their minds, that in the end, it turned to a deadly hate vnto Vitellius. But of this we will speake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried others ashes, they did set vp a tombe for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious Ephaph, subject to enuy. For I haue seene his tombe in the city of BRESSELLES a meane thing, re Othors and the Epitaph vpon ittranslated out of Latine, saith no more but this: This is the tombe of tombe in Marcus Otho. He died being but seuen and thirtie yeares old, and was Emperour but three the citie of moneths: and there were as famous menthat commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he lived not much more honester then Nero, yet he died farre more hono- and reight rably. Furthermore, when Pollio one of the Captaines would have compelled his fouldiers prefently to haue taken their oathes to be true to Vitellius, they fell out with him; and ynder fanding that there were yet remaining some Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled Verginius Rufus. For they came to his doores armed, and called him by his name, and commanded him to take charge of them, and to go as ambassador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were alreadie overcome, confidering he refused it when they had ouercome; and also he was afraid to go ambassador to the Germaines, because he had compelled them to do things against their wils. Therefore he went out at his backe-doore, and faued himselfe. So when the souldiers

heard of it, they were at length contented to be brought to be fworne vnto Vitellius: and so ioyned themselves with Cecinnaes fouldiers, fo they might be pardoned for all that was past;

The end of Othoes life.

XXXXX 3

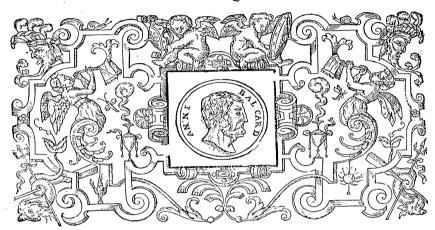




LIVES OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN.

CZ:

Translated into French by Charles de la Sluce, and Englished by Sir Thomas North.



Hannibal.



The paren

F we do call to mind the first Punick war the Carthaginians had with the ROMAINES, we shall find many Captaines who by the glo-R rie of their noble deeds, haue left great fame and renowneymo their posteritic. Howbeit amongst all the Captaines of the CARTHAGI-NIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and fo commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then Hamilear, Hamibals father, otherwise firnamed Barcha, a valiant man doubtlesse, and in his time a skilfull souldier as any was. The same Hamilear, first of all made warre with the ROMAINES, a longer time in Steller then was looked for. with the ROMAINES, a longer time in Sicile then was looked for,

who had done great hurt to his countrey and commonwealth. After that also in the warres of Africk E (at what time the mercenarie foldiers through their rebellion did put the country of CARTHAGE in great danger) he did so valiantly appeale the insurrection, that to enery mans iudgement, he was reputed the onely preserver of his countrey. Then he was sent Gouernour and Captaine into SPAINE, and caried with him at that time (as it is reported) his sonne Hannibal, being but a young boy, where he did noble service. In fine, in the ninth yeare of his aboade there in that prouince, he died fighting valiantly against the Vetheons. After his death, Hasarubal his sonne in law (whom the Carthaginians through the aide and friendship of the BARCINIAN faction had made Generall of all their armie) remained Gouernour there the space of eight yeares. This Hasdrubal sent for Hannibal into Spains, after his father Hamilears death, against y minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction; to the end that as he had bene trained from his youth in the discipline of wars, in his father Hamilears life: euen so in like manner, that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his bodie, to away with the paines and dangers of the warres. Now although at the first, the remembrance of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the fouldiers: yet he himselfe afterwards, through his diligence and industrie so handled the matter, that the old fouldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they only defired to choose him (and none other) for their governor, For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for in a noble Thesharts Captaine or Generall. He had a present and readie wit to give counsell what was to be done, in position of greatest attempts: and besides, he lacked neither manhood nor industrie to put it in execu. tion. He had a valiant and innincible mind, even in greatest dangers and adversities of body: the which are wont to ftay others from performing their endeuors and dutie. He would watch and ward as any private foldier, and was quicke and ready to do any kind of service, either like a valiant fouldier, or a good Captaine. In this fort Hannibal continued in feruice in the warres, the space of three yeares, under the conduct of Hasdrubal. In that time he so wan the hearts of all the army, that immediatly after Haldrubals death, he was chosen to be Lieutenant generall, with the Hannibal common confent of all the fouldiers: and this honour was laid vpon him without contradiction of any of the Carthaginian s, through the friendship and good will of the Barcinian faction needs after than 1800 and on. Hannibal was now fixe and twentie yeares old, when the fouldiers made him their Lieutenant generall. For at what time his father Hamilear brought him into Spaine, he was then but being but ninc yeares old: and from that time vnto Hasdrubals death (according to Polybius declaration) it 26-geares was seuenteene yeares moe. So he was no sooner made Lieutenant generall of all the camp, and his countrey, but he bent himself to make war with § Romains: having long before determined it. For first of all, he chiefly maintained almost a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS against the Romaines, because of the losse of Sicile & Sandinia. Besides also, he bare the Diverseau. fecret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father Hamilear; who of all the Captaines feef Hamthe CARTHAGINIAN'S cuer had, was the mortallest enemy vnto the Romaines. And it is writ- tall base to ten also, that at what time *Hamilear* made his preparation to go into Spain B, he compelled *Han-the Re-nibal* (being but a boy) to sweare in a sacrifice he made, that he would be a mortall enemy to the maines. ROMAINES, affoone as euer he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were fill fresh in the yong mans mind, as the Idea (or Image) of his fathers hate, and fill prouoked him to spie out all the meanes he could, how to destroy the Empire of Rome. Besides also, the BARCINIAN faction neuer left to pricke him forward vnto it, because by wars he might raise The Rend. himselfe to greatnes, and so increase his estate. These causes, as well common as particular, inti- him sathe. ced Hannibal to attempt war against the Romaines, and gauethe sour yong man occasion by these means to practise innountio. There was a people at that time called y SAGVNTINES, who confined indifferently betwirt the Romaines & Carthaginians: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These Saguntines enerafter tooke part with the Romaines and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the Romaines alwaies found the very true and faithfull to the Empire of Rome. Hannibal therefore thought with himselfe, he could not deuise to make a better match to anger the Romain Bs withal, & to kindle the fire of his malice also against them, then to make war with the SAGVNTINEs their confederates, Howbeir, before he would be openly seene to set vpon the, he first determined to leade his army against the OL-CADE s, and other people on the other fide of the river Iberus: and after he had overcome them, thento find occasion to molest the Saguntines, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begunne by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the OLCADES, he did set vpo the Vacceians, spoiled their country, besieged many cities, & took Herman-DICE, and ARBOCOLE, great and rich cities. Now he had in manner ouercome all the whole countrey, when diverse fugitives from the citie of HERMANDICE, encouraging one another, The confis conspired against him, leavied men, and inticed the OLCADEs that were sled, to take their part. racy of the Then they perswaded the CARTHAGINIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree sodainely to fet vpon Hannibal at his returne. They being a people that defired nothing more then to fight, and confidering also that they had received injuries by Hannibal, did eafily hearken vnto that counsell; and thereupon leauying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thou-land, they went to assaile Hannibal at his returne from the VACCEIANS, by the river of Tagus. Tagus, XXXX 4

Hannibals Brata

The Iberians yeeld themjelues

of Sagietus.

trary facti. ons in the Senate of Carthage: the Bartini an , and Hannians. Hemilsar Barca. Hanno. 4 grave counfeller and A happie th ng to follow good counfell.

> DV: Ce coun fell for go.

When the CARTHAGINIANS discoucred their army, they staied upon it, and were maruellously affraid. And doubtleffe they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce people, being affraid of their fodaine coming, and also loden as they were with so great spoiles: the which Hannibal deepely confidering, like a wife Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his armie ouer the river with as litle noise as he could, leaving the passage where the enemies might eafiliest come ouer, vnguarded: because vnder pretence of distembled seare, he might intice the barbarous people to passe ouer the river, to take the oportunity and occasion offered them. Now indeed as he was the fubtillest Captaine, and had the finest stratagemes of any other Captaine of his time: fo his policie was not in vaine, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy: for the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, suppofing the CARTHAGINIANS had bene affraid, with great furie entred the river to passe over it. So they being greatly troubled, & out of order by this meanes, and specially before they could passe all ouer the riner, they were set upon by the Carthaginians, first by certain horsmen. and afterwards with the whole army; fo that there was a great number of them flaine, and the refidue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the river of Iberus, yeelded themselves vnto him, saving the Saguntines: who, though they saw Hannibal at hand coming towards them, trusting to the friendship of the Romaines, they prepared to defend themselues against him; and therewithall sent ambassadors presently to Rome, to shew the Senate in what great danger they were, & alfo to pray aide against their so great enemy, that made wars so hotely with them. The Ambassadours that were sent to Rome, were scant gone out of Spaine, when Hannibal made open war on them with all his army, & pitched his camp before the city of Saguntus. When this matter was reported at Rome, and confulted of for the wrongs that had bin done to their confederates, the Senators dealt but flackly in it, & by decree only sent P. Valerius Flaccus, and Quintus Bebius Pamphilus vnto Hannibal, to will him to raise his fiege from Sagunty s: and if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they should thence repaire to CARTHAGE, & to pray them to deliuer their generall Hannibal vnto them, because he had broken y peace. Polybius writeth, that Hannibal did hearethese ambassadors, howbeit, that he made the a slender answer. Linius writeth in contrary maner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his camp. Howbeit, they both agree thus far, that they came into Spaine, & afterwards went into Africke, & from thence came to Carthage, where after they had delivered their message vnto the Coucel, the Barcinian faction was so much against them, that they dishonourably returned to Rome, and obtained not their defire. Now in the Senate of CARTHAGE there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the first took his beginning from the gouernment of Hamilear, furnamed Barea, & so descended as it were by succeffió to his fon Hannibal, and grew afterwards ynto fuch greatnesse, that that faction (as well abroad as at home)ruled all matters indicial. The second faction came of Hanno, a grane man and of great authority in the same commonwealth howbeir, a man more given to imbrace peace & quietnes, then otherwise disposed to war and trouble. It is he only (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the Romains came to Carthage, to coplaine of the iniuries done to their confederates, that did then in maner against the will of all the whole Senate, counfell them to keep peace with the Romain's, & to beware of wars, the which one day might peraductione veterly destroy their country. Doubtlesse, if the CARTHAGINIANS would have followed the grave counsell of Hanno, rather then to have given place to their defires, and had followed the author of peace, and not to have bene ruled by them that gaue counsell to make warres, they had not tafted of those miseries which their countrey afterwards came vnto:butgiuing place to the fury and ambitious mind of a yong man, they heaped fuch mischiefes on their heads, as afterwards fell out vponthem. Therfore it is very meete for wife magistrates & gouernors of comonweales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end; & euer to decide all matters by aduice & counfel, before they should take any wars in hand. Now the SAGVNTINE s feeing themselves besieged by Hannibal, & that against alreason & equitie he made wars vpon them, they notwithstanding valiantly defended the siege many moneths together. Yet in fine, though Hannibal had many mo men then they (having a hundred and fiftie thousand men in his camp) & that the most part of their rampars were battered & ouerthrown: they liked rather to abide the facke of their citie, then to yeeld themselues to the mercie of their

mortall enemy. So some do report, that SAGVNTVS was taken the eight moneth after fiege was Hamiltal laid vnto it. But Line seemeth not to agree to that, neither to set downe any certaine time of the continuance of the fiege. Now the taking of this lo wealthy a city, was a great furtherance di- gamus, uerfe waies to Hannibals enterprifes. For many cities taking example of the facke of SA GV NTV s. who before misliking to be subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell, keptthem felues quiet, and the fouldiers also waxed lively and couragious: feeing the rich spoiles that were divided in the campe. So Hannibal fent great prefents of the spoiles of the SAGVNTINES. vnto Carthage, whereby he wan the chiefest men of the city, and made them like the better ofwarres: whom he determined to leade with him against the ROMAINES, not in SPAINE, as many supposed but into ITALY it selfe. Whilest these matters were in hand, the Ambassadors returned from Carthags to Roms, and declared in open Senate, the flender answer they had received in maner at the felfe fametime when they had intelligence of the facke of SAGV STVS; Hercupon the Romains greatly repented themselves (though somewhat too late) for that they aided not their friends & confederates in fo great a danger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very fory for it, and therewith also maruellously offended, they deuided the provinces vnto the Confuls, to wit, SPAINE vnto Publius Cornelius, and AFRICKE and SICILE P. Cornelius also vnto Titus Sempronius. Afterwards, certaine of the noblest men of the city were sent Ambaffadors vnto Carthage, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of the peace, Conful. and also to denounce vnto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to pro-claime open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of themselues. This was as brauely received of the CARTHAGINIANS, as lustily offered vnto them; but maines, therein they were not fo well adulfed, as the fuccesse of that war in the end sufficiently proued it with the to them. Now Hannibal being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CAR-THAGE, and thinking with himselfe that it was time to go into ITALY, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speed he could to prepare his ships and things readie and so required aide of the cities that were his best friends and confederates, and commanded that all the bands should meete him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appointed good garrifons in places most concenient, in Africk & Spaine, which he thought aboue all things effeto be most necessary: because that when he should go into ITALY, the Ro-MAINS should not win it from him. Therfore he sent into Africk twelue hundred horsemen. and thirteene thou sand footmen, all Spaniards; and besides, he brought out of diverse parts of Africk fourethousand soldiers, & placed them in garrison in Carthage, obtaining both hostages and fouldiers by this meane. So he left the government of Spains to his brother Hafdrubal, and gaue him an army of fifty thips of warre, two thousand horsemen, and twelue thoufand footmen. These were the garritons he left in both those provinces. Now he thought them not sufficient to with stand the power of the Romains, if they bent their wars into Spains or AFRICKE: but he thought them strong enough to stay the enemy from ouerrunning of the country, vntill that having brought his army by land, he had fet foot in ITALY. Moreover, he knew that the CARTHAGINIAN'S were firong enough to leavie a new army if they lifted; and if need fo required, to fend him aide also into ITALY. For after that they had driven away this fo dangerous a warre, procured against them through the spice of the mercenary souldiers, having cuer after obtained victory: first under the conduct of Hamilear: secondly, under Hasdrubal: and lastly, under Hannibal: they were growne to such greatnesse and strength, that at what time Hannibal came into Italy, their Empire and dominions were maruelloufly enlarged. For they had all the coast of Africk, which lieth ouer against the sea Mediterraneum, from the alters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, vito Hercules pillars, and containeth in Integretation and Containeth and Con length * two thousand paces. So after they had passed the straight which deuideth Africks dominion of from EVROPE, they possessed almost all Spaine, to the mountaines Pirenei, which do deuide *This place SPAINE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in Africk E and Spaine, Hanni- "faile. bal returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his army was ready for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his mentogether, and encouraging them with great and large promifes, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALY: and made Hannibal great account vnto them of the friendship of the GAVLES, and in the end bad them be of good determinesh courage, and set lustily forward. Thereupon, the next day following he departed from CAR- to insade THAGE, and brought his army all along the coast, vnto the river of Iberus. It is reported, that the

the river of

The Volfces, about the

gainst Han. urbal and arrived at Maffina.

> The Boians and Infu. brians, re s:clt frem the Romaines and tabe bart with Hanssil al. Fuodunum. Munatius.

HANNIBAL: nextday following, Hannibal dreamed he faw a yong man, of a maruellous terrible looke and frature, who bad him follow him into ITALY: but afterwards, that he faw a fnake of a wonderfull greatnesse, making a maruellous noise and being desirous to vnderstad what the same might fignific, that it was told him, that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be marnelled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALY, made his mind to run of fuch fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or such other calamities of war. For they are things that happen often, as Cicero the Orator faith: that our thoughts and words do beget such things in our dreame, as Ennius the Poet writeth of Homerito wit, like to those his mind most ran on, or that he talked of most. Now after Hannibal had passed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had won the GAVLES hearts with bountifull gifts, in few daies he came to the river of Rhone. The head of the river of Rhone, is not farre from the heads of the rivers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at Geneva. Then it runneth from thence towards the west, and devideth the GAVLES a pretie way: and then being increased by the river of Arar (called in French, Saone) & with other rivers, in the end it falleth into the fea with divers heads betwixt the Volses & the CAVARIANS. The VOLSCES at that time inhabited both the fides of yriver of Rhone, & were full of people, and the richest of all other GAVLES. They having vnderstanding of Hannibals coming, passed ouer the river, and armed themselves, and prepared on the other side to stoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not pusse ouer. Now, though Hannibal had wonall the other GAVLES, yet those he could neuer win neither by gifts nor threates, to cause them ratherto proue the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore Hamibal perceiuing he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commanded Hanno the sonne of Bomilear, fecretly to passe ouer the river of Rhone, with part of the army, and so to set vpon the GAVLES on the fodaine. Thereupon Hanno (as he was commanded) made a long journey, and having passed ouer the riner at passable footds, he showed himselfe hard by the enemies campe before they faw him, or that they knew what he was. The GAVLs hearing their shouts &cries behind them, and having their hands full of Hannibal before them, who had many boats ready to paffe ouer his men they having no leifure to confult of the matter, neither to armetheselues to stand to defence, left their campe and fled for life. So they being driven from the other fide of the riuer, the rest of the army of the CARTHAGINIANS passed ouer it with safetie. In the meanetime, P. Cornelius Scipio, that but a litle before was come vnto Massilia, still heard newes of Hannibals armie. Wherefore, to be more affured of the matter, he sent a band of choise horsemen to disconer what the enemies intent was: who making great speed as they were commanded, met by chance with fine hundred horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, whom Hannibal had also sent to bring him word of the ROMAINES army. So, they first sodainly gaue charge vpon the Numi-DIANS, and after a hote and valiant conflict betweene both the parties, in the end the Romains ouercoming them, they made them flic, but with great losse of their men: howbeit the greatest losseand slaughter fell vpon the enemies. So Hannibal by this meanes found where the Ro-MAINES lay, and stood in a great doubt with himselfe, whether he should keepe on his way into ITALIE, or else lead his armie against the Consul that then was, and so to proue his hap & successe. At length debating many wayes in his mind, and vncertaine which way he should determine, the Ambaffadors of the Botans perswaded him to leaue all other deuises, & togo on into Italie. For before that Hannibal had passed ouer the mountains Pirenei, the Boians having by craft taken the Romains Ambassadors, and done great mischiefe vnto Manlius the Prætor, and intifed the Insubrians also, they were revolted from the Romaines, & tooke part with Hannibal, and onely because the ROMAINS had replenished the cities of PLACENTIA, & CRE-MONA with people, and had made the Colonies to Rome. So Hannibal being ruled by their counsell, raised his campe, and keeping the rivers side, still going against the river in few daies he came to the place which the GAVLE's docall the Iland, the which the river of Arar and Rhodanus, coming from diuers mountaines, do make there. So at this present, there is the samous citie of Lions in Gavie, which they fay was built long time after by Plancus Munatius. Fro thence he came to the country of the Allobrooks, & having pacified the variance betwixt two brethren for the Realme, he came through the countrey of the Castinians and Vocontians, to the riuer of Durance. The head of this riuer cometh from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swift streame, salleth into the riner of Rhone: & as it oftentimes changeth her course

so hath it in manner no passable foord. Yet Hannibal having past it over, he led his army vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine countries, as farre as he could: howbeit, as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Infomuch that some that were living at that time, did affirme, that they heard Hannibal himselfe say, that he had lost about thirtie thousand men, and the most part of his horsemen. For he was forced not oney to fight with the inhabitants of the Hamilbal mountaines, but also compelled to make wayes through the straights: so that in certaine places made waies of the highest rockes, he was driven to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fifteene dayes space, he came downe into the valley, not farre mountainet from the citic of TVRINE. Whereby it feemeth to me, that he passed ouer the mountaine they by force of commonly called Genua, the which on the one fide of it hath the river of Druentia, and on the pinegar. other side it goeth down to v city of Tyrine. Now it is hard to say truly, what number of men The valley he had when he was come into ITALIE, because of the diversitie of mens opinions. For some of Turinus Hamibals write, that he had a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen; others also coming in write, that he had twentie thousand footemen, and fixe thousand horsemen, all Africans and to Haly by Spaniards. But others reckoning the Gavles and Ligrrians, do count four escore thoufand footemen, and ten thousand horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his army was so great, as from Two the first men report, and specially having passed through so many countries, and also received rine. fich loffe as he had neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters do make ir. if a man will confider the famous exploits and great enterprifes he did afterwards. So that I like their opinions best, which keepe the meane betweene them both: considering that he brought into ITALIE, the better part of fourescore thousand footenen, and ten thousand hors- Haunibale) men, the which he had leuied in Spaine: as it is manifestly knownealso, that a great number army in of the Ligyrians and Gavies came to joyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMAINES, that gaue no place nor ground vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So Hannibal being come from TVRINE, into the countrey of the INSVERIANS, he was met withall by Public Cornelius Scipio, who marching with wonderfull speede from Massilia, and having passed the riuers of Po and Tefin, he camped not farre from the enemy. So shortly after, both the Generals being come into the field to view each others campe, the horsemen of either fide grew to skir- Hannibals mish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. How- free conbeit, in the end the Romaines feeing the Confull hurt, and also that the horsemen of the Nv-MIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compasse them in, they were drivento give ground; and so maines, and pretily retired, defending the Conful the best they could to saue him, and so at length recoursed their campe. It is reported, that Publius Cornelius Scipio was faued at that time through his fons confull helpe, who afterwards was called African, and at that time was but a young strippling; whose but, and praife, thoughit was wonderfull in so greene a youth, yet it is likely to be true, because of the bis enemies famous and valiant acts that he did afterwards. Now Scipio having prooued how much his e- by his ion, nemie was stronger then himselse in horsemen, he determined to place his campe so, as his footmen might be inbest safetie, and also fight with greatest advantage. And therefore the next falled Anight following he passed the river of Po, & made as little noise as he could, and went vnto PLA- trican. CENTIA. The like shortly after did T. Sempronius Longus, who had bene restored fro banishment by the Senate, and sent for out of Sicil E: because both the Consuls should gouerne the comon scipic and wealth by one selfe authoritie. Hannibal also followed them both with all his armie, and pitched T. Semprohis campe neare vnto the river of Trebia, hoping that because both camps lay so neare together, eus consuls. fome occasion would be offered to fight: the which he chiefly defired, both because he could not against long maintaine war for lacke of victuals, as also that he mistrusted the ficklenes of the GAVLES; who like as they soone fell in league and friendshippe with him, drawne vnto it with hope of change, and with the fame also of his victorie obtained; so he mistrusted that vpon any light occasion (as if the war should continue any long time in their countrey) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMAINES, against him as the onely author of this warre. For these respectstherefore, he deuised all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time Sem-Pronius the other Confull met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with spoile, straggling vp and downethe fields, whom he charged and put to flight. So, imagining the like successe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall, he had good hope of victorie, if once both thearmies might come to fight. Therefore being maruellously desirous to do some nobleenterprise before Scipio were recourred of his hurt, and that the new Confull should be chosen, he

Hannibal fought with Semprenius the Confull The Numiin flying.

determined to joyne battell against the will of his other colleague & fellow Conful Scipio; who thought nothing could be to leffe purpose, then to put all the state and commonwealth in icopardie, specially having all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field against him. Now Hamibal had fecret intelligence of all this variance, by fpials he had fent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politicke and fubtill as he was, found out a place straight betweene both campes. concredoner with bushes and briers, and there he placed his brother Mago to lie in ambush, with a company of chosen men. Then he commanded the horsemen of the NVMIDIANS, to scurre to the trenches of the Romains, to intice them to come to battell; and thereupon made the refidue of his army to eatc, and so put them in very good order of battell, to be readie vpon any oc. casion offered. Now the Consull Sempronius, at the first tumult of the NVMIDIANS, sodainely fent his horfemen to encounter them, and after them put out fixe thousand footmen, and in the end came himselfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middest of winter, and extreme cold, and specially in the places inclosed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Now the NVMIDIAN'S as they were commanded, inticed the ROMAINES by litle and litle on this side the river of Trebia, vntil they came to the place where they might discerne their enfignes: and then they fuddenly turned vpon the enemics which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of set purpose, and then to stay vponthe sodaine when they fee time, to charge the enemic more hotely and fiercely then before. Whereupon Semprenius incontinently gathered his horsemen together, and did set his men in battell ray, as time required, to give charge vpon his enemie, that stayed for him in order of battell. For Hannibal had cast his men into squadrons, ready upon any occasion. The skirmish beganne first by the light horsemen, and afterwards increased hoter by supply of the men of armes; howbeit, the ROMAINE Knights being vnable to beare the shocke of the enemies, they were quickly broken; fo that the legions maintained the battell with fuch furie and noble courage, that they had bene able to have refifted, fo they had fought but with footmen only. But on the one fide, the horsemen and Elephants made them affraid, and on the other fide the footemen followed them very Infilly, and fought with great furie against famished and frozen men. Whereforethe ROMAINS notwithstanding, suffering all the miseries that vexed them on every side, with an vnspeakeable courage and magnanimitie, such as was about their force and strength, they fought still, vntill that Mago coming out of his ambush, came and sodainly assailed them with great shoutes and cries; and that the middle fquadron of the CARTHAGINIAN's also (through Hamibals commandement) flew vponthe CINOMANIANS. Then the ROMAINES feeing their confederates flie, their hearts were done, and vtterly discouraged. It is said that there were ten thousand footmen of the Romains gotto Placentia, and came through the enemies. The rest of the army that fled, were most part of them slaine by the Carthaginians. The Confull Sempronius also scaped very narrowly from the enemies. The victory cost Hannibal the setting on also for helost a great number of his men, and the most part of his Elephants were slaine. After this battell, Hanaibal ouercame all the countrie, and did put all to fire and fword, and tooke also certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the countrimen flie, that were disorderly gathered together in battel. Then at y beginning of the Spring, he brought his army into the field fooner then time required: & meaning to go into THV s CAN, he was driven backeby a great tepest at the very top of the height of Appenine, and so compelled to bring his army about PLA-CENTIA: howbeit, shortly after he put himselfe again into the fields for divers vrgent & necessarie causes. For had he not saued himself by that policie, he had almost bene taken tardie by the ambush of the GAVLES: who being angry with him that the war cotinued so long in their country, they fought to be reuenged of him, as the only author & occasion of the war. Therfore perceiuing it was time for him to avoid this danger, he made all the hast he could to lead his army into some other provinces. Furthermore, he thought it wold increase his estimation much among strangers, and also greatly encourage his owne people, if he could make the power of the Car-THAGINIANS to seeme so great, and also their captaine to be of so noble a courage, as to dare to make war so neare to y city of Rome. All things therfore set a part, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and so coming through the countrey of the LIGVRIANS, he camo into Thys can, by the way that bringeth the into the champion countrey, & to the marishes about the river of Arnus. The river of Arnus at that time was very high, & had overflowne al the fields thereabouts. Hannibal therefore marching with fo great an armie as he had, could not anoidit, but that he must needs lose a number of his men and horse, before he could get out of those cuill-fauoured marishes. Insomuch that he himselfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great paines he had taken day and night without fleepe or rest, and also through the euill aire: lost one of though he was caried upon a high Elephants backe, which onely was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meanerime, C. Plaminius Confull, to whom the charge of Sempronius bitheriner armie was giuen, he was come vnto Aretiv Magainst the Senates mind, who were maruellously offended with him, because he left his companion Cn. Seruilius at Rome, and went vnto his prouince by stealth as it were, without the furniture of a Consull & his officers. This was a very serviture, haltie man of nature, & one that the people had brought to that dignitie & office: so that he was compile. become so proud & insolent, that men might see how he wold hazard all things without wit or indgement, Hannibal having intelligence thereof, thought it the best way to anger the Consull, and to do what he could possible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Consull should come to joyne with him. Therefore he marching forward with his campe through the countrey of Fesula Aretiumshe burnt & spoiled all the country thereabouts, and filled them all with feare, never leaving to destroy all before him, vntill he came to the mountains Cortonenses, and Montes foto the lake called Thrasimene. When he had viewed the place he went about to surprise his Cortoners. enemic by some ambush: whereupon he conveyed certaine horsemen under the hils, hard by the firaight that goeth vnto Thrasimene, and behind the mountaines also he placed the light horsemen. Then he himselfe with the rest of his army came downe into the field, supposing that the Confull would not be quiet; and fo it fell out. For hote stirring heads are easily intrapped, & fall Theindge. into the enemies ambush, and oftentimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow no counfelnor good aduice. C. Flaminius therfore feeing their country veterly spoiled, the corne destroy. td & cut downe, & the houses burnt, he made great hast to lead his army against the enemy contrary to all mens minds, who would have had him taried for his copanion Cn. Servilius the other Conful. So euen at Sun fer, when he was come to the straights of the lake of Thrasimene, he caused his campe to stay there, although his men were not wearie with the long journey they had taken by the way. So the next morning by break of day making no view of the country, he went ouer the mountaines. Then Hannibal, (who long before was prepared for this) did but stay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he faw the Romaine s come into the plaine, he gaue a fignall vnto all his men to give charge vpon the enemy. Therupon the CARTHAGINIAN's brea- Battell beking out on every fide, came before and behind, and on the flankes to affaile the enemie, being wint Hanthut in betweene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrary manner, the Romaines, be- and c.Fla. ginning to fight out of order, they fought inclosed together, that they could not see one another, as if it had benedarke: so that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what minde they Confill, by fought it out fo long confidering they were compaffed in on every fide. For they fought it out Thraffabout three houres space, with such furie and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that present time, neither did they offer to flie or stirre a footivntil they heard The Rethat the Consull C. Flaminius going from ranke to ranke to encourage his men, was slaine by aman of armes called Ducarius. Then when they had lost their Generall, and being voide of all hope, they fled, some towards the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which diuerse of them flying, were ouertaken and slaine. So there were slaine * fifteene thousand in the the noise of field, and there scaped about ten thousand. Furthermore, the report went, that there were fixe thousand footemen which forcibly (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and c. Flaminius therestayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon Hannibals pro- the confull, mise:butthey were betrayed, and slaine enery mothers some of them. After this great victorie, plaine. Hannibal did let divers ITALIAN prisoners go free without ransome paying, after he had vied in the life them maruellous courteously because that the fame of his clemency & curtesie should be known of Fabius vnto all nations, wheras indeed his own nature was contrary to all vertues. For he was hafty and addebted cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in wars, and exercised in murther, treason as many and ambushes laid for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor civill government. So by prisoners. this meanes he became one of the cruellest Captaines, the most subtile and crastiest to deceive eraftines to and intrap his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemy, fo those diffemble whom he could not ouercome in war by plaine force, he went about to intrap by fleight & policy. The which appeareth true by this present battel, and also by the other he fought against the rai dispus-Confull Sempronius, by the river of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leave this talke sion of Hat

Indde death

of what ef. 9. Fabius

till another time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow & death of the Confull Flaminius was reported at Rome, having lost the most part of his army: there was great moane and lamentation made through all the city of Rome bewailing the common miserie of the comonwealth. others lamenting their private particular losse, & some also forowing for both together. But in. deed it was a wofull fight, to see a world of men & women to runto the gates of the city, enery one prinately asking for their kin & friends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very fory & penfiue, despairing of the safetic of their sons, died sodainly for the extreme iov they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they faw their fons aliue & fafe. At the felfe fame rime, Cn. Seruilius, the other Confull with C. Flaminius, did fend him 4000 horsemen, not vnderstanding yet of the battel that was fought by the lake of Thrasimene. But when they heard of the ouerthrow of their men by the way, & therefore thought to have fled into VMERIA, they were copaffed in by the horfmen of the enemies, & fo brought vnto Hannibal. Now the Empire of Rome being brought into so great extremity, & danger, because of somany small osses one in the necke of another: it was ordained, that an extraordinary Gouernor or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an office specially vsed to be referred for the last hope and remedy in most extreme danger & perill of the state & comonwealth. But because the Cofull Servitius could not returne at that time to Rom B, all the waies being kept by the enemy; the people contrary to their custome, created Q. Fabius Dictator, (who afterwards attained the surname of Maximus, to fay, Very great) who likewife did name M. Minutius Generall of the horfmen. Now this Fabius was a grave & wife counfeller, and of great authority, & estimation in the comonwealthinfomuch as the citizens had all their hope & condence in him only, perswading theselues, that the honor of Rome might be better preserved under the government & conduct offuch a Generall, rather then under the gouernment of any other man what soener. So Fabius knowing it very well, after he had carefully & diligently ginen order for all things necessary the departed from RomE, and when he had received the army of the late Consull Cn. Serutlius, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemy. Now Hannibal was gone from the lake of Thrasimene, and went directly towards the city of Spoleton, to see if he could take it at the first affault. But when he saw that the townes-men stood vpo the rampiers of their wals, and valiantly defended themselues: he then left the rowne and destroyed the countrey as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into Apvlia, through the marches of Anco-NA, and the country of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed himatthe hecles, and camped hard by the city of ARPY, not farre from the campe of the enemy, to the end to draw out the war at length. For the rashnesse and foole-hardines of the former Captains aforetime, had brought the state of Rome into such miserie, that they thought it a victorievnto them, not to be our come by the enemy, that had so often our come them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the change and alteration of the Captaine: for though Hannibal had fet his men in battell ray, and afterwards perceiuing his enemies stirred not, went and destroyed the countrey, hoping thereby to intice the Dictator to fight, when he should see the country of his confederates fo ipoiled, as it was before his face the Dictator, this not with standing, was not mooued withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. Hannibal was in a maruellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often remoued his campe, to the end that going diverse wayes, some occasion or oportunitic might fall out to deceiue the enemy, or else to giue battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto Samnivm. But because shortly after, fome of Campania, who having bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasimene, had bin set at liberty without ransome: they putting him in hope that he might take the city of CAPVA, he made his army march forward, and took a guide that knew the countrey, to bring him vnto Casinvm. Now the guide ouerhearing Casinvm, vnderstood it Casilinum, and so mistaking the sound of the word, brought the army a cleane contrary way vnto Calentinum and Calenum, & frothence about Stella. So when they came into a countrey enuironed about with mountaines & rivers, Hannibal knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the guideto death. Fabius the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patiently, and was contented to give Hannibal libertie to take his pleafure which way he would, vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, to death by where he placed his garrison, being places of great aduantage and commoditie. So the armie, of the Carthaginians was in manner compassed in enery way, and they must needes have

HANNIBAL

died for famine in that place, or else haue fled, to their great shame and dishonour had not Hansihal by this stratageme prevented the danger. Who knowing the danger all his armic stood in, Hannibals and having spied a fit time for it: he commanded his souldiers to bring foorth two thousand fratagement oxen which they had gotten in spoile in the fieldes, having great store of them, and then tying in the mon tains of torches of fire-linkes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light them, & Gallicanti to drive the oxen up the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the first watch. All and Cafile this was duely executed according to his commandement, and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them faire D. Stater. and foftly. Now the ROMAINES that had long before placed a strong garrison vpon the mountaines, they were affraid of this strange fight, and mistrusting some ambush, they foorthwith forsooke their peeces and holdes. Fabius himselfe mistrusting also that it was some stratageme of the enemy, kept his men within the campe, and could not well tell what to fay to it. In the cereaine meane time Hannibal got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Swessa, which the baths at countrimen do call, The tower of the bathes, and brought all his army safe into ALBA: and led the fortly after, he marched directly as though he would go to Rom B, howbeit he fuddenly turned tower of the out of the way, and went presently into Apvlia. There he tooke the citie of GLERENVM, a veryrich and wealthy towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, sing in aand came and camped by LAVRINY M, not farre from the CARTHAGINIAN'S camp. So he being fulls. fent for to Rome about weightie affaires of the state, there was no remedie, but that he must needes depart from thence with all the speede he could: how beit before he went, he left Marcus Minutius Generall of the horsemen, his Lieutenant of all the armic, and commanded him inhis absence not once to stir nor to meddle with the enemies. For he was fully bent to follow his determination, which was: not to vexe the enemie, nor to fight with him, though he were pronoked vnto it. Howbeit Marcus Minutins litle regarding the Dictators commandement, his backe was no sooner turned, but he set vpon a companie of the enemies dispersed in the field a foraging, and flue a great number of them, and fought with the rest even vnto their campe. The rumor of this skirmish flew straight to Rome, and there was such great account made of it, that it was effeemed for a victorie: and the common people were so joyfull of it, that they straight made the power of the Lieutenant equall with the Dictator Fabius, the which was never heard of before. Fabius patiently bearing this extreme iniurie with a noble courage, having no way deserued it, he returned againe into the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one selse time. Two Dictators (athing neuer feene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the army betweene the, there were either of them commanded his armie apart, as the Consuls were wont to do before. Marcus heard of be-Minutius thereupon grew to fuch a pride and haughtie mind, that one day he ventured to give fore. battel, and made not his companion Fabius of counfell with all: the which Hannibal having fo often ouercome, durst scantly have enterprised. So he led his armie into such a place, where the enemichad compassed them in: insomuch that Hannibal slue them at his pleasure, without any hopeleft them to escape, if Fabius had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather respecting the honour of his countrey, then remembring the private injurie he had received. For he comming fresh with his armie to the battell, made Hannibal affraid, that the Romaine legions had libertieto retire with fafetie. Whereby Fabius wan great fame for his wisdome and valiantnesse; both of his owne fouldiers, as also of the enemies themselves. For it was reported that Hannibal should fay (returning into his campe,) That in this battell he had ouercome M. Minutius, but withall, that he was also our come by Fabius. And Minutius himself also confessing Fabius wisedome, and confidering that (according to Hesiodus saying) it was good reason to obey a better manthen himselse: he came with all his army vnto Fabius camp, and renouncing his authoritie, came and humbly falured Fabius as his father, and all that day there was greatioy, and reioyeing among the fouldiers, So both the armies being placed in garrison for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Confuls created, L. Paulus Amylius, and C. and c.re-Terentius Varro, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was rentus brought to be Confull. So they had libertie and commission to leavie a greater army then the Generals beforethem had done. Whereby the legions were newly supplied, and also others ad. The diffeded vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Consuls were come into the armie, as they were of seuerall dispositions, so did they also observe diverse manners in their government. Panlus, and Lucius Paulus, who was a graue wife man, and one that purpofed to follow Fabius counselland C. Terenties Yууу 2

Ceners.

fashions: he did desire to draw out the warre in length, and to stay the enemy without fighting. Varro on the other fide was a hasty man, and venturous, and defired nothing but to fight. So it chanced, that not long after it was knowne, to the great cost and danger of the citie of Rome. what difference there was betwixt the modestie of Amylius, and the foole-hardinesse of Varro. For Hamibal being affraid of some stir and rumult in his campe for lacke of victuals, he departed from CLERENYM, and going into the warmelt place of APVLIA, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called CANNES. So he was followed with both the Confuls, who came and camped feuerally hard by him, but so neare one to another, that there was but the river of Aufide that parted them. This river (as it is reported) doth alone devide the mountaine of the Appenine, and taketh his head on that fide of the mountaine that lyeth to the sea side, from whence it runneth to the sea Adriaticum. Now Lucius Paulus finding that it was impossible for Hannibal being in a strange countrey, to maintaine so great an armie of such sundrie nations together: he was fully bent to protract time, and to avoid battell, perswading himselfe that it was the right and onely way to ouercome him, being as much to the enemies disaduantage, as also maruellous profitable and beneficiall for the common wealth. And sure if C. Terentius Varre, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that Hannibals armie had bene ouerthrowne by the ROMAINES, without stroke striking. Howbeit he had such a light head of his owne, and was so fickle minded, that he neither regarded wife counsell, nor Paulus Amylius authoritie: but in contrary manner would fall out with him, and also complained before the fouldiers, for that he kept his men pent vp and idle, whileft the enemie did put foorth his men to the field in battell ray. So when his turne came, that he was absolutely to command the whole armie, for they had both absolute power by turnes) he passed ouer the river of Auside by breake of day, and gaue the fignall of battell without the privitie of his companion Amylius, who rather followed him against his will then willingly, because he could do none otherwise. So he caused a scarlet coat of armes to be put out very earely in the morning, for a signall of battell. Hannibal on the other fide being as glad of it as might be possible, that he had occasion offered him to fight: (considering that the continual delaying of battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his army ouer the river, and had straight put them in very good order. For he had taken great spoiles of his enemies to furnish himselfe very brauely. Nowthe armie of the ROMAINES stood South-ward, infomuch that the South winde (which the men of the countrey call Vulturnus) blew full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie maner had the vantage of the winde and Sunne vpon their backes, and their battell stood in this manner. The Africans were placed in both the wings, and the GAVLES and SPANIARDS set in a squadron in the middest. The light horsemen first begannethe skirmish, and after them followed the men of armes: and because the space betwixt the river and the sootemen was very narrow, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the horsemen of the Romaine's being ouerthrowne, the footemen came with such a lustie courage to receive the charge, that they thought they should not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit, the ouer-earnest desire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrow more miserable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAVLES and SPANIARDS, (who as we have faid before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the Romaine s, they retired towards the Afrigeme of Hã CANS in the wings. The ROMAINES perceiving that, ranne vpon the enemies with all the furie * Tlutarch they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middest of in the life them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both wings, came and compassed them in beof Fati. us faith, forethey were aware. Moreouer, there were fine hundred of the NVMIDIAN horsemen, that colourably fled vnto the Consuls, who received them very courteously, & placed them in the rerewere fifty 1 houf and ward of the army. They feeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, and did sodainely give (Laine and them charge. Then the armie of the Romaines was veterly ouerthrown, and Hannibal Obtained fourtzene victory. Linie writeth, that there were flain in this battel*forty thousand footmen, & aboue two thou fand taken prithousand seuen hundred horsemen. Polybins saith, that there were many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the Romains had neuer greater losse, neither in the first Paulus Aewar with Africk E, nor in the fecond by the Carthaginians, as this ouerthrow that was malius Con full, flaine giuen at CANNES. For there was flaine the Conful Paulus Æmylius himselfe, a man vndoubtedly deseruing great praise, and that serued his countrey and common wealth euen to the howre tell of Can-

of death: Cn. Servillus (Confull the yeare before) was also flaine there, and many other that had bene Confuls, Prætors, and others of fuch like dignity, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other flagsbier de flagsbier de flagsbier de Senators and honest citizens, and that such a number of them, that the very crucky it selfe of the she bases enemy was fatisfied. The Conful Terentim Varre, who was the onely author of all this war and flaughter, feeing the enemy victor enery way, he faued himselfe by flying. And Tutidanus a Chieftaine of a band, comming through his enemies with a good company of his men, he came vnto Canvs Iv M. Thither came also about ten thousand me, that had escaped fro their enemies. as out of a dangerous storme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole army was given ynto Appius Pulcher, and also vnto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwards did end this war. Thus was the end of the battell fought by CANNES. Newes flew straight to ROME of this ouerthrow, the which though they justly filled all the city with forrow & calamity, yet the Senate & people of Rom B keptalwaies their countenance and greatnesse, euen in this extreame misery. Insomuch they had inconnot onely good hope to keepe their city fafe, but furthermore they leavied a new army, and the Romains made yong mento beare armor, and yet left not Sicilb and Spain Evnprouided in the meane time; fo that they made the world to wonder at them, to confider these things, how they could info great calamity and trouble have fo noble hearts, and fuch wife counfell. But to let paffe the former overthrowes, and great loffes they fultained at TICINVM, at TREBIA, and at the lake of the Ro-THRACIMENE, what nation or people could have bornethis laft plague, whereby y whole force mainter loff and power of the Romains was in manner veterly destroyed and overthrowne? and yet the people of Rome fo held it out, and that with fo great wifedome and counfell, that they neither Hamibal lacked manhood nor magnanimity. Besides, to helpe them the more, Hannibal being conqueror, Trebia and trifling time in taking his leifure, & refreshing his army he gaue the Romaine s leifure that were Trifling his army he gaue the Romaine s ouercome to take breath again, and to restore themselves. For doubtlesse, if Hannibal being conqueror, had immediatly after the victory obtained, brought his army directly to Rome, furely \$ ROMAINES had bene vitterly vindone, or arthe leaft had bin copelled to have put al in venture. Soit is reported, that Hannibal oftentimes afterwards repented him felfe he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counfell which wished him to let his fouldiers reft, then Maharbals aduice, generall of his horfemen, who would have had him gone Maharbal; straight to Rome, and so have ended all this war. But he seeing Hannibals delay, told him (as it General of is reported) this that is now commo in every mans mouth: Hamibal, thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to vie victory. But what all things are not (as Ne flor saith in Ho. mer)giue to me altogether. For some had no skill to ouercome, others knew not how to follow familial their victory, and some also could not keepe that they had won. Pyrrbus king of the Epiror Es that made war with the ROMAINES, was one of the famousest captains that euer was yet as men erula not write of him, though he was maruellous fortunate to conquer realmes, he wold neuer keep the. Euen fo in like maner, some captaines have bin endued with excellent vertues, and yet not with. standing have bene insufficient in marrial affaires deserving praise in a captaine, as we may reade in divers histories. Now after this battel fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALA-TINIANS, the SAMNITES, after them also the BRYTIANS, LVC ANIANS, & divers other nations and people of ITALY, caried away with the fame of this great victory: they all came and yeelded to Hannibal. And the city of CAPVA also (which Hannibal was desirous to have won long before) for laking their old friends and confederates, made new league and friendship with Hannibah the which wan him great estimation with other nations. For at that time the city of CAPVA was very Populous and of great power, and the chiefest city of estimation of all ITALY next to Rome. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the THYSCANS, which was first called VVLTVRNVM, & after that CAPVA, by iname of their gouernor called Capius; or otherwife (as it is most likely) because of the fields round about it: for the clip of on every fide of it, there are goodly pleasant fields, ful of alkinds of fruits growing on the earth, capua, how called in Greek, Kepi. Furthermore, all the country is confined round about with famous nati-Ons. Towards the feathere dwell the SVESANIANS, the CVMANIANS, & the NEAPOLITANS. On firme land also towards the north, are the CALENTINIANS and the CALENIANS. On the East & Southfide, the Dynians & the Nolians. Furthermore, y place is of a strong situation, and on the one fide is compaffed in with the fea, & on y other fide with great high mountaines. Nowthe CAMPANIAN'S florished maruellously atthattime: & therfore seeing the ROMAIN'S in maner viterly undon by the battel they had lost at CANNES, quickly took part with the stroger,

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at Capua.

as it commonly falleth out:and furthermore besides that they made league with Hannibal, they received him into their citie with great triumph, hoping that the warre being ended, they should be the chiefest and wealthiest of all ITALY. But marke how men are commonly deceived intheir expectation. Now when Hannibal came into the citie of CAPVA, there was a world of people that went to see him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had won of the enemy. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto Pacuuius house, his very familiar friend, who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the Campanians. Then he made him a notable banket, to the which no citizens were bidden, fauing onely Inbellius Taurea a flout man, and the founc of Pacunius his host: who through his fathers meanes, with much ado, was reconciled to Hannibal, for that Hannibal hated himas he did, because he followed Decius Magius, who alwaies tooke the Romaines part. But now let vs confider a litle I pray you, how great men fometimes vnawares are subject to great dangers and misfortunes. For this yong man diffembling his reconciliation with Hannibal, watching time and occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this feast, while they were making merry, he tooke his father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and good will againe of the Romains, the which they had lost through their great wickednes. Then he told him how he was determined to kill Hannibal the enemy of his country, and all ITALY besides. His father that was a man of great countenance and authoritie, was maruellously amazed withall, to heare what his fonne faid: wherefore embracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he prayed him to leaue off his fword, and to let his guest be safe in his house. The which his sonne in the end yeelded with great ado. Thus Hannibal having before withftood all the force of his enemies, the ambushes of the Gavles, and having brought with him also a great army from the fea, & the farthest part of Spaine, through so many great and mightie nations: he scaped killing very narrowly by the hand of a yong man, whilest he was at the table making merry. The next morning Hanmbal had audience in open Senate, wherehe made great and large promifes, and told them many things, which the Campanians eafily beleeued; and therefore flattered themsclues, that they should be Lords of all ITALY: how beit they reckoned beside their host. And to conclude they did so cowardly submit themselves to Hannibal, that it seemed they had not only fuffred him to come into their city, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, likemen that neither remembred nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainly by one example I will shew you amongst many. Hannibal willed them to deliuer Decius Magius, the head of the country faction to him. Wherunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worst of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the presence of all the people: who because he would not for sake the ancient league and friendship with the Romaines, had shewed himselse a more faithfull citizen to his countrey and commonwealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whilest these things passed thus in CAPVA, Mago (Hannibals brother) went to Carthage, to report the newes of his happy victory to his countrimen, which they had won of the enemies: and withall, before the Senate to declare the noble exploits of armes done by Hannibal. And to proue the words true he spake, he powred out at the coming in of the Senatehouse, the golden rings which had bin taken fro the Romaine knights: of the which there were (as some do report) aboue a bushell ful, and as other some do write, aboue three bushels full and a half. After that, he prayed a new supply for Hannibals army; which was granted them by the Senate with greater ioy then afterwards it was fent. For the CARTHAGINIANS, perswaded themsclues by the things present, that the war would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was faire: they thereupon decreed to continue the warre, and to aid Hannibals attempts, by leuying of foldiers. Now no man withstood this new supply to be sent to Hannibal, but Hanno a perpetual enemie of the BARCINIAN faction. Howbeitthe CARTHAGINIANS weighed not his counsell and aduice then, though it rended to peace, and was good counsell for them, as oftentimes before he had vsed the like. So when Hannibal had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his camp before the citic of NoLA, hoping they would yeeld of themselues without copulsion. And certainly so it had come to passe, had not the sodaine coming thither of Marcellus the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the fedition, and repulfed the enemy that was coming into the citie, by a fally he made vpon him at three feuerall gates, chafing and killing them euen to their campe with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valiant fouldier Marcellus, who

with a noble courage made the world know, that Hamilton was no other way, but to let Nola alone til another time; he came to Acerres, and tooke and spoiled it without refistance. Then going on further with greater power unto Car esthetite SILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win the that lay there in garrifo: of Rola. but when he saw that neither his faire promises, nor otherwise his threats could prevaile, he left part of his army to beliege the citie, and beltowed the relidue in garrifons before the winter feafon. Howbeit he chose for his chiefest seate and strength the citie of CAPVA, which stood very pleasantly, and had plentic of all things. There it was that Hannibals souldiers being vsed to lichard, and eafily to away with cold, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, rank cowards, of strong men weaklings, and of serviceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate perfons, through the dayly pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweete inticing pleasures do corrupt fouldiers the strength and courage of the mind, and mans disposition vnto vertue: moreover they spoile with east his wit, and take all good counsell from him, al which things are dangerous for men. And there at Capua. fore Plato rightly calleth pleasure, the baite of all euils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS, more then otherwise the highest Alpes, & all the the baite of armies of the Romaines did. For one onely winter passed ouer in such pleasure and wanton- all emis. neffe, was of fuch great force to extinguish the vehement courage in the foldiers, that when they were brought into the field at the beginning of the spring, sure you would rightly have said affinitier, that they had forgotten all martial discipline. Thus the winter being passed ouer, Hannibal returned againe to CASILINVM, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeeld vnto him, after they had abidden fo long a fiege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extremity, before they would yeeld to their fo cruell an enemy, although they lacked victuals. Wherfore liuing first by spealt, or beare barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had received of the Romaines by the river of VVLTVRNVS: they held it out fo long, that Hannibal in the end being angrie ans to line with the continuance of the fiege, he was content to take the citic vpon composition, the which he hadrefuled before. Now this warre, in the which the Carthaunians had alwayes had Hamibals great victories and good fortune, and received no losse worthy of memory, began at that time good forto decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the league that was made with Philip king of MACEDON, and the new aid and supply that was sent from CARTHAGE, and the taking of Petilia, Constantia, and of other cities of the countrey of the Brytians, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other side, the great victories which the ROMAINES had wonne upon the enemies of Spaine and Sardinia, did greatly encourage them, and gaue them also good hope that their affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent Captaines, Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, and Marcus Marcellus, a man Three famost worthy of praise for martiall discipline: who so wisely governed the affaires of the state, taines of that Hannibal found he should make warre with an enemy, no lesse politicke and wife, then hardieand valiant. For first of all, he was driven from the citie of CVMEs, with great slaughter of mains, his men, by Sempronius Gracchus, and forced to raise his siege: and shortly after he was our come Maximus.

by Marcellus, in a battell he fought at NoLA. For there were flaine about a thousand Romains

and 6000 CARTHAGINIANS flaine and taken flying. Now it is eafily seene what great impor-

tance that battell was of because Hannibal immediatly vpon it, raised his siege from Nora, and

went into Apvilla to winter his army there. By this meanes came the Romaines to recouer

againe, as out of a great ficknesse, and sent a great power against the enemy: and were not con-

tent onely to keepe their owne, but they durstalfo inuade others. So their chiefest intent was,

to befige the city of CAPVA, for the iniurie they had but lately received of the CAMPANIANS.

intheir greatest extremitie and miserie, and tooke part with Hannibal that was conquerour, for-

getting the great pleasures their citie had received in old time by the ROMAINES. On the o-

and camped by TIRATA ouer CAPVA, whereby he rather deferred till another time, then

Preuented the plague hanging ouer the CAMPANIAN's heads: fo spoyling the countrey round

about NAPLES, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take NoLA by treason.

parted out of Apvlia without delay, and came on with great journeys into Campania, bundred

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with a noble courage made the world know, that Hannibal was not inuincible. Hannibal percei- Marcellus

For incontinently after the battell was fought at CANNES, they for fooke the Romaines, even in the life ther fide, the Campanians knowing they had made a fault, and being afraid of this new pre- fand car-Paration of the Romaines, they fent to Hannibal into Apvila, to pray him to come and ayd theginians their citie (being of the number of the confederates) in their greatest necessitie. Hannibal de-

For in Nola, the people & Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewife in divers other cities of ITALY. The common people defirous of change; favored Hannibal and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of Rome. So when Hannibalswent to take the city of Nola, Marcellus met him with his army in battel ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, even at the first meeting. There y Romains overcame, and draue the enemy with such manhood and readinesse, that if the horsemen which had taken another way had come in intime, as Martellus commanded them; no question the CAR-THAGINIANS had bin vtterly ouerthrown. Hannibal after he had retired his army into his camp with great flaughter, he shortly after departed thence, and went into the country of the SALEN-

TINIANS. For certain yong TARENTINES that had bin taken prisoners in former battels, where the Romains had bin ouerthrowne, and that were afterwards deliuered free without ransome: they to shew themselves thankfull, had put Hannibal in hope to deliver him the city of TAREN-TVM, so he would bring his army before the city. Hannibal inticed by their promises, did what he could to obtaine it, because he might have some city vponthe sea in his power, the which he had defired of long time. And indeed, of all the cities vpon the fea coast, there was none so meete as

TARENTYM, to bring aid out of GRECE thither, and also to furnish the camp with many things that were to be occupied daily. So though this thing was drawn out in length, by the garrifon of the Romains that valiantly refifted:yet Hannibal neuer gaue ouer his enterprife, vntill that Nico

and Philomenes, the authors of the treason, had deliuered him the citie into his hands. The Ro-MAINS kept only the castle, the which is in maner enuironed with the sea on three sides & on the Tarentum fourth fide, that lay vpon the firme land, it was very strong with rampiers & bulwarks. Hannibal perceiuing that he could do no good on that side, because of their great strength: he determined vnto Hannibal by to shut vp the mouth of the hauen of TARENTYM, hoping that was the only way to make the Rotreason.

MAINS yeeld, when their victuals should be cut from them. Yet the enterprise seemed very hard because the enemies had all the straights of the hauen in their power, & the ships also that should befiege the iffue of the hauen, were shut vp in a narrow litle place, and were to be drawne out of the hauen, at the foot of the castle, to bring them into the next sea. But when neuer a man of the

TARENTINES could deuise how to bring this enterprise to passe: Hannibal himselfe perceived that these ships might be drawne out of the hauen with certaine engines, and then to cart them through the citie to the sea. So having his cunning workmen in hand with the matter, the ships within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, & caried into the fea, & then came & shewed before the bar of the hauen. Thus the city of TARENTVM being wonagain, after the Romains

had kept it the space of a hundred years. Hannibal leaving the castle besieged both by sea & land, he returned into Samnivm. For the Confuls of the Romains had spoiled & stripped the Cam-PANIANS that went out to forrage, & having brought their army before CAPVA, they determine ned(if it might be)to win it by fiege. Wherfore Hanibal being very for the fiege of CAPVA,

he came with all his army against the enemy: and seeing shortly after that the Romains did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward, & doubtleffe to fight, it wold have proued a bloudy battel, had not Sempronius army seucred them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA under the conduct of Cn. Cornelius, after they had lost Sempronius Gracchus in the countrey of LVKE. For they feeing this army far off, before they could know who they were, the Romaines & Car-

THAGINIANS were both affraid, and so retired into their campe. Afterwards the Consuls went into seuerall countries, the one into LVKE, and the other towards CVMEs, to make Hannibal remoue from Capva: who went into Lycania, and found occasion to fight with M. Centenius, who very fondly and desperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, against a subtill & dan-

gerous enemy. The battel being begun, M. Centenius was flaine valiantly fighting, and few other escaped. After this also there hapned another losse; for Hannibal returning shortly after into A-PVLIA, he met with another army of the ROMAINES, the which Fabias the Prætor led, who also entrapped that army by ambushes, and flue the most of them: so that of 20000 men, 2000 scant

escaped the edge of the sword. In the meane time the Consuls perceiuing that Hannibal was gone, they came with all their army vnto CAPVA, and did befiege it round. This being come to Hannibals earc, he came with his army into CAMPANIA, in very good order and well appointed: and at his first coming he set vpon the campe of the Romaines, having first willed the Cam-

PANIANS at the selfe same instant to make a sallie out on them. The ROMAINE Consuls at the first tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betweene them, and went against them. The CAMPANIANS were eafily driven againe into the city:howbeit against Hannibal; the battell was very bloudy. For ifeuer he proued himselfe a valiant Captaine or noble souldier, that day he flewed it. He attempted also to surprise the Romains by some stratageme. For as his men were about to breake into the Romaines campe, he fent one thither that had the Latine tong excellently well, who cried out by the commandement of the Confuls, that the ROMAINS shold saue

themselues in the next mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their campe & strength. This cry made on v sudden had easily moved the that heard it, if the Romain's being throughly acquainted with Hannibals fubrilties, had not found out his deceit. Wherfore one of them incouraging another, they made the enemy retire, and compelled him in despite of his beard to

flie into the campe. When Hannibal had done what he could by all device and practife possible toraile the fiege from Carva, & perceiuing al would not serue, being sory for the danger of his confederates: he then determined to call a counsel, the which he had passed ouer a long time, ha-

uing reserved it for the last refuge. For he trussed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army, and as quierly as he could, he passed ouer the river of Vulturnus, and coassing through the coutries of \$ Sidicinians, Atifanians, & Cassinians, he came to Rome with enfignes

displayed, hoping thereby he should make them raise their siege, being so earnestly bent to win CAPVA. This flying straight to Rom B by currers, they were so afraid there, as Rom E was neuer

inlike feare it stood in then. For they faw their mortal enemy come to the with enfignes displaid whom they had fo often proued almost to the vtter destruction of their Empire; and now they

faw him present, whom they could not resist being absent, threatning to bring the Senate & people of Rome into subjection. So all Rome being in feare & tumult, it was ordained that Fuluius

Flaceus (one of the Consuls lying before CAPVA) should be sent for home. And that the new Confuls Sulpitius Galba, & Cornelius Centimalus, should lie in camp out of the city: & that C. Cal- Sulpinius

parmius Prætor should put a strong garrison into the Capitoll, and also that the citizens that had Galba, corpurmus Prætor mound put a trrong garrion into the Capiton, and and that the citizens that had nelim Circumstany office or dignitie, should be appointed by their countenance and authority to pacifie simalus,

the sudden tumults that might happen in the citie. So Hannibal marched forward without stay- Conful. ing, till he came to the river of Anienes, & there camped within 24. furlongs of Rome & thortly

after that, he came with 2000 horse so neare vnto Roms, that riding fro the gate Collina, vnto Hercules temple, he had leifure to view at his pleasure, the situation and wals of so great a cities

Fuluius Flaccus feeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certaine men at armes of the ROMAINES against him: who coming with great fury to give charge vpon him as they were commanded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning Hannibal brought his army out of Hannibal

commanded, they carry tent that packing. The first including the could allure the compe, and did fet them in battell ray, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the innuals enemy to battell. The Romain's onthe other side did the like. So, both armies marched one a- Rome. gainst the other with such life and courage, that to see them, they appeared men that seared no danger, fo they might obtaine the victorie that day. For on the one fide, the CARTHAGINTANS

were to fight (in manner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battel, as being the laft they shold fight. The Romains in cotrary maner, they were to fight for their country liberty, & their goods, to fee whether they could keep them, or that they shold

come into their enemies hands. How beit there fell out a thing worthy of memory. For as they were ready set inbattell ray, tarying but for the fignall of battell to give charge, there fell such a wonderfull great shower and storme vpon them, that both of them were driven in spite of their teethes, to bring backe their army into their forts again. The next day following in like maner,

Vnto the which it seemed the battell had bene deferred, when they had againe both of them see their men in battell ray, there fell the like storme vpon them, which did as much hurt the Ro-MAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to sauethem-

selues, & not to thinke otherwise to fight. Hannibal perceiuing this, he turned to his friends and told the, that the first time he thought not to win to Rome, & that at the second time the occasio was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled Hannibal, and that was this. That

though he came so neare to Rome, with an army of horsemen and sootmen: yet he heard that the ROMAINES had fent aid into SPAINE, and that he had redeemed the country where he had bene, at a farre greater price then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused

all the goldsmiths and bankers shops of the ROMAINES citizens to be sold by the Cryer. But afterwards cafting with himselfe, what a hardenterprise it was to take the citie of Rome,

or else being afraid to lacke victuals (for he had stored himselfe onely but for ten dayes,)

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he raifed his campe, and removing thence came vnto the holy wood of the goddeffe Feronia, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwards went thence into the countrey of the BRYTIANS and LVCANIANS. The CAPVANS having intelligence thereof, being left out of all hope, they yeelded vp their city vnto the Romaines. The city of Capva being thus yeelded vp,& broughtagaine to the subjection of y Romaines, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALIE, and withall brought great defire of change. Hannibal himselfe also following cuill counsell, did spoile and destroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did stirre vp the hearts of diuerse nations against him. For where before when he was conquerour, he had often let prisoners go without ransome paying, through which liberality he had won the hearts of many meneuen fo at that present time, his barbarous cruelty made divers cities (misliking to be subject to the Car-THAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take part with the Romaines. Amongst them was SALAPIA, the which was yeelded vp vnto the Confull Marcellus, by Blacius meanes chiefe of all the Romaine faction and a band also of choise horsmen which was lest there in garison, were in maner flaine enery man of them. This is the city where Hannibal fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, &therefore they greatly reproue his immoderate lust & lasciniousnesse. Howbeitthere are others, that greatly commending the continency of this Captaine, say, that he did neuer cate lying, and neuer dranke aboue a pinte of wine, neither when he came to make war in ITALY, nor after that he returned into Africk E. Somethere be also that fay, Hannibal was cruell & vncon-Hant, & subject to diverse such other vices how beit they make no maner of mention of his chaftiry or incotinency. Butthey report that his wife was a Spaniard, borne in Castvio, agood towne: and that the CARTHAGINIAN'S granted her many things, and trusted her very much, because of the great faith and constancy of that nation. Now Hannibal after he had lost (as we have told you) the city of Salapia, he found the meanes to cry quittance, & to make the Romains Iose more then he had lost. For at the selfe same time Fuluius Vice consull lay besieging of Her-DONEA, hoping to win the citie without refistance. And because he stood in no feare of any encmie round about him (for Hannibal was gone into the countrey of the BRYTIANS) he kept no warch, and was altogether negligent in martial affaires, contrary to the nature of the ROMAINE captaines. Hannibal being aductifed thereof by spials, would not lose such a goodly oportunity: & therfore coming into Apvlia with his army ready, he came fo haftily vpo Her Donia, that he had almost stolne vpon Fulnius, vnprouided in his camp. Howbeit the Romains valiantly receiued the first charge with such courage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithstanding in the end, as the Romains two yeares before that had bin ouercome not far from thence, with their Conful Fuluius: euen so likewise vnder the conduct of this Fuluius Viceconful, the ROMAINE legions were vtterly ouerthrowne, & their Captaine flaine, with the most part of his army. The Confull Marcellus was at that time in the city of SAMNIVM, who being aduertised of this great ouerthrow, defired to be even with him: and though it seemed he came too Viceconful. latero helpe things past remedy, yet he brought his army into the countrey of the Lveanians, whither he vnderstood Hannibal was gone after his victory, and came and camped directly over against his enemy, & soone after came to battel. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refused not, but gaue such a sierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till Sunne set, and no man knew who had the better and so the night parted them. The next morning the ROMAINS shewing againe in field in battell ray, made it knowne that the enemies were afraid of them. For Hannibal kept his men within the campe, and the next night following stole away without any noise, and went into Apvlia. Marcellus also followed him foote by foote, and sought to put all to hazard by some notable battell: for he bare himselse thus in hand, that of all the Romaine Captaines there was none matchable with Hannibal but himfelfe, either in counfell, wit, or policy, or essentiall discipline, or warlike stratagemes. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any fet battell with the enemie: for after he had made a few light skirmishes, because he would not trouble his souldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed them in garrison for the winter time. At the beginning of the next spring, procured partly by Fabius letters (who was one of the new Consuls for that yeare) and partly also through his owne dispofition, he brought out his garrisons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his army against Hannibal, who lay at that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chanced, that through the nearnesse of both their camps, and the good desire they both had to fight, in few dayes they fought three seuerall times. The first battel, when they had fought it out till night, in maner like hope of

both sides, and that it could not be judged which of them had the better they both of purpose retired into their campe againe. The second day Hannibal was conqueror, after he had slainealmost two thousand seuen hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to slight. The third day, the Romaines to recourt the shame and dishonor they had lost the day before; they were the first that prayed they might fight, & so Marcellus led them out to battell. Hannibal wondring attheir valiantnesse, said vnto his people, that he dealt with an enemy that could neuer be quiet conqueror, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: because the Romaines did their best tobe reuenged of their losse, and the Carthagintans on the other fide were mad in their minds, to see that the vanquished durst prouoke the vanqui- Hamilbals shers vnto battell. In the end, the ROMAINE's being sharply reproued, and also perswaded by words of Marcellus to sticke to it valiantly like men, that the news of their victory might come to Rome, before the newes of their ouerthrow: they flew in among the preasse of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thrife broken their enemics, they made them all flie. At the selfe sametime Fabius Maximus tooke the citic of TAR BNTVM againe, almost after the selfe fame forthit was lost. This being reported vnto Hannibal, he faid: the Romaines have also their Hannibal. The next year efollowing, Marcellus & Crispinus were chosen Consuls, who preparing Marcellus to put themselves in readinesse for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. Hannibal and crisps despairing that he was not able to resist the in battel, he sought all the wits he had to denise some nus confult. way to intrap the by subtilty, whom he could not ouercome by battel. So Hannibals head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for. Betweene both camps, there was a prety groue, in the which Hannibal laid certaine bands of the NVMIDIANS in ambush, to intrapthe enemies passing too & fro. On the other side, Hamibal the Confuls by confent of them all, thought it best to send to view this groue, and to keepe it if dieth amneed required: lest in leaning it behind them, the enemies should come, and so be vpontheir iackes afterwards. Now before they remoued their army, both the Confuls went out of their campe, with a small company of horsmen with them, to view the situation of this place; and so going on very vndiscreetly, and worse appointed then became men of their authority & place, they vnfortunately fell into Hannibals ambush. So, when they saw themselties in a moment compaffed about on every fide with enemies, that they could not go forward, and were also fought withallbehind: they defended themselves the best they could, rather by copulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So, Marcellus was flaine fighting valiantly; and Crispinus the o. The death ther Consull also very fore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies hads. Hamibal being aduertised of Marcelthat Marcellus was flaine, who was the chiefest man of althe Romains Captains, that had most hindered the happy successe of his victories, & had besides troubled him most: he present went and camped there where the battell was fought, & when he had found Marcellus body, he gaue ithonorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may fee how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, The power are efteemed of all men: confidering that the cruell and most mortall enemy gaue honorable buriallto so noble and excellent a Captaine. The Romains in the meane time seeing one of their Confuls dead, and the other Confull very fore hurr, they drew ftraight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Crispinus had fent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertife them that Marcellus his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ring he sealed his letters withall, wherfore he wished them to beware of any letters written in Marcellus name. Crispinus messenger came but newly vnto Salapia, when letters were brought also from Hannibal in the behalfe of Marcellus, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they fent his messenger away, and carefully looked for Hannibals coming. About the fourth watch of the night, Hannibal came to the city of SALAPIA, who of purpose had put all the Romaines that had fled, in the vaunt guard, because that they speaking the Latine tongue, might make them beleeue that Marcellus was there in person. So when the citizenes had suffered 600 of them to come in, they shut roo the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the army, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the city. Thus Hannibal being in a maruellous rage he had miffed of his purpole, he removed thence; & went into the country of the Brytians, to aid the Locaians that were befieged by the ROMAINES, both by fea and by land. After all these things, at the earnest him, & c. request of the Senate and people, two new Confuls were created, both famous captaines, & valiant fouldiers, Marcus Liuius, & Claudius Nero: who having devided y army betwixt them, went

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vnto their seueral charge and prouinces. Claudius Nero went into the country of the SALENTI-NIANS, & M. Liuius into GAVLE, against Hasdrubal BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alps, & made hast to ioyn with his brother Hannibal, bringing with him a great army both of footme and horsemen. Now it chanced at the same time, that Hannibal had received great losse by Claudins the Cosul. For first of al, he ouercame him in the country of the Lycanians, vsing the like policies & fetches that Hannibal did. Afterwards again, meeting with Hanibal in Apvita, by the city of VENVSIA, he fought such a lusty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the field. By reason of the great losses, Hannibal suddenly went to METAPONT, to renew his army again. So having remained there a few daies, he received the army from Hanno, the which he ioyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. C. Nero lay not far from VENVSIA with his campe: who having intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderstood by them that Hasdrubal was at hand with his army. Therupon he bethought himself night & day, what policy he might vse to preuent the ioyning of two so great armies together as these. So, after he had taken aduice of himselfe, he followed in sight a dangerous determination, but peraduenture necessary, as the time required. For leaving the camp vnto the charge of his Lieutenant, he took part of the army with him, & making great iourneyes, came to PISENVM (being the marches of Angona) fo that on the fixt day he came to SENA. There both the Consuls io yned their forces together, & fetting vpon Hasarubal by the river of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were fix and fifty thousand of the enemies slaine on that day: so that they Sena a city almost had as great an ouerthrow, as the Romaines had received before at the battel of Can-Metaurum NES. Now Claudius Nero, after this famous victory, returning as speedily vnto Venvs 1A as he M. Linius, went thence, he fet vp Hasdrubals head, where the enemies kept the watch: and didlet certaine and CiNero prisoners go, to carie news to Hannibal of this great ouerthrow. For afterwards it was knowne, Confuls. a. that Hamibal knew nothing yet of Claudius secret enterprise, nor of the speedy executió & great slaughter he had made. Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so subtle a Captaine as Hannibal, could be deceived by Clodius, confidering both their campes lay so nearetogether: so that he first heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and of all his army, before he vnderstood any thing of the Confuls departure, or heard of his returne against to the campe. Now Hannibal hauing not only received a generall, but also a particular great losse by the death of his brother, he faid then, he plainly faw the change and alteration of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortunes and shortly after remoted his campe, and went thence into the countrey of the BRYTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow given by the river of Metaurum, was a maruellous incouragement to the ROMAINES, and would also be a great log in his way, for the successe of this warre. tion of the This notwithstading, he gathered together al his power he had left in ITALY, after so many great Carthagibattels and conflicts, and so many cities taken; and maintained the warre with an inuincible counsans good rage. But the most strangest thing in Hannibal was this, that through his authoritie & wildome, he kept all his army in peace and amity together (being a medley of Spaniards, Africans, The praife GAVLES, and of diverse other nations) & never man heard that there was any brawle or tumult among them. Howbeit the ROMAINES themselves, after they had wonne Sicile, Sardinia, bals great wijdome in and Spaine againe, they could neuer viterly ouercome him nor drive him out of ITALY, bethe gowernforethey had fent P. Cornelius Scipio into Africke: who making warre with the Carthagiment of his NIAMS, he brought them to such great extremity, that they were driven to fend for Hannibal home out of ITALY. Hannibal at that time (as we have faid before) was in the countrey of the ERVTIANS, making war by inrodes and sudden inuasions, rather then by any fought battell: sauing that once there was a battell fought in hast betwixt him and the Consull Sempronius, and The last immediatly after he came & fet vpon the same Sempronius with all his army. At this battell Hanbattell Hane nibal had the victory: but at the second, Sempronius ouercame him. Since that time, I can find in in Italy was no Greeke nor Latine Author, that Hannibal did any famousact in ITALY worthie memorie. with Sem-For being fent for into Africk B by the Carthaginians, he left Italy fixteene yearesafter premis, 175 this Africk E war was begun, greatly complaining of the Senate of Carthage, & of himself the which

also. Of the Senate, because that all the time he had bene in his enemies countrey so long, they

had allowed him so litle money: and so scanted him besides with all other things necessary for

wayes delaied time after the victory, and had given the enemy liberty to gather force againe. It

is reported also, that before he imbarked and tooke sea, he set vp a criumphing arch or pillar, by

after bebed the wars. And of himself, because that after he had so often ouercome the Romains, he had alward to

metemple of Iuno Lacinia, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Pu- Hamilais icke and Greeke tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind ferued him so well, that in few daies he arrived at Leptis, & lading all his army, he first came to Adre Mento M. Hannibal derwards vnto ZAMA. There receiving advertisement how the affaires of the CARTHAGINI-1835 prospered, he thought it best to deuise some way to end this war. For this cause he sent vnto sipio, to pray him to appoint him some convenient place where they might both meet, & talke ngether of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainely knowne, whether Hannibal adthis of his owne head, or by commandement of the Senate. Scipio refused not to come to parly. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous Generals of mightie nations, in Hammibals agreat plaine together, either of them having his interpreter, to talke together of diverse matters and Scipios whing peace and warre. For Hannibal was altogether bent to peace, because he saw the affires of \$ CARTHAGINIANS WAXE WORSE & worse every day that they had lost Sicile, Sar-DINIA, and SPAIN E: because the warre was brought out of ITALY into AFRICKE; because Sywax (a mighty king) was taken prisoner of the Romain estand also because that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into Africk E, which was the only remaine and reliefe of blong a war as he had made in ITALY and also because that the CARTHAGINIANS had so smal apower left (both of strangers, and also of citizens) that there were scarce men inough to defind the city of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade Scipio with a long Oration he made, mherto agreeto peace, then to refolue of warre. Howbeit scipio that liued in hope to bring this warreto a good end, would not seeme to give earc to any peace. Wherefore after they had long lebated the matter of either side, in the end they brake off, & made no agreemet. Shortly after, was this famous battel striken by the city of Zama, in y which the Romains obtained victory. For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army, to carthagini. hat they did put all Hannibals horsemen out of order. And Lalius and Masinisa, who made both and at the the wings, increasing their feare, gaue the horsemen no leisure to gather themselves in order againe. Howbeit the footmen fought it out a long time, and with a maruellous great courage: inbmuch that the CARTHAGINIANS (trusting in their former victory) thought that all the fafety and preferuation of Africk 1, was all in their hands, and therefore they layed about them like men. The ROMAINES on the other fide had as great heartsas they, and be fides, they flood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeed did the ROMAINES great service to helpe them to the vittory: and that was, Lelius and Masinisaes returne from the chase of the horsemen, who ruled into the battell of the enemy with great furie, and did put them in a maruellous feare. For atheir coming, the CARTHAGINIANS hearts were done, and they faw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slaine that day, aboue twenty thousand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners. Hannibal their Generall, after he had taried to fee the end of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the The flying great flaughter. Afterwards when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to help to saue his country, he of Hanniperswaded the Senate not to hope any more in wars, but did coused them, that setting all devices apart, they should send vnto Scipio the Romaine Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condition. When the ten Ambaffadors had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto Car-THAGE of the articles of peace, it was reported that there was one Gifgo, who milliking to heare talke of peace, made an Oration, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the Ro-MAINES. Wherefore Hannibal perceiuing that diverse men confirmed his opinion, and being Hannibal much offended to fee fuch beafts,& men of no vnderstanding, to dare to speake of fuch matters, could not in sodangerous arime: he cast him selse downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his Oration. So when he saw that the citizens and all the whole affembly thought this too presumptuous a part warre. of him, & vnmeet altogether for a free citie, he himself got vp into the pulpit for Orations, and aid: Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth had bene alway out of CARTHAGE, and brought vp all his lifetime in wars, be ignorant of the lawes & ordinances of the city. After that, he spake so wisely of the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authority of fo great a person, they all agreed to accept the conditions which the Vanquisher, & the necessitie of time offered them. The articles out of doubt were very extreme, and luch as the vanquished are wont to receine with all extremity by the conquerours. But befides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were bound to pay the ROMAINES an anuall tribute, untill a certaine time were run out. So when the day came that the first pension was to be

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Payed to the Romaines, and that every man grudged when the subsidie was spoken of: some Tay that Hannibal being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS, he fell alaughing. And when Haldrubal Hadus reproued him because he laughed in such a common calamity of all the city, he answered, that it was no laughter nor reioycing from the heart, but a scor. ning of their fond teares, that wept when there was leffe cause (and onely because it touched euery private mans purse) then before, when the Romaine's took from the Carthaginians their ships, armor, and weapons, and their spoiles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gauclawes and ordinances vnto them that were vanquished. I know some Authors write, that Hannibal immediatly after he had lost the battel, fled into Asia, for that he was afraid they would deliver him into Scipioes hands, that perhaps might demand him of them. But whether that was done fuddenly, or some time after the battell was lost at ZAMA, it makes no great matter:confidering that all the world knoweth, that when he faw things brought to extremity, he presently fled into As IA vnto king Antiochus. So it is most true, that king Antiochus receined him with great courtefie, and vsed him very honorably: infomuch as he made him of councell with him all in all, both in private and publike causes. For the name of Hannibal caried great reputation with all men: besides that, he had a comon and mortal hate to the Romaines. which was a pricking spurre still to moue warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy hourcinto that countrey, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king against them, but also to set wars at liberty against the ROMAINES. So he told him, that the only way to make warre with the Romaines, was to go into Italy to leavy Italian fouldiers, by whom only that victorious countrey of all other nations might be subdued. He requested of the king a hundred ships, 16000 footmen, and a thousand horsemen onely. With this small army he promised to inuade ITALY, and that he would maruellously trouble the ITALIANS: whom he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very found of his name onely, because of the late warres he had made there, so fresh yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke heart againe vnto him to renew the warres of Africk e, if the king would licence him to fend men vnto Car-THAGE, to stirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whom he knew hated the ROMAINES to death. When he had gotten the king to grant him his request, he called Ariston Tyrian vnto him, a fine subtle fellow, and meete for such a purpose: to whom he made large promises, and perfivaded him to go to CARTHAGE to his friends, and to carie them letters from him. Thus Hanmibal being a banished man, and fled out of his countrey, raised warre in all parts against the ROMAINES. And furely his counfell had taken good effect, had king Antiochus rather followed his advice, as he did at the first, then the vaine perswasions of his fine courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes courts, bread Hannibal great enemies. For they being afraid that by his counsels he should grow in great fauour with the king (for he was a wise and politicke Capraine) and that thereby he should beare great sway and authority: to preuentit, they lacked no device to bring him in differace with the king. And it fo chanced atthat time that P. Villius, who came Ambaffador vnto Ephesvs, had often conference with Hannibal. Hereupon his privite enemies tooke occasion to accuse him, and withall, the king himselfe became so iealous of it, that from thenceforth he neuer more called him to counfell. At the selfe same time also, as some do report, Publius Cornelius Scipio African (who was one of the Ambassadours sent vnto king Antiochus) talking familiarly with Hannibal, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truly, whom he thought the worthiest Captaine of all others. Hannibal answered him. First he thought Alexander, king of MACEDON the chiefest enext vnto him, Pyrrhus, king of the Epirotes: and thirdly, himselfe. Then Scipio African smiling, asked him: what wouldest thou say Hannibal, if thou hadst ouercome me? Truly said he, then I would be chicfest my selfe. This answer pleased Scipio maruellous wel, because he saw he was neither dispised, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peerelesse, by some secret stattery of Hannibal. After these things Hannibal found occasion to talke with king Antiochus, and began to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, & bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the Romaines: whereby he fo fatisfied the king, that he was againe received into his grace and fauour, which he had almost vtterly lost. Thereupon the king was determined to have made him Admirall of his army by sea, the which he had put in readinesse for ITALY, and alfoto make proofe of his great courage and service, whom he knew to be a worthie man, and a mortall enemic to the Romaines. But one Thors, Prince of the ÆTOLIANS, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or else for that his fancy was such the altered the kings mind, and cleane changed his purpose, the which was a matter of great importance for the war he preteded to make. For he gaue counsell vnto Antiochus, that he should go himselfe into GR ECE, & direct his own affaires: & that he should not suffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this war. Hamildal So king Antiochus shortly after went into GRECE, to make war with the ROMAINS. Within few daies after, when he cossulted whether he shold make league with the Thessalians, Hannibals of busto opinion was specially asked who spake so wisely touching the state of the THESSALIANS, & the make war chiefest matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, & gaue their consents vnto it. Romainet. Now his opinion was, that they should not need much to care for § THESSALIANS, but rather to make all the means they could to get king Philip of MACEDON to take their part, or els to perswade him to be a Newter, and to take neither part. Furthermore, he gaue counsell to make war with the Romains in their own country, & offered himself to aid him the best he could. Euery man gaue good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather comended, then followed. Wherfore enery man maruelled, that fuch a Captaine as he, that had fo many yeares made warre with the Romains (who had in maner conquered all the world) should then be so light set by of the king, when it specially stood him vpon, to have such a mans help & counsell. For, what captaine liuing could a man haue foud more skilful or politike, or meeter to make war with the Romain's then him? Howbeitthe king made no reckoning of him at the first beginning of this warre, but fhortly after, difdaining all their counsell, he confessed that Hannibal onely saw what was to be King Anidonc. For after the Romains had obtained victory in the warre he made in Gree, Antiochus echai udge ment of fledout of Evrope into Ephesvs, where making merry, and following pleasure, he hoped Hamibal. toliue in peace, litlethinking the ROMAINES would come with an army into Asia. Now, these flattering courtiers fed still his humor:a perpetuall plague to kings & princes, that sufferthe selves to be flattered, & are cotented to be deceiued because they give good care to that that pleaseth them. But Hannibal, who knew the power & ambition of the Romaines, perswaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, & bad him trust to it, that the Romains would never stay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in Africk, & Evrope. Antiochus perswaded by the authority of such a man, straight comanded Polyxenidas, a very seruiceable man, & skilful in sea seruice, that he should go meet with the army of the Romain es that was coming thither. Then he sent Hannibal into Syria, to leavy a great number of ships together, and afterwards made him and Hannibal mannibal into Syria, to leavy a great number of imps together, and after wards made that and made Generals (one of his fauoured courtiers) Generals of his army by sea: who notwithstanding made Generals of his army by sea: that Polyxenidas was put to the worst by the Romains, they went & set vponthe Rhodians, otherarmy that were confederates with them. Hannibal in this battel affailing Eudamus the Captaine of the by feat together RHODIANS, that led the left wing, he had already compassed in the Admiral galley, and doubtleffe had obtained the victory, but that y other wing came in to rescue, after they had followed Apollonius in chase, and tooke the victory from him, that was his owne. After this battell by sea, which had no great good fucces, we do not find that Hannibal did any thing worthy of memorie. For king Antiochus being ouercome, besides other conditions, the ROMAINES offered him, they defired that Hannibal (the mortall enemy of the countrey) should be deliuered vnto them. Hannibal foreseeing this long before, he suddenly stole from Antiochui, after this notable battell that was fought by Magnesia, where the kings power was ouerthrown. So, after Hannibal had wandred vp and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto Prusias king of BYTHINIA, for succor. Now he did not fo much trust to his friendship, but because he fought for the meetest place fied prohe could come by, as also for the safest, the which he most defired considering that the Ro-MAINE's had the most part of the sea and land in their subjection. Some say, that after king Antiochus was ouercome, Hannibal went into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS; and that the rumour ranimmediatly, he had brought a great masse of gold and silver with him. Wherefore being afraid lest the CRETANS should offer him some violence, he deuised this shift to scape the danger: he filled earthen pots with lead gilt, and sent them into the temple of Diana, faining that he was maruellous carefull for them, as though all his treasure had bene there. On the other side he had hid all his gold in images of braffe, the which he had left carelesly lying on the ground in the bouse. In the meanetime, whilest they warched the temple carefully, that these earthen pots should not be caried away without their privity, Hannibal hoised faile, and sed into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the sea side, which the countrey men cal LIBYSSA, of the

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which by fome mens faying, there ranne an old Oracle and Prophecy in this fort: The land of Liby (la shall couer under mold

The valiant corps of Hannibal, when he was dead and cold.

There Hannibal lay, not spending his time idly, but passing it away in exercising of the marriners riding of horses, and training of his souldiers. Some Authors also do write, that at that time Pru-The made war with Eumenes, king of PERGAMVS, who was a confederate and friend of the Ro-NAINS: and that he made Hannibal his Lieutenant generall of his army by fea: who affailing Enmenes with a new found and vnknowne deuice, wan the victory of the battell by fea, For before they began to fight, it is reported that Hannibal had gotten an infinite number of snakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begun, & they bufily tending their fight; hethrew those menes.king pots with fnakes into the enemies ships, and that by this fearefull and strange deuice he made them flie. Now whether this wastrue, or not, the old Chronicles do make no maner of mention, but only Amylius and Trogus: and therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diffention betwixt these two kings, Prusias and Eumenes being brought to Rome, the Senate fent T. Q. Flaminius Ambassador into As 1A, whose name was famous for the noble victories he had obtained in GRECE to the end (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt these two kings. Flaminius being come ynto king Prusias, he was maruellously offended, and fory in his mindto see Hannibal yet aliue (that was the mortallest enemy of the Romaines) after the conquest of so many nations, and the facking of fo many people: therefore he was very earnestly in hand with king Prustas, to deliver him Hannibal. Hannibal from the first beginning mistrusted king Prustas inconstancy very much, & therefore had digged diverse vaults in his house, & made seven severall vents to flie out at, if he were fuddenly taken. The report of Flaminius coming did increase his suspition the more, for that he thought him the greatest enemy he had in Rom E:both generally for the hate he bare vnto all y Romains, as also particularly for the remébrance of his father Flaminius, that was flaine in the battel fought by the lake of Thrasymene. So Hannibal being ful of care & griefe (as it is reported) he found denices to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the kings guard which were sent to take him, had copassed his house about, Hannibal thought to flie at their first coming, & to saue himselfe by the secretest vaulthe had. But when he found that the place was kept by the guard, then he determined to rid himself out of the Romains hand, by destroying himself. So some do report, that he was strangled by one of his men, whom he had comanded to helpe to dispatch him. Others write againe, that he had drunke buls bloud, & when he had drunke it, died, as Clitarchus, & Stratocles do falfly report of Themistocles. Howbeit Titus Livius, that famous Historiographer writeth, that Hannibal called for the poy fon he had ready for such a mischiefe, & that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke, he faid: Come on, let vs rid the Romains of this paine & care, fith their spite & malice is so great, to haste y death of a poore old man, that is halfe dead already. The ancient Romains aduertised Pyrrbus king of the Epirotes, who came with ensignes displaied to the very wals of the city of Rome, that he should looke to himself, & beware of poyloning and these Romains now do make a friend forgetting his kingly state & faithfull promise, vilely to betray his poore guest. After he had said, bitterly cursing king Prusius, he poysoned himself, being 70 yeares old, as some writers do testific. His body was buried in a tombe of stone by LIBYSSA, on the which was engrauen no more but this: Here lieth Hannibal. The Romains being aduertised of his death, every man said his opinion, as his fancy served him. Some greatly blamed T. Q. Flaminius cruelty, who to make himselfe famous by some notable act (as he thought) made a poore old man put himselfe to death, that was in maner halfe dead by age, and besides, was past doing the state of Rome any more hurt, they being conquerors in maner, of all the world. But some again on the other side, commended Flaminius for it, & said, it was a good deed of him, to rid the ROMAINE's of their mortall enemy: who though he had a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wife counsell, & great experience in wars, to intice king Prusias to make war, & to molest all Asia befides, with new wars. For at that time, the power of y king of BITHYNIA was fo great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, Mithridates king of the same BITHINIA, did maruellously molest the Romains both by sea & by land, & moreover sought battels with L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, famous Captaines of the Romaines. And fo the Romaines might also be afraid of Prusias, and specially having Hannibal his Captaine. So some judge, that T.2. Flaminius was specially sent Ambassador vnto king Prusias, secretly to practise Hannibals death.

Howbeit it is to be supposed, that Q. Flaminius was not so desirous to have Hannibal so suddenly butto death, as he would have bin glad otherwise to have brought him again to Rome, that had done such mischiefe to his country: and this had benea great benefit for Rome, & much honor allo ynto himselfe. Such was the death of Hannibal the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous man doubtleffe, and highly to be commended for martial praise, setting his other vertues aside. So we may The praise of cassly judge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wisdome and courage, and his Hannibal, perfit skill of martiall discipline was in all things. For in all the wars the CARTHAGINIAN'S had fovehemently, and with fuch great preparation enterprifed, they neuer thought themselues ouercome, till Hannibal was ouerthrowne at that great battell by ZAMA. So it appeareth that all their strength and skill of warres began, and also ended with Hannibal their Captaine.

THE LIFE OF Scipio African.



Howbeit

Volius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the family of the Cornely (who was the first Romaine Captaine against whom Hannibal fought in ITALIE) Theparens was the father of Cornelius Scipio afterwards furnamed African, the first: tage of fo called, because he had conquered that nation. The same Scipio, after he had obtained many great victories in Spaine, and done notable feates of armes, was in the end flaine with a wound he had in a battell against his enemies, as he was plying and encouraging of his men from placeto place, thronging in the greatest danger and fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother Cn. Scipio also end his life, much after one

felf maner, & was flaine valiantly fighting So thefetwo Captains, befides the fame they atchieuedby their noble deeds, left behind the great praise of their faithfulnesse, modesty, & courage the which made them not only wished for of their souldiers that were then living, but also of all the Spaniar Ds besides. Cn. Scipio had a son called P. Cornelius Nasica, one that had bin Consull, and had also triumphed: who being but a yong man, was thought the meetest man of all the city of Rome to receive Idea the mother of the gods. This Publius had two sonnes, the so famous Scipioes: of the which the one was called Afian, because he conquered Asia: and the other African, because he subdued Africk at that famous battel of Zama, where he ouerthrew Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, as we faid before. Whose life we purpose now to write, not so much to make the glory of his name (so famous by all the Greeke and Latine Authors) the greater by Zzzz 3

poyfoned being feyeares old. Hannibals Libylja.

confederates came thither, who being courteously received, returned to their lodgings with such

answer as they liked. After this, Scipio being carefully bent to prosecute the warre he had taken

army that lay in garrison for the winter time, euery man did certainly perswade themselues that

the warre should prosper; and when they saw him, they remembred their old Captaines, inso-

much that there was neuer a fouldier could have his fill with looking vpon this young man.

Howbeit, after he had commended the fouldiers for their noble courage, not despairing for the

calamity of their country, he greatly honored Lucius Martins: to shew, that who so trusteeth in his

owne vertues, need not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being past, he tooke the old

and new bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to go & lay siegevnto new Car-

THAGE. For of all the cities of Spaine it was the wealthiest, and none more meete to make war

both by fea & land, then that, Moreouer, the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS had bestowed

in this city all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the city,

and castell. But the Captaines themselues were deuided in diverse countries, to the end that they

there might keepe the whole region fro spoile, least of all looking then, that CARTHAGE should

it were fo couragious, that they did not only thinke themselues able to defend the city, but their

hearts ferued them also to make fallies out vpon the enemy, and to skirmish with them, eucn to

the very trenches of the Romaines campe. Howbeit it hapneth often, that what a man cannot obtaine by force, he may winne by industry. Now Scipio knew, that the lake or meare which

is not farre from the wals of Carthage, did ebbeand flow with the tide, and that it was paf-

fable by foord on that fide where they might eafiliest come to the wals: so, he thinking to im-

brace this occasion, & that he could not possibly meete with a better device to take CARTHAGE: when he faw his time, he fet his men in battell ray, and having devided them into scucrall squa-

drons, gaue a more desperate assault vpon the city, then he had done before. In the meane time,

he chose our a band of the valiantest men he had, and commanded them to wade ouer the lake, and to scale the wals on that side, where they within the towne made least account of it. So,

these souldiers that were commanded to give this attempt, after they had passed over the lake

without any let or trouble, they found that part of the wall without any watch or guard, be-

cause the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other side of the citic. Therefore they easily

getting vp on the wall, came and affailed the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of

sookethe wals, and seeing themselues charged on euery side, betooke them to their legges, and

got vp vpon the wals, there were two fouldiers at such variance for the matter, that all the ar-

my was in danger of diuision and mutiny vponthat occasion. Thereupon Scipio called his men together, and in open affembly told them, that he knew they both got vp on the wall together, and fo gaue them both a scaling crowne; and by this meanes their tumult was presently pacified.

Afterwards he sent vnto all the cities of Spaine, the hostages that were found in y city, which

were a maruellous number: the which wanne him great fame for his courtefic and clemencie, whereby he allured many nations to yeeld themselves vnto the Romaines, and to forsake the

fare of P. being but Tenenteene yeares old.

P.Scipia

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our history, as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, & morall vertues, to the end that all Princes and noble Captains in reading it, should be hold the lively image of perfit vertue, which many moue an earnest desire in the to follow the example of P.C. Scipioes life, who from his childhood gaue great hope and shew of a noble nature, and excellent vertue, after he followed the inftruction of martiall discipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second war with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but 17 yeares old, and in a very short time grew so toward and sorward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paines like a fouldier, that he wangreat commendation of his own father, and befides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharp wit and noble courage, that he made him beloued, and also feared of his enemies. For this Scipio was present at the battell of the horsemen, where P. Cornelius Scipio the Confull fought with Hannibal, by the river of Thefin: & fome writers do affirme, that Corne. lius the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemy, had not his son Scipio saued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so yong. After that also, at the battell that was fought by CANNES, to the great loffe, and in maner vtter destruction of the Empire of Rome, when the 10000 menthat fled to CANVSIVM, had all together with one consent referred the gouernment of the army vnto Appius Pulcher, that had bene Ædilis, & vnto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very yong: the same Scipio shewed then by his deeds, what noble mind and courage was in him. For when he saw certaine yong men consult together betweene themselues to forfake ITALY, he thrust in among them, and drawing out his fword, made them all sweare they would not for fake their country. These, and such like deeds done by him with a lively courage and noble mind, being then but a yong man, wan him fuch fauour with the Romaines, that not respecting his yong yeares, nor their ancient custome, they called him forward, & laid offices of great charge and gouernment vpon him. Infomuch that when he fued for the office of Ædilis before his due time, norwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his suite, because he was so young a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, and fo was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voyces. So after his father and vnkle (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene flaine one after the other in Spaine, and that the Romaines were in consultation to appoint some worthy Captaine in the roome: they could find no man that durst vindertake this so dangerous war, considering the losse of two so great Captaines before. Wherfore the whole affembly being called to chuse a Viceconsul, all the other Princes and Peeres of the Realme being filent at fo worthy a motion: Scipio only of all the rest, being but 24 yeares old, stood vp in the middest of them, and said, with a good hope and confidence he wold willingly take the charge vpon him. He had no fooner offered this promife, but he was prefently Scipio Fie- made Viceconfull of Spain E, with the wonderfull good wil and fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voices. Howbeit the Senators afterwards confidering better of the matter, against what Captains and nations he should make warre, they thought it vnpossible so yong a man could performe so weighty a charge. Wherfore mens minds were wonderfully changed againe on the sudden, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voices & election. Scipio perceiuing it, called an affembly presently, and made such an Oration of his age, and discipline of wars, that every man that heard him wondred at him, and the people began againeto renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not only a noble courage in him, being indued with fo many fingular vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comly of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance: all which things together, are great meanes to win him the loue and good will of euery man. Moreouer, euen in his gesture and behauior, there was a certaine Princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline being joy ned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature, it was to be doubted, whether civil vertues made him more acceptable vnto strangers, then wonderfull for his skill in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples hearts with a certaine superstitious feare, because he did daily (after he had taken the mans gowne) vse to go vp to the Capitoll, and so into the Church without any company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company in the company is the company in the company in the company in the company in the company is the company in the compa ny: infomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret things in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perfwaded long before, that Numa Pompilius was taught by the Nymph Ageria. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of Scipio, as in old time they had of Alexander king of MACEDON, to wit, that oftentimes there was a fnake scene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. Scipio departing out of ITALY with

SCIPIO AFRICAN.

tenthousand footemen, and a fleete of thirty galleys, every one of them having flue oares to a sciploes banke, he failed into Spain B:& in few daies arriving at Emponia, he landed his men, and marched by land to TARRACON. There he kept a councell, and many Ambaffadors of the cities their

vpon him, he thought it best to joyne the remain of the old bands with his army, which had bin faued through the manhood and valiantnesse of Lucius Martius. For after both the Scipioss were flainc, and both Spaines almost lost, and the Romaine legions also overthrowne and put to flight, Lucius Martius a Romaine Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies pussed up with glorie of the victorie they

had gotten, and with great valiantnesse, and vnspeakeable industrie he maintained warre in Martins SPAINE, against three Captaines of the Carthaginians. Now Scipio being come to this against three Captaines of the Carthaginians. Now Scipio being come to this knight.

bebefieged. But Scipio having put all in readinesse, he came and besieged new CARTHAGE with Scipiobe. all his army both by sea and land. This seemed to be a maruellous hard enterprise, and would surpage in continue long both because the single search of the search of the single search of the single search of the search of the single search of the search of the search of the single search of the continue long, both because the city was very strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within spaine.

the garrison, perceiuing they were vnwares fallen into that great danger, they immediatly for-

fled. The ROMAINE's pursued them so horly, that they wan the citie, and sacked it: where scipio wan they found a wonderfull great spoile, and abundance of all things necessarie for warre. Scipio the dise of greatly praifed his fouldiers, and didreward them, for that they had done so valiant fertice.

thage by Howbeit when he should come to give the scaling crowne of the wals, vnto the first man that affails.

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Cent into Italy to bis brother Hannibal with an

CARTHAGINIANS. But one thing aboue all the rest chiesly increased his praise, and wanne him great loue and goodwill, as a mirrour and example of all vertue. There was a yong Ladie taken prisoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in Carthage: whom he carefully caused to be kept and preserved from violence and dishonour. And afterwards when he knew that she was maried vnto Luceius Prince of the CELTIBERIANS, he sent for her husband, that was a very yong man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched or dishonoured. Luceius not forgetting his noble courtesse vnto her, did let all his subiects vnderstand the great bountie, modestie, and rare excellencie of all kind of vertues that were in this Romaine General, and fliortly after, he return ned again to the Romaine's camp with a great number of horsmen. The three Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS (Mago Hafdrubal BARCINIAN, and the other Hafdrubal, the sonne of Gilgo) knowing that the loffe of new CARTHAGE did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other strange nations: as also by the coiecture divers made of the successe of this war: they first practised to dissemble the losse of it, and then in speech to make light of it, as much as they could. Scipio having joyned to him divers nations and Princes of Spaine, (among the Captaines of which were the two litle kings, Mandonius and Indibilis,) vnderstanding where Hasdrubal Bar-CINIAN lay, he marched towards him with his army to fight with him, before Mago and the other Hafdrubal came to ioyne with him. Hafdrubal Barcinian lay in campe by the river of Befula, & was very desirous to fight, trusting wholy to his strength and army: but when he heard that Scipio was athand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of prety strength. The ROMAINE legions followed him, and gaue him no respite, but pursued so neare, that he came and affaulted his campe at the first coming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampires, as if they had bene at the affault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIAN's trufting to the strength of the place, and driuen vnto it of necessitie (which maketh cowards most desperate,) they valiantly resisted their enemies the best they could. The ROMAINS in contrary maner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out lustily like men, and the fight was fo much more cruell, for that it was in the fight of their Generall scipio, & of all the army besides: infomuch that their valiant service there could not be hidden. Therfore they neuer gaue ouer the affault, vntill that having done their vttermost indeuour, they got vp vpon the rampiers, and entred in divers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. Haldrubal Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, faued himselfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMAINES entred into their fort. After this battel, Scipio according to his maner, caused all the Spanish prisoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart without paying of ransome. Among the prisoners, there was a yong Gentleman of the kings bloud, & nephew vnto Masinista, who when he had vsed very honourably, he fent vnto Masinissa, with great and rich gifts: to shew therby, that a Generall of an armie, should be as bountifull and full of civill vertues, as otherwise skilfull and expert in martial discipline. For the end of war is victorie; the benefite whereof confisteth in bounty and elemencie. From thence cometh the glorie and all other praises due to Captaines: as it happened in those things whereof we now treate. For a great number of Spanian Ds being prefent, wondering at the great elemencie of the General of the Romains, they could do no leffe but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But Scipio strake that word dead straight, the which was no comon found to the Romaines eares, & therfore he would by no means allow that title, which he knew to be hateful to the Noble men of his courry, & also vnmeet for the liberty of the Ro-MAINES. He only prayed the Spaniards, that if they had any mind & defire not to shew themfelues vnthankfull to him, that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of Rome. So whilest these things were done by Scipio, the other two Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS, (Mago, and Hasdrubal the sonne of Gisgo) after they vnderstood of the overthrow of their men by the river of Befula, made all the speede they could to ioyne together: and shortly after came and met with Hafdrubal BARCINIAN, to confult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and confidered all things, they concluded thus: that Hafdrubal BARCINIAN should go into ITALIE to his brother Hannibal, where thewarre was greatest and that Mago, and the other Hasdrubal should remaine in Spaine, should send for aide from CARTHAGE, & should not fight with the Romains vntil all their forces looked for, were affembled, and so might make a great and puissant army. When Hasdrubal was gone into ITALY, Hanno was sent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practifing in his journey to make the CARTHAGINIANS to rebell, M. Syllanus came and set vpon him by Scipioes commandement, and was so fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. Now there was a Hanno the city which the country men called ORINGE, the which was very wealthy, & meete to renew y chiefe of the war Lucius Scipio was fent thither with part of the army to befiege it but finding it a very frong thin water situation, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he environed the towne, and within Hasarubal few daies took & facked it. Winter came on apace, & the time of the yeare made the both to retire into their garrisons, for the winter. So Scipio having had so good fortune in this war, he went barrel, and ynto TARRACON: Mago, and the other Haldrubal, the fonne of Gifeo, went to the fea fide. The taken prinext fommer, wars growing more bloudy & cruell then before in the lower Spaine, the Ro-MAINES & CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the river of Besula, & fought set battels. After they had fought a long time together, Scipio at length got the victory, and made the enemies flie (of the which there were flaine a great number in the field) and giving them no leifure to gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them, & followed the chaie fo hotly, that Hasaribal and Mago were driven to leave the maine land, & to sie to Ga-DES, after they had lost all their army. In the army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a yong man of a noble courage, and very wife, called Masinista, who finding meanes to have secret conference with Syllanus, he was the first manthat offered him friendship, either being brought to offereit big ithrough Scipioes liberality, or else because he thought the time was come, that it was the furest friendspip way to take part with the Romains, which were the conquerors. It is that Mafinifa that afterwards (through the goodnesse of the Romaines) became the great and mighty king of Nv-MIDIA, and indeed he was diverse waies a profitable friend unto the Romaines. Furthermore, the selfe same yeare (which was the fourteenth of the second war with the Africans) Spaine was the first nation and people of the vplandmen dwelling in the heart of the Realme, that was conquered vnder the happy conduct of the Viceconfull Scipio: howbeit it was the last Realme that was made a province long timeaster, by Augustus Cafar. Now Scipio not cotenting himselfe with the great victories he had obtained, in very Thort time in Spaine (for he had an imaginatio and good hope also to conquer Africk) he thought it his best way, to make all the meanes he could possible to get Syphax king of the Mas #sylians, a fried to the Romains. Wherfore af- symus ter he had felt the kings mind, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make league with the Ro- king of the MAINES, he presently set all his other affaires aside, & failed into Africk with two galleys only, at fine oares to a banke. At the felfe same time also came Hafdrubal, the son of Gifgo thither, from GADEs: so that both these valiant and lusty Captaines came of purpose to the king, enuyingone the other, to craue the kings goodwill, vnto their countrey and commonwealth. Syphax welcomed them both into his court, and did vie them very honourably and court coufly, and appointed that they should both eate at one table, and lie in one selfe chamber, because the one should not thinke his entertainment better then the other. It is reported that Hasdrubal wondering at the magnanimity & great wisdome of Scipio that was present, he considered with himself the great danger the city of CARTHAGE and all AFRICKE besides was in, through that mans meanes: for he saw him yet a yong man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, Hastenbals and that had continually obtained such victories: and therefore considering the lusty youth indeenens of this gentleman, he imagined that it was impossible to perswade him to embrace peace, rather then warre. Besides, he was afraid also that Syphax, moued by the personage and authoritie of himthat was present, would take part with the ROMAINES: and indeed his mind gaue him rightly, for so it happened. Forthough Syphax at the first shewed himselfe indifferent to them both, & had moved talke to end the war betwirt the Romains and the Carthaginians: yet afterwards when scipio told him he could conclude no peace without confent of the Senate of Rome, he rejected Hafdrubal, and inclining to Scipioes request, he made league with the people of systam Rome. So Scipio being returned againe into Spaine, himselfe partly by force, and partly also king of the by L. Martine meaner conquered In the Carry of and correspondence that the by L. Martius meanes, conquered ILITURGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refuled to yeeld themselves vnto the Romaines. And to the end nothing should be lacking for league with all kind of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunately obtained so many famous victories: when he was come to new Carthage, he caused the fencers to prepare the selues to fight with great pompe, where there were many great estates, not onely to fee that pastime, but also they The unforthemselues to handle the weapons in person. But amongst other Spaniards of noble tunate fight houses, there were two called, Corbis and Orsus, which were at strife together for the kingdome: of two conbut that day they ended their quarrell, the one being flaine by the others hand. The fight was maines.

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SCIPIO AFRICAN. very lamentable and grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was flaine, troubled them much more, for they were both coufin-germains. After all this, scipio having his mind fill occupied in matters of greater weight & importance, then those which he had already brought to passe, he sell sicke. His sicknesse being carried through all Spaine, and as it happeneth often, his disease being reported to be much greater and dangerous then it was indeed thereupon, not onely the nations of SPAINE began to rife in hope of change, but the army it self also of the Ro-MAINES, the which he had left at Svero. First of all, martiall discipline was corrupted through the absence of the Generall. Afterwards also, the report of his sicknesse, and danger of his life being spred abroad in the armie, raised such a rebellion among them, that some of them little regarding the authoritie and commandement of the head Captaines of the bandes, they draue them away, and chose two meane souldiers for their Captaines; who presumptuously tooke vppon them the name giuen vnto them by men of no authoritie, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundles of roddes and axesto be caried before them. Such folly doth furie and vaine ambition oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other fide, the Spaniar Ds flept not, & specially Mandonius and Indibilis: who aspiring to the kingdome of Synine, came to Scipio when he was conquerour, after he had taken new Carthage. But afterwards, being offended to fee the power of the Romaines increase daily, they sought occasion to made some alteration. So after they had heard, not onely of Scipioes ficknesse, but also how he was at deaths doore, and did beleeue it: they presently leavied an army, and went and made warre with the Swessitans which were confederates of the Romains. But Scipio being recourred again of his ficknes, like as vpon the false rumour of his death euery man beganto rise: euen soafter the truth was known indeed of his recouery, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durst proceed any further in their rebellion. Scipio being more skilfull in martial discipline, then acquainted with fedition and rebellion, although he was maruelloufly offended with the fouldiers that had committed this folly; yet in the end, left following his anger, men should have thought him to have exceeded all bounds of reason in punishing of them, he referred all vnto the Consull. The most part of them gaue aduice, that the authours of the rebellion should be punished, and all the rest pardoned: for by this meanes, faid they, the punishment shall light vpon a few that have deserved it, and all the rest shall take example by them. Scipio followed that aduice, and presently sent for all the seditious bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receive their pay. The souldiers obeyed demein po- his commandement, some of them making their fault reflethen it was, as men do often flatter themselues: others also trusting to the Capraines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreme in punishment. For Scipio was wont to fay, that he had rather faue the life of one Romaine Citizen, then to kill a thousand enemies. This rumour can also, that Scipso had another army readie, the which he looked for to joyne with them, and then to fet vpon the kings (Mandonius and Indibilis) who made warre with the Swessitans. These fouldiers departing from Svero, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto Carthage. How beit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironed with all the legions armie. Then the Romaine Generall sitting in place of judgement, shewed himself beforeall the company in as good health and good disposition of body, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a sharpe and bitter oration, full of grieuous complaints: infomuch as there was not one of all the fouldiers that were vnarmed, that durst cast vp their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face, they were so ashamed. For their consciences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the seare of death did take their wits and sences from them, & the presence of their gracious Captaine, made them blush as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherfore there was a generall and forowfull filence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he caused the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be brought forth before the wholeassembly: who after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were presently beheaded, the which was a feareful and lamentable light to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, Scipio made all the other soldiers to be fworne again, and then went and proclaimed war against Mandonius and Indibilis. For they confidering with themselues, how the Romains fouldiers that had rebelled in the camp, were put to death, they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an armie of twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMAINS. Scipto having intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increase their army, &

that other nations could rebell the departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great speed as he could, to meet with y enemy. The kings were camped in a very firog place, & trusted fo to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor also to refuse y battel if it were offered them. Howbeit it chanced by the neareneffe of both campes, that within few daies, they being prouoked by the Romains, came downe and fet their men in battell ray, & ioyned battel with Scipio: fo that a good while together, the fight was very bloudy & cruell. But at length the SPANIAR DS seeing themselves compassed in behind, & being driven to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on every fide, they were overcome; so that the third part of them scarcely saved theselucs by flying. Mandonius and Indibilis seeing themselucs vtterly vndone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left, they fent Ambassadors vnto Scipio; humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy, and to pardon them. But Scipio knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the Romains; yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemy by curtefie and elemency, then by force: he did pardon them, & only commanded them to give him mony to pay thing toohis fouldiers. In the meane time Masinissa came from GADES, & landed: because he would himselfe in person confirme the friendship he had offered Scipio in his absence, by the meanes of M. Syllanus, & also speake with him face to face, who he judged to be a worthy man, for the famous Majiriffa victories he had obtained. And in truth Masinissa was not deceived in the opinion he had of the valiantnes & vertues of scipio, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in hismind: the which but seldome happeneth so notwith standing. For besides the great rare gifts of nature that Scipto had aboue all others, there was in himalfo a certain princely Aprincely great rate gitts of nature that scipio had about an others, there was in initiation certain principle grace and maiefly. Furthermore, he was maruellous gentle & courteous vnto them that came to Scipios him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to win euery man. He was very graue in his fersonage. gesture & behauior, and euer ware long haire. Masinissa being come to salute him, when he saw him, he had him in fuch admiration, as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes off him, nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him maruelloufly for fending his nephew vnto him, & promised him that his deeds should confirme & witnesse the friendship agreed vpon betweene them: the which he ener after inuiolably kept vnto the Romaines, even to the houre of his death. So all the nations of Spaine became subject to the Empire of Rome, or at the least their cofederates: wherupon those of GADEs also following y example of others, came & yeelded themselucs vnto the Romains. This is a very ancient nation, & if we may credit the report The Anis. of it, as Carthage was in Africk, & Thebes in Boeotia; lowas Gades vpo ý lea, a Colony of the Tyrians. Scipio after he had coquered al Spaine, & driven out the Carthagini- Gades. ANS, confidering that there remained nothing more for him to do, he left the gouernment of the ble deedes. province vnto L. Lentulus, & to Manlius Acidinus, and returned to Rome. When he was arrived Scipioesre at Rome, the Senate gaue him audience out of the city, in the temple of Bellona. There, when he turne out of had particularly told them of the things he had valiantly and fortunately brought to end: and Spaine to further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diverse foughten fields, and also put to flight four earmies of the enemics, and driven the Carthaginians out of both Spaines, and that there was no nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the Romaines: the Senate gaue udgemer, that althese things were worthy of a noble triuph. But because never man yet was suffered to enter into Rom E in triumph, for any victories he had obtained, whilest he was only but Viceconfull, and had not yet bene Confull: The Senators thought it not good, and Scipio himselse also made no great suite for it, because he would not be an occasion, to bring in any new custome, and to breake the old. So when he came into the city, he was afterwards declared Confull, with the great good will and confent of the whole affembly. It is reported that there never confull. came such a world of people to Rome, as were there at that time, not only for y assemblies sake, but more to fee Publius Cornelius Scipio. Wherefore not the Romaines onely, but all the strangers also that were there, all their eyes were vpon Scipio, and said both openly and prinately: that they should send him into Africke, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne countrey. Scipio also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske aduice of the people, if the Senate would be against such a worthy enterprise. For amongst the Peeres and Senators, there were fome that vehemently inueved against that opinion, and amongst the rest, Fabius Maximus specially, a man of great fame and authoritie. Scipio went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to drive Hannibal out of ITALY, but that only: and that all other

Scipio pre. pared his (ca in fine and fortie dayes.

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counsels were in vaine, & vnprofitable. After this matter was long debated in councel, Sierle was appointed vnto Scipio: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with his army into AFRICKE, if he thought it meete and profitable for the commonwealth. The decree of the Senate being published, every mans mind ran of so great enterprises, that they perswaded themselues Africk & was already their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit Scipio faw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this journey, because of the pouerty of the common treasure, and for lacke of yong men, the flower and choise of the which was vtterly gone, by the former great losses and ouerthrowes Hannibal had given them. How beit to fatisfie every mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speed he could, to prepare things necessary for the warres. So diverse people of THVSCAN, and of the VMBRIANS, offered to help him to their best powerssome of them gaue him timber to build his ships, others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kind of victuals, and munition for his army. The ships being built, and all the army by sea put in a readinesse, in the space of fine and sortie dayes, athing incredible to many, Scipio departed out of ITALIE, and failed towards Sicile. But when he came to take muster of his army, he specially chose that had served long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of M. Marcellus, the which were all esteemed for very expert fouldiers. And for the Sicilians, he partly wanne them by courtefic, and partly by compulfion compelled them to give him aid for the war he tooke in hand, the which he meant to make in Africk E, when the time of the years should serue for it. Among other things, it is reported that Scipio chose out of diverse cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the faid prouince, and commanded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, enery man with horse and armour. They then coming at the day appointed, according to his commandement, the Confull bad them chuse whether they would follow him in the warres of A FRICK E, or els deliuer vp their armor and horse to as many other Romaines as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, Scipio appointed 300. other yong Romaines in their places, whom he had brought out of Italy with him vnarmed, because he would mount & arme them at the Sicilians cost, as indeed it chanced. Afterwards they did him great service in Africk, in many great battels. Now time was come on for Scipio to put his army in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syracvsa, taking order not only for the preparation of war, but also for the affaires of Sicile. There when it was told him by complaint of divers, that there was a great company of ITALIAN fouldiers in that city, who wold not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the wars, but kept the still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoyeed them by special comandement to make restitution to the Syracvsans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commandement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hearts of Sicile, and was reported to be a just and vpright Confull. In the meanetime he was advertised by Caius Lelins, that returned out of Africk E with great spoile, how king Masinista was very desirous of his coming: thither, and that he inftantly prayed him he would come into Africk E, as foone as he could possible, so it were without the prejudice of the commonwealth. Moreover, that diversenations and people of Africke had the like defire: who hating the gouernment of the Carthagini-ANS, defired nothing more then fome good occasion to rebell. Now this iourney was not deferred through Scipioes fault or negligence, confidering that fuch a Captaine could hardly be found that was more careful & diligent in his charge then he. How beit the affaires of Sicilia, and the oportunity he had to recouer Lock Bs again, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpose to passe according to his mind. Furthermore, his Lieutenant Pleminius disorder grieued him much, because that having left him at Lock Es, he fell to all forts of insolencie, as to defloure women, and to spoile the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruellously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subject to the government of so vile and wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of Lockes being arrived at Rome, and exhibiting their complaints in open Senate, of the great wrongs and iniuries Pleminius did them: the noble men tooke the matter fo grienously, that they made bitter decrees, not only against the same Pleminius, but also against P.C. Scipio himselfe. Whereupon Scipioes enemies having gotten matter inough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offered the Localans, with the licentiousnesse of Pleminius, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had **fuffered**

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fuffered all these things more negligently, then became the office or duty of a Consul. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in Sicils was altogether varuly & vaferuiceable, and regarded not the ordinances of the camp and that the captaine himself was carelesse, and al- 2. Fabins logether giuen ouer to pleasure & idlenesse. But aboue al others Fabius Maximus was his heavy memic, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modestic andreason, and thought good to call him presently homeout of Sicile, and to dismisse him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, & extreme. Wherfore, following Quintus Metellus counfell, the Senators appointed ten Ambassadors to go into S1c11 E, to make diligent inquiry, whether the accusations objected against Scipio were true; and if they found him in fault, that then they should command him in the name of the Senate presently to returne into Iral y. And on the other fide, if they found that he was vniustly accused, and onely through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detracters: the that they should send him to his army, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this war. So when the Ambassadors were arnued in Sicile, after they had made diligent inquiry according to the articles of their comission, they could not finde that Scipio was faulty in any thing, fauing that he had too lightly passed out the wrongs and iniuries Pleminius had done vnto the Lock IANS. For Scipio was very liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous, & merciful also in punishing of them. But when they faw his army, his ships, and all his other furniture & munition for war: it is reported that they wondered so much to see the great abundance, and good order taken for al things, that when they returned to Rom s, they greatly commended Scipio, and reie all the acculations of his accusers, they did promise the Senat & people of Rom B affured hope of victory. So when althese home-troubles at Rome were take away, there chanced other outward troubles abroad that grieued him much. For y Ambassadors of king Syphax came and told him, that their master king si. had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, & was become friend vnto Hafdrubal, whose daughter he had maried; and therfore that he wished him if he meant to do his country good, to the Romake no attempt vpon Africk B, for he was determined to reckon the Carthaginians his maines. friends, & alfoto fet vpon them who the CARTHAGINIAN'S account their enemies. Scipio quickly returned the ambassadors againe vnto Syphax, because the effect of their comming should not be blown abroad in his camp; and gaue them letters, in which he praid king Syphax, that remembring his league & faithful promise, he shold beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name ofaRomain, & faith of a king. Afterwards calling his mentogether, he told them that the Ambaffadors of king Syphax were come into Sicile, to coplain of his long tarying, as Masinissa had done before. Therfore he was to hasten his journy to go into A FRICK, and therupon commanded all his fouldiers to put themselues in readinesse, and to prouide all things necessary for their journy. The Confuls comandement being published through al Sicila, there repaired immediatly vnto LILYBEA a multitude of people, not only of those that were to faile into Africk, but of others also that came to see the fleete & army of the Romaines: because they neuer saw marmy better furnished, nor fet out with all things necessary for warre, nor better replenished with fouldiers, then that So Scipio, althings being ready imbarked at LILYBEA with fo earnest a desire to passe ouer the sea, that neither oares nor wind did cotent his mind. Yet he was brought infew daies failing, to the promontory or mountaine called Faire, & there he put all his men on land. The newes of his arrival flying straight to CARTHAGE, althocity was presently in such an vprore, that fodainly they founded the alarme, and guarded the gates & walles, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from M. Regulus time vnto that present day, it was almost fifty yeers space since any ROMAIN captain ouer entred Africk with force of armes. And therfore it was no maruell though they were afraid, and grew to vprore. The name of Scipio did increase their feare the more, because the CARTHAGINIAN'S had no captaine matchable with him. Hasdrubal the sonne of Gifgo had the name at that time of a lusty Captaine, whom they knew had

notwithstanding bene ouercome, and driven out of Spaine by Scipio. Howbeit putting all the

hope and safety of their country in him, and in king Syphax that mighty king: they neuer left in-

treating the one nor perswading the other, to come and help the affaires of AFRICK, with althe

speed they could possible. So, whilest these two were preparing to joyne both their armies toge-

ther, Hannibal the fon of Hamilear, being appointed to keepe the next country adjoyning to it, came against the Romaines. Scipio after he had destroyed the country, and enriched his army

with great spoile, he camped by the city of VTICA, to see if it were possible for him to win so

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noble and wealthy a city, and being besides so commodious for the wars both by sea and land. At the selfesame time Masinissacame to the Romain's camp, and was inflamed with a vehement defire to make war against king Syphax, by whom he had before bin driven out of his kingdom & inheritance Scipio that had known him in Spaine, a yong Prince of an excellent wit, & quick & valiant of his hand, he fent him to discouer the army of the enemies, before the CARTHAGIA NIAN'S could gather any greater power, and willed him to vie all the deuice and meanes he could possible to intice Hanno to fight. Masinisas he was commanded, beganto prouoke the enemie. and drawing him out by litle & litle, he brought him where Stipio lay with al his legions armed. looking for a good houre to fight. The army of the enemies was now wearied, when the Ro-MAINES came to fet vpon them with their fresharmy. Hanno at the first onset was ouercome & flaine, with most of his men; and all the rest sted and dispersed themselves here and there, where they thought they might best scape. After this victory, scipio returning back againe to besiege the city of VTICA, the fodaine coming of Haldrubal and king Syphax, made him to leane off his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great army both of footmen and horsemen, and came and camped not far from the ROMAINES. Scipio perceining that, raised his siege immediatly, and came and fortified his camp vpon a hill, from whence he might go and fight with the enemy, and molest them of Vrica, and also keepe his ships fafe that rode at anker. Howbeitthe time of the yeare being come, that both armies were to dispose their me in garrisos for the winter season, he determined to send vnto king Syphax to feele his mind, and to make him leane the friendship of the CARTHAGINIAN's if it were possible. For he knew welit was his mariage with Sophoniba, which through her flattering perswasios had broght him to that fury, that he had not only for faken the friendship of the Romaines, but also meant to destroy them, contrary to his faith and promise; and that if he had once satisfied the heate of his love with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. Syphax having vnderstood Scipioes message sent him, he answered, that indeed it was time, not only to leave the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but also to giue vp all thought of war; and fo promifed, that he would be a good meane to make peace. Sci. pio gaue good care vnto it, and caught hold of an excellent fine deuice. He chose the valiantest fouldiers in his army, apparelled them like slaues, and made them waitevpon the Ambassadors, and gaue them instructions whatthey should do. These fellowes, whilest the Ambassadors and King Syphax were in talke together about the articles and conditions of peace, and that the confultation held longer then it was wont to do, they went and walked vp and downet frough the enemies campe, to fee all the waies and entries into it, according vnto Scipioes instructions. After they had done this divers times, they came againe to Scipio. Truce was take for a time, the which being expired, Scipio seemed to make preparation for wars, (as being out of hope of any peace) and to make his army ready by sea, preparing engines of battery to returne to besiege VTICA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumorthrough althe country, to perswade his enemies that it was true; howbeit having called the Captaines & pettie Captaines of his army together, he made them privile to his intent and enterprise. He told them that both the enemies camps lay not farre afunder; of the which, the one of them had all their tents and cabines of wood; and the building of the other camp was all of reeds, so that they were both easie to be burnt. Wherupon having sent for Masinisa and Caises Lalius to come vnto him, he gave them charge about midnight to giue alarme vnto Syphax camp, and to set it on fire: & that he himselfe on the other side, would fet vponthe CARTHAGINIAN'S camp. They two obeyed Scipioes commandement, performed his will without delay, & came at the houre appointed them to affaile the NYMIDTANS camp, and so did set the houses of reeds on fire; which took fire in such fort, as the slame was immediatly roud about the camp. The NVMIDIANS at the first thinking the fire had come by misfortune, ranne thither straight vnarmed to quenchit. But when they found themselues among the legions of the Romaines, and that there was nothing but killing downeright, seeing themselues so compassed in on al sides, they saw their best remedie was to flie. On the other side also, where Scipioes army was, the CARTHAGINIAN'S camp was almost alburnt, and the enemies put to flight with such cruell slaughter, that some writers affirme, there were slaine that night about forty thousand men, aswell Carthaginians as Numidians. This great ouerthrow and slaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in such a feare and terror, that some thought best to send for Hannibal out of ITALY, & others gaue aduice to make peace with Scipio. Howbeit the BAR e IN IAN faction which was rich and wealthy, and altogether against the beace makers, they fo prevailed, that they leavied a new power to begin war againe. King Syphax and Haldrubal having leavied a great multitude of footmen and horsemen againe, renued their armie sooner then was looked for, & came againe to pitch their campe directly ouer against the enemies. Scipio having vinderstanding of that, would not tarie, but determined to give the battel, whilest his men were in good heart & willing to fight. So it chanced at the first, by the nearenes of both their camps, that there were certaine skirmishes; but in the end, the armies came to joyne battel, & the Romain's fought with fuch courage & terror, that at the first onset they made the NUMIDIANS & CARTHAGINIANS flie, and flue the most part of them. Haldrubal & Syphan scaped, by flying out of the flaughter. Scipio fent Masinisa and Cains Lalius with the light horsemen to give the chase. Syphax being come into Nymidia, and from thence into his own realme and kingdome, he leauied an army in hast of all forts of people, and came to meete with Masinista & Caim Lelius, & was not afraid to give them battell, But it was a fond part of him, confidering that he was nothing like so strong as his enemy, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelihood of fouldiers. For neither the fouldiers nor captaines of his army were matchable with the fouldiers and captaines of the Romaines camp: and therfore king Syphax was eafily ouercome by fuch skilful fouldiers, & moreouer was him felfetaken in battel, with many other great noble Maje full men, whom Masinisa would hardly have looked for: and then they were brought vnto Scipio. At ansonerthe first there was a maruellous ioy among them, when it was told them that king Syphax should taken in bebrought prisoner vnto the camp: but afterwards when they saw him bound, they were alsory bassed. to see him in such pitifull state, remembring his former greatnes & regall maiesty. For they called to mind how famous the name of this King had bin but a litle before, what wonderfull great wealth he had, & also the power of sogreat a realme & kingdome. Howbeit Scipio the ROMAIN Confull received him very curreoufly, and gently asked him what he meant to change his mind in that fort, & what moved him to make war with the Romain Bs. The the king remebring his former friendship& faithful promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the love he bare to his wife Sophonisha, who only had procured him to deale fo dishonorably with the Romaines: howbeit, that he had so smarted for it, as al others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreme misery to feethat his mortal enemy Masinisa was so taken with that frenzie and mad humor, wher with he before was possessed. For after Syphax was ouercome & taken, Masimisa went into Cyrtha, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found Sophonishathere, with whom he felin fancie, who after she had finely wrapped him in with her deccitful flatteries & kindnes, he promised that where heralfo to deliuerher out of the Romains hands: and because he might the better performe his love with promise made, he took her to his wife & maried her. When Scipio was informed of these things, it grieucd him maruelloufly. For it was knowne to all men, that Syphax was ouercome vnder the conduct, & through the Romains meanes: and therfore althat was belonging to Syphan, was at the disposition of the Romains. Wherfore if Masiniss had without Scipioes consent, undertaken to defend Sophonubaes quarell, then it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consul, and the maiefly of the people of Rome. Furthermore, his filthy lust did aggrauate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intolerable, by how much the cottinecy of the ROMAIN Consul was the greater, the which Masinisa saw daily before his eyes, and might have bene apaterne and example vnto him. For Scipio besides many other proofes & shewes of his vertues, in of scipio. al places where he obtained victory, he alwaies kept the women vndefiled, which were take prifoners. So Scipio being offended with Masinisa, (though he shewed it not before company) receiued him very louingly at his returneto the camp yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a seuere captaine. Whereupon Masinissa went into his tent and wept, and could not tel what way he should take howbeit shortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpossible for him to keep pro- sophoniuba mife with Sophonisba, which griened him to the heart: he fent her poyfon, and a message withall; possente her the which she dranke immediatly, and so willingly made her selfe away: Furthermore, the Car-THAGINIANS after they had received such wonderfull great losses & overthrowes, one after an procurement. other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to such a straight & extremity, that they were nomore to looke after the enlarging of their dominions, but only to confider which way they fent for into might keepe their own country; they fent for Hannibal to come out of ITALY. Who returning Ralystorewith great speed into Africk, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with Aaaaaa

The battell Scipioss the Cartha.

P. Scipio about peace: either because he was afraid of the good fortune of this yong man, or else for that he mistrusted he could not otherwise helpe his countrey and commonwealth, which he faw decaying & like to be destroyed. Wherfore a place was appointed, where they might meet according to his desire; where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this war. In the end Scipio offered Hannibal fuch conditions of peace; that by them it appeared the Romaines were not weary of war, and that Scipio himselfe being a yong man, had better hope to obtaine victory, then great defire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being fet aside, they brake off their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthy Captaines of the most noble nations that could be, prepared themselves to battel, either to give or takeaway in short time from their common-weales, the seigniorie and Empire of all the world. The place where they employed altheir force, and where this famous battel was fought, as it is reported, Was by the city ZAMA: in the which the ROMAINES being conquerours, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the endbrake so fiercely into the footmen, that they ouerthrew althe armie. It is reported, that there were flaine & taken by the Romain B saboue forty thousand Carthaginians. Hannibal fled out of the fury of the battel, & faued himself, though that day he had shewed himselfe like a valiant & famous Captaine, For at this battell he had set his army inbetter order then euer he had done before, and had strengthened it both with the commodity of the place, and reliefe beside: and euen in the very sury and terror of the battel he fo bestirred himself among his souldiers, that the enemies themselues did commend and praise him for a noble Captaine. After this victory, Seipio meeting with Vermina king Syphax fon, that brought aide to the Carthaginians, he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the walles and hauen of CARTHAGE, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that the CARTHAGINIANS would fue to him for peace. For, as the CARTHAGINIAN's before had bene very good foldiers, and ready to make wars: fo were they now become timorous and faint hearted, specially when they faw their General Hannibal ouercome, in whom they chiefly reposedal their hope & trust, for defence of their country. Wherefore they being (as I haue faid) out of heart, sent ambassadors vnto Scipio, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemencie, he would grant them peace. Now was great fuite made at RomB, to have the governmet of the province of AFRICK and one of the new Confuls made haste to come and make war, with such charge and preparation as was meet for his dignity and calling: and therefore Scipio doubting that another should carie away the glory for ending of so great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the CARTHAGINIAN ambassadors requests. So the capitulation of the articles of peace was offered vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, according to the conquerors mind: and besides al other things, the whole fleet of all their ships and gallies (in the which their hope consisted much) were taken fro them. For when the whole fleet was burnt, it was such a lamentable fight vnto them al, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if CARTHAGE had bindestroyed and razed to the very ground. For as some do write, there were fine hundred ships burnt of all forts. These things therefore should make vs al beware of humane frailty, the which we often forget in our prosperity. For they that before perswaded themselues to conquer the world, after they had wonne fomany great battels & victories of the enemy, and in maner conquered all ITALY, and so valiantly besides besieged the city of ROME, were in shorttime after brought to such misery and extremity, that all their power and force being onercome, they had no more left them but the walles of CARTHAGE, and yet they were not fure to keepe them, but through the speciall grace and fauour of the enemy. After these things were done, Scipio by decree of the Senate, did not onely restore King Masinisa to his Realme againe, buralso adding thereunto the best part of all king Syphax countrey, they made him one of the mightiest kings of all Africk: and afterwards he gaue honourable gifts vnto euery man as he had descrued. In Soppos 70 fine, after he had setall the affaires of Africk a at good stay, he brought his army back againe into ITAL Y:at what time there came to Rom a a world of people, to see so great & famous a captaine, returning from such wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Rome with pompe of triumph, Terentius Culeo following him with a hat on his head, because that through his fauor and friendship he was taken out of bondage. Polybius writeth, that king Syphax was led in triumph:howbeit some say he died before, Scipio triumphed. Indeed diuers that did triumph, some before him during the warres of the CARTHAGINIANS, and others afterwards in the warres of MACEDONIA & Asia, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold & silver in their triumph,

Scipioes eri .

and led also a great number of prisoners: howbeit one only Hannibal that was ouercome, and the glory of fogreat a warreended, did make the triumph of P. Scipio so excellent and famous, that it far passed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphs. For after AFRICK B was conquered, no nation then was assigned to be ouercome by the Romaines. For he made this province as it were a bridge and open passage to increase and enlarge the Empire of Rom B, both in Macedon, and also in Asia, & in other parts of the world besides. Now Scipio (whom Imay rightly call African, after y conquest of Africk) being returned to Rome, he lacked notemporall dignities nor honours. For in the Counsell holden for the election of Censors, although there were divers of the noblest houses of Rome that sued for that office, yet he himlelf, and Alius Perus were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, Allius For they did gouerne in their office likegood men, and with good quietnesse. Afterwards the Cenmey and Southful then once the Southful with Society African Prince of the Senate: Scipio the which dignity was wont to be given to them onely, that obtained the type of all honour, Prince of through their great conquests and benefits done to their country. Shortly after, he was againe the Senate, chosen Consul with Sempronius Longus, the sonne of that Sempronius whom Hannibal ouercame scipio and in that great ouerthrow, at the battell by the river of Trebia. They two were the first (as it is reported) that deuided the Noblemen and Senators from the people, in the shew-place to see paflime. This separation was very odious to the people of Rome, and they were maruellously offended with the Confuls forit, because they tooke it, that increasing the honour of the state of the Senators, they thereby did discountenance and imbase them. Some say also, that Scipio A-RICAN afterwards repented himselfe that he had taken away the old custome, & brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variance betwixt Masinisa and the Carthaginians, touthing their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate fent Scipio thither with two other commissioners: who after they had heard the cause of their quarrell, they left the matter as they foundit, and would proceed no further in it. And this they did, because that the CARTHAGI- The craftie NIAN'S being troubled with civill warres at home, should take vponthem no other warres a- counsel of broad, neither should have ley sure to attempt any alteration other wise. For the Romaines had great war with king Antiochus, and Hannibal Carthaginian was there with him, who still firred vp the old enemies against the Romaines, and practifed to raise vp new enemies against them, and in all things to counsell the Carthaginians to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the Romains had brought the into under the title of peace, & to proue the friendship of the kings. How beit shortly after, the ROMAINES having obtained victory, & driven king Antiochus out of GRECE, they intended also to conquer As IA: and therfore all their hope was in Scipio African, as a manthat was borneto end wars of great importance. Howbeit Lucius Scipio and Caius Lalius were Consuls, and either ofthem made suite for the gouernment of As IA. The matter being confulted vpon, the Senate stood doubtfull what judgement they should give, betwixttwo fo famous men. Howbeit, because Lalius was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater estimation the Senate began to take his part. But when P. Cornelius Scipio African, the elder brother of Lucius Scipio, praied the Senatethat they would not dishonour his house so, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides very wise, and that he himfelfe also would be his Lieutenant: he had no sooner spoken the words, but the Senators receiued him with great ioy, and presently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordained in open Senate, that Lucius Scipio should go into GRECE to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and that from thence he should go into As 11, if he thought good, to make war with King Antiochus: and also that he should take his brother Scipio African with him, because he should goe against Hannibal, that was in Antiochus army. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection Thenanural of Publius Cornelius Scipio African, the which he first shewed from his youth vnto his father Cornelius, and afterwards also vnto his brother Lucius Scipio, considering the great things he had to his brodone: For, notwithstanding he was that African by name that had ouercome Hannibal, that the Lucius had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praise of martiall discipline: yet of his own good nature he made himselfe inferior to his yonger brother, because he might have the honour of obtaining the government of that province from his fellow Conful Lelius, that was fo well beloued, and of great estimation. Lucius Scipio the Consul brought great honourto his country by that war, for that he followed the found and faithfull counfell of his brother. For first of all going into GRECE, he took truce for fixe moneths with y ÆTOLIANS,

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that enery makept filence, then he spake in this maner, I remember, my lords, that on such a day

asthis, I wan that famous victory of Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leauing

aside this contention, I think it good we go vnto the Capitol, to give God thanks for the victory.

So he departed thence, and all the whole affembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but

also to all the other temples of the city, leaving the two Tribunes al alone with their Sergeants.

That day was the very last day of the African's good fortune, for the great assembly and mul-

fend Scipioes cause, sometime honourably praising him, another time also threatning his encmies, that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruellously:

offended for the great iniurie they did him. Some do write that P. Scipio himfelf, before he went

VNIO LINTERNYM, did with his own hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the

Senate, to deliuer the account of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit or pride, but with that felfe boldnesse of mind he aforetime vsed to the treasurers, when he did against the

Lucius condemned, and the Sergeants waiting on him to carrie him, being bound, into prison,

he was in such a rage withall, that he rescued his brother by force out of the Sergeants

hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beside, that Tiberius Gracehus

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But finging with a merrie heart in simple shed to looke Aloofe upon the troublous (cas, that are fo hard to brooke. So when the mighty King of Asia was ouercome, and that fo great awar was foeafily ended beyond all mens opinion: the Confull L. Scipio returned to Rome, and made his entrie into the

city, shewing a great and honourable triumph. Healso deserved the surname of the province and countrey subdued by him. So that, as his eldest brother was called African, for that he had conquered Africk: even fo was Lucius Scipio furnamed Asian, for conquering Asia vn- L. Scipio to Rome. And P. Scipio, through whose counsell his brother Lucius had brought his warres to happie end, he went not cleare without honour also. For shortly after, two noble Censors, T. bu conquest 9. Flaminius, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus chose him Prince of the Senate the third time. T.D. Flaminius, Now at that time, the house and family of the Scipioes and Cornelians flourished with supreme nies, M.C. degree of honour; and the authority of Scipio African was growneto such height and greatnefle, as no private man could wish to be any greater in a free city. Howbeit the secret malice of The time of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greatnesse and authority, began at length to the source. wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greather and authority, began a tength to burst out, and to light vpon those that were the authors of sogreat things. For two Tribunes of hings the tength out, and to light vpon those that were the authors of sogreat things. the people, suborned (asit is reported) by Porcius Cato, accused P. Scipio African for keeping The inconbacke king Antiochus mony, and because he brought it not into the common chamber or trea. flaucie of furic. Scipio African knowing his innocencie, being called by the Magistrate, shewed himselfe worldly obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenance, and there made an oration, things. declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his country and commonwealth. The rehearfal of these things did not mislike the common people that were present: because he did it rather to avoid the danger prepared for him, then otherwise for any vaine glory or ostentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no iniurious words, but accused him as though he had indeed bene in fault, howbeit vpon suspition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commanded to come before them againe, he appeared at the houre appointed, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole affembly, & went vp to the pulpit for oratios When he saw

titude of people that waited vpon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day of the day forward he determined to get him into the country, farre from all ambition, and the company of people: and so went vnto Linternym in a maruellous rage, that for reward of his so great feruice, and so sundry benefits, as he had brought vnto his country, he received but shame The volume great terrice, and to tundry benents, as he had brought thronis country, the thought it more honor and reprocher elfe for that indeed being (as he was) of a noble mind, he thought it more honor ment of science willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to feek to maintaine his greatnes by force of armes. the form

So when the Tribunes did accuse him of contempt, and that his brother Lucius did excuse his Rome.

absence by reason of his sicknesse: Tiberius Gracebus, one of the Tribunes that was against the T. Gracebus African, tooke his excuse (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did so well de. Tribune.

law require the keyes of the common treasure, to supply the present need of the State. Now piners opt. fome there be also that say, it was not the African, but Scipio Asian that was accused before the Tribunes: and that Scipio African was fent in commission at that time into Thyscan. shootsufation of the Who, vnderstanding of his brothers accusation, at his returne to Rome, and finding his brother Asian,

through the advice of his brother African: who counfelled him, that fetting all things apare; he should straight go into As 1A, where the warre was rifest. Afterwards also he wanne Prusas king of BTTHINIA from Antiochus friendship, who before was wauering vp and downe, doubtfull which fidetotake, and all through his brother Africans meanes and practife. So the authority of the African wasvery great, and all those that would obtain any thing of the Conful, came first to the African to be their meane & intercessor. Now when he came into Asia, Antiochus ambassador, and Heraclides Bizantian, came vnto him to offerto make peace, and after they had openly told their message, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reasonable conditions of peace, they prinarly talked with Scipio African, as they were commanded, and pra-Gifed the best they could to make him king Antiochus friend. For they told him, that Antiochus would fend his yonger sonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the gouernement of all his Realme, onely referuing the name and The fidding title of King. Howbeit P. Scipio, excelling no leffe in faithfulnesse and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he told them, that for his son he would take him for a maruellous friendly gift: & that for a prinate good turne, he would do the P.Scipio to best he could to require him with the like: Howbeit, that he would counsell the King about all things to leave off thought of warre, and to receive those offers and conditions of peace which the Senate and people of Rome would offer him. Shortly after, Antiochus fent P. Scipio his fon according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had bin taken prisoner from the first beginning of the war, as he went from Chalcide vnto Oricam: or as other writers fay, as he passed by in a pinnace. Yet some hold opinion, that he was taken as he went to discouer the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then fent againe vnto his father, lying ficke at the city of ELEA. This great curtefic of king Antiochus was maruellous well thought of by the African, & not without cause: for to see his son after he had bene away so long, it did greatly lighten his spirits, and discased body. But P. Scipio to shew some token of a thankfull mind, prayed the Ambassadours that came vnto him, greatly to thanke King Antiochus for the exceeding pleasurche haddone him, to fend him his sonne. Afterwards he gaue Antiochus aduice also, that he should not giue battell, till he vnderstood of his returne from EL EA to the camp. So Antiochus being perswaded by the authority of fo worthy a man, he kept close in his camp for a certaine time, and determined to draw the warre out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to speake with the Confull, by the Africans meanes. But afterwards, the Conful camping hard by Magnesia, did so vexe and prouoke the enemie, that the King came out to battell, and set his men in battell ray. It is reported that Hannibal himselse was present at the battell, being one of the Generals for the King, So Antiochus being ouercome, and his army discomfited, perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires, he came vnto the African, (who being newly recourred of his ficknesse, came to the campe a little after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtained of the Confull to be contented to talke of peace. When Antiochus ambaffadours were cometo the 655. of peace campe, and had humbly craued pardon in the behalfe of their King, and also prayed that they would give them such conditions of peace, as they best liked of: Scipio African with the confent of them all answered them, that it was nor the manner of the ROMAINES to yeeld to aduerfity, neither also to be proud in prosperity: and therefore that he now made him the selfe same offer and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the king should not meddle with EVROPE: that he should surrender up all he had in Asia, from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the river of Tanais: that he should pay tribute twenty yeares together: that he should also put in such hostages as the Consull would chuse out: and that specially about all the rest, they should deliuer Hannibal Carthaginian unto the Consull, who was the only author and procurer of this warre. But he, as we have written in his life, perceiuing that king Antiochus army was ouerthrowne both by sea and by land, escaped the ROMAINES hands, and went vnto Prustar King of Bythinia. Antiochus having accepted the offers and conditions of peace, said, that the ROMAINES vsed him very fauourably, to ridhim of so great care, and to appoint him so small a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and ouer-much wealth which euery man coueteth, are full of great and fundrie troubles: infomuch that Theocritus words are as true, as otherwise excellently written.

Great kingdomes and full of trem.

The things I wish are neither wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne, Nor yet of swiftnesse and of strength to beare away renowne: